

South Carolina
Historical Magazine

Volume 86 Number 4

October 1985

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THE JOURNAL OF FREDERICK WILLIAM MULLER

Edited and translated by CHARLES W. NICHOLSON*

Frederick William Muller was born in Enger, Westphalia, on April 17, 1832. In 1849 he left his home in northern Germany for a voyage to America. Although there had been a revolution of sorts in Germany the year before, the timing of Muller's voyage was probably determined more by economics than by politics. At seventeen he had completed his basic education and was ready for practical training. Like so many immigrants whose way to America was helped by relatives already established in the country, Muller was invited to serve an apprenticeship with his uncle, William Asmann, who operated a store in Sandy Run, South Carolina.

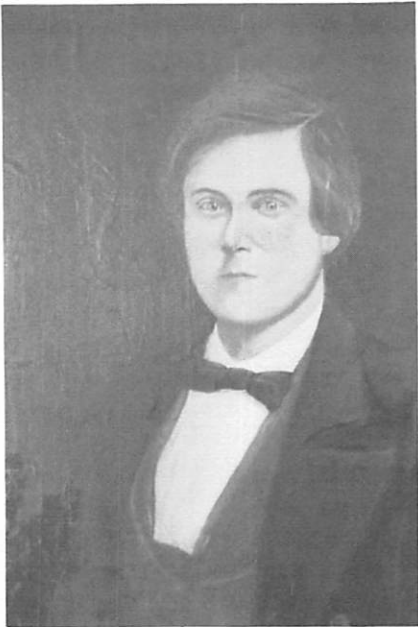
Although Muller's experiences on his voyage were similar to those of other travelers in the nineteenth century, he was not a typical immigrant. Financially and educationally he was more advantaged. He traveled first class as one of sixteen cabin passengers, not one of the 130 between decks and in steerage. Muller was also a keen observer and a conscientious diarist. His diary records events from the day he left his hometown to his arrival in Sandy Run and then resumes for a brief period about a year later.

Muller stayed several years with his uncle and married Asmann's second daughter Mary in 1853. He worked as a storekeeper in Baltimore and Charleston, eventually becoming joint owner of Bancroft and Muller in Charleston. During the war he sold his interest in the store and moved back to Sandy Run shortly before Sherman passed through the area. Sixty dollars in gold, which he had hidden in the swamp, was all that Muller was able to save. He and Mary had seven children. Muller was only fifty-three when he died in Sandy Run, May 21, 1885. He is buried in the churchyard of Sandy Run Lutheran Church.

Sandy Run is a sparsely settled community along the Congaree River near the Lexington-Calhoun County line. Because of its location on the busy road between Columbia and Charleston it prospered in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Asmann store where Muller lived and worked, parts of which date from the late 1700s, has long been known as the Red Store. It still stands just south of Sandy Run Lutheran Church on Highway 176.

Muller's diary, a leather-bound manuscript of eighty-eight pages, was written in ink as long as his supply of ink lasted during the voyage and then continued in pencil. It was found in the Red Store by J. G.

* A former teacher of German, and currently a claims examiner at the Veterans Administration Regional Office in Columbia.



(above) **Frederick William Muller**, Portrait by his father Justus Andreas Muller

Courtesy of Mrs. J. O. Kempson



(above right) **Muller's Gravestone**, Sandy Run Lutheran Churchyard

The Red Store, Sandy Run



Geiger. It was donated to the South Caroliniana Library by Muller's daughter-in-law Mrs. Lee Muller. I wish to thank the South Caroliniana Library for the opportunity to translate this document and for permission to publish it. I also wish to thank Mrs. J. O. Kempson for additional information concerning her grandfather.

Frederick William Muller's Journey from Enger to C[harleston]¹
in the United States of North America

Bremen, October 10, [1849]²

Accompanied by my father and Mr. [torn] at 3 o'clock in the morning I left my paternal home, in which I had first seen the light of day, in which I had spent the years of my childhood and had experienced many a happy and cheerful hour of my life. After a short ride of 2 hours we reached the next [torn] Enger, to Herford, where we had to wait [torn], before the train left [torn]. After the train arrived we all sat together in one compartment, [torn] traveled through Rehme and Porta to Minden. There we waited another hour, and there the painful farewell from my father took place. After passing several stations we reached Mahndorf, where the Hanover and Bremen railroads meet. There again we had to wait another hour, whereupon we boarded the train for Bremen and arrived safely. There I presented my consent to emigrate and retrieved my things, which I sent on to the City of Hull, where we were going to stay. After having dinner [torn] noon a little after 3 o'clock [torn] opened we [torn]. On our second trip to his office we didn't find him there, but only his assistant instead. Since he didn't appear until 4:30, we went back to see him a third time. After reading through my father's letter, he told us we could buy the bedding in Bremen and would have to ask our innkeeper where it could be obtained. He said that we needn't go from Bremen to Bremerhaven to board the *Johann Friedrich* until Saturday, since Captain Witting [sic] was somewhat sick and had delayed the departure. Then we went home, drank and ate something, [torn] [May God] give you strength to bear the separation from your dear son, and may [he] allow you to live still a long time and to see your son Fritz again. With these thoughts I fell asleep.

¹ Or Carolina. The upper corners of the first two leaves of the manuscript are missing. The resulting lacunae are evident elsewhere on this page and the next.

² Although the year is never mentioned in the manuscript, this date is supported by the time of the ship's arrival in Charleston.

Bremen, October 11

After coffee we went out to buy a mattress and blanket, which we soon found at a rather low price. Then we went to the docks and watched the unloading and loading of goods. Then we spent the time until dinner reading the newspapers. After dinner we went to the railway station to look at it more closely. Since it was now time for Mr. Glogstein to be in his office, we went to him in order to get our tickets. After giving them to us he told us that a telegram had just arrived saying that Captain Wieting had left Bremerhaven and would arrive here tomorrow morning.³ In the evening we went to the theater, where several comedies were being presented.

Bremen, October 12

When we came into the room the next morning the innkeeper told us that Captain Wieting had just been here but would be back immediately. He soon appeared, a large, strong man who looked to be in his 40's. He shook hands with us both and told us that we had to go to Bremerhaven tomorrow, because the *Johann Friedrich* would sail Sunday. We spend the rest of the time that day seeing the city.

Bremerhaven, October 13

This morning at 5 o'clock the innkeeper woke us up, since the steamship was sailing at 6. After the scheduled time it left and reached Bremerhaven at 10 o'clock. We saw the Weser gradually broaden; stronger and stronger grew the waves, which finally ran together with the waves of the North Sea. There were many ships on the Weser, and there were 5 ships of the German Fleet lying at anchor. Arriving in Bremerhaven we had our things brought on board the *Johann Friedrich*,

³ Captain Heinrich Wieting was born in Ronnebeck, Hanover, July 25, 1815. According to his obituary in the *Charleston Daily Courier* of Dec. 3, 1868, the *Johann Friedrich* was his first command. Although the article states that this ship was lost in 1849, the *Charleston Courier* of Jan. 28, 1850, reports that the *Johann Friedrich* sailed from Charleston harbor on Jan. 26, 1850, apparently without incident.

Wieting later commanded the *Copernicus* and the *Gauss*. On her last voyage under him the *Gauss* left Bremen on October 4, 1868. According to the report in the *Charleston Daily Courier* of Nov. 30, 1868, five days out of port the first of seven deaths occurred. Six were caused by a typhus-like fever and were mostly children; the seventh was a seaman who fell overboard and was lost.

Wieting became sick with the fever on Nov. 6 and died in Charleston on Dec. 2, 1868, three days after the ship's arrival.

Of the native Germans living in Charleston at the time of his death, more than three fourths had come to America on ships he commanded. A subscription among the Germans of Charleston paid for funeral expenses and provided relief for his widow and eight children. An imposing monument was later placed on his grave in Bethany Cemetery.

which lay only a few paces away. There everything was in disorder, since most of the passengers had arrived, and their things lay around on the foredeck. I had the steward make up my bed, and I also brought in the things that went inside. After I had put everything in order I decided to spend this night on board the ship and not go to a hotel. Then I went out to see Bremerhaven and the ships lying there at anchor. That same evening three other passengers were also in the cabin, since all of the others lived in the vicinity. The ones on board were a brother and his sister who were going to New Orleans, where a sister of theirs lived, and a girl who was going to Charleston. After I had spent the evening reading, I went into a small compartment to go to bed.

Bremerhaven, October 14

The next morning the word was that the ship would not sail today but tomorrow instead, because the seamen were not ready, and things were not yet in order. So I began to take a closer look at our ship and observe its equipment. It is a three-master; the mainmast must be as high as our house. It is _____ paces long and _____ paces wide. Below is the keel filled with ship's ballast; above this and forward is the area for the seamen. Next is the between decks, then steerage, and then the cabin. Then comes the foredeck. Forward on the foredeck is a hatch through which one goes down to the sailors' room and then the kitchen. Next to this one goes down to the between decks, and in front of this is a cage filled with roosters and hens. On both sides are barrels of water and also a container with 4 pigs. After this is an empty area up to the helmsman's and the captain's room. In front of the helmsman's room is the stairway that leads to steerage. From the captain's room a stairway leads to the cabin, on each side of which are the sleeping quarters for the cabin passengers. Light comes in from overhead, where thick crystal has been mounted in the foredeck. Behind the Captain's room is the helm. The compass is there and also a bell with which the hours are struck. When the passengers heard the ship wasn't sailing until tomorrow, they said that they wouldn't come until tomorrow, and so I didn't get acquainted with any more today.

North Sea, October 15

Finally the day arrived on which we were to leave Bremerhaven and put out to sea. The pilot came aboard at 10 o'clock; he would take us out of Bremerhaven and the territory of Bremen. The locks were opened, and the ship went out with the flood of water. On the shore stood the parents and relatives watching the ship to catch sight of their loved ones one more time. When we were out of the harbor, the sails were hoisted, and

the ship entered the Weser. For a long time we could still see the waving handkerchiefs, and they followed us as far as they could. Not far in front of us the *Washington* was also leaving, and we could see its steam disappear in the air.⁴ We also went past an American frigate from which a boat was sent to give our captain a letter to America. The Bremen pilot soon left us, and a Hanoverian came on board, who took us up to the last 2 buoys on the Weser. The pilot stationed himself next to the wheel and told the sailor who stood at the helm where he should steer. At the 2 last buoys we met the pilot boat, which took the pilot on board and went back to Bremerhaven. Gradually the land disappeared; one church tower after another was left behind us, and finally we found ourselves surrounded by nothing but water. The waves were already striking higher around our ship; the shock of the waves grew stronger, and the ship rocked on their backs. Now I could meet my traveling companions and make their acquaintance. We had on board about 140 passengers, of whom 15 were in the cabin. There was a gentleman by the name of von Eizen, who had already been in Charleston 9 years and had been in Germany for a visit; 2nd a Mrs. Mertens, who had likewise been in Charleston 6 years, had married there and after a three month stay in Germany was going back. 3rd was a Miss N.N.,⁵ who was going to meet her brother; 5th a Miss Broeder,⁶ who was going to meet relatives, also. 6th a Mertens family consisting of father and mother and two daughters and also two sons, who were in steerage. This family already had 3 sons there, who had settled there. 7th a Mrs. N.N., who had also married in Charleston and who was returning there with her niece. 8th a Mr. Sandkuhl, who had been at the business school in Osnabrück and had farmed for half a year at home. He also slept in the same compartment with me. I was soon to get acquainted with these passengers under different circumstances. Already the rocking of the ship was having its effect on some of them, including me; and the symptoms of seasickness set in with all its consequences. First I had a severe indisposition and after that terrible vomiting, after that extreme fatigue and such a listlessness and laziness that one didn't want to do anything, and one was indifferent to everything. All of the drink and food which I took had to go overboard again immediately. I therefore went to bed early that evening, since I was too tired to stay up any longer, and I soon fell asleep.

⁴ The postal steamship *Washington* arrived in Bremerhaven on its maiden voyage on June 19, 1847, starting the first regular shipping service between America and the European mainland. The ship was a paddle wheeler but was also almost fully rigged with sails. Thomas Piltz, ed., *The Germans and the Americans* (Munich: Heinz Moos Verlag, 1977), p. 49, illustration, p. 48.

⁵ *Nescio nomen*, name unknown.

⁶ Anna Brener? See passenger list, below.

North Sea, October 16

When I awoke the next morning, the indisposition was there again, and most of the other passengers were afflicted by the same sickness, even those who had already made the trip two times. The wind was the same as yesterday and filled the sails so that we could sail fast. I took a walk on the foredeck but couldn't stand it for long because of my extreme tiredness. I dragged myself around like this from one place to another until evening without anything to eat! In the evening the wind began to turn, and so disappeared our hope of reaching the English Channel. This evening, too, I went to bed early.

North Sea, October 17

The next morning I again got up with indisposition and therefore ate only a little this day, too. The wind had turned completely and came directly from where we had to go, which necessitated our sailing around in the North Sea and cruising at the mouth of the Channel. Today we saw England at about the place where the Thames flows into the North Sea, but this soon disappeared from our sight. I spent the whole day throwing up and sleeping until in the evening I went to bed early.

North Sea, October 18

This day began like the one before and ended the same way. A contrary wind opposed us and barred our entry into the Channel. Today again we saw England's coast, Portland, and watched it go past.

English Channel, October 19

When we came on deck this morning, the captain told us that the wind was such that we could just now run into the Channel, and it couldn't change one compass point. So we entered the mouth of the Channel and at noon reached the narrowest point. When we were there, the wind suddenly grew calm, and in order not to be driven back by the waves, we threw out the anchor, since we were in only 20 fathoms of water. Here we were in sight of France and England, which were separated by only 20 English miles. Above was the clear and beautiful sky. The barren lime and chalk mountains of England stood bare and defied the waves of the sea. They must have been about 400 feet high. Below at the foot we saw Dover surrounded by black coal smoke because of the many factories and above it, higher on the lime cliffs, the Dover castle. On the other side we saw France veiled in magical darkness. Of that country, because of the greater distance, we could only make out the mountains. As we lay there at anchor a pilot boat came out and offered its services in guiding us out of the Channel, but its offer wasn't accepted.

The captain gave them presents of brandy, bread and meat and let them go. At 3 o'clock the wind began to blow briskly, but from the south, and after raising the anchor we went away again, leaving the most beautiful view that would certainly be offered us on the entire trip, leaving the proximity of France and England, which have stood opposite each other as friends and enemies and have compared their might against each other. We were now passing through the Channel, crossed in ships by so many heroes who, sometimes as victors, sometimes as refugees, returned to their paternal shore. Many of these heroes passed before me, and I followed their history. In the evening we saw two lighthouses, one on France's, the other on England's shore. My seasickness was better today, since the weather was pretty and the sea calm.

English Channel, October 20

The next morning my indisposition started again, and my tiredness with it, too. The wind had turned more toward the west and led us to believe that we would be in the Channel for a long time. Today, too, we saw England's coast, in the morning and afternoon, and in the evening several lighthouses. We spent the evening singing and playing and went to bed in good spirits, since the sea had become calm again.

English Channel, October 21

Today again we sailed back and forth in the Channel and saw England several times. My sickness was just like before, and food still didn't taste good to me.

English Channel, October 22

This day, too, went by just like the one before, only my health was somewhat better. I had a lot of pleasure watching as the between decks and steerage ate their noon meal. Then each one runs with utensils in hand to the kitchen, and someone puts himself here, another there, and devours his meal. Our meal very early in the morning at 6 o'clock consists of coffee, which I don't drink with the others, since it's without milk. Then at 8 o'clock is breakfast. This consists of beefsteak or scrambled eggs or other things and also coffee, bread and butter with cheese or herring or sardines. Then at noon, soup, vegetables and roast and on Sundays, pudding, and whoever wants wine, drinks wine. In the afternoon there is. . .

[Several pages are missing from the manuscript at this point.]

. . . [for their] views were persecuted in various ways by the princes, was read to us, and in the evening we went on deck and enjoyed the beautiful wind and weather.

October 30

Today the waves were even stronger than the day before and sprayed our deck even more. The rocking caused by the waves was strong, and how often it happened that one person would spring up from his seat and fall into another's arms. When eating each one had to hold his plate; otherwise it would fly away from him over the table to the floor. Today we made almost 200 English miles in 24 hours, and the wind had turned more toward the east. We passed the time the same way as on the previous day, and the monotony continued.

October 31

We enjoyed the same wind today, and it gave us hope of reaching the Azores in a couple of days. The sea was the same as on the day before and washed the deck with its waves. Strong and powerful, the waves broke against its ribs and jumped over the rail onto the deck. The sight of the waves is beautiful. First they form a deep valley and then push up to the heights and thus change the sea into a mountainous country formed of waves. The same monotony continued today, also; and this day went by just as the others had. Toward evening it started to rain a little, which kept us from leaving the cabin and forced us to look for some occupation for the evening, which was soon found. One person told this; another, that, and those who were already settled in Charleston told us something about the people there, about their festivals and dances.

November 1

On this day the *Johann Friedrich* sailed 210 English miles and merrily cut through the waves, which broke foaming in front of it. The wind was just the same as on the previous days and made us even happier. Whenever someone went on deck, he had to hold on to all the ropes in order not to fall. How often this happened to some of the passengers, at which the others broke out in loud laughter. And unfortunately one of the female cabin passengers fell, dislocating her hand and suffering great pain.

November 2

Today, too, the wind was blowing from the same direction and with the same strength, so that we made 215 miles today, the most of all the days. In the evening we were all quite pleased and sat on the deck and sang. The captain was continually looking through the spyglass but couldn't see any island of the Azores, which were 10 English miles away from us. Because of the hazy air he had no luck. We anticipated seeing Pico the next morning. This 700 foot high mountain was on the island of the same name, and we were supposed to be near it the next morning.

November 3

Unfortunately we were disappointed in our expectations. The next morning we were too far away, and the weather was too dark, so that our horizon was not far away. The wind was still blowing well in our sails and soon carried us out of the area of the Azores and farther out into the ocean. Today it was 14° in the shade.⁷ Towards evening the wind grew calmer, and the ship was rocked all the more by the waves. So we sat on deck that evening and sang various songs. Above us the beautiful sky was spread out, letting us see countless numbers of stars.

November 4

A peaceful calm covered the sea when I got up, and the ship rocked just a little on the waves. Fish came again in the morning; we shot one with the harpoon, but it freed itself and colored the water with its blood. The wind and waves grew calmer and calmer until finally total calm covered the wide sea. In the afternoon the passengers played all sorts of games; here two were wrestling; over there others were playing [*indecipherable*], and each one was enjoying the beautiful weather. The evening was also beautiful and pleasant, and songs and games lifted our spirits. This evening I also saw lights in the sea. Near the ship where the water was moved by the ship I saw red spots which swam like fireballs in the sea. And behind at the rudder, where the water was strongly agitated, there was a whole trail of such fireballs.

November 5

The first news I heard today when I came on deck was that they had caught a dolphin. But it had gotten away and had disappeared again into the sea. Today again there was only a very little wind, and by noon it had become completely calm. Toward evening it began to blow again, but it was a southwest wind, which wasn't suitable for us. On this day the weather was quite changeable; now beautiful sunshine, and then rain, and the evening cheered us with a wonderful breeze. The sky was clear, and the stars were reflected on the surface of the water. Almost all of the passengers were on deck and sang various songs until they went to their bunks.

⁷ 14° Reaumur = 63½°F.

November 6 and 7

These two days passed in the same manner. The wind blew from the west on both days, and only a little at that. Then towards noon there would be complete calm, which lasted till evening. The weather was the same: at times some rain and then sunshine again. Only the evenings were very beautiful; the air clear and warm. So all the passengers were on deck in the evening and passed the time singing.

November 8

On the next morning the wind had turned to the north, and the weather was beautiful also during the morning. We spent the morning reading novellas by Zschokke. At noon there was a little matter with the cook. At the request of us all one of the women passengers had made a rice pudding and had given it to the cook to cook. The cook, feeling offended by this, made some sarcastic remarks and out of malice filled the mold with seawater. When the pudding was to be brought to the table, it fell apart and tasted quite salty. The young woman told the captain what the cook had said, and the captain was quite angry about it. He had the cook come, and he railed at him. At noon the wind slackened somewhat, and the ship went only a little farther. The weather changed also, and instead of sunshine rain fell. The evening was beautiful and clear, and so we decided to look at the stars. The other passengers sang the whole evening until they went to bed. That evening after supper the captain made egg beer, which pleased us all and tasted good to us.

November 9

I met the same air and the same wind the following morning when I came on deck. The morning went by just as the one before. As I was standing on deck in the afternoon, a wave came completely unexpectedly over the rail and covered me with water. My entire coat was wet, and there was water in the pockets. I quickly put on another one and hung up the wet one to dry. That afternoon at dusk I shared my pistachios with everyone, and then in playfulness we threw the shells at one another, causing a lot of laughter. The evening wasn't as clear as the previous one, and clouds hid the stars. So we sat in the cabin, where we talked about this and that.

November 10

Crossing 31° longitude and 42° latitude we reached the trade winds, which tend to blow in the southern regions. The barometer showed 18° [R = $72\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ F.], which would be a good summer shade temperature for us at home. The ship cut quietly through the waves, and only a little rocking

could be felt. In the afternoon about twilight everything was happy. A man from steerage who could play the violin a little was urged to play. He stood on the cabin by the mast and played several dances, and the passengers from between decks and steerage danced on the deck to this music. It often happened that a couple would fall, and if the ship leaned more sharply over to one side, all the dancers would run to that side where they would fall against one another. But even this didn't keep them from dancing until the musician was tired. After the meal we went into the cabin, where we played several games of forfeits. There was also a lot of joking.

November 11

The next morning the ship was rocking strongly, since the waves were high and looked like high mountains and deep valleys. We had also noticed this strong rocking of the ship during the night, since we rolled from one side to the other. I was therefore not feeling my best in the morning and thought my seasickness would return, but this didn't happen. But we did average 9 miles per hour. This strong rocking abated somewhat towards noon, but waves still kept washing over the deck. In order to pass the time we did all sorts of things until it was time to go to bed.

November 12

The sun rose beautifully the next morning, and its rays were as strong as in midsummer at home. It was 20° [R = 77° F.] in the shade. The wind grew calmer and calmer, and in the evening the ship glided peacefully over the bottomless sea. Today we saw a great many flying fish, which were frightened up by the ship. They rose out of the water and after a little while disappeared again. In the evening a seaman brought us one of these fish that had flown on board. It was small but quite fat. On its back it had a comb, and in between there was skin for flying. It was taken out to be fried the next day at noon.

November 13

Little wind was blowing the next day, and even that was not favorable. But we did have warm air and clear skies. The passengers were cheerful and played several pranks. The captain suggested that we change clothes and then go on deck. One man put on the captain's coat and carried a hat up on his hands, so that he looked extremely tall. Dressed this way he went forward on the deck, where he was received with shouts. At first they couldn't explain where he had come from and offered all sorts of guesses. Meanwhile the captain had a torch lit and let

it hang overboard. Then the sailors began to change clothes, too. One made a donkey on which another sailor sat. The others made a large ox. With such disguising we passed the evening.

November 14

The next morning we were happy to have the most beautiful weather again, and the most beautiful blue was spread out over our heads, not darkened by a single cloud. We had another hot day unlike any we have had at home. We were at 28° latitude, so not far from the Tropic of Cancer. The sun burned down on us and wouldn't let us stay out in it long. While we ate, sweat was always running down from our foreheads. In the evening, just like the one before, they made up disguises. They made a stork; the beak was made of red material, and a large piece of cloth was wrapped around a stick for the neck; the rest of the cloth hung down over the man's back so that he could not be seen. He took the stick in both hands and went on deck. When the girls saw him they began to scream and run away. The helmsman had to prevent the people from seizing him.

November 15

Already early in the morning the sky was covered with clouds, and these clouds soon dropped quantities of water down on us. The rain lasted several hours, but after the rain we enjoyed the most beautiful weather and the most beautiful sunshine.⁸ The heat was so intense that very large drops of sweat ran down our faces. At home this summer I never sweated so much as I did today. Eating brought forth more sweat than work does at home. Towards evening we had very pleasant air; we were surrounded by beautiful coolness which made us happy to stay out in the fresh air awhile until we were called to supper. In the evening we again stayed out on deck. We couldn't go to bed, because we dreaded the heat in the cabin. Finally when it was already 11 o'clock, we dared it and went down. There we still stayed up until 12 o'clock before we went to bed.

November 16

Early in the morning the wind was very light, but it grew stronger toward noon and brought us several miles forward, which we needed. The sea began to foam again and had whitecaps. In the morning a flying fish was found; it had flown onto the deck during the night but had died, and the rats had eaten its eyes out of its head. In the evening the wind was so strong that several sails had to be taken down, and the waves washed very strongly over the deck.

⁸ Though written in German, the words "und dem schoensten" use letters of the Greek alphabet.

November 17

Even though the wind was blowing a little in the morning, it later grew completely calm, so that the ship lay still, only moved by the waves on whose backs it danced. The sun burned hotly down, so that we were in a continuous sweat. Partly in order for us to clean the dirt off ourselves and partly to cool ourselves off, we took a bath in the sea. The helmsman tied a line around my body, and I slowly climbed down the side of the ship. I had kept my pants and shirt on. But it wasn't good swimming, for when you thought you were swimming, all of a sudden a wave would come and hit you in the face with water, and you got salt water in your mouth at the same time. I only stayed in a few minutes, since the seawater attacked me so much, and I thought I might not get back up on the ship. I changed clothes quickly and hung my wet things up to dry. When we had been out of the water a little while, we saw a large fish, which appeared to be a shark, swimming toward us not far from the ship. But it kept only its back above the surface of the water and showed its topmost fin, which was very large. In the evening the ladies decided to bathe. For this purpose the captain had a barrel filled with seawater, and they went in it one after the other.

November 18

The same calm as on the previous day was spread over the sea, and since the wind came from the very direction towards which we had to sail, we went more backwards than forwards. Several fish appeared and also 6 dolphins, but these were small. In order to lure them to us we tied a shiny spoon to a string and let it down into the water. The captain stood ready with the harpoon to spear them. When the fish saw the flashing in the water, they came up quickly and swam around it on all sides, but they were so quick that the captain couldn't hit a one of them. The heat began to get the better of us as on the day before, but it was somewhat cooled in the evening by a heavy rain.

November 19

The wind was somewhat stronger the next morning, but it came from the very direction towards which we wanted to steer, and so we couldn't hold to any course. About 10 o'clock we caught sight of a ship; at first we could see only the tips of its masts. It was sailing with the wind, and there was a good chance that it would meet us, which soon happened. It gradually came closer, and we could soon make out its sails and masts. As it came nearer we wrote our length on a board and showed this to it. Other ships also usually do this in order to compare themselves with each other. The captain stood ready with the speaking trumpet in order

to talk with the ship when it came closer. But it didn't come close enough. The distance between the two ships was about 200 paces, and they were this close for only a brief moment. We were flying the flag of Bremen, and the other, that of the United States. It was a schooner loaded entirely with wood and was coming from the West Indies. After an hour all that we could see was the topmost tips of its masts, and these soon disappeared. The wind grew weaker and weaker and towards evening almost stopped blowing completely.

November 20

The same calm in which we went to sleep awaited us again when we got up. Already early in the morning the sun burned down hot on our heads. We braced ourselves for a really hot day, and we weren't disappointed. In the afternoon they started bathing again, but this time I had no desire to do so. After several had bathed, and others still wanted to, we saw a small shark come up accompanied by 4 pilot fish. It continued to swim around our ship watching for prey. We quickly put a large piece of meat on a hook and threw it over tied to a rope. At first the shark made us wait a long time and didn't come. Then it finally came, circled the meat several times, turned over on its back and lunged for the meat. It didn't get hold of the hook, however, but only tore off a piece of the meat. It repeated this once again, always accompanied by its pilot fish, but it didn't once bite the hook. We let the hook hang in the water in hopes that we would still catch it. We also saw in the distance the topmost tips of a ship's masts, but these soon disappeared. The sky was beautiful and bright with stars this evening, and the air was pleasant. The moon shone down beautifully and lit up the sea with its beams.

November 21

The wind was somewhat stronger but continued to blow from the SW, and the weather wasn't the friendliest. Towards noon the wind became so strong that several sails that hadn't yet been drawn in on the entire trip had to be drawn in. This wind lasted until about 2 o'clock; then it grew completely calm until about 3 o'clock, after which the wind turned around to the north but blew only gently. The sea became more turbulent towards evening, and whitecaps appeared on the tips of the waves.

November 22

During the night we were shaken up very thoroughly, since the waves were very rough, and the ship danced about on their backs. The rocking today was stronger than it has ever been, and I soon noticed this rocking in myself, since seasickness with all its evil consequences set in again.

November 23

The next morning, too, I wasn't comfortable, even though the ship rocked less than the day before. The wind was northerly and blew briskly in the sails, so that we made good progress. Evening was spent with all sorts of joking until we went to bed.

November 24

The same wind was still blowing today and gave us hopes of reaching Charleston in several days. This caused great joyousness on the ship. One person was already rejoicing at how his loved ones would welcome him; another, at the thought of once again pressing to his heart his loved ones after the long separation.

November 25

The sun was already high in the sky when I came out on deck, since I had slept somewhat longer than usual because of my tiredness. The wind was blowing from the same direction, and the ship was running just as before. The sun shone beautifully and brought warm weather. About noon we caught sight of a ship, but it soon disappeared from view again. In the evening we enjoyed the beautiful moonlight, which caused us to stay on deck for a long time.

November 26

Wind and weather brought us closer and closer to our goal, which spread joy among us. This passenger was already thinking over what he should wear for landing; another went down into the hold to his trunks to get his clothes out. The day passed amid all sorts of joking because of our landing.

November 27

This joy was soon somewhat dampened, however, because the next morning the wind was coming from the very direction towards which we had to steer, so that we had to steer towards a completely different direction. The waves of the sea were so high that the ship was dancing strongly on their backs. And soon the effect of this dancing showed in us, since seasickness returned to many of us including me. In the afternoon we again saw a ship whose course was in our direction. So we again wrote our length on a board, and the captain stood ready with the speaking trumpet in order to talk to it. When it had reached the closest point, the captain asked them where they were going and where they had come from. The ship was coming from Savannah and was headed for Santiago de Cuba loaded with wood. It was an American brig. We soon lost sight of

it again, since the two ships flew quickly past each other. Today we were also in the Gulf Stream, and the water was 4° warmer than the air.

November 28

By the next morning the wind had almost completely subsided and grew even calmer towards afternoon. But we had the most beautiful weather, and the sun spread its rays beautifully over the surface of the sea towards our ship. It must have been about 12 o'clock when one of the passengers said that a large fish was aft. I ran there quickly and saw that it was a shark surrounded by 4 pilot fish. I found the captain and told him that there was a large shark behind the ship, whereupon he immediately threw out a hook with a large piece of meat on it. It didn't take long for it to seize the meat greedily. The captain pulled the hook toward himself but let it out again, because the fish hadn't bitten firmly enough. However, since it thought the piece of meat would get away, it seized it more tightly and thus seized the hook even more firmly. Quickly the hook was drawn up and with it the fish onto the deck. When it lay on the deck, it struck out furiously with its tail and exerted all its strength. Someone put a broom handle down its throat, and it bit off a piece. The captain amused himself and continually pushed the boys, so that they came near the fish, where they would start to cry out nervously. When it was pulled out of the water, its pilot fish shot quickly to it in order to attach themselves to it by suction. We also got one of these fish on deck. It must have been about half a foot long and had on its head a rough, flat side with which it hangs itself firmly from the fish. When we had examined it, we threw it overboard again, and it swam merrily away. The shark was five feet long and had 1 ½-foot-long fins on each side under its gills and one fin just as long on its back. Its upper jaw protruded far out over the other, so that when it wants to seize large pieces, it must first throw itself on its belly. Its jaws were so big that it could easily take in a man's head. In the upper jaw it had 5 rows of teeth and 7 in the lower jaw, all of which were set one behind the other, but weren't large. On opening it up we found meat in its belly that the cook had thrown overboard that morning, which let us guess that it had been swimming behind us for a long time. The shoemakers immediately went and pulled off its skin, which was intended for use as sandpaper. We threw the meat overboard to give its brothers a reckoning. In the evening the sun set beautifully and lit up the surface of the ocean with its rays. And the moon rose beautifully and gradually came out from behind the clouds which at first had veiled it. The ship lay completely still, only driven along with the Gulf Stream, constantly turning around, so that we had the moon now on this side and now on the other. It shone so brightly that we sat on top of

the cabin and took turns reading aloud. We lay there until 12 o'clock before going to the cabin. In the cabin we first had a little more to drink, which roused us somewhat, so that it was late before we got into our bunks.

November 29

A contrary wind kept us from steering straight for Charleston and forced us to advance at an angle. The captain was therefore a little out of sorts and couldn't find rest anywhere. We were also annoyed at being so close to Charleston and not being able to get there. In the afternoon they often sounded the depth, since we were not far from the coast, and this was mostly surrounded by sandbanks. When the moon came up in the evening, it cast its reflection in the water, so that we saw two moons.

November 30

Wind and weather continued on and made us even more ill-humored. When I got up, I saw the land of America before me, but just a strip and shrouded by fog. We saw a lighthouse, which is the one for Georgetown. In order not to run onto the sandbanks, we soon had to turn the ship and move away from the land. We proceeded this way several times on this day and thus made only a little headway. In the afternoon we saw two lighthouses, the one for Georgetown and the one for Cape Romain. Today the moon was full and came up out of the ocean like a fireball.

December 1

I slept this morning a little longer than the day before, because I wanted to strengthen my tired body. When I came on deck, the sea was completely calm, and the ship lay motionless. The land was quite close to us, and we could recognize the trees. In front of us was also the Cape Romain lighthouse, which was ringed with black and white stripes. Near it we saw the old one, which was almost completely torn down. We also saw a steamer in the distance, but it didn't come nearer to us. About 10 o'clock we saw the pilot boat from Charleston headed for us. When it came near, it set out a small boat with which the pilot was brought on board. Then the pilot boat went back again, leaving the pilot on board. Toward noon a breeze came up again, but it didn't last long. In the evening we once again saw a large steamship; we could clearly hear the sound of its paddle wheel. It was coming from Charleston headed for New York.

December 2

Early in the morning we were already awakened by the ladies, who were getting dressed and were trying to make themselves as pretty as possible. I soon got up from my bunk, too, washed and got dressed. When I came on deck, the sun had just come up and brightened the ocean with its beams. In front of us and on both sides we saw land; we could make out the trees, which appeared to be oaks and beeches. Ahead of us went a small three-master, which also wanted to enter the harbor. Behind us was a large steamship, which soon overtook us and was soon out of sight. We came closer and closer to the land, which was flat and nothing but sand. Soon we saw scattered farmhouses looking out from the woods, and this sight cheered us, since we had been without it for so long. Even from far away a roaring and thundering came to our ears, and the closer we came to the land the clearer and stronger it became. We saw that the waves were breaking on the land, and that's where the noise of the surf came from. Now we could see in the distance the new fort [Sumter] at Charleston, built completely in the water and surrounded by water on all sides. They had been working on it for 10 years, and it still wasn't completely finished. Nearly opposite this one was another fort, which together with the new one can control all ships headed for Charleston. Gradually we came nearer to Charleston, and its towers, which weren't very large, however, gleamed out at us. Because there wasn't any place for our ship, we threw out our anchor a couple of minutes from land and so stayed in the middle of the river.⁹ When those on land saw that the *Johann Friedrich* lay at anchor, they immediately got into boats and came out to our ship. Here brother found sister, and a husband his wife once again after so long a separation. By and by all the relatives came and took their people off, but not a single person asked after me. There was still a man by the name of Hink with his sister in the cabin; all the others were gone. We had a boat take us ashore, too, in order to see the city, and I wanted to go to Schirmer's. We met a German on the street

⁹ *The Charleston Mercury*, Dec. 3, 1849: "Arrived yesterday: Bremen bark Johann Friedrich, Weiting, Bremen 44 days ballast. To H.W. Kuhmann." *The Courier*, Dec. 3, 1849: Arrived on the *Johann Friedrich*: Miss Wilkmine Rohde, Miss A. Mehrtens, Miss Rebecca Mehrtens, Miss Anna Brener, Miss Meta Von Glahn, Miss Louisa Gopsert, Miss Dorrette Hink, Miss Wilhm. Foige, Miss Eliuse Wendelken, Miss Helen Haselmayer, Miss Adolphine Schinbbe, Miss Cath. Witehea, Miss Cath. Doscher, Miss Johanna Reinbach, Miss Meta Huselberg, Miss Meta Grimm, Miss Meta Meyer, Miss Anna Schwaz, Miss Cath. Lauetsen, Miss Anna Meyerhoff, Miss Beta Giere, Miss Meta Gotjen, Miss Wilhelmine Meyer, Miss Gesche Von Dohlen, Miss Anna Rosenbohm, Miss Eliese Spieske, Miss C. Machery, Mrs. T. A. Mehrtens, Mrs. H. Lubken & son, Mrs. Rebecca Mehrtens, Mrs. Kramer & 2 children, Mrs. Meta Meyer & child, Mr. Diedr. Von Eitzen, Mr. Jurgen Mehrtens, Mr. Diedr. Sandkuhl, Mr. Heinr. Hink, Mr. F. Muller, Mr. T. Foige, Mr. J. F. Spieske, Mr. H. Knee, Mr. G. Kramer, Mr. F. Meyer, & 84 in the steerage.

who took us to Schirmer.¹⁰ When we came up to his house, the elder Schirmer was just coming from church with his daughter-in-law. I told him who I was and asked whether they hadn't received a letter from Müller. The lady told me that a letter had arrived the day before yesterday, and she invited us to have a seat in front of their house. We talked a little while with the old gentleman, and the lady said that Asmann's wife had died 3 weeks ago.¹¹ When the younger Schirmer arrived, he apologized for not being able to take me in, because the whole house was filled with guests, and I might still want to stay on board the ship until a letter could come from my uncle telling when I should leave. Then we took our leave again, and the younger Schirmer took us around the city a little. It rained some, and it was therefore very dirty in the streets, since they aren't paved. Almost all the stores were closed, and it was very quiet in the streets. All the streets were straight, but the houses were nothing special: they seemed so dirty and unclean. We told Schirmer he could go back home, because we wanted to find our way back to the ship. We had a ship take us back to the *Johann Friedrich* and stayed the whole remainder of the day on board. There was a continual stream of visitors, and most of them came just to drink German brandy and wine. These visits lasted until late in the evening and started again the following day.

December 3

Early in the morning the ship was taken to the docks, and when it was tied up, each person wanted to come aboard sooner than the next. All the passengers' baggage was now brought on deck, and as soon as someone got his things, he had to open them up, and the customs official looked inside. For this each one had to pay 20 cents. We went ashore with the gentleman who had come over with us and let him guide us around the city. We saw the armory, where there is a large hall in which an entire company can drill. At the same time the building was set up for them to defend it inside, in case the blacks had an uprising. From there we went to a house where there were American bowling alleys. The bowling alleys, which were next to each other on the 3rd floor of the house, were also set up most conveniently and quite different from the

¹⁰ Jacob Schirmer, a Charleston merchant, makes the following entry in his diary for Dec. 2, 1849: "F. Muller W. Assman's nephew arrived from Germany with the John Frideric. I sent him to Lewisville on the 10th." The Schirmer Diary is in the collection of the South Carolina Historical Society.

¹¹ "On the 25th of Oct., at Sandy Run, Lexington District, S. C., Mary Ann Assman, Consort of William Assmann, in the 36th year of her age." Brent H. Holcomb, *Marriage and Death Notices from the Lutheran Observer 1831-1861 and the Southern Lutheran 1861-1865* (Easley, 1979), p. 74.

German kind. From there we went back on board to eat our noon meal. After the meal we set out to visit some of the passengers. There we ate supper and stayed until 11 o'clock.

December 4

Our first walk in the morning was to another ship which lay at anchor near us and was 1200 tons in size. The greatest elegance was the rule on that ship, and everything was set up with the utmost comfort. The masts were twice as thick, and the rigging was still new. From there we went to the cotton press, where the bales, which have already been pressed in the country, are pressed once again. Then I went with Mr. Hink, who is a book printer, to the German printing house, which he was eager to see. And from there we went back on board. Here I met Schirmer, who invited me to dinner tomorrow at noon; I accepted his invitation. Then in the afternoon I went with a boat that had come to get potatoes for the passengers and went to these people. From there I went back on board the ship. In the evening I went with Mr. Hink to pick up his sister, who was visiting an acquaintance who had also come over with us.

December 5

The previous night had been somewhat cool, and the coolness continued into the morning. But towards noon the weather became very beautiful, and the sky had spread its beautiful blue over the city, a blue undimmed by any cloud. I therefore enjoyed roving about. At 10 o'clock we started out to go see the young Mrs. Mertens at her house. After three quarters of an hour we finally reached her home, a small, neat little house. She was busy at work ridding her house of the dirt which hadn't been properly washed away during her stay in Germany. After a short stay we left her and went back on board. Schirmer sent his little son there to get me. The Schirmers were very friendly, asked me to sit down and always wanted to talk with me, but unfortunately I couldn't always understand. Then I was invited in to dinner, which wasn't by far like a German dinner. A little Negro stood there and handed you everything you wanted, and another little one shooed the flies away. After the meal I took my leave, and Schirmer went with me to the docks, where he had business to do. He invited me back at 9 o'clock the next day. Then we walked around in the city until evening, when we went back on board.

December 6

Today the ship departed which was to take Mr. Hink and his sister to their destination, to South West Pass, an outlet of the Mississippi. I accompanied them on board and watched their ship a long time with my

spyglass. As I passed the post office, which is near the docks, a black was standing there with a bell, which he was constantly ringing. I asked what that meant and received the answer that blacks were being sold. As I came nearer, there were about 20 blacks standing there, and a young girl was standing on the table, on each side an auctioneer, and all around stood the people who wanted to buy the blacks. Higher and higher bids were offered, the way auctions are conducted at home. She went for 307 dollars. Next a mother with 3 small children came up on the table; they were to be sold to one man, since a family can no longer be separated. Since I couldn't watch this any longer,¹² I went back on board the ship and ate the noon meal. After dinner I went out to visit Mrs. Mertens at her house. I stayed there until after 8 o'clock and started back. As I went by a brightly lit place, I looked up and saw several men sitting around a fire; on it was a pot in which they were cooking their meal. They were farmers who bring goods to the city in their wagons and then take things back with them to the country. They are often under way for 8 days, and wherever they are in the evening, there they lie on the ground, make a fire, and continue on the next day.

December 7

Tired from so much walking about the streets, I had decided to stay on board ship today and rest. I spent the morning reading. In the afternoon, right after 12 o'clock, the ship was brought into the shipyard, with which I helped as much as I could. In the evening I went with the helmsman to visit his sister and several acquaintances who had come over with the same ship.

December 8

I also spent this morning reading. At 12 o'clock Schirmer came to get me for dinner. He told me that I had to leave Monday morning at 8 o'clock. He would come on board then and take me to the train station. In Louisville,¹³ 35 miles from Columbia, my uncle would be waiting with a wagon. I would then have 15 more miles to go to Asmann's house. I went with Schirmer to his factory, where he had many blacks working. From there we went to Schirmer's house to eat dinner. There was also a young man there, who had lived near my uncle and had just left him 14 days ago. He invited me to go with him to the German church tomorrow at 12, at which time I was supposed to go to Schirmer's house. After dinner I went

¹² Muller's "Weil ich dieses nicht länger mehr ansehen konnte" does not indicate whether it was aversion or lack of time that made him unable to watch any longer.

¹³ Actually Lewisville, now St. Matthews. John A. Bigham, "Calhoun County Place Names," *Names in South Carolina* 27 (Winter 1980), p. 14.

back on board ship, where I stayed until evening. After supper the helmsman asked me whether I wanted to go with him to the market, which for Sunday was held Saturday evening. The place was filled with blacks offering for sale the fruits of their masters. At 10 o'clock we went back on board again and then also went to bed.

December 9

I stayed on board till noon, when several strangers came to dinner, people whom the captain had invited. We enjoyed ourselves a great deal, and the captain had a bottle of champagne opened. In the afternoon I went to say good-bye to those who had come over with me. I continued with these visits until it was evening and time to go home.

December 10

The next morning at 8 o'clock Schirmer came and told me to get my things in order, since the train departed at 10 o'clock. He went away and got a wagon to have my things taken to the train station. Then we went to his house, where I said good-bye to his wife. We drove in his carriage to the train station. There he booked me a ticket to Louisville, and I climbed into the car. These are set up quite differently, however. In the middle is a walkway; on both sides of this are seats covered with red velvet. To protect against the cold there is a little stove, and for the ladies, a special parlor. There is only one class in America, and the blacks ride in the car where the luggage is. Our way was through nothing but fir woods, only interrupted now and then by clearings where farmers lived. The stopping places are not like ours. There is only a small, frame house. When I arrived in Louisville, I got off and a lady with me, who also lives miles from my uncle. I looked around to see whether an Asmann was there, but no one was to be seen, and no one came, either. So there I stood completely abandoned. Capable of only a little English, I couldn't speak with the people. Then the lady helped me and told the station master to give me lodging this night. She would send word to Asmann, so that he could pick me up the next morning. Then I went with the people to their house, which was quite simple, built of boards and having only limited furnishings. The fire was burning in the fireplace and warmed my limbs a little. The meal in the evening was quite good, and the people offered me everything to make me comfortable. After the meal they urged me to play, which they got me to understand by showing me. I played something for them, and the people from the neighborhood came to listen. Then they showed me my bedroom, and I went to bed contented.

December 11

About 9 o'clock a small, light wagon pulled by two mules rode up; a man was sitting in it. The children said that it was Mr. Asmann. I went out to him, said good morning and offered him my hand. He asked how my parents had been when I left and said that I would have to get ready, since he had to be off right away, because it was still 16 miles to his house.¹⁴ I left my trunk with the people and packed my other things on the wagon. Then I said good-bye to the people, climbed into the wagon and rode to Asmann's house. This way, too, was always through woods and passed many farmhouses, some of which were very pretty. Along the way Uncle asked about this and that in Enger and told me that his wife had died on October 25. I would now see all his children, because his eldest daughter, who was married, was at home. When we were not far from Uncle's house, we saw his children running around in the road; they were impatiently waiting for the wagon. When we arrived his 3 boys stood around the wagon and shook hands with me; then his son-in-law came, and in front of his house stood his 3 daughters and Uncle's mother-in-law, whom he has with him. Then first of all we sat down in front of the fireplace to warm ourselves a bit and then went to eat. After the meal we all stayed sitting around the fireplace, and my uncle asked me about several things. The children were eager to talk with me, but I couldn't, since I knew only a little English.

Continuation of My Life Story

After a period of a year and more, I am beginning once again to put my experiences, my life and my actions onto paper. And this seems to me most appropriate on the day when I came into the world, that is, on the 17th of April.

Thursday, April 17, 1851

The sun appeared beautifully in the east and cast its lifegiving rays with golden shine over the fields of the earth, cheered all vegetation with its warmth and admonished man to go to his work. My first chore to do, which was my first one each morning, was to feed the horses. Then I opened the store and did what there was to do. Business went slowly [*indecipherable*] and there was nothing to do the entire day. Content with myself I lay down to rest in the evening and put myself in God's protection.

¹⁴ The Red Store at Sandy Run.

Friday, April 18

My uncle had decided to take his family to visit one of his relatives and therefore set out early in order to have time to get back by evening. He left David and William with me, and I was with them during the day. I was forsaken and alone in the morning, since no one came to buy anything, and to pass the time I thought over things in the flower garden. After dinner I soon had visitors, and it kept up the whole evening. Uncle came home between 5 and 6 o'clock, and I was happy, because I had been left so completely by myself, and the eyes that I so gladly see turned to me were out of my sight the whole day. Happiness returned to my heart. We passed the evening with joking, and many a jest was made.

Saturday, April 19

The sky was covered with clouds, and one could hear the rumble of distant thunder, but this soon disappeared, and only a few drops of rain fell. I prepared several eggs for Easter, because it's also the custom here to give Easter eggs. Towards noon Mr. Caughman came with his wife and small child to visit her father. All were pleased, because they hadn't been home in a long time. That evening I was to have a great joy and also sadness, because I received a letter from my parents, who are so dear to me and from whom I so like to hear. But every time I get news, my heart is heavy, and my grief breaks forth in tears, until it is gradually soothed. And so it was this evening also. How heavy my heart was when it thought of you dear ones in the dear and distant homeland. The letter told me nothing new, but still [indecipherable].¹⁵ With thoughts of you dearest ones I went to sleep, and I [indecipherable] I slept well.

Sunday, April 20

Easter was greeted by a beautiful and cheerful spring morning. The mockingbird was singing beautifully, and the grasshopper roused himself in the grass. After coffee I rode 4 miles to deliver a message. Returning from my short morning ride I busied myself reading until Mr. Caughman and family left for their home. They said good-bye and set out on their way to Lexington, 25 miles from our house. In the afternoon Uncle set out to visit his grandmother, who is sick. Louise, William and I stayed at home, where we passed the time with amusements until the others returned in the evening. Evening prayers were held early, and right after that I went to bed in order to get up early.

¹⁵ This page is especially difficult to read, with places where the pencil seems to have skipped or written only very lightly over the paper, possibly tear-soaked.

Monday, April 21

Nothing special happened today, and the day passed as usual. There was nothing to do in the morning or in the afternoon until 4 o'clock; then we were busy, and I went to bed tired in the evening.

Tuesday, April 22

The weather was a bit cold in the morning, and a light frost covered the ground, killing many a tender leaf. After the sun came up, the frost disappeared, and the higher the sun rose in the sky, the higher the temperature rose until it was very pleasant. A clear sky was over us, rarely darkened by a cloud. In the morning my uncle rode to his field, and I was in the store.

[page missing.]

... again yesterday, and the day passed without [my] having done anything.

Saturday, April 26

Since today was Saturday, my first duty was to get the mail ready, which went off to Louisville at 8 o'clock in order to return in the evening. The weather was cloudy in the morning, with occasional rain. But this soon disappeared, and the beautiful blue sky appeared to our eyes. Towards evening we were busy, and receiving the mail kept me occupied until I went to bed.

Sunday, April 27

Since this was the 4th Sunday, there were services in the Lutheran church and likewise in the Methodist church. After church I spent the time by myself until towards evening, when I played with my cousins and went to bed early.

Monday, April 28, to Monday, May 5

Peacefully and without change the week went by. Nothing special happened, and therefore my comments are short. On Friday my uncle went with my aunt, William and Henry to Lexington to visit Mr. Caughman, and they are not back yet. The weather was mostly pleasant, only interrupted by rain on Sunday.

Tuesday, May 6

The whole day we waited for Uncle and Aunt to arrive. There was much joking. Soon one of us would go out into the road, and then another, and with the yell, "Father is coming,"¹⁶ they would come back, but this wouldn't be true. Finally about 2 o'clock Uncle came, but without my aunt, and in Uncle's face we could read that something had happened. When he arrived, he told us that Aunt had gotten sick on Sunday and had a fever, which necessitated his leaving her behind. He had come to tell us about it and to take back some things for the aunt. Everything was made ready, so that he could go back again the next morning and stay there until she is well enough to be able to sit up. So we don't know yet when we will see them again, and we can expect their arrival every day.

Wednesday, May 7, to Tuesday, May 13

Nothing new happened during these days, and I lived a lonely life. On Sunday we received a letter from Uncle, in which he wrote that Aunt was somewhat better and that he would come one day this week to see how we were. The weather is changing to summer, and heat is spreading over us. Joking with Maria, the time flies, and without her the day would be so long for me. We talk a lot about Germany, about my parents, whom she would like to see. I've proposed that she go with me by clipper, and I think we will do that perhaps in a couple of years.

Wednesday, May 14¹⁷

¹⁶ This is in English in the manuscript.

¹⁷ The journal ends with the heading for the May 14 entry.

The *Lutheran Observer*, Dec. 16, 1853, carried the notice: "Married on Tues. evening, the 29th of Nov., at Sandy Run, S. C., by the Rev. J. B. Anthony, Mr. Frederick W. Muller of Charleston, to Miss Mary E. Assman, of the former place." Holcomb, *Marriage and Death Notices*, p. 108.

The inscription on Muller's grave marker in the cemetery of Sandy Run Lutheran Church is: In Memory of Our Father / Frederick Wm. Muller / Born in Enger, Westphalia, Germany / April 17, 1832 / Died at Sandy Run, S. C. / May 21, 1885.

THE COLLEGE OF CHARLESTON AND THE YEAR 1785

GEORGE C. ROGERS, JR.*

Three hundred years ago on October 18, 1685, Louis XIV of France revoked the Edict of Nantes, thus depriving all French Protestants of their civil and religious liberty. The French Huguenots, like a flock of birds suddenly startled by the shot of a gun, fluttered off across the North European landscape, some settling in Switzerland, a few in Hanover, others in Holland, and many in England. Ultimately almost 1,000 took refuge in Carolina where the Lords Proprietors had provided religious toleration. The Huguenots settled in Craven County just south of the Santee River. Coming at the same time were Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, even Quakers — those who had objected to Charles II's establishment of the Church of England along Anglican lines. These English Dissenters settled in Colleton County, south of Charleston. The Barbadians, who were principally Anglicans, had come from the West Indies for economic reasons and secured plantations along Goose Creek in Berkeley County. In order to mesh these diverse groups into one society the Commons House of Assembly passed the Church Act of 1706 which established the Church of England in Carolina and divided the province into ten parishes. The hope was to comprehend all. The French Huguenots were permitted to use the Book of Common Prayer as translated into French for use in the Channel Islands. In 1712 each parish was made the keeper of vital statistics, ordered to elect the overseers of the poor, and provided with a school. By 1721 the churchwardens were the managers of the elections. Henceforth the pathway to power ran through the parish world. The first South Carolina was forming. As Dr. Robert Weir has written, a great deal of "unity" and "harmony" could be perceived by mid-century.¹

Yet by the 1750s and the 1760s with the arrival in the upcountry of the Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania there were again inter-ethnic tensions. Churches and schools — those pre-eminently civilizing institutions — were needed in the upcountry. A college would provide the capstone to a system of education. Only the Charleston Free School had ever really provided a satisfactory educational experience. The well-to-do sent their sons to Philadelphia or to England.

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Dr. Rogers delivered this paper at the Annual Meeting of the Historical Society, February, 1985.

¹ Robert M. Weir, "The Harmony We Were Famous For: An Interpretation of Pre-Revolutionary South Carolina Politics," *William and Mary Quarterly* XXVI (1969): 473-501; Robert M. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina. A History* (Millwood, N. Y., 1983).