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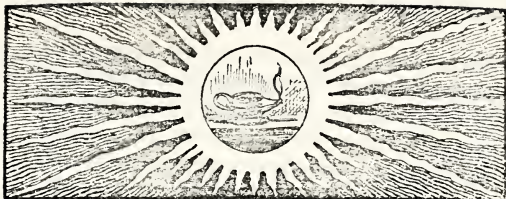
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CHAPTER VI.

REDEMPTIONERS OR INDENTURED SERVANTS NOT ALL GERMAN.—IRELAND, WALES, SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND CONTRIBUTED LARGE NUMBERS TO CARRY ON THE WORK OF COMMONWEALTH-BUILDING IN PENNSYLVANIA.

“Be this my home till some fair star
Stoops earthward and shall beckon me ;
For surely Godland lies not far
From these green heights and this great sea,
My friend, my lover, trend this way
Not far along lies Arcady.”



AN EPHRATA SYMBOL.

WHILE, of course, under the general title of Redemptioners, I have reference mainly to those of German birth, these people were composed of nearly every other nationality that contributed material to the upbuilding of the American commonwealths. Such being the case, and while, when we find reference to indentured servants and Redemptioners in many authors, the refer-

ence, where no direct distinction is made, is to Germans. I have deemed it quite germane to the subject to devote a few

paragraphs to those of other nationalities, to the Irish, who, after the Germans, were the most numerous, the English, the Scotch and the Welsh. There was no legal distinction between any of them prior to the registry law of 1727. The Germans only were required to take the oath of allegiance, that not being required of the others who were already subjects of the British crown.

Furthermore, in the early days of the history of Pennsylvania and the three Lower Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, many of the indentured servants came over as already such, having been either in the service of well-to-do masters at home, or, having been taken into such service there to supply the needed labor on the lands which their masters had already bought from the Proprietary. Once here, all the other conditions were applicable to them as to those from foreign countries. They received the same outfit upon the completion of their term of service, and were equally entitled to take up fifty acres of land at a nominal annual rental.

Such being the state of the case, the indentured servants, whatever their nationality, naturally fall into the same category and may be considered together. A further reason for so doing is found in the fact that those writers who have dealt with the general question, have given their attention almost exclusively to those who came from Germany, while the rest have barely received mention and in most cases have been passed by without any reference whatever.

So greatly was the value of colonists regarded by Penn, that when he prepared his frame of laws in England, in 1682, a section was given to the manner in which these persons should be registered, treated and otherwise cared for. Special advantages were offered to such as should

bring along servants. Both the master and the servant were entitled to fifty acres of land upon the conclusion of the latter's term of service, upon special conditions. The servant under the conditions imposed was not necessarily a menial. His standing might be as good as his master's and some were sent here to take charge of the property of owners who remained behind. William Penn himself sent over about a score of such indentured servants, the list of which is still extant.

The result was that during the first decade or two after Penn's acquisition of the Province, a large number of these people were brought over. Evidently, all who could bring servants did so. Either the arrivals were not all registered as the law provided, or else the registry books have been lost. James Claypole was appointed register in 1686 and a registry book in his handwriting is still extant, covering a period of about three years, which in a measure reveals the extent to which these indentured servants were brought into the Province at that time. A few extracts are here quoted from the book.

“Came in the ship Endeavour of London. George Thorp M^r Richard Hough, of Maxfield in Cheshire husbandman, (Servants) Fran. Hough, Jam: Sutton, Tho. Woodhouse, Mary Woodhouse.

“In ditto shipp: Fran: Stanfield & Grace his wife late of Garton in Cheshire Husbandman. (children) Jam: Mary, Sarah, Eliz: Grace (and) Hannah Stanfield. (Servants) Dan: Browne, Theo: Maxsey, Isa: Broohesby, Rob. Sidbotham, John Smith, Rob^t Bryan, W^m Rudway, Tho. Sidbotham.

“John Maddock, in ditto shipp. Servants, George Phillips Ralph Duckard.

“The Providence of Scarborough Rob^t Hopper M^r Grif-

fith Owen & his wife Sarah and their sone Rob^t & 2 daughters Sarah & Elenor & 7 servants named Thos. Armes, John Ball 4 years, Robert Lort for 8 years, Alexander Edwards; Jeane, Bridget & Eliza Watts 3 years.

“ Henry Baker & Margaret his wife & their Daughters Rachell, Rebecca, Phebey & Hester and Nathan & Samuel their sones. Mary Becket & 10 servts named John Slidell for 4 years, Hen: Slidell 4 ye^{rs}, James Yeates 5 ye^{rs}, Jno Hurst 4 ye^{rs}, Tho: ffisher 4 ye^{rs}, John Steadman 4 years, Thos. Candy for Joseph Feoror 4 ye^{rs}, Deborah Booth 4 yrs. Joshua Lert 4 years.

“ The Bristoll Merchant John Stephens Commander Arrived here the 10th of 9th Month 1685.

“ The passengers names are as followeth viz :

“ *Jasper Farmer, Senior, his Family* (names given).

“ Jasper Farmer Junior's family (names given).

“ *Their Servants are as followeth viz.:*

“ Ioone Daly, Philip Mayow and Helen his wife, John Mayow, John Whitlce, Nicholas Whitloe, George Fisher, Arthur Smith, Thomas Alferry, Henry Wells, Robert Wilkinson, Elizabeth Mayow, Martha Mayow, Sara Burke, Shebe Orevan, Andrew Walbridge.

“ In the Lion of Leverpoole.

“ Joseph Fisher & Elizabeth Fisher his wife late of Stillor-gin near Dublin in Ireland, Yeoman, born in Elton in Cheshire in old England. (Children) Moses, Joseph, Mary, and Marth Fisher.

Servants.	Time to Serve.	Payment in Money.	Acres of Land.
Edward Lancaster.....	4	£4.10	50
W. Robertson.....	4	—	50
Ed. Doyle.....	4	—	50
Ben: Cilft.....	4	—	50

Servants.	Time to Serve.	Payment in Money.	Acres of Land.
Tho: Tearewood.....	4	—	50
Robert Kilcarth.....	8	—	50
Peter Long.....	2	6.	50
Phill Packer.....	4	—	50
Wm. Conduit.....	4	3.	50
Mary Toole.....	4	3.	50
Elez: Johnson.....	4		50 ¹⁸⁰

REDEMPTIONERS IN DELAWARE.

The Duke of York made provision for the holding of indentured servants in his Colony of Delaware, in 1676. Under the law of September 22d of that year servants were not permitted to give or sell any commodity whatever during their term of service. All were compelled to work at their callings the whole day, with intervals for food and rest. Runaways could be seized and brought back. If cruelly treated by master or mistress, servants could lodge complaint, and if lamed or an eye struck out, they were to be at once freed and due recompense made. If, however, servants complained against their owners without cause, or were unable to prove their case, they were "enjoynd to serve three Months time extraordinary (Gratis) for every such ondue Complaint." No servants except slaves could be assigned over to other masters "by themselves, Executors or Administrators for above the Space of one year, unless for good reasons offered." Finally the law said, "All Servants who have served Dilligently; and faithfully to the benefit of their Masters or Dames five or Seaven yeares, shall not be Sent empty away, and if any have proved unfaithful or negligent in their Service, notwithstanding the good usage of their Masters,

¹⁸⁰ *Penna. Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. VIII., pp. 328-335.

This Indenture MADE the *Thirteenth* Day of *May* in the Year of our Lord one thousand, seven hundred and *eighty* **BETWEEN** *Alva & George of Brougham in the County of Arthur Taylor* by Consent of his *Wife* of the one Part, and *John Dechert of Sullybachtel* of the other Part, **WITNESSETH**, that the said *Alva & George* doth hereby covenant, promise and grant, to and with the said *John Dechert* — *his* — Executors, Administrators and Assigns from the Date hereof until the first and next Arrival at *Philadelphia* — in America, and after for and during the Term of *Three* — Years to serve in such Service and Employment as the said *John Dechert* or his Assigns shall there employ *him* according to the Custom of the Country in the like Kind. In Consideration whereof the said *Alva & George* doth hereby covenant and grant to and with the said *John Dechert* to pay for *his* Passage, and to find allow *him* Meat, Drink, Apparel and Lodging, with other Necessaries, during the said Term; and at the End of the said Term to pay unto *him* the usual Allowance, according to the Custom of the Country in the like Kind. IN WITNESS whereof the Parties above-mentioned to these Indentures have interchangeably put their Hands and Seals, the Day and Year first above written.

Signed, Sealed, and Delivered,
in the Presence of

Alva & George
John Wier

Alex Beard

John Dukey

they shall not be dismissed till they have made satisfaction according to the Judgment of the Constable and Overseers of the parish where they dwell." ¹³¹

IRISH REDEMPTIONERS.

Almost every writer who has dealt with the Provincial period of our history has had something to say about this servant slavery among the German immigrants, and yet it is rare to find allusions to the Irish servants who either came voluntarily or were sent over, who were also disposed of in precisely the same way, and who were as eminently deserving of the name of "Redemptioners" as any passengers that ever came from the Rhine country. The only distinction I have been able to find between the German and Irish trade is that those who came from the German provinces, while for the most part poor and needy, were nevertheless honest peasants and handicraftsmen, who were not expatriated for any crimes, but who voluntarily forsook their homes to better themselves in Pennsylvania; while, on the other hand, those who came from Ireland did but rarely come of their own free will, were not honorable and industrious members of the body politic, but on the contrary, were largely composed of the criminal classes whom it was deemed desirable to get out of the country, and who were hurried on ship-board by any and every expedient that would accomplish that purpose.

The fact that they were called "Servants" by those who shipped them here, and by those who purchased or hired them, instead of "Redemptioners," as in the case of the Germans, has no significance whatever. The process in both cases was precisely alike. The further fact that fewer of these "Servants" came from Ireland than Ger-

¹³¹ *Duke of York's Book of Laws, 1676-1682, pp. 37-38.*

many, and the additional one that they were already citizens of Great Britain and, therefore, not so likely to attract attention, has apparently kept their coming and their conditional servitude out of general sight.

This sending of jailbirds and promiscuous malefactors was not a new idea when put into practice in Pennsylvania.

Irish indentured servants had the reputation of being incorrigible runaways.¹³² Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* in almost every issue for many years contained advertisements about runaway servants.

REDEMPTIONERS IN VIRGINIA.

“Conditional servitude under indentures or covenants, had from the first existed in Virginia. The servant stood to his master in the relation of a debtor, bound to discharge the costs of emigration by the entire employment of his powers for the benefit of his creditor. Oppression early ensued: men who had been transported into Virginia at an expense of eight or ten pounds, were sometimes sold for forty, fifty, or even threescore pounds. The supply of white servants became a regular business; and a class of men, nick-named ‘spirits,’ used to delude young persons, servants and idlers, into embarking for America, as to a land of spontaneous plenty. White servants came to be a usual article of traffic. They were sold in England to be transported, and in Virginia were resold to the highest bidder; like negroes, they were to be purchased on ship-board, as men buy horses at a fair. In 1672, the average price in the colonies, where five years of service were due, was about ten pounds; while a negro was worth twenty or twenty-five pounds. So usual was this manner of dealing in Englishmen, that not the Scots only, who were taken

¹³² JOHN RUSSELL YOUNG'S *Memorial History of Philadelphia*.

on the battlefield of Dunbar, were sent into involuntary servitude in New England, but the royalist prisoners of the battle of Worcester; and the leaders in the insurrection of Penruddoc, in spite of the remonstrances of Haselrig and Henry Vane, were shipped to America. At the corresponding period, in Ireland the crowded exportation of Irish Catholics was a frequent event, and was attended by aggravations hardly inferior to the atrocities of the African slave trade. In 1685, when nearly a thousand of the prisoners, condemned for participating in the insurrection of Monmouth, were sentenced to transportation, men of influence at court, with rival importunity, scrambled for the convicted insurgents as a merchantable commodity.”¹³³

It is a curious fact that during the administration of Governor Thomas, 1740-1747, the enlisting of indentured or bought servants—Redemptioners—as soldiers, was permitted to be put into execution, England being then at war with Spain. It was an innovation and injurious to many. John Wright, an old and most worthy Lancaster county magistrate and member of the Assembly having denounced the practice, was dismissed from his office. Proud says: “The number of bought and indentured servants who were thus taken from their masters, as appears by the printed votes in the Assembly, were about 276, whose masters were compensated by the Assembly for their loss sustained thereby, to the amount of about £2,588.”¹³⁴

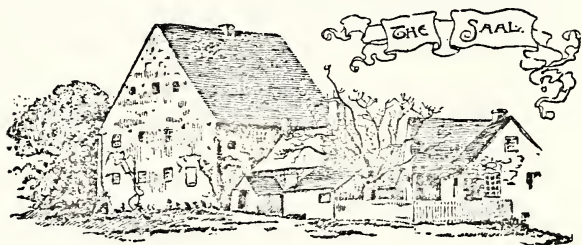
IN IRELAND ALSO.

While it appears there were agents in England and Ireland engaged in the business of hunting up immigrants for

¹³³ BANCROFT'S *History of the United States*. Boston Ed., 10 vols. Vol. I., pp. 175-176.

¹³⁴ PROUD'S *History of Pennsylvania*, Vol. II., p. 220.

sale and service in Pennsylvania, and that these dealers in human poverty were as base and unscrupulous as the Newlanders who zigzagged across Germany on the same mission, it is nevertheless an established fact that it was an authorized business, recognized by law as well as sanctioned by custom, and that a number of honorable men, of excellent standing in their respective communities on both sides of the water were engaged in this servant traffic, for servants these people were called and not redemptioners.



ONE OF THE CLOISTER BUILDINGS AT EPHRATA.

Mr. Benjamin Marshall was a Philadelphia merchant, shipper and importer. His father was the celebrated diarist Christopher Marshall, of Revolutionary memory, a born Irishman, but a true and unswerving supporter of the patriot cause. I present several letters written by Benjamin Marshall to his business correspondents in Ireland, which throw much light on this part of my subject and are of genuine historical value. The first one is as follows :

“ Philadelphia, November 9, 1765.

“ To Barney Egan :

“ Should thee have a mind (to send) a Vessel this Way, about 100 Men and Boys Servants with as many passengers as could be got, so as to be here by the Middle

or Latter end of May, I think might answer well. Stout, able Laboring men & Tradesmen out of the Country with Young Boys & Lads answers best. Women are so troublesome (that) it would be best to send few or none, as there is often so many Drawbacks on them. This I mention should thee have any intention of sending a Vessel this way for any thing."

Mr. Marshall was seemingly desirous that a ship-load of Irish Servants should be consigned to his house in the spring of 1766; so to make sure of it he wrote another letter on the same day to another Irish correspondent as follows:

"Philadelphia, November 9, 1765.

"To Thomas Murphy:

"The chief articles that answer here from Ireland which can be brought are Linnens, (which ought to go to Liverpool to receive the Bounty) Beef, Butter, Men, Women & Boys Servants the less Women the better as they are very troublesome, and the best time for Servants is about the month of May."

A year later Mr. Marshall again writes to the correspondent first named, the following letter:

"Philadelphia, June 7th, 1766.

"To Barney Egan, Esq.:

"Irish servants will be very dull such numbers have already arrived from Different parts & many more expected, that I believe it will be over done, especially as several Dutch vessels are expected here, which will always command the Market. Captain Power I believe has near sold all his, he being pretty early."¹³⁵

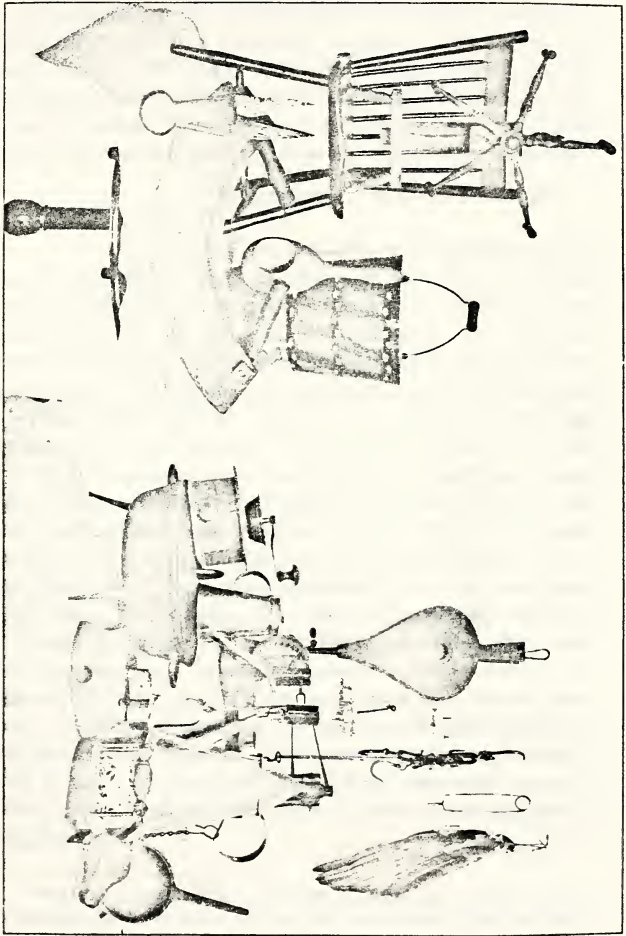
¹³⁵ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XX., pp. 210-212.

The fact is, this traffic was profitable all around. We have seen how the agent made it pay in securing the immigrants; how the ship masters coined money out of it in a number of ways, most of which were disreputable, and, finally, how even respectable merchants on this side of the water were prompt to take a hand in disposing of these cargoes of human beings for the money that was in the business: for when has money failed to carry the day?

I have found in a very long letter written in October, 1725, by Robert Parke, from Chester township in Delaware county, to Mary Valentine, in Ireland, the following interesting passage, which throws much light on the subject of indentured servants: the writer recommended that his old friend might indenture some of his children if he had not sufficient means to pay all the passage money.

“I desire thee may tell my old friend Samuel Thornton that he could give so much Credit to my words & find no Iffs nor ands in my Letter that in Plain terms he could not do better than Come here, for both his & his wife’s trade are very good here, the best way for him to do is to pay what money he Can Conveniently Spare at that Side & Engage himself to Pay the rest at this side & when he Comes here if he Can get no friend to lay down the money for him, when it Comes to the worst, he may hire out 2 or 3 Children & I wod have him Cloath his family as well as his Small Ability will allow, thee may tell him what things are proper to bring with him both for his Sea Store & for his Use in this Country. I wod have him Procure 3 or 4 Lusty Servants & Agree to pay their passage at this Side he might sell 2 & pay the others passage with the money. * * * ” 136

¹³⁶ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. V., p. 357.



DOMESTIC UTENSILS.

ROCKING MEAT CHOPPER, SHEEP SHEARS, ETC.

A KITCHEN OUTFIT.

The following letters from the then British Consul in Philadelphia, are of exceeding interest. They show not only that this traffic was still active at the time they were written, but give actual figures indicating that while the arrival of German Redemptioners had greatly declined, those from Ireland were pouring in more numerous than ever.

“ Philadelphia, September 22, 1789.

“ To the Duke of Leeds :

“ * * * Few indentured servants have arrived since the Peace 'till the present year,—In the course of which many hundreds have arrived in the Delaware from Ireland alone and more are expected. Some have been imported into Maryland but not in so great a proportion as into Pennsylvania. The trade is a lucrative one and will be pursued eagerly unless proper obstacles are thrown in the way which I humbly presume may be done upon principles perfectly consistent with the (English) constitution; having in view so humane a purpose as the providing for the convenience and comfort of the unwary emigrants so often seduced from their country by the force of artful and false suggestions. * * * They pass the term of their servitude and when that expires they for the most part continue laborers for years in the neighborhood where they have served, having no immediate means to enable them to settle lands¹³⁷ or to enable them to migrate to a distant country; the mere temporary loss of labor of this description of people is an object of great consequence to any country, but when it is considered that few of them ever return to their native land, the importance of their loss is immensely aggravated.

“ P. Bond.”

¹³⁷This is a mistake; they could take up fifty acres of land, as has already been stated, at a rent of one cent per acre, annually, if they so desired.

“ Philadelphia, November 10, 1789.

“ To the Duke of Leeds :

“ * * * The migration hither since the Peace, my Lord, have been much greater from Ireland than from all other parts of Europe. Of 25,716 passengers (Redemptioners and Servants) imported into Pennsylvania since the Peace, 1,893 only were Germans, the rest consisting of Irish and some few Scotch. Of these (2,176) imported during the present year, 114 only were Germans. An almost total stop has been lately put to the migration hither from the Palatinate and other parts of Germany, so that the few who now come hither from that country, get into Holland by stealth and embark at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and these are very ordinary people. * * * As to the condition and treatment of these people, many were crowded into small vessels destitute of proper room and accommodations, and abridged of the proper allowance of food. They suffered greatly and contagious diseases were often introduced into the Province by them. The terms, too, of paying the passage money were frequently departed from : passengers who embarked as Redemptioners were hurried from on ship board before the limited time for their redemption was expired, and before their friends could have notice of their arrival to interpose their relief and rescue them from servitude.”¹³⁸

Phenias Bond was the British Consul at Philadelphia during 1787-1788 and 1789. He was born in Philadelphia in 1749 and was the son of Dr. Phineas Bond and Wilhelmina Moore, and a nephew of the distinguished Dr. Thomas Bond, of the University of Pennsylvania. His royalistic tendencies during the Revolution resulted in his

¹³⁸ *Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1896, Vol. I., pp. 619-620.*

arrest as a public enemy, but he was subsequently released on parole. From his private and public stations he was certainly acquainted with the situation.¹³⁹

James Logan did not look with a kindly eye on the arrival of any nationality save Englishmen. This dislike seems to have extended to the Irish, albeit he himself was Irish born. In the Logan MSS are found frequent allusions expressive of this frame of mind. In 1725 he says: "There are so many as one hundred thousand acres of land, possessed by persons, (including Germans), who resolutely set down and improved it without any right to it," and he is much at a loss



MYSTIC SEAL OF THE EPHRATA
BRETHRRN.

to determine how to dispossess them. In 1729 he expresses himself as glad to find that Parliament is about to take measures to prevent the too free immigration to this country. In that year the twenty-shilling tax on every servant arriving was laid but even that was evaded by the captain of a ship arriving from Dublin, who landed one hundred convicts and papists at Burlington, thus escaping the tax. It looks, he says, as if Ireland is to send all her inhabitants hither, for last week not less than six ships arrived, and every day two or three arrive also. The common fear is, that if they continue to come, they will make themselves proprietors of the province. It is strange, he says, that they thus crowd where they are not wanted.

¹³⁹ I am indebted to S. M. Sener, Esq., for having drawn my attention to the above valuable letters.

But, besides, convicts are imported thither.¹⁴⁰ The Indians themselves were alarmed at the swarms of strangers, and he was afraid of a breach between them, for the Irish were very rough to them.

In 1730 he returns to the same subject and complains of the Scotch-Irish, "who were acting in a very disorderly manner and possessing themselves of Conestoga Manor, fifteen thousand acres, being the best land in Lancaster county. In doing this by force, they alleged that it was against the laws of God and nature, that so much land should be idle, while so many Christians wanted it to labor on, and to raise their bread."¹⁴¹

There can be no doubt that some of these German and Irish immigrants gave the Proprietary a great deal of trouble. They availed themselves of all the advantages they were able to secure and very often concerned themselves very little whether they complied with the laws of the Province or not. Secretary Logan more than once refers to this matter in his correspondence. In a letter to John Penn, dated November 25, 1727, he says:

"We have many thousands of foreigners, mostly Palatines, so called, already in y^e Countrey, of whom nearly 1,500 came in this last summer; many of them are a surley people, divers Papists amongst them, & y^e men generally well arm'd. We have from the North of Ireland, great numbers yearly, 8 or 9 Ships this last ffall discharged at Newcastle. Both these sorts sitt frequently down on any spott of vacant Land they can find, without asking questions; the last Palatines say there will be

¹⁴⁰ One Augustus Gun, of Cork, advertised in the Philadelphia papers that he had powers from the Mayor of Cork, for many years to procure servants for America. (RUPP'S *History of Berks and Lebanon Counties*, p. 115.)

¹⁴¹ Quoted by RUPP in his *History of Berks and Lebanon Counties*, pp. 114-115.

twice the number next year, & ye Irish say y^e same of their People; last week one of these latter (y^e Irish) applied to me, in the name of 400, as he said, who depended all on me, for directions where they should settle. They say the Proprietor invited People to come & settle his Countrey, that they are come for that end, & must live; both they and the Palatines pretend they would buy, but not one in twenty has anything to pay with."¹⁴²

In 1729, John, Thomas and Richard Penn wrote to Logan as follows concerning this vexed question:

"As to the Palatines, you have often taken notice of to us, wee apprehend have Lately arrived in greater Quantities than may be consistent with the welfare of the Countrey, and therefore, applied ourselves to our Councill to find a proper way to prevent it, the result of which was, that an act of assembly should be got or endeavoured at, and sent us over immediately, when we would take sufficient Care to get it approved by the King."¹⁴³ With this resolution we acquainted the Govenour, by Cap: Stringfellow, to Maryland, the 25th Feb^r, a Duplicate of which we have since sent by another shipp, both w^{ch} times we also enclos'd Letters for thee; but as to any other people coming over who are the subjects of the British Crown, we can't Conceive it anyways practicable to prohibit it: but supposing they are natives of Ireland & Roman Catholicks, they ought not to settle till they have taken the proper Oaths to the King, & Promis'd Obedience to the Laws of the Country, and, indeed, we Can't Conceive it unreasonable that if they are Inclinable to settle, **THEY SHOULD BE OBLIG'D TO SETTLE, EITHER BACKWARDS TO**

¹⁴² *Pennsylvania Archives*: Second Series, Vol. VII., pp. 96-97.

¹⁴³ All laws passed by the Provincial Assembly were subject to the approval of the Crown. Frequently action on them was delayed for long periods, and sometimes they were not acted on at all.

This *INDENTURE* Witnesseth that

John Spelman a Seaman

doth Voluntarily put himself Servant to *Hugh Lyle*
Master of the Ship *Harmony*

to serve the said *Hugh Lyle*
and his Assigns, for and during the full Space, Time and Term
of *three 1/2* Years from the first Day of the said *John's*
arrival in *Baltimore* in the United States of AMERICA,
during which Time or Term the said Master or his Assigns shall
and will find and supply the said *John* with sufficient
Meat, Drink, Apparel, Lodging and all other necessaries befitting
such a Servant; and at the end and expiration of said Term, the
said *John* to be made Free, and receive

according to the Custom of the Country. Provided nevertheless,
and these Presents are on this Condition, that if the said *John*
shall pay the said *Hugh Lyle*

or his Assigns *ten Pounds British* in *twenty one* Days after
his arrival he shall be Free, and the above Indenture and every
Clause therein, absolutely Void and of no Effect. In Witness
whereof the said Parties have hereunto interchangeably put their
Hands and Seals the *16th* Day of *Feb^r* in the
Year of our Lord, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty
four in the Presence of the Right
Worshipful *Richard Pettit Esq^r* Mayor of the City of *Cork*

Richard Pettit *John Spelman*
Richard Pettit *Mark Lyle*

A REDEMPTIONER'S CERTIFICATE.

SASQUEHANNAH OR NORTH IN Y^e COUNTRY BEYOND THE OTHER settlements, as we had mentioned before in relation to the Palatines; but we must desire Care may be taken that they are not suffered to settle towards Maryland, on any account.”¹⁴⁴

Just as the Ubii, a German tribe was moved to the banks of the Rhine by the Romans, that they might serve as a guard and outpost against invaders,¹⁴⁵ so did the Government of Penn also try to settle them on the frontiers as a guard against the incursions of the Red men.

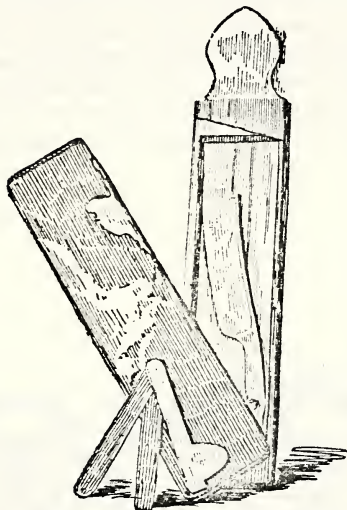
Further light is thrown on this interesting question by an original manuscript in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is “A List of Serv^{ts} Indented on Board the Pennsylvania Packet Capt. Peter Osborne for Philadelphia the 15th day of March, 1775. Coming from a British port, it is of course not mentioned by Rupp nor in Volume XVII. of the second series of State Archives. It gives a list of thirty-seven names of tradesmen, evidently all English, Scotch or Irish, with the amount due the ship owner and the sums for which they were sold, as well as the names of the buyers. This list is too long to be given here, but we will quote a few items :

Benj. Boswell, Baker,	Due £21.4	Sold for £18.
John Haynes, Hair Dresser,	“ 22.4	“ “ 20.
John Thomas, Smith,	“ 26.4	“ “ 20.
William Avery, Taylor,	“ 21.4	“ “ 20.
W ^m Edwards, Painter,	“ 36.4	“ “ 20.
W ^m Chase, Cordwainer,	“ 23.4	“ “ 19.
James Vanlone, Watchfinisher,	“ 17.5	“ “ 21.
W ^m Longwood, Groom,	“ 23.4	“ “ 20.
Geo. Warren, Labourer,	“ 14.7	“ “ 24.
John Longan, Husbandman,	“ 19.5	“ “ 19.
W ^m Mitchell, Stone Mason,	“ 21.4	“ “ 20.

¹⁴⁴ *Pennsylvania Archives*: Second Series, Vol. VII., pp. 131-132.

¹⁴⁵ TACITUS, *Germania*, C. 28.

We here get a glimpse at the sums these servants were sold for, and find that in a majority of cases the amount was less than the cost incurred by their passage across the ocean.

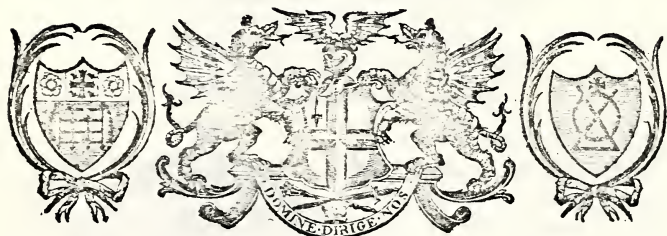


RAZOR CASE, RAZOR AND LANCET.

Just how this traffic was profitable to the ship-master or the broker, is not evident from the meager revelations furnished by the paper itself. The explanation probably is that there was a large profit on the extra charges always set against each immigrant, and that a reduction of a few pounds could well be made on each one sold and still leave a handsome surplus on the investment. From other sources we learn that when a passenger died, leaving no

relative behind to look after his possessions, his chest—and a great oaken chest was the almost invariable accompaniment of the German immigrant—was seized by the ship-master and all its contents appropriated. Even when young children were left by the deceased, their rights were often ignored and whatever of value there may have been was confiscated in the rough, sailor-like fashion of the times, without the slightest regard for the rights of these unprotected and helpless ones. The heart often sinks at the recital of these inhuman proceedings practiced because there were none to protest or defend.

It deserves to be stated that many who came here and were well to do, bringing their servants along, often lost the standing in the community they at first held. They were unable to maintain their old social standing against the democratic spirit which even then prevailed, and in many instances their humble servitors, the Redemptioners, taught to labor in the stern school of adversity, prospered, and in the second and third generations, by their thrift and industry, took the places once held by their old masters.



ARMS OF CITY OF LONDON.



STREET SCENE IN OLD GERMANTOWN.

CHAPTER VII.

CHRISTOPHER SAUR'S NOTABLE LETTERS TO GOVERNOR MORRIS, PLEADING FOR LEGISLATION LOOKING TO THE BETTER PROTECTION OF GERMAN IMMIGRANTS IN GENERAL AND THE GERMAN REDEMPTIONERS IN PARTICULAR.

“ They, wandering here, made barren forests bloom,
And the new soil a happier robe assume :
They planned no schemes that virtue disapproves.
They robbed no Indian of his native groves,
But, just to all, beheld their tribes increase,
Did what they could to bind the world in peace,
And, far retreating from a selfish band,
Bade Freedom flourish in this foreign land.”



SEAL OF WILLIAM PENN.

CHRISTOPHER SAUR did not confine his efforts for rendering aid to his countrymen to the columns of his wide-awake newspaper. Nor did he confine his energy and activity to words alone. He went among the newly arrived Redemptioners and rendered whatever material assistance was in his power. In certain cases he gave money to relieve their necessities; in others he

saw that they were cared for when such care was required, and in still others, the sick and starving wretches were taken to his own home and those of his friends to be cared for and nursed back to health there. If they died, he saw that they received Christian burial.

But, while ever on the alert to render assistance of this practical kind, he was at work in still other ways, his efforts all being directed towards the end so near his loyal German nature. His name will always be revered by Pennsylvania-Germans for his unselfish work in the interest of his countrymen, and the two letters in their behalf, addressed to Governor Morris, alone constitute a monument to his memory as enduring as brass or the pyramids of Egypt. They are here given in grateful memory of his excellent service in the cause of humanity.

CHRISTOPHER SAUR'S FIRST LETTER TO GOVERNOR
MORRIS ON THE TRIALS AND WRONGS OF
THE EARLY GERMAN IMMIGRANTS.

“Germantown, Pa., March 15th, 1755.

“Honored and Beloved Sir:—

“Confidence in your wisdom and clemency made me so free as to write this letter to you. I would not have it that anybody should know of these private lines, otherwise it would have become me to get a hand able to write in a proper manner and style to a person as your station requireth.

“It is now thirty years since I came to this Province, out of a country where no liberty of conscience was, nor humanity reigned in the house of my then country lord, and where all the people are owned with their bodies to the lord there, and are obliged to work for him six days in every week, viz.: three days with a horse, and three days with a hoe,

shovel or spade; or if he cannot come himself, he must send somebody in his place. And when I came to this Province and found everything to the contrary from where I came from, I wrote largely to all my friends and acquaintances of the civil and religious liberty, privileges, etc. and of the goodness I have heard and seen, and my letters were printed and reprinted and provoked many a thousand people to come to this Province, and many thanked the Lord for it, and desired their friends also to come here.

“Some years the price was five pistoles per head freight, and the merchants and the captains crowded for passengers, finding more profit by passengers than by goods, etc.

“But the love for great gain caused Steadman to lodge the poor passengers like herrings, and as too many had not room between decks, he kept abundance of them upon deck; and sailing to the *Southward*, where the people were at once out of their climate, and for the want of water and room, became sick and died very fast, in such a manner that in one year no less than two thousand were buried in the seas and in Philadelphia. Steadman at that time bought a license in Holland that no captain or merchant could load any as long as he had not two thousand loaded. This murderous trade made my heart ache, especially, when I heard that there was more profit by their death than by carrying them alive. I thought of my provoking letters being partly the cause of so many people's deaths. I wrote to the magistrate at Rotterdam, and immediately the “*Monopolium*” was taken from John Steadman.

“Our Legislature was also petitioned, and a law was made as good as it is, but was never executed. Mr. Spofford, an old, poor captain, was made overseer for the

vessels that came loaded with passengers, whose salary came to from \$200 to \$300 a year, for concealing the fact that sometimes the poor people had but twelve inches place and not half bread nor water. Spofford died and our Assembly chose one Mr. Trotter who left every ship slip, although he knew that a great many people had no room at all, except in the long boat, where every man perished. There were so many complaints that many in Philadelphia and almost all in Germantown signed a petition that our Assembly might give that office to one Thomas Say, an English merchant, at Philadelphia, of whom we have the confidence that he would take no bribe for concealing what the poor people suffered; or if they will not turn Mr. Trotter out of office, to give him as assistant one Daniel Mackinett, a shopkeeper in Philadelphia, who speaks Dutch and English, who might speak with the people in their language, but in vain, except they have done what I know not.

“Among other grievances the Germans suffer is one viz: that the ignorant Germans agree fairly with merchants at Holland for seven pistoles and a half¹⁴⁶; when they come to Philadelphia the merchants make them pay what they please, and take at least nine pistoles. The poor people on board are prisoners. They durst not go ashore, or have their chests delivered, except they allow in a bond or pay what they owe not; and when they go into the country, they loudly complain there, that no justice is to be had for poor strangers. They show their agreements, wherein is fairly mentioned that they are to pay seven pistoles and a half to Isaac and Zacharay Hoke, at Rotterdam, or their order at Philadelphia, etc. This is so much practiced,

¹⁴⁶ SAUR here means the price for carrying immigrants from Rotterdam to Philadelphia.

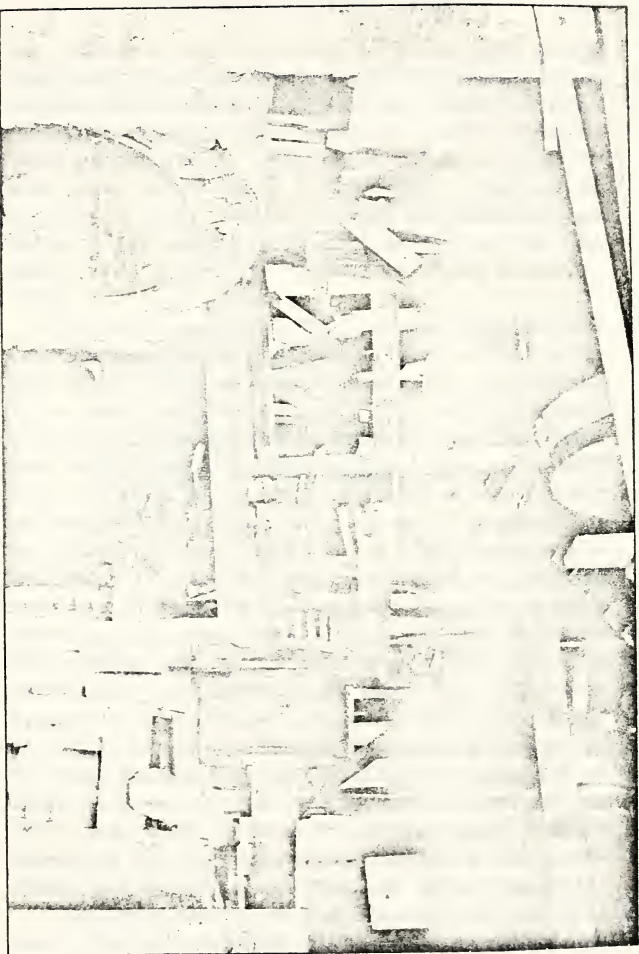
that of at least 2,000 or 3,000 pounds in each year the country is wronged. It was much desired that among wholesome laws, such a one may be made that when vessels arrive, a commissioner might be appointed to inspect their and agreement and judge if $7\frac{1}{2}$ pistoles make not seven and a half. Some of the Assemblymen were asked whether there was no remedy? They answered, 'The law is such that what is above forty shillings must be decided at court, and every one must make his own cause appear

Francis Daniel Pastorius.

good and stand a trial.' A very poor comfort for two or three thousand wronged people, to live at the discretion of their merchants. They so long to go ashore, and fill once their belly, that they submit and pay what is demanded; and some are sighing, some are cursing, and some believe that their case differs very little from such as fall into the hands of highwaymen who present a pistol upon their breast and are desired to give whatever the highwaymen pleaseth; and who can hinder them thinking so? I, myself, thought a commission could be ordered in only such cases, but I observed that our assembly has more a mind to prevent the importation of such passengers than to do justice to them; and seeing that your honor is not of the same mind, and intends to alter the said bill, I find myself obliged to let your Honor know the main points, without which nothing will be done to the purpose.

"I was surprised to see the title of the bill, which, in my opinion, is not the will of the crown, nor of the proprietors; neither is it the will of the Lord, who gives an open way that the poor and distressed, the afflicted, and any people

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY.



A. F. SACHS, PHOTO.

PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN ENTERPRISE.

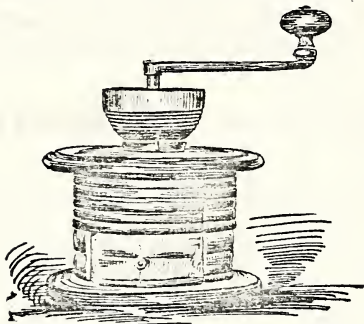
INTERIOR OF AN OLD BORING-MILL ON THE TULPEHOCHEN. HERE RIFLE BARRELS WERE MADE DURING THE REVOLUTION.

may come to a place where there is room for them ; and if there is no room for any more, there is land enough in our neighborhood, as there are eight or nine counties of Dutch (German) people in Virginia, where many out of Pennsylvania are removed to. Methinks it will be proper to let them come, and let justice be done them. The order of the Lord is such : ‘ Defend the poor and fatherless ; do justice to the afflicted and needy, deliver the poor and needy, and rid them out of the land of the wicked.’—Ps. 82.

“ Beloved sir, you are certainly a servant of the Lord our God, and I do believe you are willing to do what lies in your power ; but I am ready to think, that as you left the bill to your councillors, you will not be so fully informed of the worst of the grievances, as one of them has a great share of the interest. If these are not looked particularly into, that which is the most complained of viz : that the captains often hurry them away without an agreement, or the agreement is not signed, or, if a fair agreement is written, signed or sealed, it will not be performed, and they must pay whatever they please ; and when the people’s chests are put in stores until they go and fetch money by their friends, and pay for what they agreed upon, and much more, and demand their chest, they will find it opened and plundered of part or all ; or the chest is not at all to be found wherefore they have paid, and no justice for them, because they have no English tongue, and no money to go to law with such as they are ; and that we have no such an officer as will, or can speak with the people but will rather take pay for concealing their grievances—and who will speak to such an one, as it stands ?

“ The law is, that ‘ a man may get security as good as he can.’ But when merchants BIND some other people to-

gether, whose families were obliged to die, and who are famished for want, and as a prisoner at the vessel is retained and forced to bind himself—one for two or three, who are greatly indebted and who, perhaps, pays his own debt while the others can't—he is freed to go out of the



EARLY COFFEE MILL.

country, and will go rather than go to prison; and if poor widows are bound for others much in debt, who will marry such a one? Must she not go sorrowful most of her lifetime?

“Formerly, our Assembly has bought a house on an island in the river Delaware, where healthy

people will soon become sick. This house might do very well in contagious distempers, but if a place were allowed on a healthy, dry ground—where, by a collection, the Germans might build a house, with convenient places, and stoves for winter, etc.; it would be better for the people in common sickness where their friends might attend them and take care of them. They would do better than to perish under the merciless hands of these merchants; for life is sweet.

“Beloved sir, I am old and infirm, bending with my staff to the grave, and will be gone by and by, and hope that your Honor will not take it amiss to have recommended to you the helpless. We beg and desire in our prayers that the Lord may protect you from all evil, and from all encroachments, and if we do the like unto them that are in



poor condition and danger, we may expect the Lord will do so to us accordingly; but, if we do to the contrary, how can we expect the Lord's protection over us? For He promises to measure to us as we do measure.

“I conclude with a hearty desire that the Lord will give your Honor wisdom and patience, that your administration may be blessed, and in His time give you the reward of a good, true and faithful servant, and I remain your humble servant,

1652380

“Christoph Saur,
“Printer in Germantown.”

For some reason, Governor Morris, who was on bad terms with the House, did not regard the proposed bill favorably although he had recommended such a measure himself in a message to the House on December 12th of the previous year.¹⁴⁷ This angered the Assembly who sent him a sharp message on May 15, 1755, part of which is here given. “* * * The greivous Calamities we were then threatened with, the melancholy Spectacle of the Distress of so many of our Fellow Creatures perishing for Want of Change of Apparel, Room, and other necessaries on board their Ships, and after being landed among Us the extreme Danger of the Benevolent and the Charitable exposed them to in approaching those unhappy Sufferers, together with the Governor's own Recommendation, gave Us Reason to hope that he might be at Liberty and that his own Inclinations would have induced him to have passed such a Bill as might prevent the like for the future, but we are under the greatest Concern to find Ourselves disappointed in these our reasonable Expectations.

¹⁴⁷*Colonial Records*, Vol. VI., p. 190.

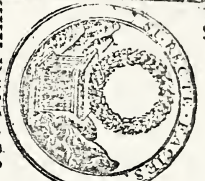
“By our Charters and the Laws of this Province the whole Legislative Power is vested in the Governor and the Representatives of the People; and as we know of no other Negative upon our Bills but what the Governor himself has, we could wish he had been pleased to exercise his own Judgment upon this our Bill without referring the Consideration of it to a Committee of his Council most of them Such, as We are informed, *who are or have lately been concerned in the Importations, the Abuses of which this bill was designed to regulate and redress.*

“The German Importations were at first and for a considerable Time of such as were Families of Substance and industrious, sober, People, who constantly brought with them their Chests and Apparel and other Necessaries for so long a voyage. But these we apprehend have for some time past been shipped on board other vessels in order to leave more Room for crowding their unhappy Passengers in greater Numbers, and to secure the Freights of such as might perish during the voyage, which experience has convinced us must be the Case of very many where such Numbers (as have been lately imported in each Vessel) are crowded together without Change of Raiment or any other Means of Keeping themselves sweet and clean. But this Provision the Governor has been pleased to throw out of our Bill; and yet we think it so essentially necessary that the Want of it must necessarily poison the Air those unhappy Passengers breathe on Shipboard, and spread it wherever they land to infect the Country which receives them, especially as the Governor has likewise altered the Provision We had made by the Advice of the Physicians for accommodating them with more Room and Air upon their Arrival here.

“We have reason to believe that the Importations of

NO. *THIRTY DOLLARS.*

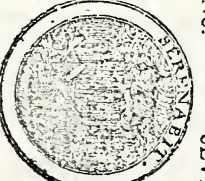
THIS BILL entitles the Bearer to receive THIRTY Spanish milled DOLLARS or the Value thereof in Gold or Silver according to a Resolution passed by Congress, at Yorktown, 11th April, 1778.



SEVENTY SEVEN
CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

NO. *SEVEN DOLLARS.*


THIS Bill entitles the Bearer to receive SEVEN SPANISH milled DOLLARS, or the Value thereof in Gold or Silver according to a Resolution passed by CONGRESS at YORK-TOWN, 11th April, 1778.



SEVENTY SEVEN
CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

THIS Bill entitles the Bearer to receive TWENTY SPANISH milled DOLLARS, or the Value thereof in Gold or Silver, according to a Resolution passed by Congress, at Yorktown, 11th April, 1778.


XX DOLLARS.



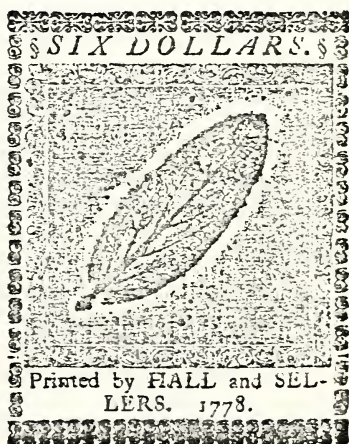
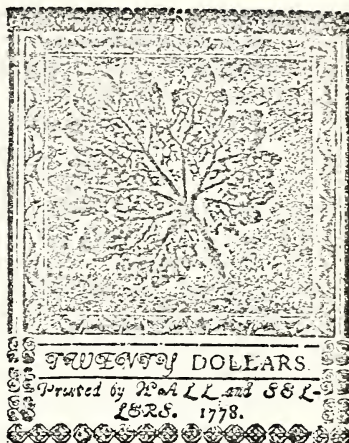
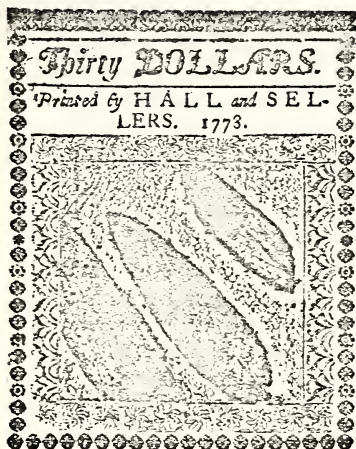
SEVENTY SEVEN
CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

NO. *SIX DOLLARS.*

THIS Bill entitles the Bearer to receive SIX SPANISH milled DOLLARS, or the Value thereof in Gold or Silver, according to a Resolution passed by CONGRESS, at Yorktown, 11th April, 1778.



SEVENTY SEVEN
CONTINENTAL CONGRESS



Germans have been for some Time composed of a great Mixture of the Refuse of their People and that the very Gaols have contributed to the Supplies We are burdened with. But as there are many of more Substance and better Character, We thought it reasonable to hinder the Importer from obliging such as had no connections with one another to become jointly bound for their respective Freights or Passages; but the Governor has thought fit to alter this also in such a manner as to elude the good Purposes intended by the Act, by which means those who are of more Substance are involved in the Contracts and Debts of Others, and the Merchants secured at the Expence of the Country where they are necessitated and do become very frequently Beggars from Door to Door, to the great Injury of the Inhabitants, and the Increase and Propogation of the Distempers they have brought among us. Many who have indented themselves for the Payment of their Passages have frequently been afflicted with such frequent and loathesome Diseases at the time as have rendered them altogether unfit for the Services they had contracted to perform, for which we had provided a remedy by the Bill; but the Governor has thought fit to strike it out and leave Us exposed to this greivous Imposition without a Remedy," etc.

It was this action on the part of the Governor Morris that called out Christopher Saur's second letter, which is also given.

Two months later this staunch and steady friend of his countrymen, whose wrongs were daily brought under his notice, again wrote to Governor Morris on this subject, as follows :

“ Germantown, Pa., May 12, 1755.

“*Honored and Beloved* Sir :

“Although I do believe with sincerity, that you have

at this time serious and troublesome business enough, nevertheless, my confidence in your wisdom makes me to write the following defective lines, whereby I desire not so much as a farthing of profit for myself.

“When I heard last that the Assembly adjourned, I was desirous to know what was done concerning the Dutch bill and was told that your Honor have consented to all points, except that the German passengers need not have their chests along with them; and because you was busy with more needful business, it was not ended. I was sorry for it, and thought, either your Honor has not good counselors or you cant think of the consequences, otherwise you could not insist on this point. Therefore I hope you will not take it amiss to be informed of the case, and of some of the consequences, viz. :—The crown of England found it profitable to peopling the American colonies; and for the encouragement thereof, the coming and transportation of German Protestants was indulged, and orders were given to the officers at the customhouses in the parts of England, not to be sharp with the vessels of German passengers—knowing that the populating of the British colonies will, in time become, profit more than the trifles of duty at the customhouses would import in the present time. This the merchants and importers experienced.

“They filled the vessels with passengers and as much of the merchant’s goods as they thought fit, and left the passengers’ chests &c behind, and sometimes they loaded vessels wholly with Palatines’ chests. But the poor people depended upon their chests, wherein was some provision, such as they were used to, as dried-apples, pears, plums, mustard, medicines, vinegar, brandy, gammons, butter, clothing, shirts and other necessary linens, money and whatever they brought with them; and when their chests

were left behind, or were shipped in some other vessel they had lack of nourishment. When not sufficient provision was shipped for the passengers, and they had nothing themselves, they famished and died. When they arrived alive, they had no money to buy bread, nor anything to sell. If they would spare clothes, they had no clothes nor shirt to strip themselves, nor were they able to cleanse themselves of lice and nastiness. If they were taken into houses, trusting on their effects and money, when it comes, it was either left behind, or robbed and plundered by the sailors behind or in the vessels. If such a vessel arrived before them, it was searched by the merchants' boys, &c., and their best effects all taken out, and no remedy for it, and this last mentioned practice, that people's chests are opened and their best effects taken out, is not only a practice this twenty five, twenty, ten or five years, or sometime only; but it is the common custom and daily complaints to the week last past; when a pious man, living with me, had his chest broken open and three fine shirts and a flute taken out. The lock was broken to pieces and the lid of the chest split with iron and chisels. Such, my dear Sir, is the case, and if your honor will countenance the mentioned practices, the consequences will be, that the vessels with passengers will be filled with merchant's goods, wine, &c., as much as possible, and at



CLOCK OF THE PROVINCIAL PERIOD.

the King's custom they will call it passengers' drink, and necessaries for the people, then household goods, &c., which will be called free of duty. And if they please to load the vessels only with chests of passengers and what lies under them, that will be called also free of duty at the custom-houses; and as there are no owners of the chests with them, and no bill of loading is ever given, nor will be given, the chests will be freely opened and plundered by the sailors and others, and what is left will be searched in the stores by the merchants' boys and their friends and acquaintances. Thus, by the consequence, the King will be cheated, and the smugglers and store boys will be glad of your upholding and encouraging this, their profitable business; but the poor sufferers will sigh or carry a revenge in their bosoms, according as they are godly or ungodly, that such thievery and robbery is maintained.

“If such a merchant should lose thirty, forty, fifty or ten thousand pounds, he may have some yet to spend and to spare, and has friends, but if a poor man's chest is left behind, or plundered either at sea or in the stores he has lost all he has. If a rich man's store, or house, or chest is broken open and robbed or plundered there is abundance of noise about it; but if 1,000 poor men's property is taken from them, in the manner mentioned, there is not a word to be said.

“If I were ordered to print advertisements of people who lost their chests, by leaving them behind against their will, or whose chests were opened and plundered at sea, when they were sent after them in other vessels, or whose were opened and plundered in the stores of Philadelphia—should come and receive their value for it, (not four fold) but only single or half; your honor would be wondering of a swarm from more than two or three thousand people.

But as such is not to be expected, it must be referred to the decision of the great, great, long, long day, where certainly an impartial judgment will be seen, and the last farthing must be paid, whereas in this present time, such poor sufferers has, and will have no better answer than is commonly given: 'Can you prove who has opened and stolen out of your chest?' or 'Have you a bill of loading?' this has been the practice by some of the merchants of Philadelphia, and if it must continue longer, the Lord our God must compare that city to her sister Sodom, as he said: 'Behold this was the iniquity of Sodom: pride, fullness of bread and abundance of idleness was in her. Neither did she strengthen the hand of the poor and needy (Ezekiel, 16:40) but rather weakened the hand of the poor and needy' (18:2)."

* * * * *

In a postscript, as if he could not write too often or too forcibly of the wrongs of these poor people, he adds, conveying a threat:

"The Lord bless our good King and all his faithful ministers, and your Honor, and protect the city of Philadelphia and country from all incursions and attempts of enemies. But if you should insist against a remedy for the poor Germans' grievances—although no remedy is to be had for that which is past—and an attempt of enemies should ensue before the city of Philadelphia, you will certainly find the Germans faithful to the English nation; as you might have seen how industrious they are to serve the King and government, for the protection of their substance, life and liberties. But, as there are many and many thousands who have suffered injustice of their merchants at Philadelphia, it would not be prudent to call on them all for assistance, as there are certainly many wicked

among the Germans; which, if they should find themselves overpowered by the French, I would not be bound for their behaviour, that they would not make reprisals on them that picked their chests and forced them to pay what they owed not! and hindered yet the remedy for others. No! if they were all Englishmen who suffered so much, I would much less be bound for their good behaviour.

“Pray sir do not look upon this as a trifle; for there are many Germans, who have been wealthy people are many Germans, who have lost sixty, eighty, one, two, three, four hundred to a thousand pounds’ worth, by leaving their chests behind, or were deprived and robbed in the stores, of their substance, and are obliged now to live poor, with grief. If you do scruple the truth of this assertion, let them be called in the newspaper, with hopes for remedies, and your Honor will believe me; but if the Dutch (German) nation should hear that no regard is for them, and no justice to be obtained, it will be utterly in vain to offer them free schools—especially as they are to be regulated and inspected by one who is not respected in all this Province.

“I hope your Honor will pardon my scribbling; as it has no other aim than a needful redressing of the multitude of grievances of the poor people, and for the preserving of their lives and property, and that the Germans may be adhered to the friendship of the English nation, and for securing the honor of your Excellency, and not for a farthing for your humble servant.

“Christopher Saur,

“Printer of Germantown.”

It will be noted that both the Assembly and Saur averred that some of the members of the Governor’s Council were engaged in this most disreputable business, and it may be

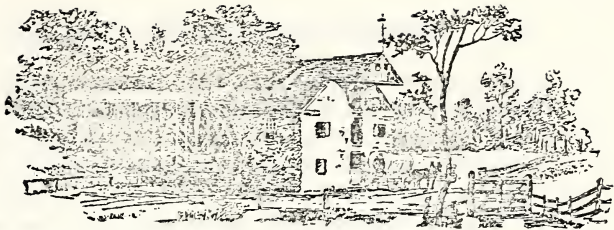
that the influence of these interested persons was at the bottom of his rejection of the measures proposed to remedy these evils. On the day following the delivery of the message of the House to the Governor, the latter replied with equal acerbity. He briefly gives his reasons for his action in the matter, but they are lame and unsatisfactory, strengthening the belief that he was trying to take care of his friends.

It is said of the elder Christopher Saur that "on learning from time to time that a vessel containing passengers had arrived in Philadelphia from Germany, he and his neighbors gathered vehicles and hastened to the landing place, whence those of the newcomers who were ill, were taken to his house, which for the time being was turned into a hospital, and there they were treated medically, nursed and supported by him until they became convalescent and able to earn their own living."¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ CHARLES G. SAUER'S *Address at Memorial Services at the Church of the Brethren*, at Germantown, January 1, 1899.



AN OLD GERMANTOWN LANDMARK.



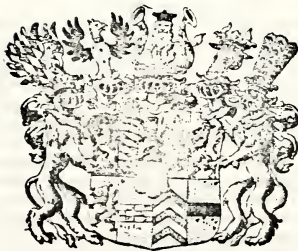
OLD ROBERT'S MILL, NEAR GERMANTOWN.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MORTALITY THAT SOMETIMES CAME UPON THE IMMIGRANTS ON SHIP-BOARD.—ORGANIZATION OF THE GERMAN SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, AND ITS EXCELLENT WORK.—LANDS ASSIGNED TO REDEMPTIONERS AT THE END OF THEIR TERMS OF SERVICE, ON EASY TERMS.

“Er ward in engen Koje Kalt,
Kam nie zurück zum Port.
Man hat ihn auf ein Brett geschnallt,
Und warf ihn über Bord.”

“Dem bieten grane Eltern noch
Zum letztenmal die Hand ;
Den Koser Bruder, Schwester, Freund ;
Und alles schweigt, und alles weint,
Todtbloss von uns gewandt.”



ARMS OF THE PALATINATE.¹⁴⁹

IN a general way, the mortality among the immigrants resulting from the crowded condition of the ships, the bad character of the provisions and water and frequently from the scant supply of the same, the length of the voyage and other causes, has al-

¹⁴⁹The arms, or *wappen*, of the Palatinate is an imposing piece of heraldic art, sufficient, one would think, to do honor to a land a thousand times the size

ready been alluded to. But it is only when we come down to an actual presentation of the records that have reached our day, that we get a correct idea of the appalling character of the death rate upon which the German settlements in Pennsylvania were built. Doubtless something beyond the ordinary was seen in the migration from Europe to other portions of the American continent, but as that migration was more circumscribed in its numbers and the rapidity of its inflow, so also was the death rate attending it on a minor scale. It is surprising that the reality, as it became known in the Fatherland, did not hold back the multitudes anxious to come over. Perhaps the ebb and flow, as we now know it, greater in some years, and then again greatly diminished in others, may be accounted for by the fears that came upon the intending immigrants as letters from friends gradually drifted back to the old home. Some

of the Palatinate. Even the shield of Achilles, as pictured by Homer, was not more elaborate or picturesque. Its manifold armorial divisions arose out of the numerous changes and acquisitions to the original fief. I subjoin a description of it in German, without venturing on a translation.

Das Kurpfälzischen wappen bestehet aus zusam mengebrunden ovalrunden Schilden. Der 1. ist quadriert mit einem Mittelschilde, welcher im Schwarzen Felde einem goldenen rothgeprouren Löwen, wegen der Pfaltz am Rhein hat. Das 1. Quartier des Haupt-Schilders ist von Silber und Blau, Schraggeweckt, wegen Baiern; in 2. goldenen ist ein Schwazer gekrätter Löwe, wegen Julich: im 3. bauen ein silbernes Schildchen, aus dem 8. goldene Stabe im Kreis gesetzt, heroergehen, wegen Cleve; im 4. silbernen is ein rother Löwe, mit einer blauen Krone, wegen Berg. Der 2. Hauptschild ist quergetheilt. In der abern Hälfte, in goldenem Felde, ist vorn ein Schwarzer Querbalken, wegen der Grafschaft Mors; hintem im blauen, 3. goldene Kreuzchen, über einem dreyfachen grünen Hügel, wegen Bergen op Zoom. Die untere Hälfte ist 3 mal in die Länge getheilt. Im vordersten silbernen Felde ist ein Blauer Löwe, wegen Veldenz; im mittlern goldenen ein von Silber und Roth, zu 4. Reihen geschackter Querbalken, wegen der Grafschaft Mark, im hintersten silbernen sind 3 rothe Sparren, wegen Ravensburg. Der 3te rothe Hauptschild enthält den goldenen Reichsapfel, wegen des Erztruchsestenamts. Diese 3. Hauptschilde werden von dem Kurhute bedeckt, und von der Kelte des St. Georgen und St. Hubertordens und des goldenen Bliesses umgeben; und von 2. Löwen gehalten.

of them must have been of a character to daunt the courage of even the stout-hearted dwellers along the Rhine. We only know that these people continued to pour into the province for more than a century in spite of all the drawbacks that were presenting themselves during all that time.

Although the first large colony of German immigrants to cross the ocean, and that suffered excessive losses on the voyage, did not come to Pennsylvania, it nevertheless deserves special mention here, because it was the largest single body of colonists that ever reached America, and because many of its members eventually found their way into the valleys of the Swatara and Tulpehocken. It was the colony sent to the State of New York at the request of Governor Hunter, who happened to be in England when the great German Exodus to London occurred, in 1709. Even the members of this early colony were redemptioners, in fact if not in name. They contracted to repay the British government the expenses incurred in sending them over. They were called "Servants to the Crown." After they had discharged their obligations, they were to receive five pounds each and every family forty acres of land.

Three thousand and more of these people were embarked in midwinter for New York. The exact date is unknown. It was probably some time during the month of January, 1710. The diarist Luttrell says, under date of December 28, 1709, "Colonel Hunter designs, next week to embark for his government at New York, and most of the Palatines remaining here goe with him to people that colony." Conrad Weiser, who was among them, wrote at a late period of his life that "About Christmas-day (1709) we embarked, and ten ship loads with about 4,000 souls were sent to America." Weiser was a lad of thirteen

years at the time, and wrote from recollection many years after. As he was wrong in the number who set sail, so he no doubt was as to the time of embarkation. These 3,000 persons of both sexes and all ages were crowded into ten ships. No official register of them is known. The vessels were small and as about 300 persons were crowded into each one, the voyage was a dreary one. By the middle of June seven of the ships had made land; the latest did not arrive until near the close of July—a five months' voyage, and one, the *Herbert*, did not come at all, having been cast ashore on Long Island and lost. The deaths during the voyage were "above 470," writes Governor Hunter, but other authorities place them at a far higher number. Conrad Weiser, in his old age and without actual data for his estimate, places the loss at 1,700, which is much too high. The best authorities place the number at 859, showing a mortality of more than 25 per cent. Boehme states that "Of some families neither parents nor children survive." Eighty are said to have died on a single ship, with most of the living ill. It deserves also to be stated that the children of these maltreated immigrants were by order of Governor Hunter apprenticed among the colonists, which act was bitterly resented by the parents. It was one of the first of the long series of wrongs that befell them. It was no doubt the sorrowful experience of these ten ship-loads of Germans that thereafter turned all the immigrants towards Pennsylvania. But one more ship with Palatines went to New York, and that was in 1772. It is even possible this ship was carried out of its course and made port at New York instead of Philadelphia.



SEAL OF GERMAN-TOWN.

Christopher Saur in his first letter to Governor Morris asserts that in a single year two thousand German immigrants found ocean burial while on their way to Pennsylvania.

Caspar Wistar wrote in 1732: "Last year a ship was twenty-four weeks at sea, and of the 150 passengers on board thereof, more than 100 died of hunger and privation, and the survivors were imprisoned and compelled to pay the entire passage-money for themselves and the deceased. In this year 10 ships arrived in Philadelphia with 5,000 passengers. One ship was seventeen weeks at sea and about 60 passengers thereof died."

Christopher Saur in 1758 estimated that 2,000 of the passengers on the fifteen ships that arrived that year, died during the voyage.

Johann Heinrich Keppele, who afterwards became the first president of the German Society of Pennsylvania, says in his diary that of the 312½ passengers on board the ship in which he came over, 250 died during the voyage.

But it must not be supposed that all ships carrying immigrants encountered the appalling losses we have mentioned. In 1748 I find this in Saur's paper: "Seven ships loaded with German immigrants left Rotterdam; of these three have arrived in Philadelphia, making the passage from port to port in 31 days, all fresh and well so far as we know. They were also humanely treated on the voyage."

A ship that left Europe in December, 1738, with 400 Palatines, was wrecked on the coast of Block Island. All save 105 had previously died and fifteen of those who landed also died after landing, making a loss of seventy-seven per cent.

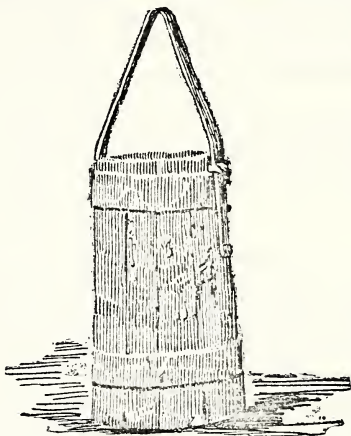
A vessel that reached the port of Philadelphia in 1745, landed only 50 survivors out of a total of 400 souls that

had sailed away from Europe. In this case starvation was the principal cause of the appalling mortality.

In 1754, the sexton of the Stranger's Burying Ground in Philadelphia, testified under oath that he had buried 253 Palatines up to November 14th, to which "six or eight more should be added." It seems the diseases contracted on ship-board followed them long after they reached Philadelphia.¹⁵⁰

In February, 1745, Saur said in his newspaper: "Another ship arrived in Philadelphia with Germans. It is said she left port with 400 souls and that there are now not many more than 50 left alive."

"On the 26th of December, 1738, a ship of three hundred tons was wrecked on Block



AN OLD TAR BUCKET, SUCH AS WAS ALWAYS CARRIED BY THE CONESTOGA WAGONS.

Island, near the coast of the State of Rhode Island. This ship sailed from Rotterdam in August, 1738, last from Cowes, England. John Wanton, the Governor of Rhode Island, sent Mr. Peter Bouse, and others, from Newport, to Block Island, to see how matters were. On the 19th of January, 1739, they returned to Newport, R. I., reporting that the ship was commanded by Capt. Geo. Long, that he died on the inward passage, and that the mate then took

¹⁵⁰ *Colonial Records*, Vol. VI., p. 173.

charge of the ship which had sailed from Rotterdam with 400 Palatines, destined for Philadelphia, that an exceedingly malignant fever and flux had prevailed among them, only 105 landing at Block Island, and that by death the number had been further reduced to 90. The chief reason alleged for this great mortality was the bad condition of the water taken in at Rotterdam. It was filled in casks that before had contained white and red wine. The greater part of the goods of the Palatines was lost.”¹⁵¹

It may be stated in this connection that the ship *Welcome*, on which Penn came over in the fall of 1683, was of 300 tons. The small-pox broke out on board and proved fatal to nearly one-third of those on board.¹⁵²

FORMATION OF THE GERMAN SOCIETY.

Despite all the efforts made by private individuals, and the various enactments of the Provincial Assembly, effectual and permanent relief was not destined to come in that way. It was not until a united, influential and determined body of men formed themselves into a corporation and set to work at the task before them with a will, that the dawn at last began to break. It was on Christmas day in 1764 that a number of the most influential German residents in Philadelphia met in the Lutheran School House, on Cherry street and organized the “German Society of Pennsylvania.” It was legally incorporated on September 20, 1787, but it did not wait for that legal recognition to begin its work. Its first president was Johann Heinrich Keppele, an opulent and influential merchant of Philadelphia. His efficiency in conducting the affairs of the Society was so clearly recognized that he was annually reelected to the Presidency for a period of seventeen years.

¹⁵¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 8, 1739.

¹⁵² WATSON'S *Annals of Philadelphia*, Vol. I., p. 15.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



HENRY KEPPELE.

No time was lost in beginning the work mapped out, to do away with the manifold abuses that attended the immigration of Germans, to succor the sick and to lend substantial aid to the needy and deserving. The Assembly was at once taken in hand and certain reforms demanded. The matter came up before that body on January 11, 1765, and an act in nine sections, prepared by the Society, was laid before it, in which the rights of immigrants were provided for while on the sea, and safeguarded after their landing. Objections were at once made by prominent merchants who had previously driven a very profitable trade in Redemptioners, and who saw in the passage of the proposed act an end to their iniquitous but profitable traffic; but it was enacted into a law despite their protests. Governor John Penn, however, refused to sign the act because it was presented to him on the last day of the session. It has been suspected that his principal reason was that he was unwilling to give offense to his many influential English friends whose revenues it was certain would be interfered with.

But the German Society meant business and was not to be turned down by a single rebuff, from whatever source. During the following summer another bill was brought forward, modifying the former one in some particulars. This one was also passed and this time the Governor's signature was added, May 18, 1765. All immigrants who had complaints to make were invited to present them to the Society, which in turn became the champion of these oppressed people. In 1785 it succeeded in procuring legis-

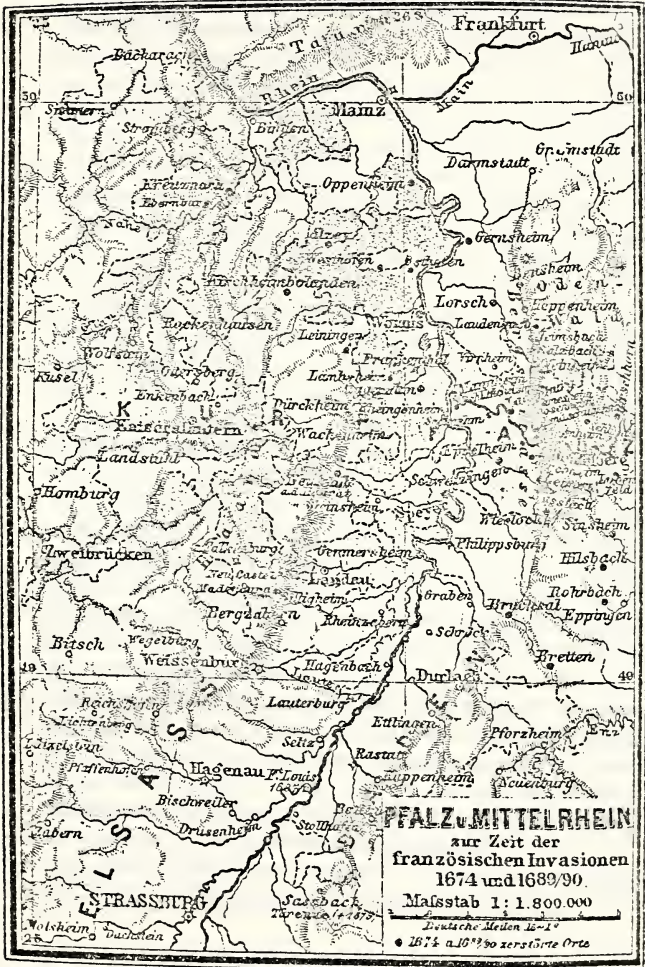


SEAL OF THE GERMAN
SOCIETY OF PENN-
SYLVANIA.

lation providing for the establishment of a Bureau of Registration, and the appointment of an official who could speak both the German and English languages. Previously the newcomers had been haled before the Mayors of the city, to take the necessary oaths; yet Seidensticker tells us that from 1700 to 1800 there were only two Mayors of Philadelphia who could speak the German language. For a time, this active and unceasing energy put an end to the most serious complaints, but later they again came to the front, and in 1818 still another act, and a more strict and exacting one, was passed, after which these long-continued wrongs finally disappeared.

The Society was of much assistance in a financial way to the needy immigrants, aiding thousands to better their condition, and on the whole did an untold amount of good. It solicited outside contributions but most of the money expended was contributed by the members themselves. It supplied bread, meat and other good and fresh food to the needy ones, but sometimes the need was even greater than the Society's means would allow. It sent the sick to special houses and appealed to the authorities whenever an injustice was brought to its notice. But the Society frequently had its own troubles with those whom it tried to succor. Its generous deeds sometimes failed to satisfy the wishes and expectations of the newcomers. They looked for more. They expected that the Society would also clear the rough land for them and hand it over to them according to the terms of their contracts with the Newlanders, which was of course an impossibility. Some also insisted that the Society should buy their time, clothe and keep all the old, poor, infirm and sick, and give them a decent burial when dead.¹⁵³

¹⁵³ See MUHLENBERG'S letter in *Hallische Nachrichten*, p. 998.



MAP OF THE PALATINATE IN 1690.

Able men presided over the destinies of the Society. The elder Muhlenberg took a warm interest in it and had advised its organization in the *Hallische Nachrichten*. Two of his sons were among its presidents; General Peter Muhlenberg in 1788 and also from 1801 to 1807 and his brother Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg from 1789 to 1797, at the same time that he was serving as Speaker of the Federal House of Representatives. The Society has continued its good work down to our own time. It has not only a fine Society Hall, but an excellent library and a very considerable endowment.

Friedrich Kapp gives a single example out of the hundreds of cases in which the German Society interfered in the interests of persons and families and saw justice done them. It is the case of one George Martin, who, for himself, his wife and five children, two of whom were under five years of age and who under the regular custom should be counted as one full freight, contracted with the captain of the ship *Minerva* to be carried to Pennsylvania for the sum of £9 per head, or £54 for all charges. He advanced forty guilders in Rotterdam, or about \$16.66. Martin died on the passage across the ocean. When the rest of the family reached Philadelphia, the three eldest sons were each sold by the captain to five years' service for £30, or £90 in all; the remaining two children under five years of age were disposed of for £10 for the two, in all £100 to pay the £58 agreed upon in the contract. But that was not all; the forty-six-year-old widow was also sold to five years of servitude for £22. The Society secured the widow's release, but she made no objection to the children paying the passage money in the manner indicated.¹⁸⁴

At the present hour steamship companies are doing

¹⁸⁴ FRIEDRICH KAPP, *Die Deutschen im Staate New York*, p. 219.

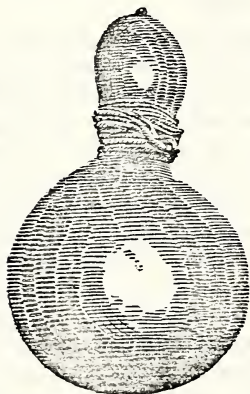
just what the individual ship owners did one hundred and fifty years ago. They have their regular agents in Italy, Austria, Germany and Poland, who are painting the old pictures over again, holding up the old attractions and, often in ways far from reputable, securing emigrants to fill their coffers. In this way we can easily account for the 500,000 persons who have come to this country during the present year. Before the Chinese exclusion law was passed, thousands of those people were brought here by syndicates and their services sold to those who would have them. The *Padrone* system which prevails among the Italian immigrants of the poorer classes is also little else than a revival of the old-time methods that prevailed in the goodly Province of Pennsylvania during the period under consideration. As practiced now it is shorn of its worst features by the humanity of the times, but the underlying principles are not widely different.

LAND PROVIDED FOR REDEMPTIONERS.

At some time, and somewhere, either by written page or verbal declaration, it was decreed that bond servants should receive at the expiration of their term of service, fifty acres of land from the Proprietary Government at the exceedingly low annual quit rent of two shillings, or about one cent per acre. Nothing in the various regulations and laws prescribed for the government of the Province was more generous and wise than that. It was designed to give the newly freed man an opportunity with every other immigrant to get a good start in life. It cast behind what the man had previously been and recognized him as a free man, entitled to all the rights and privileges of full citizenship. His quit rent was to be only one-half that

which his former master was required to pay. In short, the fullest opportunity was given him to repair his fortunes if his industry and thrift so inclined him.

But all my researches to trace the origin of this practice of bestowing these fifty acres of land upon bond servants, have been unavailing. There are many allusions to it scattered throughout the laws regulating the affairs of the Province, as well as among more recent writers, but it is always alluded to as an already existing law. The original decree or place of record is nowhere revealed. For in-



GOURD FOR SEINE FLOAT.

stance, in Penn's "Conditions and Concessions" the seventh section reads as follows: "That for every *Fifty Acres* that shall be allotted to a Servant at the End of his Service, his Quitrent shall be *Two Shillings per Annum*, and the Master or Owner of the Servant, when he shall take up the other *Fifty Acres*, his Quitrent shall be *Four Shillings* by the Year, or if the Master of the Servant (by reason in the Indentures he is so obliged to do) allot out to the Servant *Fifty Acres* in his own

Division, the said Master shall have on Demand allotted to him from the Governor, the *One Hundred Acres* at the chief Rent of *Six Shillings per Annum*."¹⁵⁵ Grahame

¹⁵⁵ "Certain Conditions and Concessions agreed upon by William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, and those who are the Adventurers and Purchasers in the same Province, the Eleventh of July, One Thousand Six Hundred and Eighty One."

makes an emphatic declaration about such a law in a paragraph discussing this very article in the "Conditions and Concessions."¹⁵⁶

Benjamin Furley, the English Quaker and a life-long friend of Penn, whose principal agent he was for the sale of lands in the newly acquired Province, in a letter to a friend sets forth under date of March 6, 1684, certain explanations concerning the conditions granted to settlers. Among other things he has a paragraph relative to

RENTERS.

"To those who have enough money to pay the expense of their passage as well for themselves as for their wives, children, and servants, but upon their arrival have no more money with which to buy lands, the Governor gives full liberty for themselves, their wives, children and servants who are not under the age of sixteen years, whether male or female, each to take fifty acres at an annual rent in perpetuity of an English *dernier* for each acre, which is less than a Dutch *sol*. It will be rented to them and to their children in perpetuity the same as if they had bought the said land. For the children and servants after the term of their service will have expired, in order to encourage them to serve faithfully their fathers and masters, the Governor gives them full liberty for themselves and their heirs in perpetuity, to take for each 50 acres, paying only a little annual rent of two English shillings (*Escalins*) for 50 acres, which is less than a farthing for each acre. And they and

¹⁵⁶ "To the constitutional frame was appended a code of 40 conditional laws. Among them it proclaimed that the rank and rights of freemen of the Province should accrue to all purchasers of a hundred acres of land: to all servants or bondsmen who at the expiration of their engagements should cultivate the quota of land (50 acres) allotted to them by law." (GRAHAME'S *History of Pennsylvania*, pp. 333-334.)

their fathers and masters will be regarded as true citizens. They will have the right of suffrage not only for the election of Magistrates of the place where they live but also for that of the members of the Council of the Province and the General Assembly, which two bodies joined with the Governor are the Sovereignty, and what is much more they may be chosen to exercise some office, if the community of the place where they live considers them capable of it, no matter what their nationality or religion."¹⁵⁷

It will be seen from the foregoing that these 50 acres of land which were allotted to Redemptioners at the conclusion of their term of service, were not an absolute gift or donation by the Proprietors, as so many writers seem to think, but were rented to them on more reasonable terms than to their masters. I have nowhere found whether other equally favorable concessions were made when the Redemptioner purchased his 50 acres outright or when he after a while preferred exclusive ownership in preference to the payment of quit-rent. Doubtless, in the latter case, he came in on the same footing as any other original purchaser. A recent history ventures upon the following explanation: "The land secured by settlers and servants who had worked out their term of years, was granted in fee under favor which came directly or indirectly from the crown."¹⁵⁸ To the average reader that must appear like an explanation that does not explain, and is incorrect in addition. The regulation did not convey an absolute title to land. It was granted under a reservation and not in fee simple. Every student knows that all the laws passed in the Province were subject to revision by the crown, and

¹⁵⁷ See article by Judge S. W. PENNYPACKER in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. VI., pp. 320-321.

¹⁵⁸ SCHARF & WESTCOTT'S *History of Philadelphia*, Vol. I., p. 134.

therefore whatever law or custom, to be legal, must have received the royal assent. What is much more to the point is when and where that concession to indentured servants was first proclaimed and put upon record. It seems unreasonable that there was no legal authorization of the practice.

ADDENDA.

Long after the foregoing remarks and speculations concerning the time and place where the custom of allowing indentured servitors to take up 50 acres of land at a nominal quit-rent had been written, and after the chapter in which they appear had been printed, I had the good fortune to find the authorization that had so long eluded my search.

On March 4, 1681, King Charles signed the document which gave to William Penn the Province of Pennsylvania. Very soon thereafter Penn wrote an account of his new possessions from the best information he then had. It was printed in a folio pamphlet of ten pages, entitled: "Some ACCOUNT of the PROVINCE of PENNSILVANIA in AMERICA; *Lately Granted under the Great Seal of ENGLAND to WILLIAM PENN, ETC. Together with Priviledges and Powers necessary to the well-governing thereof. Made publick for the Information of such as are or may be disposed to Transport themselves or Servants into those Parts. London: Printed, and Sold by Benjamin Clark Bookseller in George-Yard Lombard-Street, 1681.*" The title of the tract in fac-simile will be found on page 272.

In this scarce and valuable little tract Penn sets forth the "Conditions" under which he was disposed to colonize his new Province. Condition No. III. reads as follows:

SOME
 ACCOUNT
 OF THE
 PROVINCE
 OF
 PENNSILVANIA
 IN
 AMERICA;
 Lately Granted under the Great Seal
 OF
 ENGLAND
 TO
 William Penn, &c.

Together with Priviledges and Powers necessary to the well-governing thereof.

Made publick for the Information of such as are or may be disposed to Transport themselves or Servants into those Parts.

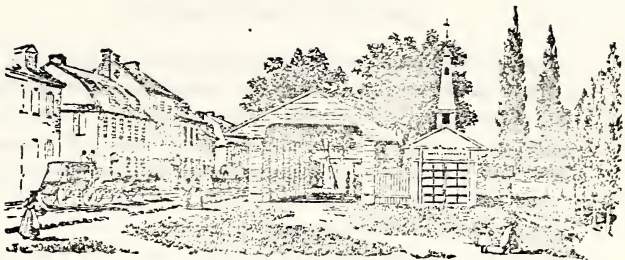
LONDON: Printed, and Sold by *Benjamin Clark*
 Bookseller in *George-Yard Lombard-Street, 1681.*

PENN'S FIRST PAMPHLET ON HIS AMERICAN POSSESSIONS.

“ My conditions will relate to three sorts of people : 1st. Those that will buy : 2dly. Those that take up land upon rent : 3dly. Servants. To the first, the shares I sell shall be certain as to number of acres ; that is to say, every one shall contain five thousand acres, free from any Indian incumbrance, the price a hundred pounds and for the quit-rent but one English shilling or the value of it yearly for a hundred acres ; and the said quit-rent not to begin to be paid till 1684. To the second sort, that take up land upon rent, they shall have liberty so to do paying yearly one penny per acre, not exceeding two hundred acres.—To the third sort, to wit, servants that are carried over, fifty acres shall be allowed to the master for every head, AND FIFTY ACRES TO EVERY SERVANT WHEN THEIR TIME IS EXPIRED. And because some engaged with me that may not be disposed to go, it were very advisable for every three adventurers to send an overseer with their servants, which would well pay the cost.”



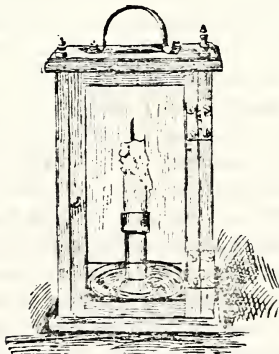
COAT-OF-ARMS OF GEORGE ROSS, SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, FROM LANCASTER, PA.



THE OLD MARKET SQUARE AT GERMANTOWN.

CHAPTER IX.

THE TRAFFIC IN REDEMPTIONERS AS CARRIED ON IN THE NEIGHBORING COLONIES—MEN KIDNAPPED IN THE STREETS OF LONDON AND DEPORTED—PRISONERS OF WAR SENT TO AMERICA AND SOLD INTO BONDAGE IN CROMWELL'S TIME.



OLD-TIME WOODEN LANTERN.

“God’s blessing on the Fatherland,
And all beneath her dome ;
And also on the newer land
We now have made our home.”

“Ein dichter Kreis von Lieben steh ,
Ihr Brüder, um uns her ;
Uns Knüpft so manches theuere Band
An unser deutsches Vaterland,
Drum fällt der Abschied schwer.”

WHILE my discussion of this question has special reference to the Province of Pennsylvania, the trade had so ramified into the neighboring regions to the south of us, that a brief glance at what prevailed there will

assist us in understanding the situation at our own doors. In fact we may be said to have taken it from them, because

it prevailed there many years before it developed in Pennsylvania. It prevailed in Virginia from an early period, and when Lord Baltimore established his government in his new Province of Maryland, he was prompt to recognize the same system in order to more rapidly secure colonists. In the beginning the term of service there was fixed at five years. In 1638 the Maryland Assembly passed an act reducing it to four years, which remained in force until 1715, when it was amended by fixing the period of service for servants above the age of twenty-five years, at five years; those between the age of eighteen and twenty-five years, at six years; those between fifteen and eighteen at seven years, while all below fifteen years were compelled to remain with their masters until they reached the age of twenty-two years.¹⁵⁹

Servants in Maryland were from the first placed under the protection of the law, which no doubt threw many safeguards around them, preventing impositions in many cases, and securing them justice from hard and inhuman masters. Either by law or by custom the practice grew up of rewarding these servants at the expiration of their time of service, as we find in 1637 one of these servants entitled to "one cap or hat, one new cloth or frieze suit, one shirt, one pair of shoes and stockings, one axe, one broad and one narrow hoe, fifty acres of land and three barrels of corn" out of the estate of his deceased master.¹⁶⁰ There, as in Pennsylvania, the way to preferment was open to man and master alike. There as here many of these Redemptioners became in time prosperous, prominent people. No stigma was attached to this temporary ser-

¹⁵⁹ LOUIS P. HENNIGHAUSEN, *The Redemptioners and the German Society of Maryland*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁶⁰ LOUIS P. HENNIGHAUSEN, Case quoted from *Maryland Archives*, 1637.

vitude, and intermarriages between masters and their female servants were not infrequent, nor between servants and members of the master's household. But these people could not select their masters. They were compelled to serve those who paid the sums due the ship captain or ship owner. Indeed their lot was often during its duration actually harder than that of the negro slaves, for it was to the owner's interests to take care of his slaves, who were his all their lives, while the indentured servants remained with him for a few years only. There were consequently as many complaints there as in Pennsylvania.

We must not lose sight of the fact, however, that for many years these Redemptioners were almost exclusively of English and Irish birth. It was not so easy to deal with them as with foreigners. They sent their complaints to England, and measures were taken there to prevent the abuses complained of. The press even took up the refrain and the letters sent home appeared in the newspapers, ac-

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Wm Markham". The "W" is large and stylized, with a long horizontal stroke that loops back under the "m".

panied by warnings against entering into these contracts. It was not until the institution was in full career in Penn's province that it began there. The first Germans who reached Maryland in considerable numbers were such as migrated out of Pennsylvania. Lancaster county lay on the Maryland border, and the migrating instinct soon took them to Baltimore, Harford, Frederick and the western counties. As these people made themselves homes and became prosperous, they needed labor for their fields and naturally enough preferred their own countrymen. The

Newlanders, however, were just as willing to send their ship-loads of human freight to Baltimore as to Philadelphia, and it was not long before ships began to arrive in the former port even as they were doing at the latter.

While Pennsylvania, in 1765, at the instigation of the German Society newly formed in the State, passed laws for the protection of these immigrants, nothing of the kind was done in Maryland until a long time afterwards. The Maryland newspapers of the period teem with notices of the arrivals of immigrant ships and offerings for sale of the passengers, just as did those of Philadelphia. Here are a few examples :

From the *Baltimore American*, February 8, 1817—

“GERMAN REDEMPTIONERS.

“The Dutch ship *Jungfrau Johanna*, Capt. H. H. Bleeker, has arrived off Annapolis, from Amsterdam with a number of passengers, principally farmers and mechanics of all sorts, and several fine young boys and girls, whose time will be disposed of. Mr. Bolte, ship broker of Baltimore, will attend on board at Annapolis, to whom those who wish to supply themselves with good servants, will please apply ; also to Capt. Bleeker on board.”

Two weeks later this appeared in the same paper :

“That a few entire families are still on board the *Johanna* to be hired.”

Here is another :

“FOR SALE OR HIRE.

“A German Redemptioner, for the term of two years.

He is a stout, healthy man, and well acquainted with farming, wagon driving and the management of horses. For further particulars apply to

“C. R. GREEN, Auctioneer.”

Redemptioners.

THERE still remain on board the ship *Aurora*, from Amsterdam, about 18 passengers, amongst whom are,

Servant girls, gardeners, butchers, masons, sugar bakers, bread bakers, 1 shoemaker, 1 silver smith, 1 leather dresser, 1 tobacconist, 1 pastry cook, and some a little acquainted with waiting on families, as well as farming and tending horses, &c. They are all in good health. Any person desirous of being accommodated in the above branch es will please speedily to apply to

Captain JOHN BOWLES,

in the *Stream*, off Fell's-Point,

Who offers for Sale,

80 Iron-bound Water Casks

1 chest elegant Fowling Pieces, single and double barrell'd

15,000 Dutch Brick, and

Sundry ships Provisions.

July 14.

d3t. es4t

SHIPMASTER'S ADVERTISEMENT OF REDEMPTIONERS.

On April 11th we have this :

“GERMAN REDEMPTIONER—\$30 REWARD.

“Absconded from the Subscriber on Sunday, the 5th inst., a German Redemptioner, who arrived here in November last, by name Maurice Schumacher, about 30 years of age, 5 feet 9 inches, well proportioned, good countenance, but rather pale in complexion, short hair, has a very genteel suit of clothes, by trade a cabinet maker, but has been employed by me in the making of brushes. He is a good German scholar, understands

French and Latin, an excellent workman, speaks English imperfectly. \$30 Reward if lodged in jail.

“Jos. M. Stapleton,
“Brush Maker,
“139 Baltimore Street.”

On March 3d a reward is offered for the capture of a German Redemptioner, a tailor who took French leave from Washington.

On March 11th a reward of \$30 is offered for the capture of a German Redemptioner, a bricklayer.

As late as April 7th of the same year, 1817, I find our old friend, the *Johanna*, which, arriving on February 8th, had not yet disposed of her living cargo, as the following advertisement shows :

“GERMAN REDEMPTIONERS.

“The Dutch ship *Johanna*, Captain H. H. Bleeker, has arrived before this City, and lies now in the cove of Wiegman’s Wharf; there are on board, desirous of

Price Paid June 10 1757 of Mr John Lawrence.
ten pound Six Shillings & two pence In full for
a Dutch Boye
Charles & Alex. Hedman
No. 6: 2

THE PRICE OF A “DUTCH BOYE.”

binding themselves, for their passage, the following single men: Two capital blacksmiths, a rope maker, a carrier, a smart apothecary, a tailor, a good man to cook, several young men as waiters, etc. Among those with families are gardeners, weavers, a stonemason, a miller, a baker, a sugar baker, farmers and other professions, etc."

Two months in port and not all sold yet!

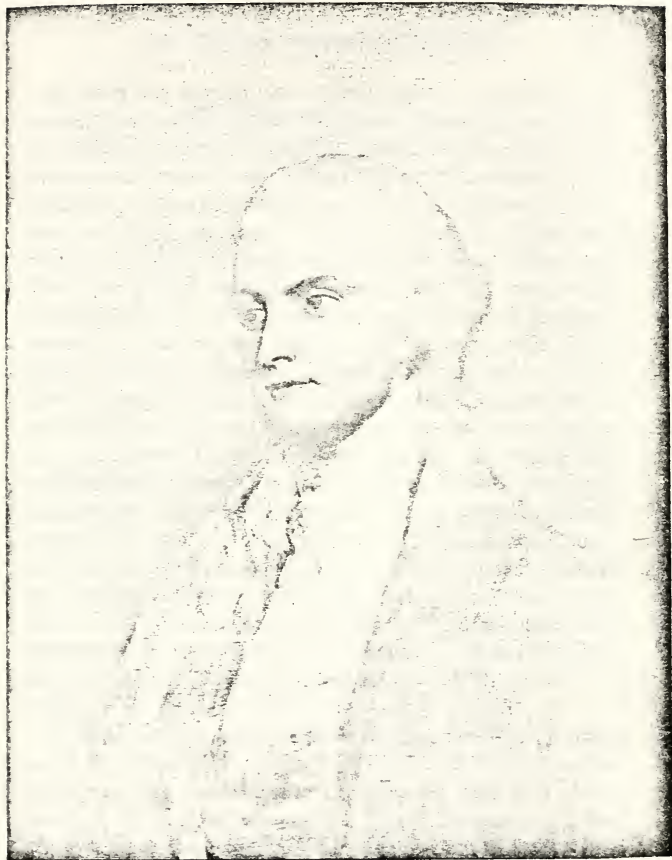
One more extract from the *Baltimore American* and I am done. It is this, in the issue of February 7, 1817, a winter of extraordinary severity in that latitude:

"A ship with upward of 300 German men, women and children has arrived off Annapolis, where she is detained by ice. These people have been fifteen weeks on board and are short of provisions. Upon making the Capes, their bedding having become filthy, was thrown overboard. They are now actually perishing from the cold and want of provisions."

No bedding, few provisions, with the thermometer ranging from five degrees above to four below zero. Surely the Maryland Redemptioner was tasting all the miseries of servitude, as his Pennsylvania brother had done for three-quarters of a century previously.

In answer to a strong newspaper appeal made by a German descendant, a meeting of Germans and descendants of Germans was called on February 13, 1817, to form a society to protect and assist, so far as was possible, the German immigrants. That action resulted in the formation of the German Society of Maryland. The membership was composed of the best and most prominent men in the State, and it at once went to work with an energy and determination that promised good results. The captain of the *Johanna* was prosecuted for illegal practices and for appropriating to his own use the effects of dead passengers. The sick on board were sent to hospitals.





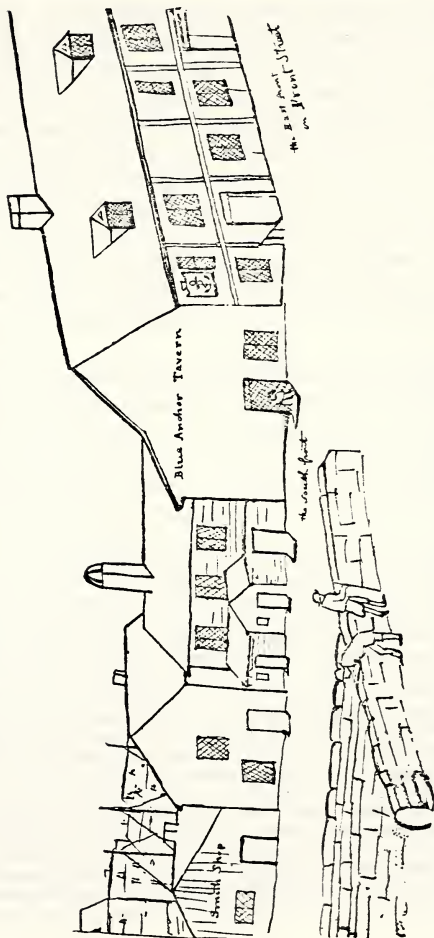
John Cramer

In 1818 the Society was instrumental in securing the passage of an act by the Maryland Assembly consisting of numerous sections in which provision was made to do away with the evils which had hitherto prevailed in the importation, sale and treatment of Redemptioners of German and Swiss ancestry. Every one of the disgraceful practices which formerly obtained was done away with. The Society took care that this excellent law was strictly enforced and in a few years the bringing over of Redemptioners became so unprofitable that the very name disappeared from the records. Upon one occasion—it was in March, 1819—a ship, the *Vrouw Elizabeth*, reached Baltimore with a number of immigrants, who before embarking had subscribed to the usual conditions. But when they reached this country, they refused to comply with their agreements. The officers of the Society refused to countenance this action and wrote them a letter in which they said that as the Captain of the ship had treated them with the utmost kindness, they must comply with their contracts and that the Society would not countenance their attempt to evade their honest obligations. Herein the Society manifested its desire to deal fairly with Shipmasters as well as with the poor people they brought over.¹⁶¹

It deserves to be stated that, in addition to the large number of Germans who went to Maryland from Pennsylvania, there was also considerable immigration into that State through the port of Annapolis. From the entries at that city we learn the fact that from 1752 to 1755, 1,060 German immigrants arrived there; in 1752, 150; in 1753, 460; and in 1755, 450. They are spoken of as Palatines.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ I desire to express my acknowledgment for many of the foregoing facts relating to the Redemptioners of Maryland, to the excellent little work of LOUIS P. HENNIGHAUSEN, Esq., to which I have already referred.

¹⁶² *Publications of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, for 1890-1891, pp. 18-19.



THE BLUE ANCHOR TAVERN. 163

“No public records were kept of the contracts entered into abroad by the Redemptioners (of Maryland) nor of the time of the expiration of their service. The Redemptioners were not furnished with duplicates of their contracts. They could be, and sometimes were, mortgaged, hired out for a shorter period, sold and transferred like chattel by their masters. (*Maryland Archives*, 1637-50, pp. 132-486.) The Redemptioners, belonging to the poor and most of them to the ignorant class, it is apparent that under these circumstances were at a great disadvantage against rapacious masters, who kept them in servitude after the expiration of their true contract time, claiming their services for a longer period.

“As the number of slaves increased in the colony, and labor became despised, the Redemptioner lost caste and the respect which is accorded to working people in non-slave-holding communities. He was in many respects treated like the black slave. He could neither purchase nor sell anything without the permission of the master. If

¹⁶³ One of the historical buildings of early Philadelphia was “The Blue Anchor Tavern.” It was built at the confluence of Dock Creek with the Delaware. This creek was formed by several springs leading out of the swampy ground near its mouth. The tavern was built by George Griest. It stood on what is now the southwest corner of South and Ninth streets. The river bank in front of it was low and sandy and elsewhere high and precipitous. Penn left the ship *Welcome* on which he had come over, at Upland, now Chester, and came up the river in a boat, landing at “The Blue Anchor.” Tradition assigns to it the honor of being the first house built in Philadelphia. It was small in size, having fronts on both Front and Dock streets, with ceilings 8½ feet high. While it looked like a brick house it in reality was framed of wood with bricks filled in. The tavern, from its favored locality, was a noted place for business. All small vessels made their landing there. There was a public ferry across Dock Creek at the tavern, Dock Creek being then navigable for small craft. Griest, the first landlord, was a Quaker, as were his successors, Reese Price, Peter Howard and Benjamin Humphries. Proud says the house was not quite finished at the time of Penn's arrival in November, 1682. Later the tavern went by the name of “The Boatswain and Call.” It was torn down in 1828. (See WATSON'S *Annals of Philadelphia*.)

caught ten miles away from home, without the written permission of his master, he was liable to be taken up as a runaway and severely punished. The person who harbored a runaway was fined 500 pounds of tobacco for each twenty-four hours, and to be whipped if unable to pay the fine. There was a standing reward of 200 pounds of tobacco for capturing runaways, and the Indians received for every captured runaway they turned in a 'match coat.' For every day's absence from work ten days were added to his time of servitude. The master had a right to whip his Redemptioner for any real or imaginary offense, which must have been a very difficult matter to determine, for offenses may be multiplied. The laws also provided for his protection. For excessively cruel punishment the master could be fined and the Redemptioner set free. I presume in most cases this was only effective when the Redemptioner had influential friends who would take up his case."¹⁶⁴

THE SYSTEM IN NEW YORK.

New York had a similar system, although, owing to the fact that the many large landed estates owned by the Patroons, were worked by free tenant farmers, the number of white indentured servants was not nearly so great as in Pennsylvania. The character of this labor was, however, the same as in Pennsylvania and Maryland. They consisted of convicts sent from England and Ireland, of the miserably poor who were kidnapped and sold into servitude, and of Redemptioners who were disposed of on their arrival, as in Pennsylvania, to pay the cost of transportation and other expenses.¹⁶⁵ It is elsewhere stated in these

¹⁶⁴ LOUIS P. HENNIGHAUSEN, *The Redemptioners*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁶⁵ See JOHN FISKE'S *Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*, Vol. II., p. 286.

A Council at the Court House, Saturday the
eighth. of September 1753.

Present

Joshua Maddox Esquire.

The Foreigners whose names are underwritten, imported in the ship
St Michael. Thomas Ellis Commander from Hamburg but
last from Cowes did this day take the usual Qualifications.
1753

Johann Benedictus Breitenfeld
 Friedrich Gänzig Ozer
 Johann Gropf
 Andreas + Lindner
 Seaman in Ship
 Ludwig Schlegel
 Johann Adam Hofn
 John Henry + Ratiker
 J. Henry + Grotjar
 Johann Grotjar + Marger
 Hans Henry + Fete
 Johann Erich Reuber
 Johann Friedrich Grotjar
 Johann Henry + Saxe
 Christian Wilhelm Cill
 Johann Grotjar
 J. George + Saxe
 Johannes + Saxe
 Friedrich + Ranberg

Wilhelm + Latrick
 Christian + Latrick
 J. Henry + Seydning
 Lorenz + Müller
 J. Friederich + Utter
 J. Andreas + Voigt
 J. Christoph + Warmken
 J. Henry + Krape
 Cord Henry + Sander
 J. Peter + Millberg
 Cas Caffen + Kröger
 J. Christian + Heijl
 Michael + Kind
 Johann Daniel Blum
 Christoph Heijl
 Johann's Einfluss
 Conrad + Eickler
 Ludwig Kind Töpfer
 H. Christoph + Gall

pages that many of the children of parents who died on the ten ships that brought over the more than three thousand Germans to New York in 1710, were bound out to servitude by the Government authorities.

The State of New York also legislated on this perplexing question, as may be seen by the following :

“AND WHEREAS, the emigration of poor persons from Europe hath greatly conduced to the settlement of this State, while a Colony ; AND WHEREAS, doubts have arisen tending to the discouragement of further importations of such poor persons ;—*therefore* be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid that every contract already made or hereafter to be made by any infant or other person coming from beyond the sea, executed in the presence of two witnesses and acknowledged by the servant, before any Mayor, Recorder, Alderman or Justice of the Peace, shall bind the party entering into the same, for such term and for such services as shall be therein specified : And that every assignment of the same executed before two credible witnesses shall be effectual to transfer the same contract for the residue of the term therein mentioned. But that no contract shall bind any infant longer than his or her arrival to the full age of twenty-one years ; excepting such as are or shall be bound in order to raise money for the payment of their passages, who may be bound until the age of twenty-four years, provided the term of such service shall not exceed four years in the whole.”¹⁶⁶

THE TRAFFIC IN VIRGINIA.

The early Virginia colonists were a class, who came not to work themselves, but to live on the labor of others.

¹⁶⁶ *New York Laws*, Chapter 15. “An act concerning apprentices and Servants.” Passed February 6, 1758.

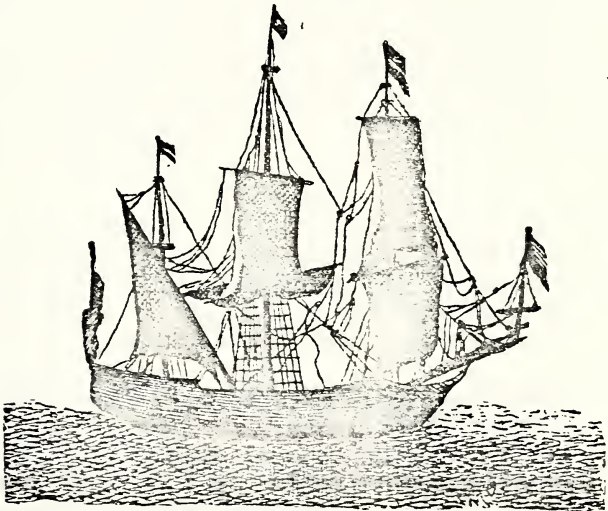
This required the aid of servile labor. Negro labor was at first resorted to. That was in 1619, but as the demand was greater than the supply, other sources had to be found. Convicted criminals were sent from the mother country in large numbers. But other means were also resorted to. Men, boys and girls were kidnapped in the streets of London, hurried on ship-board and sent to the new colony, where they were indentured as servants for a term of years. The usual term of service was four years but this was only too frequently prolonged beyond that period for trivial offenses. Fiske says "their lives were in theory protected by law, but when an indentured servant came to his death from prolonged ill usage or from excessive punishment, or even from sudden violence, it was not easy to get a verdict against the master. In those days of frequent flogging, the lash was inflicted upon the indentured servant with scarcely less compunction than upon the purchased slave."¹⁶⁷ But the majority of the indentured white servants of Virginia, like those of Pennsylvania, were honest, well-behaved persons, who like the latter sold themselves into temporary servitude to pay the charges of transportation. The purchaser paid the ship master with the then coin of the colony, tobacco, and received his servant. There as in Pennsylvania they were known as Redemptioners, and like those in this State numbered many of excellent character. There was no let up in this importation of convicts and servants until it was terminated by the Revolutionary War. It has been variously estimated that the number of involuntary immigrants sent to America from Great Britain between 1717 and 1775 was 10,000 and during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries 50,000.¹⁶⁸ Probably a ma-

¹⁶⁷ JOHN FISKE'S *Old Virginia and her Neighbours*, Vol. I., p. 177.

¹⁶⁸ *American Historical Review*, II., p. 25. See also the *Penny Cyclopaedia*, Vol. XXV., p. 133.

jority of these reached Virginia. The latter colony received more Redemptioners than any of the other colonies during the seventeenth century, but in the eighteenth, Pennsylvania was the more favored province.

There were still another class of servants who were sent to America who deserve to be mentioned in this connection. They were prisoners of war, men who were captured by Cromwell at Dunbar and Worcester. Some of



PASSENGER SHIP OF THE PERIOD—1750.

From a Contemporary Drawing.

these were sent to Virginia. After the restoration of the Stuart dynasty, so many non-conformists were sold into servitude in Virginia as to lead to an insurrection in 1663,

followed by legislation designed to keep all convicts out of the colony.¹⁶⁹

Of the services rendered to the colony of Virginia by these indentured servants it has been said they were "the main pillar of the industrial fabric, and performed the most honorable work in establishing and sustaining it."¹⁷⁰

In Virginia, as in Pennsylvania, many of these Redemptioners rose to be persons of wealth and importance in the Commonwealth, and occasionally became members of the House of Burgesses. At the same time it deserves to be very distinctly stated that the general character of the Redemptioners in Virginia was by no means equal to that of the Germans who came to Pennsylvania; nor was anything else to be expected considering the classes from whom so many sprung.

IN NEW JERSEY.

Mellick informs us that the laws of New Jersey were about like those of Pennsylvania in relation to the Redemptioners. Contiguous as the two were, with only the Delaware river between, this was to be expected. In Section 5, of the *Colonial Entry Book* of that State, occurs the following:

"The waies of obtayning these servants have beene usually by employing a sorte of men and women who make it their profession to tempt or gaine poore or idle persons to goe to the Plantations and having persuaded or deceived them on Shipp board they receive a reward from the person who employed them."

¹⁶⁹ FISCHE'S *Old Virginia and her Neighbours*, Vol. II., pp. 184-185.

¹⁷⁰ BRUCE'S *Economic History of Virginia*, Vol. I., p. 609.

"Many of the early settlers of Virginia reached that colony as servants, doomed according to the severe laws of that age, to temporary bondage. Some of them, even, were convicts." (BANCROFT'S *History of the United States*, Vol. II., p. 191.)

In New Jersey, under the laws, white servants could not be compelled to serve more than four years if sold or bound after attaining the age of seventeen years. Young children were held until they attained their majority. When the term of service expired the redemptioner received two suits of clothing, one falling axe, one good hoe and seven bushels of corn. The master was not allowed to inflict corporeal punishment upon his bond servant, but he could bring the case to the attention of a civil magistrate.

It is a noteworthy fact that the most popular novel published in the United States in the year 1899 has a Redemptioner for its hero, and for the most part the scene of the novel is laid in New Jersey. Another work of fiction, almost equal to the previous one mentioned in popularity, deals with a Redemptioner hero in Virginia.¹⁷¹

The colony South Carolina also received some of this Redemptioner immigration, and pretty nearly the same

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Conrad Weiser". The signature is written in dark ink and is centered on the page.

conditions and terms for taking them there, and holding them in bondage, prevailed as elsewhere.

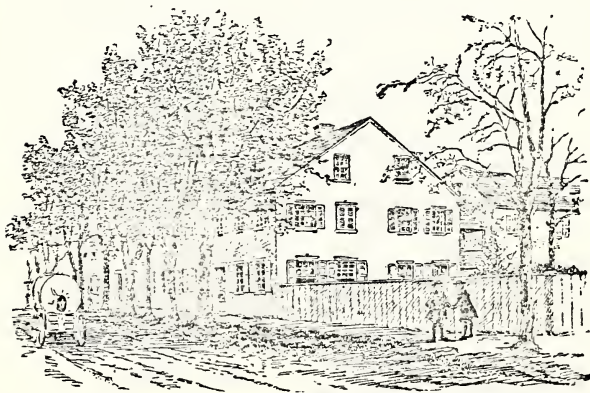
Joshua Kocherthal in his little pamphlet, published in Frankfort in 1709, in which he strives to divert German emigration from Pennsylvania to South Carolina, says in his ninth chapter that "Special arrangements have to be made with the Captain for each half grown child. Persons too poor to pay, sometimes find proprietors willing to advance the funds, in return for which they serve the latter for some time in Carolina. The period of service, in time

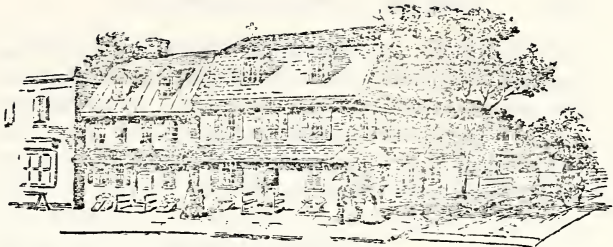
¹⁷¹ FORD'S *Janice Meredith* and JOHNSTON'S *To Have and to Hold*.

of peace, is from two to three years, but when the fare is higher (he states it to be from five to six pounds sterling, but the cost of a convoy and other expenses, raise it to seven and eight pounds for every adult), the time is necessarily longer.”¹⁷² He adds in an appendix that “an immigrant to Pennsylvania must have the ready money with which to prepay his passage, while for one going to Carolina, this is not necessary.”

¹⁷² *Full and Circumstantial Report Concerning the Renowned District of Carolina in British America*, 1709.

See also DR. JACOBS' *German Emigration to America*, pp. 39-40.





THE DE LA PLAINE HOUSE, GERMANTOWN.

CHAPTER X.

ARGUMENT ATTEMPTING TO SHOW THE REDEMPTIONER SYSTEM WAS BY NO MEANS AN UNMIXED EVIL.—THAT MUCH GOOD CAME OUT OF IT.—THAT IN MOST RESPECTS IT WAS PREFERABLE TO THE UNENDING ROUND OF TOIL THAT HAD TO BE ENCOUNTERED IN THE FATHERLAND.



FRANKLIN ARMS.

"O, Rivers, with your beauty time-defying,
Flowing along our peaceful shores to-day,
Be glad you fostered them—the heroes lying
Deep in the silent clay.

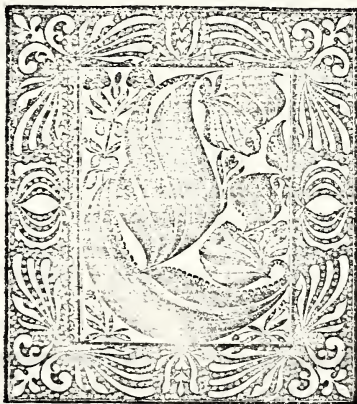
"Be jubilant ye Hill-tops old and hoary—
Proud that their feet have trod your rocky
ways ;
Rejoice, ye Vales, for they have brought you
glory
And ever during praise."

ONE hundred and fifty years
are but a short period in
the history of the human race.
In the early ages of the world
that number of years would come

and go and at their close men thought and did and felt about as at their beginning. Habits and morals were not as now, things that change almost as regularly and frequently

as the earth's revolutions around the sun. But times have undergone a wonderful transformation during the past century and a-half. So far away is 1730 in its customs and manner of thought, that we hardly realize that it was the time in which our great-grandfathers lived, and yet in some things we seem as far removed from those days as we are from the biblical patriarchs who lived and died upon the Judean hills, thousands of years ago.

This man-traffic, which I have attempted to describe in these pages, did not at that time create the general abhorrence with which we now regard it. It was a matter of every-day business in every community. It had the



SPECIMEN OF EPHRATA DISPLAY TYPE, MADE AND USED AT THAT PLACE PRIOR TO 1748.

endorsement, so far as we may judge from the records and the spirit of that time, of the majority of the community. It was recognized as a legitimate business by

the laws of the land. It was in full accord with the common life of the people. Even Sauer, Mittelberger, Muhlenberg and the other worthies of that period who have been referred to and liberally quoted, did not arraign the system itself, but the numberless and almost nameless abuses it called forth. It was the injustice, the hardships, the rascality, misrepresentations, methods of transportation, the crowded condition of the ships, the hunger and starvation, the sufferings, the general horrors by which it was accompanied, that called forth their protests. Never, since men have gone down to the sea in ships, have such sufferings and iniquities been known. Only men dead to all the better instincts of our human nature could have been guilty of the barbarities practiced upon these innocent, helpless victims of man's inhumanity to man.

Even as I read them to-day, I cannot understand why these men did not arise in their might and their wrath, smite their oppressors, and cast them into the sea, even as their own dead were thrown into the kindly waters, unknelled, uncoffined and unknown. They were many and their oppressors few; smarting under the deceptions and wrongs practiced upon them, their forbearance seems almost inexplicable. Here, too, the spirit of the age played its part. It was an age of loyalty to lord and master. To them the doctrine of *jure divino* was not a mere abstraction. It was one of the overmastering principles of their lives. They were respecters of authority, and to an extent that for half a century and more led to their disadvantage. For once the divine precept of obedience to authority worked to their undoing.

We fail to understand how these poor people should have consented to all this unutterable injustice and wrong-doing for several generations. If the immigrant of 1728 was

unaware of what was in store for him, the same cannot be said of those who came in 1750 and thereafter. The At-

Lancaster: Gedruckt bey Francis Bailen.



FAC-SIMILE OF COVER ON BAILEY'S GERMAN ALMANAC.¹⁷³

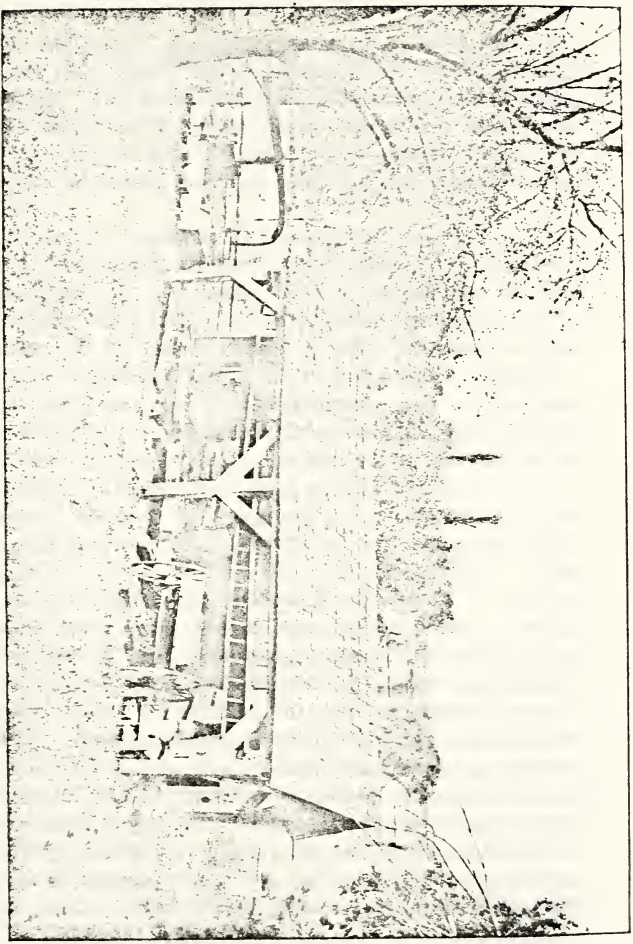
¹⁷³ The above cut is a fac-simile of the cover on an almanac—*Der Gantz Neue Verbesserte Nord-Americanische Calender. Auf das 1779ste Jahr u. f. w. Berfertigt von David Rittenhaus*,—published at Lancaster, Pa., by Francis

lantic was wide, but not so wide that letters could not reach the relatives and friends who were still in the old home. We know many of them wrote and told the horrors that had been encountered. It is true, as is elsewhere recounted, that the Newlanders even stole the letters from America, when they could, to prevent the dismal tales they told from becoming known to those for whom they were intended; but that, doubtless, was an infrequent occurrence, and possible only on favorable occasions. Why then did these people persist in coming, five and six thousand yearly, for lengthy periods? The question is difficult to answer, perhaps, and yet I venture upon an explanation.

Why do thousands of gold-seekers and other adventurers brave all the hardships of Alaskan winters to find fortunes in the Klondike? Everybody knows that not one in a score of them is successful, and yet the hegira thitherward is as active to-day as when that wealth-fever first set the gold-seekers in motion. We hear and know some are successful. The rest hope they may be. All who came to America did not score failures. Not all were penniless and needy. Those who were able to make a fair start were successful far beyond anything they could ever have attained in their old homes. The virgin lands were rich almost beyond description. In that the booklets of Penn, Pastorius, Thomas and others did not exaggerate. The situation in this particular was not overdrawn, and the lands were cheap. It is true there was hard labor and plenty of it before the settler. But he was a German, strong of will

Bailey. It possesses especial historical interest from the fact that the winged allegorical figure of Fame, seen in the upper part, holds in one of her hands a medallion portrait of Washington, while in the other she has a horn, from which a blast is blown with the legend *Des Landes Vater*. This is the first recorded instance where the designation of "Father of his Country" was given to Washington.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN FARM LIFE.
A COMMUNITY CIDER-PRESS.

and limb, inured to toil and not afraid to labor every day in the year except Sundays, if the situation required such service. The seasons were on his side and he saw houses and lands, such as he never dreamed of owning, belonging to him, yielding him an abundant support and providing an inheritance for those whom he should leave behind him.

Another important condition of life came to the front with these people, to which most of them perhaps had been strangers in the old home. It was the question of food. Not only did the soil yield its abundant harvests, but the fields and the woods made no mean additions to their larder. Game of many kinds was at their command. Fur and feather and fin may almost be said to have been as much the product of their farms as wheat and corn and potatoes. Meat could be on their tables daily if they so desired. Mittelberger is very explicit on this point. He says: "Provisions are cheap in Pennsylvania. The people live well, especially on all sorts of grain, which thrives very well, because the soil is wild and fat. They have good cattle, fast horses and many bees. The sheep which are larger than the German ones, have generally two lambs a year. Hogs and poultry, especially turkeys are raised by almost everybody. Every evening many a tree is so full of chickens that the boughs bend beneath them. *Even in the humblest and poorest houses in this country* there is no meal without meat, and no one eats the bread without the butter or cheese, although the bread is as good as with us. On account of the extensive stock raising, meat is very cheap: one can buy the best beef for three kreuzers a pound."¹⁷⁴ He tells of poultry and eggs, fish, turtles, venison, wild pigeons, and other foods; not

¹⁷⁴ MITTELBERGER'S *Reise nach Pennsylvanien im Jahr 1754*, pp. 64-65.

to mention nuts, grapes and other fruits that were to be had in every woods for the gathering.

All these things were well known in the Fatherland. Every letter spoke of them. Such flattering tales had their effect. They came for the most part to men and women whose lines in life were hard and drawn. The struggle for existence there was all those words imply. Nowhere in Europe was it harder. It was a from-hand-to-mouth life. The food was often scant, and not of the best at that. As these letters and the various descriptions of Penn's wonderful land which were everywhere distributed by the Newlanders were read around the fireside during the bleak winters, and the ever-present scant larder forced itself upon the mind, there could be but one result.

The overmastering instinct of the race to better its condition came upon them. There are many causes that lead men to seek new homes, in distant lands, but there is one that overtops all the rest. It is the desire to better their worldly condition, the hope of material advancement, in short, it is better bread and more of it that lies at the source of nearly all the migrations of the human family. The love of gain, the desire for property and the accumulation of wealth was the great underlying principle of all colonization on the American continent. It was this all-powerful motive that crowded out all else, and led these people to brave all dangers, known and unknown, to reach this western Eden. So long as distress and danger and difficulties are in the dim distance, we fail to give them due consideration. It is only when they become a present reality, a source of trial and sorrow, that we realize the true condition of things.

These people were ready to encounter the obstacles they knew were to be met. Perhaps they underestimated their

importance and character. That was something which could not be guarded against. At all events, their fears were cast behind them and that hope which springs eternal in the human breast held sway, and spurred them to take the leap in the dark which many lived to regret, and which thousands regretted while dying. No sadder tale can ever be told. It has become an imperishable page in the history of the Germans of Pennsylvania; one that the historian reluctantly deals with, so full of sorrow and heart-break is it.

So abominable and inhuman were the dealings of the Newlanders, ship-masters, ship-owners and most of the commission merchants with these helpless immigrants, and so sad and sorrowful the fate of many of them, that the wrath of the reader is also aroused and the denunciation has become universal. The same incidents are told by them all, and the worst are of course chosen for exposure; the same tale of starvation and pestilence and death is rehearsed so that we almost insensibly reach the conclusion that from the beginning until the end, there was one long, continuous cloud over the horizon of these people, unrelieved by a single rift and un-illuminated by a single ray.

Almost every writer whom I have consulted has written only in terms of unqualified condemnation of the evils that arose out of the system of bonded servants. There is however one noteworthy exception.



BARBER'S BASIN, IN USE 150
YEARS AGO.

Elder Johannes Naas, who, next to Alexander Mack, was the most celebrated and influential member of the Taufer or Brethren church in Germany, came to this country in 1733. Shortly after his arrival he wrote a long letter to his son, Jacob Wilhelm Naas, who was living in Switzerland at the time, in which all the incidents and circumstances of his voyage are minutely detailed. The letter is well worth reading by every one who has an interest in the events I have been trying to depict. Want of space prevents its appearance here in its entirety. The concluding portion bears directly on the case of the Redemptioners, and contrary to the customary practice, the writer regards that question favorably, rather than otherwise, for which reason I quote that part of his letter.

ELDER NAAS' LETTER.

“Now that we have safely arrived in this land and have been met by our own people in great love and friendship all the rest has been forgotten (the mishaps and hardships of the voyage) in a moment, so to speak, for the sake of the great joy we had in one another. This hardship has lasted about nineteen weeks; then it was over, wherefore be all the glory to the Highest: Amen, yea; Amen!

“For it does not rue us to have come here, and I wish with all my heart that you and your children could be with us; however, it cannot be and I must not urge you as the journey is so troublesome for people who are not able to patiently submit to everything, but often in the best there are restless minds, but if I could with the good will of God do for you children all, I assure you that I would not hesitate to take the trip once more upon me for your sake; not because one gets one's living in this land in idleness! Oh! no; this country requires diligent people, in what-

King's Seven Gifts in
 the Gospel of Luke in the
 Township of Providence.

Geboren
 Gestorben

Geboren

1729	Johann Georg Wurst Allen	1730	
1731	Anna Sophia Singsinger, Amelia	1731	St. Mary's
1731	John Wright Singsinger	1731	St. Mary's
1731	John Singsinger, John Singsinger Senior	1731	St. Mary's
1733	Anna Singsinger, George Anna Margaret	1733	St. Mary's
1735	John Singsinger Junior	1735	St. Mary's
1735	Anna Singsinger, Catharina Singsinger	1735	St. Mary's

ever trade they may be—but then they can make a good living. There are, however, many people here, who are not particularly successful; as it seems that if some people were in Paradise it would go badly with them. Some are to be blamed for it themselves; for when they come to this country and see the beautiful plantations; the number of fine cattle; and abundance in everything; and, knowing that they only just have come here too, then they want to have it like that at once, and will not listen to any advice but take large tracts of land with debts, borrow cattle and so forth. These must toil miserably until they get independent. Well, what shall I say, so it is in the world, where always one is better off than the other. If a person wants to be contented here, with food and shelter, he can under the blessing of God and with diligent hands get plenty of it. Our people are well off; but some have more abundance than others, yet nobody is in want. What I heard concerning the people who do not have the money for the passage, surprised me greatly, how it goes with the young, strong people and artisans, how quickly all were gone, bricklayers, carpenters, and whatever trades they might have. Also old people who have grown children and who understand nothing but farm labor, then the child takes two freights (fare for two) upon itself, its own and that of the father or of the mother four years, and during that time it has all the clothing that is needed and in the end an entirely new outfit from head to foot, a horse or cow with a calf. Small children often pay one freight and a half until they are twenty-one years old. The people are obliged to have them taught writing and reading, and in the end to give them new clothes and present them with a horse or cow.

“There are few houses to be found in city or country

where the people are at all well off, that do not have one or two such children in them. The matter is made legal at the city hall with great earnestness. There parents and children often will be separated 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 hours (in distance), and for many young people it is very good that they cannot pay their own freight. These will sooner be provided for than those who have paid theirs and they can have their bread with others and soon learn the ways of the country.

“I will make an end of this and wish patience to whomsoever reads this. God be with you all. Amen.¹⁷⁵”

“Johannes Naas.”

This is an extreme view, and not wholly a just one. The facts as they stand recorded in the works of historians and the letters of private individuals are true, and they must always be accepted as such. At the same time it must be admitted they present us with but one side of the story. Is there no other side to their picture? There are, admittedly, two sides to every narrative? Is this one of the German immigration and the indenturing of many individuals as servants for a term of years an exception? It would, indeed, be an anomalous case if it were so. But it is not. Men like Christoph Saur and Pastor Muhlenberg and Gottlieb Mittelberger embarked in this cause to right a great existing wrong, one that was daily occurring before their own eyes, and with which they were almost hourly made acquainted. It was a crime almost without a parallel in its atrocity, practiced against their countrymen and it may be, their own kith and kin. They were tireless in their efforts

¹⁷⁵ The complete letter from which the above extract is taken may be found in Dr. M. G. BRUMBAUGH'S recently published *History of the German Baptist Brethren*, pp. 108-123—a valuable addition to the early religious history of Pennsylvania.

to strike it down. They left no stone unturned, nothing undone that would do away with this crime against humanity. They showed it up at its worst to arouse the better part of our human nature against the evil, believing, and most truly, that in this way it could most quickly be driven out of existence. If they saw a brighter side to the question it was not for them to reveal it. It was the wrong against which their blows were directed. The better and brighter side needed no defense and, therefore, none was made for it.



ONE OF THE DANGERS ENCOUNTERED BY THE EARLY SETTLERS.

And there was a brighter side just as certainly as there was a dark one. That must, indeed, be an evil's crown of evil that is wholly and unspeakably bad and totally without redeeming features.

Let us, for a while, turn this gloomy picture to the wall and see whether we can discover something better on the other side. Let us bear in mind, in the first place, that while many plunged heedlessly into the pitfalls laid by the soulless soul-brokers, there were—must have been—thou-

sands of others who were not ignorant of what a servant for a term of years meant. Why did these eager thousands hurry from their homes in the Fatherland to such a fate here? We know full well how it was with a majority of them there. Born in poverty, unable to rise above the station of hewers of wood and drawers of water, they were doomed to lives of unceasing toil, with the hope of bettering their condition as remote as the distant and unheeding stars. What had even the fertile valleys of the Rhine to offer these men? Nothing, and well they knew it. Surely things could not be worse for them in America, and in this we must all agree.

It was a voluntary action on their part. They knew the consequences of their step. They were aware that a ship-owner would not carry them three thousand miles across the broad ocean and feed them on the way for nothing, merely out of charity. Men do not give valuable things to every comer for nothing. They knew this indebtedness must be repaid when they reached this country by some one for they could not do it themselves. But whoever assumed the temporary burden, they knew that in the end their own strong arms must make payment. It cannot be doubted the trials of the voyage were more severe than was anticipated. For that, perhaps, they were not prepared. A healthy young man who may never have known a day's sickness in his life, little thinks the plague will smite him on ship-board; and it was the foul diseases disseminated by personal contact that more than decimated so many hopeful ship companies that sailed out of Rotterdam. It will hardly be contended that the men coming to Pennsylvania under such conditions looked forward to anything but a life of work until time wiped out the score that had been marked up against them.

It is true we read of "Servants" or "Redemptioners" who fell into the hands of hard taskmasters. No doubt this was the case. It has been the case since the days of Pharaoh and will continue to be while masters and servants exist upon the earth, and that, most probably, will be until the end of time.

But that was not the rule. I cannot bring myself to believe that they were not mostly exceptional cases.¹⁷⁶ It was natural that Germans already in the country and in need of help on their farms, or in whatever occupation they may have been engaged, should have preferred their own countrymen. The Germans hold together: it is one of their characteristics, and always has been. The employer preferred one who spoke his own language: who can doubt that? That he preferred one from his own dorf or locality is also certain. When such came together it could not have been difficult to strike a bargain. And having thus made their engagement, will it be doubted that the faithful service of the Redemptioner, anxious to free himself and his wife and perhaps his children also, was not appreciated by the master, his own countryman, and perhaps even an acquaintance? To doubt kind treatment from the buyer to the bought, under these conditions is to impugn German honor, German kindness, and that German sense of right which we know is always true to eternal instincts. We have reason to know that as a rule the existing conditions worked well. It was also the servitor's privilege to find another master when the one he had was not to his liking.

¹⁷⁶ "These indentured servants were not badly treated either by the Swedes or the Friends. Their usual term of service was four years, and they received a grant of land, generally fifty acres, at the expiration of the term. The system was originally contrived in Maryland in order to increase the labor of the province, and many of the bond servants were persons of good character, but without means, who sold their services for four or five years in order to secure a passage across the ocean to the new land of promise." (SCHARF & WESTCOTT'S *History of Philadelphia*, Vol. I., p. 134.)

If these men were poor, they were nevertheless honorable. It was their bounden duty to comply with their contracts. Nothing could be gained by shirking their duties, save trouble. Every one was certain that the day of deliverance would come, when he in turn would be an independent land-owner and entitled to all the rights of citizenship enjoyed by any one. He saw around him, men of standing and character in the community, who had stood on the lowest rung of the social ladder where he himself was then standing. They had attained their position by fulfilling their engagements faithfully. They were an example and their successful careers were an incentive to all who knew them, to also do as they had done. The laws of the Province made no distinction between him and those above him. He could aspire to anything or any place anyone else had attained. In addition to that, they lent him a helping hand when the hour of his freedom arrived and gave him lands, if he wanted them, on the most favorable terms. There was every incentive for a "Redemptioner" to make a man of himself if he had the will and ability to do so. And why should he not strive towards that end? His hour, the hour so long awaited, had come at last; the prize he had set out to reach was now within his grasp; the day of fruition was at hand. He had worked hard, but he had done that in the Fatherland also, done it on scanty rations and without any hope of rising or in any way bettering his position. He had passed that point in his new home. He was a free man. The three, four, or five years had rolled away quickly and he was now master of the situation.

And what had others done? They had become the owners in fee simple of estates that ranged from a hundred to a thousand acres of the best and brightest lands the sun shines on to-day. They had become the owners of estates,

which in Germany would have entitled them to the highest consideration. In all but name, they had in reality become what the Newlander had promised. Nowhere in all North



A CUSTOM IN THE FATHERLAND.

America was such prosperity seen. It had taken years of honest toil to accomplish this, but it had been done and now the independent owner could sit down, literally as well as figuratively, under his own vine and roof tree with the world's abundance of good things about him.

With such encouragement the "Redeemed"—no longer the "Redemptioner"—had but to go to work for himself as earnestly as he had done for him who had taken him into his family. Generally he was a man in the vigor of life, with many years of good work still in him. There was still ample time to go ahead and improve his condition. Released from the indenture that had held him, with his

earlier ambition to improve still strong within him, his lot was a hundred fold better and more promising than it had

Kort en klaer ontwerp,

Dienende tot

Een onderling Accoort,

O M

Den arbeyd / onrust en moeyelijchheit / van Alderley-hand-werck-luyden te verlichten

D O O R

Een onderlinge Compagnie ofte

Volck-planting (onder de protectie vande H: Mo: Heeren Staten Generael der vereenigde Neder-landen; en bysonder onder het gunstig gesag van de Achtbare Magistraten der Stad Amstelredam) aen de Zuyt-revier in Nieu-neder-land op te rechten; Bestaende in

Land-bouwers,

Zee-varende Personen,

Alderhande noodige Ambachts-luyden, en Meesters van goede konsten en wetenschappen.

Steenende op de vooz-rechten van hare Achtsbaarheden (als hier na volgt) tot dien eynde verleent.

t'Samen gestelt

Des Pister Cornelisz. Plockboy van Zierck-zee, voor hem selven en andere Lief-hebbers van Nieu-neder-land.

t'Amsterdam gedrukt by Otto Barentsz. Smient, Anno 1662.

TITLE-PAGE OF PLOCKHOY'S BOOK.

Containing a Scheme for Settlement on the Delaware.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷ There is, perhaps, no book or tract relating to the history of Pennsylvania that has greater interest for the student of the early history of the State than the little book whose title-page is given in fac-simile above. It is the first description of the country written by one living there at the time, and who died

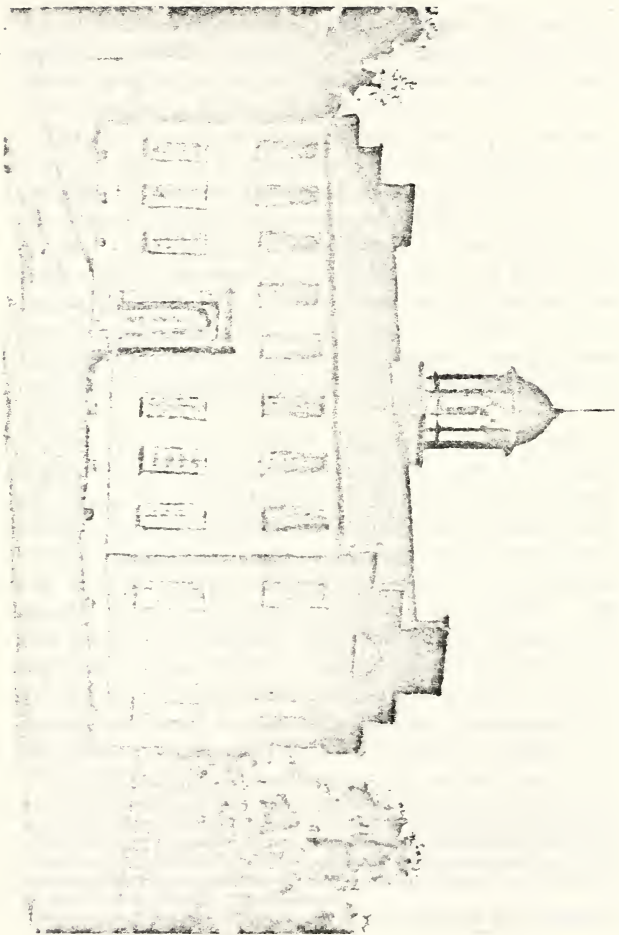
been in his old home. He felt it and he fell to work to make the most of it. German industry and German thrift still accompanied him. The greedy ship-master and the avaricious broker could not rob him of these. With them and the ready assistance that was ever forthcoming on the part of the old master and nearby acquaintances, he started out on his independent career.

The result is well known. He prospered as he deserved to do. His cattle multiplied and the soil failed not to pour forth its abundance. The days of adversity passed away. The era of prosperity took their place, and his early hopes and aspirations were realized. That was the career of thousands. Even though some had in earlier days encountered unspeakable evils, was not this rich fruition of later years infinitely better than anything that could have fallen to their lot in Germany? There they were not bound to a master by indentures, but necessity compelled them to serve him nevertheless from boyhood until incapacitated by age, when the poorhouse received their worn-out frames. He was a servant all his life without any recompense at its close, while his food in the meantime was

within its borders after spending most of his life there. The man was Peter Cornelius Plockhoy, a Dutchman who led a colony of Mennonites to Pennsylvania at an unknown period and settled at the Hoorn Kill, several miles below Philadelphia. After having been in existence only a few years, Governor Carr, of New York, sent an expedition up the Delaware, which broke up and dispersed the little colony. What became of Plockhoy, the founder and leader, there are no records to tell. He, however, wrote and had printed at Amsterdam, in the Dutch language, in 1662, the little tract bearing his name, in which he gives a history of his colony and its people. With the dispersion of his little colony, Plockhoy also disappeared, and it was not until 1694, when aged, blind and destitute, he, with his wife, reached the Mennonite settlement at Germantown, where kind and willing friends built him a house, planted him a garden, and where he died. There is not a more pathetic story connected with the history of our State than this one of poor Plockhoy. His little tract is of excessive rarity, the only copy in Pennsylvania being in the library of Judge Pennypacker, of Philadelphia.

See *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, Vol. II., p. 34.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



FRANKLIN COLLEGE, 1787.

that of the poor laborer, poor in kind and scant in quantity. Surely, we cannot contrast such an existence with that passed by his fellow laborer, Redemptioner though he was, in the welcoming breezes of Pennsylvania.

Thousands of them achieved both fame and fortune. Often, if he was a good man and true, he married his quondam owner's daughter, and with her got back part of the riches his years of honorable servitude had helped to create. Among his own countrymen he lost no caste by reason of his service. Why should he? In the world around him one-half his fellows were working as hard as he to repay borrowed money or to pay for lands or other valuables they had purchased. He too was paying a debt voluntarily incurred and there was no disgrace attached to it.

Our early history is filled with the story of Redemptioners who grew rich by their honest toil and left honorable names to their descendants. I have at this moment an autobiographical sketch lying before me, written by one of these people. He came to the town where I was born, and for nearly half a century lived within easy speaking distance of my own home. He was well educated. He was honest and faithful. The community honored him with public office, while his enterprise, energy and thrift brought him a large estate. He founded a family and his descendants to-day are honorable and honored, the wealthiest people in the community.¹⁷⁸ These are things we

¹⁷⁸ So few Redemptioners, so far as I have ascertained, left records of their careers, that I am tempted to throw in the form of a note a part of what the one spoken of above says of himself. After telling of his birth at Diedelsheim, in the Palatinate, on January 16, 1750, he proceeds to relate that his father was a Lutheran clergyman and his mother the daughter of another also; who the sponsors at his baptism were, all of which were furnished to him by his pastor when he left Germany. He then says:

"My beloved father died in the year —, at the age of 57: my beloved

must not forget in passing judgment upon this man traffic. Common fairness demands it. It rescued thousands from lives of poorly requited toil and placed them where their labor met with its proper reward. Instead of remaining hewers of wood and drawers of water until life's close, they were placed in conditions where the results of their

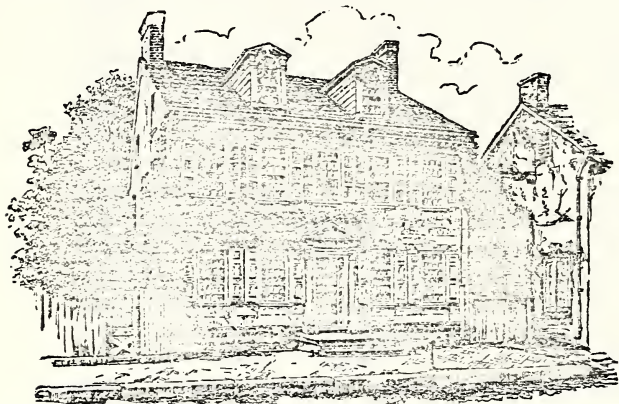
mother departed this life in the year 1760. Even in my tender youth, no expense and pains were spared upon my education by my parents. My father had me not only attend church and hear the word of God, but also diligently attend school. I was also sent to a Latin school from my 6th to my 13th year, that with this and an acquaintance with other necessary branches of knowledge, I might the better get along in the world. For the parental love and faithfulness I experienced, may the great God reward my parents before the throne of the Lamb in Heaven.

"After my father found me qualified to renew my baptismal covenant by a public profession of my faith, I was confirmed in the 13th year of my age, and received for the first time the Lord's Supper. Soon after I expressed my wish to learn the mercantile profession, to which my father gave his consent. I then served a four years apprenticeship in the city of Stuttgart with Mr. Barnhard Fredk. Behruger. After this I went to Heidelberg where I was in the employ of John W. Godelman for two years. From thence I went to Manitz and entered the celebrated house of John George Gontzinger.

"In order to learn more of the world and to improve my fortune, I resolved to travel to Holland, with the hope of finding employment in some large commercial house. My undertaking was unsuccessful, and this contributed to my coming to America, for as I saw no prospect of getting employment in Holland and did not wish to return to my native land, the way to America was prepared. I crossed the ocean in the ship *Minerva*, Capt. Arnold, and landed in Philadelphia on Sept. 20, 1771. I had to content myself with the circumstances in which I then was, and with the ways of the country, which it is true, were not very agreeable. I was under the necessity of hiring myself to Benjamin Davids, an inn-keeper, for three years and nine months. My situation was unpleasant, for my employment did not correspond with that to which I had been accustomed from my youth, in my fatherland. In the course of nine months my hard service ended, for with the aid of good friends, I found means in a becoming way to leave Davids, for the employ of Messrs. Miles & Wistar, where I remained three years and six months."

The foregoing narrative shows how difficult it was, even at that early day, to secure honorable, remunerative employment in the Fatherland. Here was a young man, well born, well nurtured, of good education, trained to business, and yet after serving four years at service in a mercantile house, could find no employment either in his own land or in Holland. As a last resort he came to America. His career answers my argument affirmatively that, despite his three years and nine months of unwelcome service, it was the best thing he could do. It is very certain that he never regretted it.

work went to reward themselves. Not one of all this vast multitude, could their views have been ascertained, would have preferred the old hum-drum life of the Fatherland with its many trials and few rewards to the newer life, the freer air, the more generous living and less oppressive burdens they found in the pleasant land of Pennsylvania.



THE MORRIS HOUSE IN GERMANTOWN.

Where Washington lived in 1793.

At this distant day we can hardly realize all the untoward circumstances and conditions that fell into the lives of these sons of the Fatherland—these children of misfortune and of want. It has been said man must be born somewhere; it is true, and wherever that somewhere may be, that spot, though it be the bleakest on all the earth, will live in his memory forever, and cost him many a pang ere he becomes reconciled to new conditions.

To leave home and friends and country is a trial under



even the most favorable circumstances. To leave them, penniless, with the future all doubt and uncertainty, but with a full knowledge that a life of toil, hard and unremitting, with perhaps nothing better at the end of it, is as dreary a prospect as can shadow any life.

Thousands of them, after spending many years in freeing themselves and their loved ones from the clutches of the taskmaster, had to begin life anew on their own account, in the silence and gloom of the forest. Here their remaining years were passed, generally with abundance crowning their declining years. They had at last homes and fire-side comforts to leave to those who came after them. The worst for them was now over. True, they had at last attained their early hopes, but how much in mind and person had to be endured before the period of fruition arrived. How often in their hours of deepest sadness and gloom the memories of the earlier days in the old home must have forced themselves with overpowering strength upon these sons of sorrow! Only men and women deeply imbued with the consolations of religion could have survived it all without following the advice of the Hebrew prophet's wife, to curse God and die.

Out of those olden forests, out of those homes in the valleys and mountain recesses emerged men imbued with the same spirit of freedom and independence that has marked the men of German ancestry during the long ages that have come and gone since Tacitus portrayed their sturdy virtues in his imperishable pages. Centuries of suffering as well as centuries of success were needed to build and mould the German character into what we find it to-day. The crown has come after the cross. Wrong and sorrow and toil were theirs, but through them all they were true to their lineage, and now, when another century

and a-half has come and gone, the proudest eulogium we can pass upon them and their work is the one we could wish succeeding generations may pronounce upon us:— they fought a good fight, they kept the faith.

“ We leave their memory to the hearts that love them ;
Their sacrifice shall still remembered be ;
The very clouds shall pause in pride above them
Who, though in bonds, were free.”



Dübendörff

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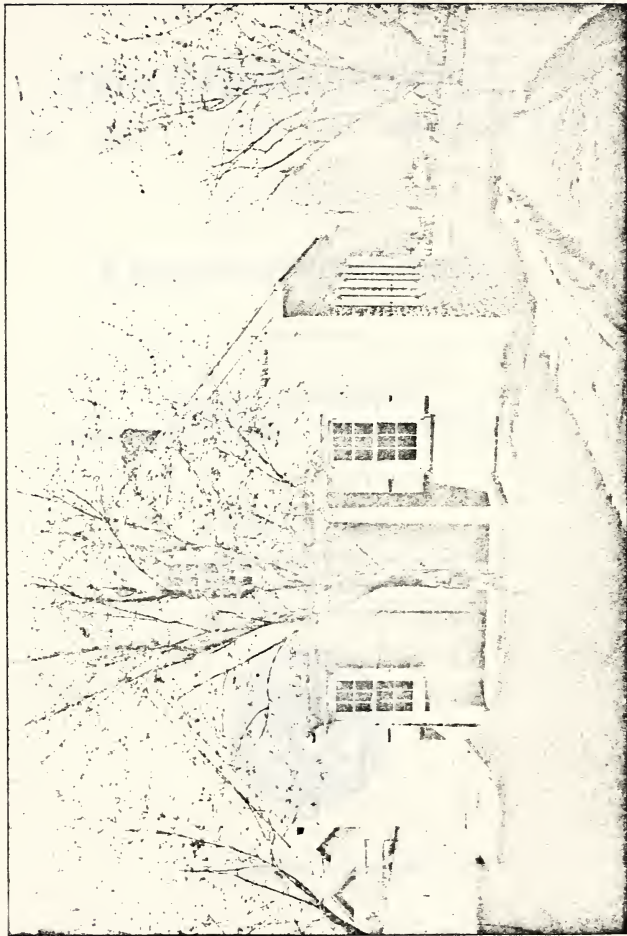
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THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



THE CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN, GERMANTOWN.

AS IT APPEARED ABOUT 1860 (ENGRAVED 1770).

Pennsylvania:

THE GERMAN INFLUENCE
IN ITS SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT.

A Narrative and Critical History.

PREPARED BY AUTHORITY OF
THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.

PART VIII.

*THE GERMAN BAPTIST BRETHERN
OR DUNKERS.*



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

The
German Baptist Brethren
or
Dunkers.

PART VIII. OF A NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY
PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF
THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.

BY
GEORGE N. FALKENSTEIN,
Pastor Brethren Church, Germantown, Pennsylvania.



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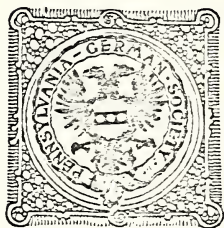
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Initial Letters from Ephrata Copy, A. D. 1750



INTRODUCTION.



IN our complex modern life, it is a wonder if we can stop for a moment and look back upon the simplicity of long ago. Surrounded by luxurious extravagance, we cannot realize the narrow limits of life and the constant self-sacrificing circumstances of our common ancestry. To-day, as we look at this great Commonwealth of ours, some men are impressed with its magnificent proportions and are charmed with its gilded dome. Some there are who look upon it merely as so much political machinery with immense possibilities for the advancement of personal ends. But it is more than a political spider web—more than a social compact or civil alliance with repellent national prejudices. It has a history. It is no longer an English settlement on the Delaware—it is no longer Penn's province. It is more than the dying cadence of strains of martial music—more than a relic of colonial days.

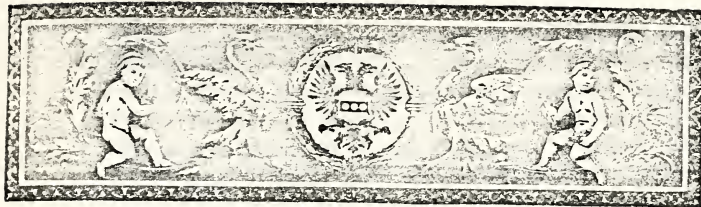
It is a building with foundations and superstructure. The builders were building in the century that is past. In

times of political upheaval and civil strife—and in times when the storms that try men's souls were raging, the building has given evidence of endurance and extraordinary strength. The members of the Pennsylvania-German Society have assigned to themselves the pleasant duty of telling to the world the history of the German influence in the foundation and development of this building, so remarkable for security, strength and beauty. We have cleared away much of the rubbish. We have examined the marks and inscriptions on the walls, and the interpretation of them has been an astonishment. There have been discoveries as real as those in the Babylonian excavations. The foundation stones tell the story of the integrity, industry, devotion and the virtues of faith and hope and love of our German ancestors.

We honor ourselves in the study of the measure of influence of the religion of our fathers, whose love for the home was more perfect because of love to God, and whose faith in life was more constant because of faith in Him. When we understand better the far-reaching influence of that pious devotion, we shall grow in appreciation of the rich legacy of our inheritance.

Thanking you for the recognition, that the Brethren church has been a factor in Pennsylvania history, I trust that a historical sketch of this people will show that they have also contributed elements of strength to our beloved Commonwealth.





CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE BRETHREN.



AN account of frequent confusion, it is well to notice the name in passing. The name first selected was "The Brethren," and this has always remained the choice above all others, but to distinguish us from other denominations and to give recognition to our origin, the legal corporate title is "The German Baptist Brethren." If the reader desires, however, to be intelligent upon the subject, it is necessary to remember that there are several localisms and terms of contempt which came into more or less prominence in the early history of the denomination. Thus the words "Dunker" and "Tunker," and their plurals, come from *dunken* or *tunken*, meaning to dip, or immerse. These, of German origin, are of frequent occurrence and correct enough; *Dunker*, being smoother than *Tunker*, is preferred. *Die Dunker* is familiar to many. "German Baptist" is legally sanctioned and is much used, Baptist being derived from the Greek verb *baptizo*, to immerse. The word "Dunkard," or "Dunkards," is used by two classes of persons. The first, those who are

either too ignorant to know or do not care for the laws of language; and, secondly, by those who do know and want to use it with its true meaning of contempt. According to the laws of language the word "Dunkard" is a hybrid, and, therefore, should not be used by anyone who desires good English. The root is derived from the German, *dunken*, and the suffix, *ard*, is from the French and always carries with it the idea of contempt, in such words as blackard, drunkard, laggard, etc. The word "Dunkard," therefore, should be used only by the ignorant and the malicious. There are other names, localisms of earlier times, not used now.

For the origin of the Brethren church, we must go back to the German Fatherland, the place of so many scenes of religious devotion and conflict. For, as a religious country, Germany stands unique, and in the summing up of its religious interests and activities, is without parallel in the annals of history—the length of time of its religious history, its extreme and diversified character of doctrine, its orthodoxy and heterodoxy, its mysticism, rationalism and materialism, its bitterness of ecclesiastical antagonism, at times, its blind following of dogma, and, at other times, its activity in a sincere and pious and intelligent devotion to Christianity. These things will always mark Germany as a vast and most fruitful field for the student of church history. In this land, the home of the Reformation, and in the midst of this history and these surroundings, was born the Brethren church.

It is to be sincerely hoped that the day is not far distant when some earnest German student and investigator will give us a complete and intelligent history of the times and conditions and circumstances that contributed to the birth and development of the new denomination, but a few facts

and dates must suffice as a proper introduction to that part of the history assigned to the present writer.

The story of the Reformation is a marvelous one. The intense activity and wonderful progress of the reform influences stirred to the very utmost the antagonism of the Catholic church. To counteract the influences of the Reformation and to stop its rapid progress throughout northern Europe, the Catholic church concentrated its entire energy to the development and spread of Jesuitism. "Its object is not to lead souls to a life-giving communion with their Saviour, but only to secure obedience to the Church and to increase the adherents to the Papacy." It seems sad to contemplate what a great change had been brought about in a hundred years from the time of the Reformation. The organized power of the church had been brought into requisition. Is it too strong a picture to quote the words of Baur: "A century after the Reformation, and even earlier, Germany presented a mournful spectacle. Jesuitism pressed like an incubus on the national mind, and even when Luther's teaching still prevailed, it was forgotten that the Christian calling consists of sincere faith, and of a life which originates therein. Even in the Protestant church faith was in danger of becoming a mere intellectual assent; pure doctrine had assumed the form of law; there was a zeal in the defense of it with which zeal for a life of love did not keep pace." The existence of such extreme conditions must soon produce a reaction of far-reaching and permanent results. We do not have to wait long for the change. Out of the darkness two powerful voices were heard. In due time all Germany listens to their earnest exhortations. The first of these was Johann Arndt (b. 1555; d. 1621), the pious author of *True Christianity* (Wahres

Christenthum), popular still, after a lapse of 300 years. The second was Jacob Boehme (b. 1575; d. 1624), a dreamer and noted mystic writer, and perhaps the father of the mystic philosophy of the 17th century. There was profound interest taken in the writings of these two men, and the results produced were as diversified as the doctrines they advocated. There began a new era of agitation and spiritual unrest and the ecclesiastical power was ready to punish all who dared to express their convictions at vari-

Des Geist und Trostlichen Lehlers,
Herrn Johann Arnds,
Bischof General-Sacramentarius des Fürstenthums
Sachsen,
Sämtliche Geistliche Bücher
Vom Wahren
Christenthum,
heiliger Buße / heiliger Heil und Leid über die Sünde
und wahren Glauben / auch heiliger Leben und Wandel
der rechten wahren Christen.
Nicht allein mit begehrtigen Gebeten / Zeremonien / Lebens-
lauf des Auroca. und (Kleinem Negieren)
mit erbaulichen Eustübungen und dem Gebrauche,
und einer Sachverständigen Erklärung von 288. Fragen
Nicht von
Paradies-Gärtlein
in großen Deut
Und einigen besondern Reaktionen / vermittelt welchen man
dieselbe auch auf alle Sünde und Irrtümer / Irthümer und Irrthümern
als ein ewiges Leben / Heil / und Glück zu erlangen kan,
vermögen.
Gießen / Beygel. Johann Franz Gumpel-
1749.

ance with the doctrines of any of the three established churches. While there was cold, ritualistic formality, there was some active piety, and there was also some wild religious excess by those who used religion as a cloak for their maliciousness. In the midst of this restless confusion, in the latter half of the 17th century, there came upon the scene of action many sincere and devoted men and great leaders of

thought. They were Pietists in principle, in the better sense, and had much to do in moulding the thought and doctrine of their generation and the succeeding century.

After all discussion *pro* and *con*, it must be admitted that Philip Jacob Spener (b. 1635; d. 1705) was the father of "Pietism," in its better sense. Though he remained in communion and fellowship with the Lutheran church, his energies were devoted to the promulgation of the best

thoughts and conceptions of "Pietism." Another leader that has enriched the world by his practical piety and benevolence was August Hermann Francke (b. 1663; d. 1727), the father and founder of the famous Halle Institutions—the Halle Orphanage, educational institutions and publishing house. As an estimate of these two men, I can do no better than quote the clear and concise statement of a German scholar and historian: "The Pietism of Spener and Francke was a religion of the heart, a faith which was to make a new creature. It sought entrance into the heart to cleanse it by repentance, and to create in it a new life of faith; it sought entrance into the houses, to turn them into sanctuaries, into schools to transfer the doctrines of the catechism from the head to the heart, and into the abodes of poverty to offer the consolations of the Gospel."¹ Such was Pietism in its best sense, in the church, but unappreciated by cold and unyielding orthodoxy. It was driven out of the church. Leaders of thought were by no means agreed as to faith and doctrine. All had their following. To the above might be added the names of Jeremias Felbinger (b. 1616; d. —); Gottfried Arnold (b. 1666; d. 1714); Ernst Christoph Hochmann von Hohenau (b. 1670; d. 1721); and many others, each one earnest, and no doubt a firm believer in the doctrine he advocated; sharing the love of their friends and followers, and the hate of their enemies; and each one contributing his share towards the breaking up of the stony and unfruitful fields of orthodoxy. Many sincere men felt that corruption and error existed in all three of the established churches—Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed—and that such corruption can be cleansed and error corrected, only by infusion of piety and spiritual life—a life of faith and practical benevolence. They

¹ WILLIAM BAUR, *Religious Life in Germany*.

hoped to succeed by a kind of destructive method, but failed to gauge the strength of the ecclesiastical power.

It required brave men to stand up and say that the church needed to be reformed, and the greater the boldness of the declaration, the more the church resented such declarations. There was antagonism, dismissal, retaliation and bitter strife. Such were some of the conditions from within. And some who escaped from the ritualism and the oppression of ecclesiastical power, went wild in the other extreme, and declared against all organization and all ordinances. There were lawless men, and so Pietism was regarded as a strange aggregation of all religions and irreligion. Persecution was rife. Civil and ecclesiastical powers combined to mete out just and unjust punishment to the guilty and the innocent. Many sincere and earnest souls suffered untold hardships and punishment and torture. Many turned away into rationalism and unbelief. But there were braver souls than all these, in whose hearts burned the unquenchable desire for deeper spiritual life. They had sought in vain in the church, and turned away with other Pietists only to find themselves still unsatisfied and un comforted. They saw the whole field of chaos, strife and confusion, but they had hope in their hearts and they saw the dawn of the coming day. They bravely faced their persecutors, turned to the Bible for comfort and in earnest prayer to the Lord for guidance. Among these were those in whose history we are especially interested.—*Earnest Seekers After the Truth.*



Kürze und einflüchtige Vorstellung
der äussern, aber doch heiligen

Beichten

und

Ordnungen

des

Hauses Gottes

Wie es der wahre Haus-Vater
Jesus Christus befohlen, und in sei-
nem Testamente schriftlich hinterlassen.

vorgestellt in einem Gespräch
unter Vater und Sohn,
durch

Frag und Antwort,

von

Alexander Mack.

einem Mitberuffenen, zu dem grossen
Abendmahl.

Zweyte Auflage.

Germentown,

gedruckt u. in finden bey Christoph Saur, 1774.

Eberhard Ludwig Grubers
Grundforschende

Singen

welche denen

neuen Säufern

im Wirgenfeinischen, insonder-
heit zu beantworteten vorgelegt waren,

ammt:

bengefügeten kurzen und einflüchtigen An-
worten auf dieselben, vornahm schriftlich
heraus gegeben von einem

Aufrichtigen Mitglied

der Gemeinde zu Wirgenfein,

und nun auf dieses Verlangen

zum öffentlichen Druck befördert.

Zweyte Auflage.

Germentown,

gedruckt und zu finden bey Christoph Saur

1774.

sin to seek salvation and permanent rest in Jesus, who, viewing at the same time the general defection and departure from the genuine principles of Christianity? and feeling their minds devoutly pressed, and inclined to bear a testimony to the truth; and for this purpose private meetings were established, for the edification and building up of the newly awakened souls; this laudable undertaking, which however soon powerfully opposed by the jealous and embittered ecclesiastics, influencing the earthly power and commencing a series of persecution in various places, namely: in Switzerland, in Wurtemberg, in the Palatinate and at Hesse Cassel, where they were cast out as exiles; but the Lord provided for them a place of rest, or security, in Wittgenstein, under the protection of a prince, eminent for his moderation, where also the awakening power of God had previously found its way to the hearts of some honorable females of his court; there at a place called Schwartzenau, in the vicinity of Berlenberg, liberty of conscience was graciously afforded them. Wittgenstein, though a rough and barren country, by becoming the place of refuge to the awakened, who now very generally resorted to Schwartzenau, became in the course of a few years a place of considerable repute, though otherwise little thought of.

“Of the number that collected here, there were few of different opinions, habits and manners; they were all denominated Pietists, but they considered each other as brethren; here circumstances very soon occurred which led to conclude that the salutatory counsel of our Lord, Matthew 18, ‘if thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone, etc.,’ is not acceptable, or practicable, where a fraternity is unorganized by obedience to the truths of the gospel; here also some turned back

again to the religion from whence they came out, being offended at the discipline of the cross ; others fostered a spirit of libertinism, more to be dreaded in its consequences than their former depravity ; there were some, however, who, notwithstanding this state of perturbation, were sincerely desirous of finding the footsteps of the primitive Christians and following and imitating the example of Jesus Christ ; and apprehend and appreciate the testimony and commands of the head of the Church ; being fully convinced of the necessity of faith and obedience, in order to the obtaining salvation ; their solicitude paved the way to the discovery of the ordinance of baptism, which they considered as the door to that union and organization which they earnestly desired. The subject of baptism underwent various discussions among the Pietists and spoken of in such manner as to grieve the hearts of lovers of truth.

“Till in the year 1708, eight persons entered into a covenant with each other, by the help of God, to endeavor to attain to the answer of a good conscience by rendering obedience to all the commands of the Lord Jesus and follow him as their good shepherd and leader through good and evil report. Those eight persons, of whom five were brethren, and three sisters (the names of the Brethren were as follows: George Graby and Lucas Fetter, of Hesse Cassel; Alexander Mack, of Schreisheim, in the Palatinate; Andrew Bony, of Basle, in Switzerland, and John Kipping, from Wurtemberg; and the names of the sisters were Johanna Bony, Anna Margareta Mack and Johanna Kipping), covenanted with each other as brethren and sisters under the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, to dwell together in the unity of faith, as a society; by consulting history, they found that the primitive Christians in the first and second centuries uniformly were according to

the command of Christ planted into the likeness of his death by a baptism in water by a three-fold immersion; not resting their faith however upon the authority of history, they searched the scriptures of the New Testament, and finding explicit testimony to that import, they became desirous of practicing a means so strongly recommended by the example of our Lord, and emphatically enjoined by his written precept, believing that it became them thus to fulfill all righteousness.

“But who should now administer the ordinance to them was a difficulty not soon got over. One of their number, who labored among them in the Word, visited the societies in different parts of Germany to collect the opinion of the awakened generally upon the subject of baptism; the greater number acknowledged that immersion was the mode practiced by the Apostles and primitive Christians, but still endeavoring to satisfy themselves that a handful of water by pouring would answer the same end, provided it was administered to proper subjects only.

“The consciences of the before-mentioned could, however, find no satisfaction in these; they therefore desired him who was their minister to baptize them by immersion, according to the example and practice of the first and best Christians and all primitive believers. He felt a diffidence to comply with their request on account of his not being baptized himself; he desired, therefore, first to be baptized before he could conscientiously baptize any of them. They betook themselves to fasting and prayer, in order to obtain help and direction in this case from Him who is the restorer of paths to dwell in, for they were all desirous to be baptized. In this dilemma a testimony of Scripture revived in their minds: ‘Where two or three are gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst.’ Where-

fore, with an unshaken confidence in the precious promise of God, they cast lots which of the four brethren should baptize him who was so anxiously desirous of being baptized; they pledged their word at the same time that it should remain a secret upon whom the lot fell, that no one might take occasion to call the society by the name of any man, as was the case with the Corinthian church, which was sharply reproved by the apostle.

“The crisis for the camp to move forward was now arrived; they were now made willing in the day of the Lord’s power. Accordingly, they went out in the morning to a stream called the Aeder, and there he upon whom the lot had fallen baptized the brother who had discovered so great anxiety to submit to that ordinance; this being done, he was now acknowledged as duly qualified. He baptized him first by whom he had been baptized, and the remaining three brethren and three sisters. Thus were these eight, at an early hour in the morning, baptized in the water by a triune immersion; and after they came up out of the water and had changed their clothes, they were filled with joy, and by the grace of God this expression was revived in their minds with peculiar energy: ‘Be ye fruitful and multiply.’ This is recorded to have occurred in the before-mentioned year, without reference to month or day.

“After this evidence of their love to God, by obeying his command, they were powerfully strengthened and encouraged to bear testimony for the truth in their public meetings, to which the Lord added His blessing, and believers were more and more obedient, so that in the short space of seven years their society became numerous, not only at Schwartzenau, but also at divers places in the Palatinate. A society was likewise formed at Marienborn, to

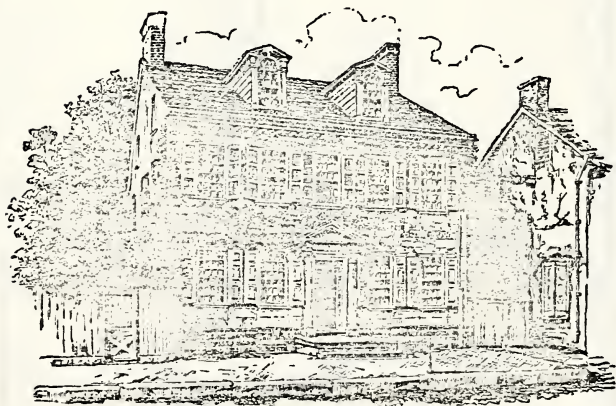
which the awakened from the Palatinate attached themselves, for in endeavoring to form a society for themselves, they were persecuted and banished. And even at Marienborn their external privileges were soon blasted, for as the light diffused itself the truth spread, and their numbers increased; it excited alarm and envy; persecution arose; they were driven out as exiles, and under the direction of providence found an asylum at Crefeldt, under the jurisdiction of the King of Prussia.

“Within this short space of time, it pleased God to awaken many laborers among them, and send them into His vineyard, whose names and places of abode are as follows: John H. Kalklöser from Frankenthal; Christian Libe and Abraham Dubois from Epstein; John Nass and others from the North; Peter Becker from Dilsheim; John H. Traut and his brothers; Henry Holtzappel and Stephen Koch; George B. Gantz from Umstadt, and Michael Ecklerin from Strassburg; the greater number of whom resorted to Crefeldt; some few, however, attached themselves to the society at Schwartzenau. But as they found favor with God and man, so enemies of the truth were found, and persecutions, because of the word, were instituted in divers places; here then were those who took joyfully upon them the spoiling of their goods; others experienced bonds and imprisonments for years, some also for shorter periods; one of their number was confined on board of the gallies, and coupled at the galling bar with execrable miscreants; from these distresses they in time were all conscientiously delivered, their lives being given unto them for a prey.”

“The persecutions which they suffered, the poverty, tribulation and imprisonment that they experienced, only made them the more joyful, and they became prepared for new

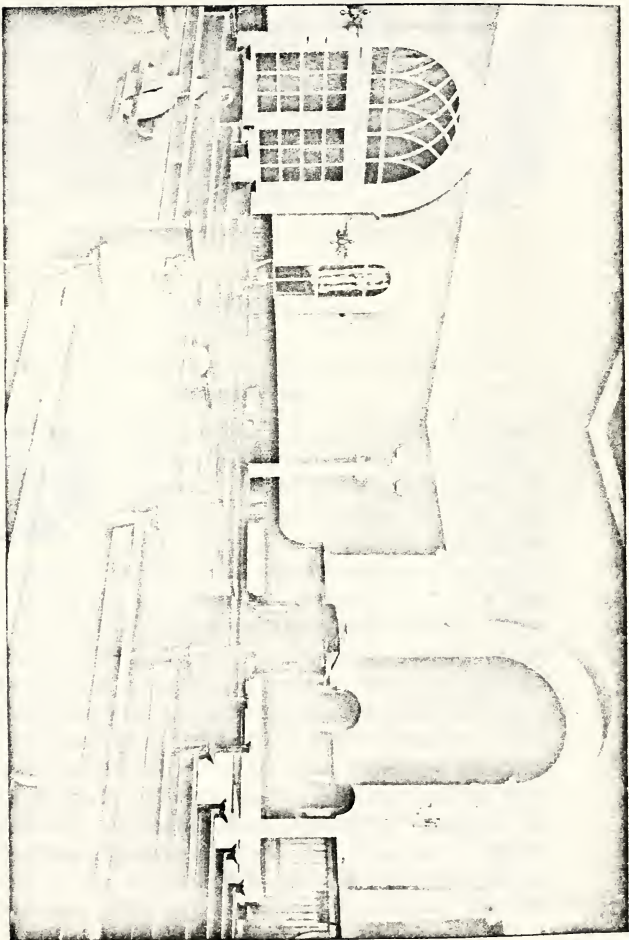
dispensations of trial; their graces were tried by being arraigned before another tribunal, men of learning and abilities proved them with hard questions, with a view to sap their steadfastness with questions to the number of forty, which the reader will find proposed, with their solutions towards the sequel of this treatise.

“About that time it was deemed expedient to issue this for the instruction of the uninformed, in which every impartial and unprejudiced reader will find sufficient matter connected with this Preface to justify the occasion of this production.”



THE MORRIS HOUSE, GERMANTOWN.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



J. F. MACHES, PHOTO.

INTERIOR OF THE NEW CHURCH, GERMANTOWN.

DEDICATED MAY, 1897.

THE LARGE DOOR TO THE LEFT OPENS INTO THE OLD CHURCH.



THE OLD MARKET SQUARE IN GERMANTOWN.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST EMIGRATION TO AMERICA.—A PERIOD OF PERSECUTION.



HAT childlike faith and unfaltering trust! Such pious devotion was the seed of a church. What self-forgetfulness! It was early in the morning, in 1708; this is all we know. The day and the month are studiously avoided. They covenanted not to reveal the name of the one who baptized the leader, and they kept their vow; we shall never know on whom the lot fell. They had travelled over Germany to collect the opinion of the awakened upon the subject of baptism, they had diligently searched history for Apostolic and primitive Christian practice, they prayerfully studied the New Testament; there was but one conclusion. The crisis came and the camp moved forward. They knew the consequences but they faltered not. Alexander Mack was not the “founder” of the Brethren church as some say, but, being an evangelist of note, he was the natural leader and was chosen as the first minister. Blessing and prosperity followed the new

congregation, and converts were added in such numbers as to arouse the spirit of envy in the established churches; opposition and persecution were at once instituted. The twenty-one years of the church's existence in Germany were eventful years. We know the struggle, but history is silent on many things we should like to know. The Schwartzenau congregation flourished and in seven years the society was numerous. There was a congregation established at Marienborn, to which the awakened from the Palatinate attached themselves. These members were all driven out as exiles, but found a refuge or asylum at Crefeld, under the jurisdiction of the King of Prussia, whence also came the congregation from Epstein. Notwithstanding fines and imprisonments, cast out of their homes, and driven from province to province, they increased in numbers constantly. They found temporary refuge in Prussia, Holland and Switzerland, but there was no promise of an abiding place anywhere. Their persecutors pressed them hard everywhere. Finally their hearts almost sank within them. Regretfully, they turned their eyes away from the beloved "Faderland" and looked wistfully, hopefully, to the land of promise in the New World. Brave souls those, who, in those days, could face the horrors of an ocean voyage, in unseaworthy, comfortless, death-breeding old hulks. But there was hope beyond, as an anchor to their souls. Did they not count the cost, nor measure the sacrifice? They could not realize all, but they trusted Him whom they followed, and for His sake they were willing to endure all things. The uncivilized Indian was to be preferred to the enemies at home, inhospitable shores to a land of persecution; they would find some new friends for those they left behind, and at great sacrifice, they would have other homes for those of their childhood. The enjoyment

of religious liberty, in the "province of peace," would pay for all they leave behind, and all they should endure, and the darkness of the hour of the sacrifice of all things, proved to be just preceding the dawn of the day of their salvation.

And so was thrust out from a nation this people, and we have the unique example in history of the emigration of an entire religious denomination; but we shall see how their literature, their religious activity, their pious devotion and spiritual influence have enriched Pennsylvania history.

SEEKING RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.

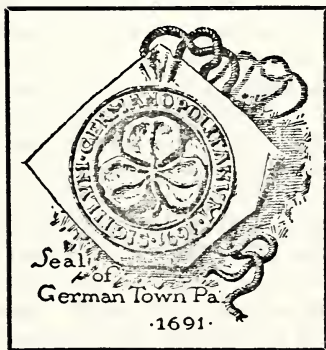


Krefeld was destined to furnish the first company of faithful for the voyage of faith. Here there had been many trials and scenes of persecution and many were now ready to do anything or go anywhere, so there was but the assurance of religious freedom and liberty of conscience. To these people the endearments of home remained only as a sad memory—they

were all exiles and pilgrims among strangers and enemies. The story of this journey and voyage to America, so momentous in its results, is briefly told. The company consisted of about twenty families, it is said, and organized with Peter Becker as their leader. He was a minister at Krefeld and is known as a man gifted in prayer with earnestness and fervency, and as a sweet singer, but not noted as a preacher. They came in the year 1719; that is almost all

we know. The voyage is said to have been a stormy one, which is likely true. Landing at Philadelphia, the procession moved to Germantown, the place that was to be so inseparably connected with their future history. It would be exceedingly interesting to know the names of all of those that composed this company, but we must be satisfied with the names of those that sat at the love-feast and communion service, four years later.

The principal settlement was made in Germantown, while small settlements were made at distant points—some scattering to Skippack, Falckner's Swamp and Oley. There were new experiences awaiting these hardy pioneers, as they marched forth into the primeval forests. The reliance upon God, taught them in the school of bitter persecution,



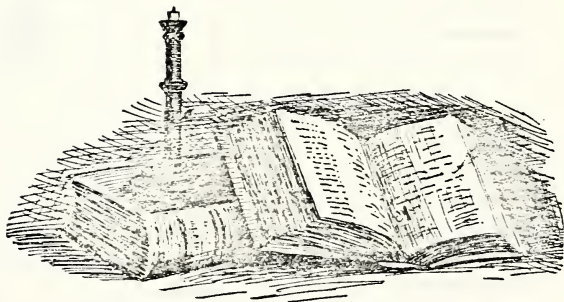
no doubt served as their support and comfort in many a new trial and dark hour. They were face to face with a series of struggles. They were struggling to conquer the forest wilds, to make them fruitful fields. They were struggling to establish homes. They were struggling to adapt themselves to new and strange conditions and

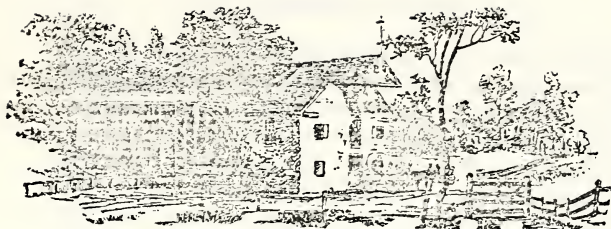
circumstances in life. And, above all, they were struggling to adjust religious differences and prejudices that marred their fellowship and prevented their united effort in Christian work. But Germantown was from the first the leading settlement and was destined to become the great center of

religious influence and activity for the next century and a half. It is readily understood, therefore, why Germantown and its great religious activities should receive special consideration, since the history of Germantown for the first one hundred years is really the history of the church. Here were the ablest ministers and the most gifted hymn-writers—from here came the Bibles and hymn-books and the greatest missionary enterprise.

It is sometimes sad to record the facts of history, and it may seem sad to some to record this fact of religious differences among the first Brethren in America, and the consequent first three years of spiritual drought. Historians have seized the opportunity of speaking of “jealousies and bickerings” among themselves, without stopping to consider reasons or results. In considering the religious condition at this time, it is necessary to make a careful inquiry into the cause or causes, in order that we may understand future results. To the careful student and the impartial investigator, it is gratifying to know that differences in views produced discord among them, or at least lack of full fellowship. It only proves that the real spirit of the Brethren church was at variance with the mystic influences and all kindred forms of error which some had absorbed in Germany. Crefeld was a general asylum for the persecuted and among the refugees all shades of belief obtained. Some of the Brethren did not wholly escape the influence of the disciples of Boehme. There was prolonged trouble in the Crefeld congregation. The members discussed their differences while crossing the ocean, and the agitation was kept up after they came here, and in fact, continued until some left the communion of the church. These things hindered the work for three years, and saddened many hearts, but the worst is yet to be told in the years to

come. There were earnest souls praying for relief from this spiritual famine, and the Lord soon answered in refreshing showers of spiritual awakening, and we are about to record a most important event in the religious history of Pennsylvania.





AN ANCIENT GERMANTOWN GRIST MILL.

CHAPTER IV.

GATHERING THE FIRST FRUITS IN AMERICA.



OR several years after their arrival there was no religious effort made by them, but in the fall of 1722 several of the Germantown brethren—Becker, Gommere, Gantz and the Trauts—visited the scattered Brethren. In the fall of the following year there was an occurrence which finally bridged over their separation and brought them to organize themselves into a church. This event was the application of six “persons on the Schuylkill” for baptism. These “persons on the Schuylkill” lived thirty-five miles up the river, and comprised Martin Urner and his wife and four neighbors. This organization of the Germantown church and baptism of these first six converts took place on the 25th day of December, 1723.¹

The *Chronicon Ephratense* gives the following account: “In August of the year 1723 a rumor was spread through the country that Christ. Libe, a famous Baptist teacher who had long been in the galleys, had arrived in Philadelphia. This moved some newly awakened persons

¹ See *Urner Family*, p. 9; Isaac N. Urner, LL.D., Philadelphia, 1893.

on the Schuylkill to go forth to meet him. The whole thing, however, was a fiction. These persons were persuaded by the Baptist (Brethren) to go with them to their meeting, during and after which they heard so much of the Germans' awakening that they went home very much edified. Soon after a second visit was made to Germantown, by which both parties were so much edified that the German Baptists (Brethren) promised them a visit in return, which they made four weeks afterwards with great blessing. The newly awakened ones were thereby stirred up still more, so that they begged to be received into their communion by holy baptism. This was the occasion of important proceedings among the Brethren in Germantown, for they still had in mind the misunderstandings which had arisen between them and their brethren at Crefeld. Besides, they were indeed a branch of a congregation, but yet not a congregation that dared to presume to administer the sacraments. The worst was that they were divided among themselves and had only lately commenced to draw nigh to one another again. After they had seriously pondered over all these things in the spirit they finally agreed to consent to the request. Accordingly, after the candidates for baptism had chosen Peter Becker as their baptizer, they were baptized in the stream Wiskohikung (Wissahickon), near Germantown, on December 25th, of the year 1723. And as these were the firstlings of all baptized among the high Germans in America, their names shall be here recorded and given to posterity, namely: Martin Urner and his female housemate, Henry Landis and his housemate, Frederick Lang and Jane Mayle. The evening following they held the first love-feast ever celebrated in America at John Gommere's, which created a great stir among the people of that neighborhood, Peter Becker, mentioned before, ministering at the same.

“Through such a Divine happening the Baptists (Brethren) in Pennsylvania became a congregation.”

The importance of this event justifies these quotations and extended consideration. To Julius F. Sachse belongs the credit of working out many an interesting fact of the early history of the Brethren and I desire to quote in this connection his interesting descriptive sketch of the events of this memorable day of Organized Beginnings in America. It is taken from his excellent volume, issued lately, entitled *German Sectarians in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1899).

“Returning once more to our story, it was on the morning of Wednesday, December 25, 1723 (Christmas Day), that a number of German settlers who had located within the bounds of the German township, wended their way towards the humble weaver’s shop where Conrad Beissel had served his apprenticeship, at the extreme end of the borough limits in what was known as Van Bebbers-town. History has unfortunately failed to preserve for posterity the exact location of Becker’s humble abode. This, however, is but of secondary importance. We know that it was in Van Bebber’s township, on the North Wales road. Tradition strongly points to the vicinity of the present church, where the earliest meetings were held. However, be this as it may, upon the day in question the solemn scenes which took place on the Eder, in Germany, fifteen years before were to be repeated here in the western world and the foundation laid for a new Christian denomination. The seed sown in Germany was to be transplanted into our virgin land, where it was destined to take root and flourish far beyond any expectation of the devout band on either the Eder or the Wissahickon.

“It was a typical winter’s day, the air crisp and cold,

the sky clear, the ground hard and frozen, with a thin covering of snow. Many were the sad memories of the Fatherland that came into the minds of these pilgrims in a far-off land, as they plodded over the frozen ground; separated, as it were, from both kin and church, they thought of the joyous Christmas at home.

“The day was a well-chosen one for their object—the fervent desire to organize a church home for themselves, to found a new Christian sect in the New World. The series of devotional meetings held by Peter Becker and his helpers was about to become the grain of seed which was to bring forth a mighty tree with wide-spreading root and branches. Their aim was to form a Gemeinde or commune of their own—to give them the benefit of religious instruction, and at the same time emancipate them from what Falkner calls ‘the melancholy, saturnine Quaker spirit’ which then prevailed in the province.

“It was well-nigh noon when the party assembled and devotional exercises were commenced. After these were over it was found that there were present seventeen persons who had been baptized in Europe, viz. : Peter Becker, Johann Heinrich Traut, Jeremias Traut, Balser Traut, Heinrich Holzappel, Johannes Gumre, Stephan Koch, Jacob Koch, Johannes Hildebrand, Daniel Ritter, George Balzer Gansz, Johannes Preisz, Johannes Kampfer, Magdalena Traut, Anna Gumre, Maria Hildebrand, and Johanna Gansz. These persons proceeded formally to organize themselves into a congregation, and constituted Peter Becker their elder.

“Six postulants now presented themselves and asked to be baptized as by Scripture ordained, and then received into fellowship, viz. : Martin Urner, his wife, Catherina Urner; Heinrich Landes and his wife; Friedrich Lang

and Jan (Johannes) Mayle. Thus they became the first Anabaptists among the high Germans in America. In the church records this band of converts is always referred to as the 'First Fruits.' The immersion took place the same day. After a noonday meal had been served the party went in solemn procession down the old Indian trail, which led from the North Wales road to a ford on the Wissahickon, and thence beyond the ridge towards the Schuylkill. This trail, which long since has become a public highway, was known north of the township line successively as Morgan's and Trullinger's lane, now Carpenter Street. South of the dividing line the trail was successively known as Gorgas, Milner's, Garseed's and Kitchen's lane. The course of the creek at this point makes a sharp turn and here comes nearest to Germantown. The distance from Bebbertown, or the upper part of Germantown, to the Wissahickon is but a short one. The distance traversed by the party was about one and one-half miles; it was a short journey for the sturdy Germans of that day. The objective point of the party was a level bank, or strip of land on the estate of Johannes Gumre, adjacent to the creek, where easy access could be had to the flowing water. The ravine of the Wissahickon is a rugged one, with towering rocks upon either bank, making the shore inaccessible, except in a few places.



ARMS OF CANTON URI.

“The strip of land in question is about two hundred yards north of Kitchen's lane. There recession of the rocky ravine forms a space large enough to accommodate



quite a respectable number of people. While the rocks are covered with evergreens, the alluvial soil on the bank has fostered the growth of the catalpa and other deciduous trees. In former days, at the time of the scene we are now describing, when the country was as yet covered with a fine forest growth, a rivulet broke over the rocky wall in the background and formed a picturesque waterfall as it leaped from rock to crag in its wild flight down to the bottom of the ravine.

“When the party reached the banks of the Wissahickon the afternoon was already well advanced, so little time was lost. After a fervent invocation to the Throne of Grace and the reading of a passage from Luke xiv, the newly constituted elder entered the water through the thin ice, leading by the hand the first candidate. This was Martin Urner, a native of Alsace, who had been brought up in the Reformed faith, and who, together with his two brothers, for a short time had been members of the Hermits on the Ridge.

“The scene was a solemn one. The small procession on their way to the creek was reinforced by some of the Hermits from the heights on the other side of the stream, and some others who were attracted out of curiosity, so that by the time the party arrived at the banks of the frozen stream the company was quite a goodly one—witnesses who were to assist by their presence at what was to be the founding of a new Christian denomination in America.

“Clear above the sound of the rushing waters and the rustle of leafless branches rose the solemn German invocation and the singing of the baptismal hymn composed by Alexander Mack, ‘Ueberschlag die Kost, Spricht Jesu Christ, wann du den Grund wilt legen.’¹ Numerous as

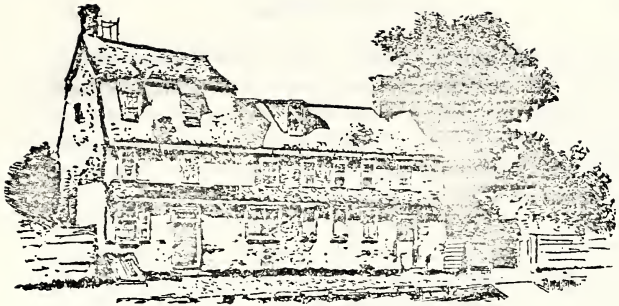
¹“Count the cost, says Jesus Christ, when the foundations thou wouldst lay.”

had been the mystic rites and occult incantations held on the rugged ravine and valley of this stream since the gentle Kelpius and his band settled there thirty years before, none were more fervent or brought so great and lasting results as this solemn rite upon the narrow strip of rock-bound land on the shore of the Wissahickon. There stood the administrator deep in the cold water; before him knelt the rugged Alsatian; thrice was he immersed under the ice flood. As he arose the last time the Segenspruch was pronounced and Martin Urner once more entered the material world to become a factor in the religious development of his adopted country. His wife, Catharina Reist, was the next candidate, followed by the other four persons, the same scenes being repeated in each case.

“Long before the solemn rite was ended the winter sun was well down over the Schuylkill hills and the sky covered with leaden clouds. The party now proceeded to the house of Johannes Gumre where dry clothing was provided. In the evening a love-feast was held, the rite of foot-washing was observed, at which the newly constituted elder officiated as a token of his humility. This was followed by the breaking of the bread and the administration of the Holy Communion, and was partaken of by the seventeen constituents and the six newly baptized converts, making twenty-three members in all.

“Thus was perfected the organization of the first ‘Congregation of the Brethren in America.’”





AN OLD GERMANTOWN LANDMARK.

CHAPTER V.

GROWTH OF THE CONGREGATION.—CELEBRATING HIS BIRTHDAY.



HAT a scene for a master's hand this reproduction of "The Last Supper," and we may well wish that it might have been placed upon canvas! But what we have is enough, and we are devoutly grateful.

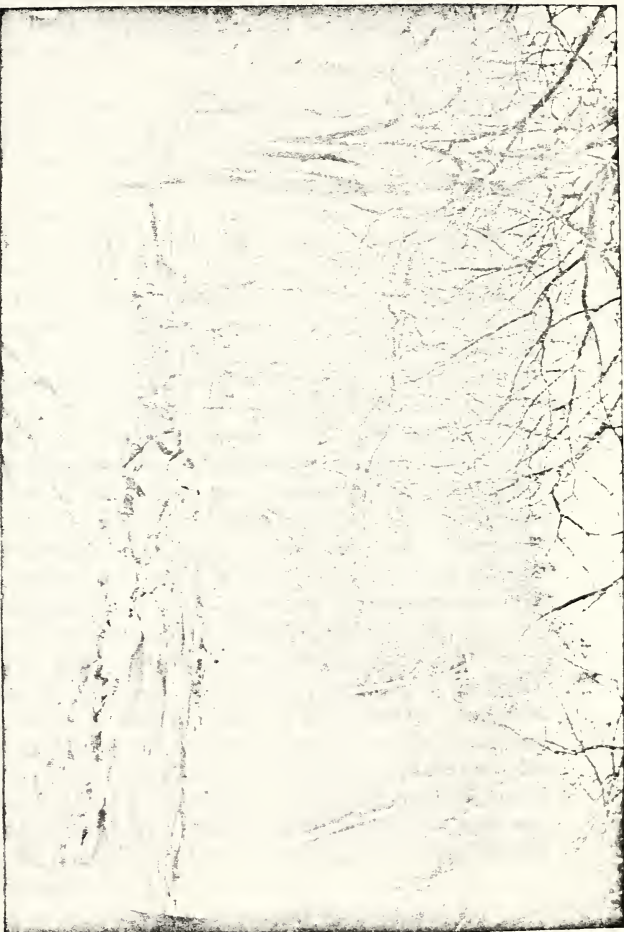
The spiritual blessings which we enjoy as the fruits of their labors would indeed in itself be enough. Let us be thankful for each fact of additional interest. It was Christmas Day. What an appropriate day for the memorial observance of the Ordinances, which He commanded. To that memorable day which should be dear to the heart of every Christian, is now added a three-fold interest for every member of the Brethren church in America, viz., The First Organization, The First Baptism, The First Love-feast and Communion Service. There were twenty-three persons for the twenty-three years of the new century, sur-

rounding the Lord's table. What a gathering from two continents, and various tongues and nations; and the aggregate number of miles this entire company travelled in fleeing persecution and coming to the truth and this blessed fellowship, was more than sixty thousand miles. Not only the number of persons that were there, but their names, are recorded, and what history they have made. Of the original eight at Schwartzenau, not one of them sat at this table. The Lord in His providence has dealt kindly and leads us gently on. Not only have we the day and date, and the facts of the day, and the number of persons, and the names of the persons; but Mr. Julius F. Sachse gives us the reasonable assurance of the identification of the spot where these important events transpired. If so, there is added interest, as the present writer not only walked in their footsteps over the historic route from Germantown and stood on the banks of the baptismal pool in the beautiful Wissahickon, but also stood within the walls where they were seated around the table of the Lord. These ruined walls are all that is left of the once comfortable home of John Gumre. Before me rolls the Wissahickon, famous in story and song, while on the hills above are towering forest trees, standing like sentinels, the guardians of these hallowed scenes. As I stand in the midst of these reflections, and as I look upon the rugged grandeur around me and into the historic past, there is such a flood of inexpressible thought that I stand in silence and look up in mute adoration.

IMMEDIATE RESULTS.

It is not difficult to understand that there were immediate results from these wonderful events which we have just cited, as well as remote and far-reaching. The immediate results were of a two-fold character—internal and external.

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY.



THE BAPTISTRY ON THE WISSAHICKON.

LEVEL PARK AND POOL. ABOVE KITCHEN'S LANE. WHERE THE FIRST DUNKER BAPTISM WAS ADMINISTERED IN AMERICA

The effect upon the membership was very marked. It was a visible demonstration of the Lord answering the earnest prayers of the faithful ones. Such great blessings brought new life and hope to the congregation—indeed they had not been a congregation before. The desire that all might enjoy such blessings of fellowship as they enjoyed, was intensified. The truth must now be spread. Missionary enterprise was commenced. It has already been noted above that these memorable Christmas-day scenes “created a great stir among the people of the neighborhood.” Here then were inside and outside results, incentives, opportunities. Steps were at once taken to improve these favorable opportunities, but the “winter proved to be an exceedingly hard and stormy one, and the meetings were discontinued until spring. They were resumed early in May, and continued with great success. Efforts were also made to reach and influence the youth and to educate them in matters spiritually. Many were attracted to the services and ‘taught to walk in the fear of the Lord and to love the Brethren.’ As the fame of this awakening spread abroad there was such an increase of attendance that no room could be found large enough to accommodate the worshippers; so, whenever the weather permitted, the assembly was held in the open air.”¹

There was, however, another immediate result. Such present blessings and such bright prospects for the future was not to be shared alone by those here in America. What glad news this will be to send across the ocean and what joy it will bring to the dear brethren and sisters in the far-away German Fatherland. They shall know of it soon that they may share in the joy of this good news and, perhaps, be induced to come to America and share in this promising work.

¹ Account of German Baptist Brethren in *German Sectarians*.

A MESSAGE TO THE HOME LAND.

The *Chronicon Ephratense* gives the following interesting account of this message: "Under these circumstances they deemed it well to make a detailed report of this new awakening to their Brethren in Germany. Therefore they prepared in common a writing addressed to them, in which they informed them that they had become reunited in Pennsylvania, and that hereupon a great awakening had resulted in the land, which was still daily increasing; that of the awakened several had joined their communion, to which they had to consent, as they dared not withstand the counsels of God." It would be interesting to know that message in full, to have the exact words and know the real heart throbs that pulsated through them, but we shall probably never know more than we know now. The above quotation, no doubt, gives us a fair conception of the scope of the letter, and we furthermore know the effect this and other reports had upon the Brethren in Germany. We shall notice later the history of the original Schwartzenuau congregation. Two Continents are now interested in the struggles in this new and, to them, unknown world. Other messages go from time to time to the Home Land. The earnest prayers from both sides of the great ocean strengthen the hearts of the brave leaders, as they go forth, over the hills and down the valleys, through the forests and across the rivers, bearing the message of the "Man of Galilee"—for he said, "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. Amen."¹

¹ Matt. 28 : 19-20.



SCENE ON MAIN STREET, GERMANTOWN.

CHAPTER VI.

MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE IN THE BRETHREN CHURCH.—A MISSIONARY TOUR TO FRONTIER POINTS.



HE year 1724 was destined to be scarcely less eventful and important than the previous year. No one who is a careful student can dwell upon the events of this year without feeling that they were of the utmost importance to the German pioneer settlers and far-reaching in their influence and permanent results. It was deemed advisable that all the scattered settlements of Brethren should be visited at once and brought under organized spiritual influences. For this purpose a missionary party was organized, with Peter Becker as the leader. It was the first of a series, but this—the most remarkable missionary tour to the frontier in all Pennsylvania colonial history—is absolutely without parallel. Leaving industry and loved ones behind, these pioneer preachers of the gospel, with true German devotion to the cause they loved, marched forth, seven horsemen and seven footmen. It was a worthy representation of the importance of the cause they sought to establish, as well as a worthy representation

of the work accomplished in their continued devotion. What a mission was theirs, pushing out to the frontier lines to battle with callous indifference and skepticism or mysticism and materialism among their fellow-countrymen. And so October 23, 1724, was a memorable day for the Germantown settlement, and what an impressive scene it must have been to behold the gathering of the company of cavalry and infantry, and then behold the company as it slowly moved out of the settlement, northward, over the old Indian trail. The scattered settlers have gathered in little groups here and there to discuss the journey and mission of their neighbors and friends, and with deep interest watched them until they vanished over the slopes of the distant hills.

From the description of "The German Baptist Brethren" I quote the following:¹ "The first stop was made in the beautiful Skippack valley, where a number of Germans had settled. Here several meetings were held with much success; thence they went northward, crossed the Perkiomen and continued on through Providence to Falckner's Swamp, where a halt was made at the house of one Albertus, who, it appears, was in communion with the party. Here revival meetings were held, which closed with a *Liebesmahl* in the evening, followed by the breaking of bread; thence they journeyed to Oley, in Berks county, near Douglassville, where similar work was done with the same results. From Oley the party went southward and crossed the Schuylkill, going direct to the house of Martin Urner, one of the 'First Fruits,' who, since his baptism, had permanently settled in Coventry, Chester county, immediately opposite the present town of Pottstown.

"On the next day, Saturday, November 7, 1724, • • •

¹ *German Sectarious.*

a meeting was held in Urner's house, at which Elder Becker presided. Two candidates were baptized in the Schuylkill, and the ceremony was followed by the usual love-feast and bread-breaking in the evening.

“Upon this occasion was organized the Coventry Brethren Church, of which Martin Urner was made preacher. The following nine persons were the constituent members: Martin Urner, his wife, Catherine Reist Urner; Daniel Eicher and wife, Henrich Landes and wife, Peter Höffly, Owen Longanacre and Andrew Sell.

“From Coventry the revivalists journeyed towards the Conestoga country, as the western part of Chester county was then known. Upon leaving Urner's the party divided, the mounted men keeping to the road and passing the night of Monday, November 9th, at the house of Jacob Weber, who then lived in the Conestoga valley, evidently near the present Weberstown, in Leacock township. Those on foot took a shorter route, probably over the Welsh mountain, and stopped at the house of Johannes Graff. This was in Earl township, at what is now known as Graffsdale, at the lower end of Earl township. The original tract of 1,419 acres was situated on Graff's run, a branch of the Muhlbach (Mill creek). Johannes Graff was the earliest and wealthiest settler in the vicinity. The foundation-stones of the cabin which he built in 1718 are yet to be seen upon the property of a lineal descendant.

“The footmen passed the night under the hospitable roof of Johannes Graff, and on the next day journeyed to the house of Hans Rudolph Nägele, a Mennonite preacher, where both horse and footmen again united.

“The night was passed at the house of Stephen Galliond. Early upon the next day, Wednesday, November 11th, the party retraced their steps and journeyed towards

the valley of the Pequea to bring about an awakening among the Mennonites who had settled there, many of whom had become followers of the seductive Bauman and his noxious 'Newborn' teaching. A large gathering was held at the house of Heinrich Höhn on Thursday, November 12th, at which Beissel was present.

“At this meeting, according to the old records, extraordinary revival powers were manifested. The evangelists spoke with such force concerning apostolic baptism and the Divine purpose concerning fallen man involved therein, that after the close of the meeting five persons felt convinced and applied for baptism. These candidates were Heinrich Höhn and his wife, at whose house the revival was held; Johann Mayer and wife and Joseph Schaffer. The party at once proceeded to the Pequea, and the ordinance was administered to them by Peter Becker. Before the rite was concluded, another person, Veronica Friedrichs, the wife of a local miller, presented herself as a candidate and was accepted. During this service on the banks of the placid Pequea, much fervent spirit manifested itself among all present, and no one was more impressed than Conrad Beissel. He had felt for some time past that longer to withstand the ordinance of God was presumption. To overcome this craving and ease his conscience, Beissel, some time previous to this pilgrimage, attempted to baptize himself. This questionable act, however, failed to convince him, and the uncertainty of its efficacy left him in a very unenviable state of mind. Yet he considered his old master and the others present so far beneath him in every respect that it would be too great a humiliation for his proud spirit to receive baptism at their hands.

“The stepping forth of Veronica Friedrichs, the fervent prayers and pious ejaculations, all tended to increase the

excitement of Beissel; well may it be assumed that it reached a fever heat, and that his mental conflict was a fearful one. He, too, longed to enter the water and be plunged beneath the flood, and through it again enter the material world cleansed from all taint and sin. While he felt himself called to fulfill a mission to preach the Gospel himself, yet his pride forbade him to humble himself, as he considered, to bow to his old master and receive the rite at his hands.

“While Veronica was being baptized the excitement rose still higher. Suddenly, in the very midst of the solemn rite, Beissel remembered how it was recorded in Scripture that even Christ had humbled himself to be baptized by so lowly a person as John. The scene on the banks of the Pequea upon that November day was certainly an impressive one; religious enthusiasm was wrought to a high pitch and reached its culmination when Conrad Beissel announced his intention to be baptized in ‘apostolicwise,’ and importuned Peter Becker to administer the rite. No preparations were made, but as Veronica Friedrichs was led up the slippery bank, Beissel humbly entered the freezing water and knelt before the elder, who after a short invocation immersed the candidate thrice, face forward, under the cold flood.”

After the conclusion of this baptismal service, all retired to the house of Heinrich Höhn, where was held a Love-feast and Communion service in the evening. There were several more meetings held in the neighborhood and Sigmund Landert and his wife were baptized. On the 14th of November, the Germantown missionaries started on their homeward journey. To bring out important lessons may be regarded as sufficient reason for devoting much space to a description of these events. We are much indebted

to the *Chronicon* for dates and facts of these early years that brought such important results.

LESSONS AND RESULTS.

It is desirable to comment briefly on a few lessons and important results while these scenes are fresh in mind. For, it may readily be seen, there are considerations far beyond their local setting. Here are characteristics that have made history. Elements of strength and principles of action, adopted in Germany, are here reëstablished, and have directed the progress of the church ever since. Alexander Mack was an evangelist of note before he organized the Brethren church, and there are many evidences of the missionary activities of the church while yet in Germany. This tour, after the organization in America, was the first step in that missionary enterprise which has been such an important factor in the life of the Brethren church. As an immediate result, one church was organized and the foundation laid for another one, both of these becoming prosperous and important in a few years. In this house-to-house visitation there was social converse and personal instruction regarding spiritual things; and we shall never know out of how many homes was driven the spirit of indifference and materialism by the erection of the altar of prayer. Let us emphasize that thought in this connection. If there is any one thing in which the Brethren church has distinctly stood above other things it is the exaltation of the home and family life.

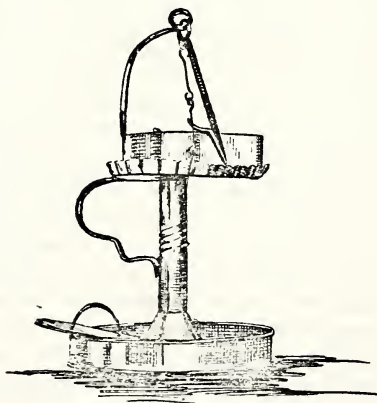
But this evangelistic tour did not simply demonstrate the missionary enterprise in which the Brethren church was born; nor was the organizing of one or two congregations the only result. The seed of the gospel was sown in many homes along the way. The awakened interest in religious

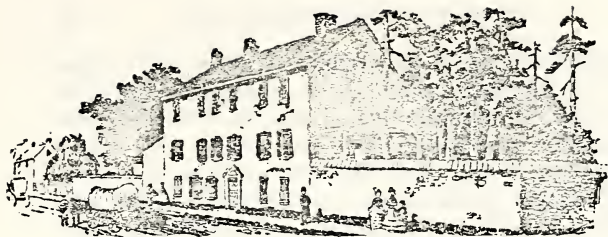
matters was wide-spread, and many a German home received a blessing. The Germantown congregation received much encouragement and inspiration from the success of this work. But there is one more thing to be added to these results, though it mars the brightness of our picture. As already noted above, Conrad Beissel was one of the baptized converts in the Conestoga. He soon fomented a schism that in a few years brought sadness to many hearts and homes and lives.

THE HOME A SANCTUARY.

It has already been noted that the preaching services were held in private homes, the homes of the members. There is no higher type of the Christian home than was found among these early German settlers. Here, indeed, there was earnest Christian devotion; here was the family altar; here was the Bible and the hymn-book, the constant source of instruction and blessing; and here, also, there was careful religious training of the children. But the typical home of which I am speaking is not yet complete. This home was a sanctuary. Here gathered parents and children, old and young, for the public preaching service. No other power on earth can equal in far-reaching influence this combination of the home and the church. We need not wonder, therefore, that it is stated in the old records concerning the first awakening or revival, that "it was especially among the young." This was no doubt a rather "primitive" way, but it suited the times and the circumstances, was eminently successful, and crowned thousands of homes with the richest blessings the gospel can give. I am not speaking of an isolated circumstance, but of a universal condition and the halo of glory of these home-sanctuary scenes has brightened and blessed the lives of

thousands and thousands of Pennsylvania-Germans. There were homes in which such a sanctuary existed for two and three generations, and grace and blessing is the heritage of the family unto this day. For forty-seven years there was not a church or meeting-house among the Brethren. The first one was built at Germantown in 1770, and there were but few for the next ten or twenty years. There are in existence to-day many old Pennsylvania homesteads, homes of the "old families," that were built with special reference to the sanctuary altar, and the accommodation of the "meetings." We shall know fully about the "first meeting-house" a little later.





THE OLD SHUMACHER HOUSE, GERMANTOWN.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SECOND EMIGRATION.



IN a few years a great change was effected in America. By the close of 1724 there were three congregations organized: Germantown, Coventry and Conestoga. The latter was organized soon after the visit from Germantown, and Conrad Beissel was selected as the preacher. Many converts having been made, and the general conditions of things being encouraging to the new settlers, many favorable reports were sent to the members still in Germany or different parts of Europe. It will be remembered that the first emigration came from the Crefeld congregation. It is necessary now to trace the history of the original Schwarzenau congregation during the sojourn in Europe. For twelve years this congregation enjoyed a fair degree of liberty and unbroken prosperity, at Schwarzenau, in the province of Witgenstein. But in the year 1720 a great change came. Upon the death of the mild and friendly count who ruled this province the entire body of Brethren was driven out of the hitherto friendly terri-

tory. Thus while the members left Crefeld for America, in 1719, the members of the mother congregation were refugees from their home in Schwartzenu, the following year. They found a temporary rest and home at Serustervin or Westervain, in West Friesland. It was at this place that they received the news of the promising mission fields among the Germans in Pennsylvania. They decided to cast their lot with their friends and brethren in the New World, the land of religious liberty. They sailed from Rotterdam, in July, on the good ship *Allen*, James Craigie, master, and qualified at Philadelphia, September 15, 1729.¹ And now we enter upon a new era in the history of the Brethren in Pennsylvania.

DARK DAYS AND TRIALS OF FIRE.

We are in the midst of years that are full of history. There are dark days that are full of new and strange and sad experiences. We cannot study all of these things in detail, but we must be satisfied with a rapid sketch, a kind of panoramic view of the principal facts and results. As has already been stated, in treating of the religious condition at the time of settlement in this country, some members had not entirely escaped the influence of mysticism at Crefeld and other places, and they brought some of it to this country. For a time it prevented their fellowship, but was finally swallowed up for a time at least, in the general interest of the revival services. But the spirit of mysticism was only waiting for a favorable opportunity for its development, through the leadership of some one. This opportunity was seized by Conrad Beissel, the new convert

¹ *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Vol. XVII., p. 18. See also MORGAN EDWARD'S *History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania*, Part IV., p. 66, concerning persecution in Germany.

and preacher of the Conestoga congregation. He was a strange character, living a life of dreamy solitude in the Conestoga country. He was a poor, uneducated man, with a strange history in Europe. His most marked characteristic seems to have been his wonderful capacity to absorb all new and strange beliefs wherever found—whether the extreme and sweeping grounds of Pietism, or the ethereal conceptions of the Rosicrusian Mystics, or the solitary meditations of the Hermits on the Wissahickon, or the new doctrine of the Kiethian Quakers on French creek. He seemed to have had the unique experience, too, of coming in contact with more strange doctrines than any one else, and so his own beliefs passed through many evolutions from time to time.

CONRAD BEISSEL.

It is not my purpose to write a life of this man and to give a full account of his work, but it is manifestly necessary to give some facts and details that are needful for a proper understanding of the historical connection with the Brethren church. Conrad Beissel was born in April, 1690, at Eberbach, in the Palatinate. His father was a dissolute journeyman baker, who died two months before the child was born. The orphan boy received the name of Johann Conrad Beissel. He had a devout mother, but she died when he was only seven years of age, and it seemed as if his last blessing had gone. He grew up in a state of the most abject poverty until old enough to learn a trade, when he was apprenticed by the local authorities to a master baker. To his previous life of poverty and wretchedness was now added that of unrestrained frivolity, assisting his master in fiddling at dances. After serving his apprenticeship he started out as a journeyman baker traveling from

place to place. He was for a time at Strasburg where he was first introduced into Inspirationist and Pietistic circles. It was here that he came into fellowship and association



ALLEGED PORTRAIT OF CONRAD
BEISSEL.

with Michael Eckerlin whose four sons played such an important part in the Ephrata community years after. From Strasburg he journeyed to Mannheim where he remained for a time, but was compelled to leave on account of trouble with his master's wife whom he called Jezebel. His next stop was Heidelberg where he had varied experiences. "Here he experienced an enlightenment of the Spirit." He attended revival meetings and devoted himself to his business in which he was successful. He now again turned to mystic circles and joined the local Ros-

icrucian chapter. When this became known, he was expelled from the town and this unfortunate experience seems to have made an end of his business as a baker. He wandered about, almost starving, finding some employment at wool-spinning and other means of livelihood. "He sojourned for a short time among the Tunkers at Schwartzenu." After much wretchedness and tribulation and persecution, he resolved to leave the Fatherland for the wilds of the New World and join Kelpius on the Wissahickon. In spite of the protests of his friends, he prepared to carry his project into effect; crossing the ocean, he arrived at

Germantown sometime in the fall of 1720. Among his companions across the ocean were George Steifel, Jacob Stuntz, and Simon Koenig. On reaching Germantown, great was his surprise and sore his disappointment to learn that Kelpius was dead some years, the chapter of Perfection broken up and its members scattered far and wide. There was a remnant of the community left who lived the solitary lives of hermits and among these was Conrad Matthai whom Beissel consulted as to what he should do. Matthai gave him good advice by telling him to remain at Germantown and learn the weaver's trade or art and Beissel determined to follow such advice for the time being. He indentured himself to Peter Becker who was a master-weaver of Germantown, for the term of one year, but left before the time had elapsed. It will be remembered from the preceding pages that when the first Brethren congregation in America was organized, December 25, 1723, Peter Becker became the Elder, as he had heretofore been the leader. As an apprentice he became a member of the family of Peter Becker and it will thus be seen that for the space of almost one year he was the companion and associate of the leading man of the Brethren and from this time on dates his historical connection with the church. He gradually yielded to the acceptance of the doctrine of the church, until impressions received from other sources directed him into other channels of faith. These two men were greatly grieved as they beheld the spiritual indifference of their countrymen. Various historians of the times describe the condition of the Germans as most lamentable, amounting even to unbelief, assigning various reasons for such condition. The *Chronicon* states that the cause for such indifference to spiritual things is: "The great freedom of this land was one cause of their being thus sold

under the spirit of this world, through which all godly influence has been lost, and each one depended upon himself." The foregoing biographical facts of Beissel were mainly taken from *German Sectarians*, by Julius F. Sachse, that excellent work on the Ephrata monastic community. I quote from the same, page 53, in order to locate Beissel and the place of his future operations upon leaving Germantown: "Determined to carry out his original purpose, Beissel, at the expiration or breaking of his indenture, in the fall of 1721, in company with his former companion, Stuntz, journeyed to the Conestoga valley; and there, in a secluded spot, in the primitive forest beside a spring of water, the two wanderers built themselves a log cabin. This was on the banks of the Mühlbach (Mill creek), a branch of the Conestoga. The branch rises in the Welsh mountain in the eastern part of Lancaster county, and, after an intricate course, empties into that river at the dividing line of Pequea and West Lampeter townships.

"The exact situation of this historic spot can, after the lapse of a century and three-quarters, be given to a certainty, thanks to some old surveys, maps and records, which have been found and located after a long and patient search extending over years of time. The site of Beissel's original cabin in Lancaster is upon the grounds of Miss Marianna Gibbons, about half a mile north of the Bird-in-Hand Station on the Pennsylvania railroad, and agrees with the old record, which states that it was eight miles from the junction of the Mühlbach with the Conestoga."

It was in this hut on the Mühlbach, where Beissel laid the foundation for his Monastic Commune; but many changes were yet to be brought about and many impressions to be made on his mind to become foundation stones

in his future system. From here he soon visited the Labadists on the Bohemia Manor and their communal life made deep and lasting impressions upon his mind. He found much to interest him and much that he afterwards used in his own community. About the same time he visited also the Sabbatarians at Providence and Newtown in Chester county. It was not long until the Sabbath was duly observed in the log cabin by Beissel and his companions, which now were Isaac Van Bebber and George Steifel in addition to Stuntz.

For a time all was quiet and peaceful in the hut on the Mühlbach, but dissension soon arose and dark clouds of trouble threatened the heretofore contented group. When the dissensions arose, Steifel was the first to leave. For some time he lived a solitary recluse life, when he became acquainted with the Moravians and moved to Bethlehem, where he died a few years later.¹

The severe life was too much for Van Bebber and he soon left with impaired health. Beissel seems to have regretted his leaving and the following account of the parting is recorded in the *Chronicon*: "He took leave of the Superintendent (Beissel) with much love, and protested that it was not possible for him to live in that way. The former gave him the following counsel to take with him: 'Know that when you are successful in the world, God has forsaken you; but when all misfortune comes upon you here, then know that God still loves you.' After many years he froze both hands and feet in a shipwreck and was put under the care of Christopher Witt in Germantown. There he remembered this farewell, and sent his last greeting to his old friend."

Misfortunes seem to come now to Beissel in rapid suc-

¹ See Moravians' Records.

cession. Soon after losing these two companions he was away from the cabin for a time. During this temporary absence, Stuntz sold the hut and kept the money as part payment for loans he had made to Beissel. Although he was now homeless and without companions and probably without any means whatever, he was not despairing. He shouldered his axe, penetrated deeper into the forest and before the close of the summer of 1723, he had erected for himself a log cabin about one mile from the former place. This cabin was located beside a beautiful spring and it was here that he was joined by Michael Wohlfarth and the two became life-long friends. It was the following year, 1724, when the thrilling scene was enacted, already recited in preceding pages, and Conrad Beissel received baptism at the hands of Elder Peter Becker. And now for a few years he is in fellowship with the Brethren church, and, having learned something of the past history of the man, we shall better understand his career during these eventful years.

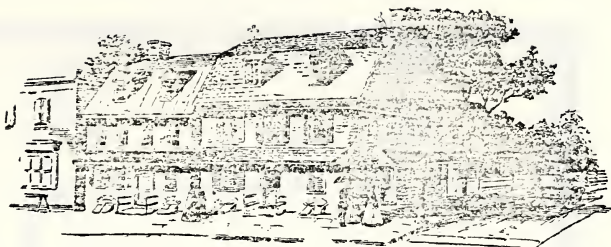
After the departure of the missionaries from Germantown, who had created such a stir, Beissel was selected as the leader and the new congregation of twelve members was formally organized. Scarcely was this accomplished when he began to present his doctrines regarding the Sabbath and defended certain Jewish laws in abstaining from meats, such as pork, etc. Agitation and discussion upon these topics soon produced lack of harmony and restlessness which laid the foundations for dissension and confusion. The confusion seemed about complete, when, soon after, he presented his mystic speculations which produced so marked an effect that, while some thought him inspired, the others thought him crazy. There were a number of converts, however, and among those baptized by Beissel,

was his friend and companion, Wohlfarth. Communication between the Sabbatarians on French creek and Beissel and his adherents, became more and more frequent, and he presented his Sabbatarian views more positively and most bitterly antagonized those who differed on doctrine. This bitterness against the Brethren was carried by those who went to proselyte to all the settlements and finally reached Germantown; and when Elder Peter Becker and some others came on a visit to the Conestoga, Beissel attacked him most bitterly in public in his sermon. Thus was the breach constantly widened, and the Conestoga congregation itself was divided into two parts: those who adhered with Beissel to the Sabbath and those who adhered to the Lord's Day or Sunday. The leader of the latter was Johannes Hildebrand, who had moved to the Conestoga from the mother congregation at Germantown. It was very evident that matters could not go on at this rate and it seemed almost out of the question to restore harmony and reach a peaceful settlement. Beissel made a special effort to reach and influence the various Brethren settlements and that he succeeded will be noted further on in the history. These circumstances bring us to the latter part of the year 1728, and I desire to quote in this connection a paragraph from *German Sectarians*, page 138. "The Germantown Baptists now reproached Beissel for his ingratitude toward them, as it was at their hands that he had received baptism. This, instead of rallying him, only tended to increase his vehemence against his former friends. At the same time he was forced to acknowledge the truth of their argument. How to overcome this dilemma was a serious question. At last, however, a way was found out of the difficulty, which was worked to their own satisfaction. This was the novel proposition to renounce the Becker baptism and return it to the old congregation, and

then to have such of the Beisselianer as had been immersed by Becker rebaptized. This strange scene was enacted toward the close of December, evidently in the Mühlbach or the Conestoga. Upon the appointed day a general meeting of the Sabbatarians was held, during which three brothers and four sisters were selected for the chief ceremony. It had been decided that it was proper for the Sabbatical number to be the foundation of the rebaptized congregation. The number seven and the two sexes were therefore chosen. According to the teachings of the Rosicrucians the number seven represents the union of the square and the triad, and is considered the divine number, in the same sense in which forty is the perfect numeral. Jan Meyle and Beissel were the first to enter the icy water; special hymns were sung, and after an invocation, in which both men renounced their former baptism, Meyle immersed Beissel thrice backwards, and immediately afterwards repeated the operation thrice forwards, thus baptizing the candidate. Beissel then repeated the same ceremony upon Meyle and the others in turn. This act completed the separation between the Germantown and Conestoga Baptists." This babyish act of Beissel in his desire to "return" his former baptism, has received no end of ridicule, but if we can overlook his self-righteousness and self-exaltation and his ambition to lead, the poor man is to be pitied rather than laughed at. This was the condition of things when Alexander Mack with the larger part of the Schwartzenu congregation arrived in the following year, 1729. Several attempts were made at reconciliation, but without success. The Rosicrucian was now more than a mystic; he was partly a Jew and a strict Sabbatarian, on which latter doctrine the separation partly came about. But not this alone, nor was this all of his system. He was a Labadist, and had already advocated celibacy and a communal life. One

of his special missions now was to invade the sanctity of the home, separate husband from wife and wife from husband and parents from children. To many a home, for peace and happiness, he gave sorrow and separation and many of the victims were filled with remorse and regret. Thus was the separation complete. By the very nature of the case, the system of doctrine and the character of the leader and defender of that doctrine, complete separation was an absolute necessity. Some historians and others have regarded and classed these people as a branch of the Brethren church. This seems strange to anyone who has studied the system of doctrine of these people. That the German Sabbatarians or Seventh Day Baptists under Beissel were a schism or split in the first place from the Brethren church is unquestioned; but his Monastic Community is no more a branch of the Brethren church from which he separated than the Lutheran church is a branch of the Catholic church. There could be nothing more foreign in doctrine or more opposite in practical working. While the Master said: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature,"¹ Beissel sought to confine his gospel behind cloister walls. The system was inherently selfish and was destined to die with the brain that conceived it. It was a system whose very foundations were so fallacious in character as to bring about its own destruction and annihilation. But owing to the peculiar conditions and circumstances of those early times, the system flourished for a number of years, and its adherents fairly worshipped its author. Long since, however, has the stern hand of destiny laid low the actors, and while time has silenced the turmoil and the turbulence, and has gently stilled the sobs of broken homes and soothed the heart-aches, let us cover over these scenes of the past with the mantle of charity.

¹ Mark 16: 15.



HOUSE FORMERLY AT N. E. COR. OF MAIN ST. AND MARKET SQUARE.

CHAPTER VIII.

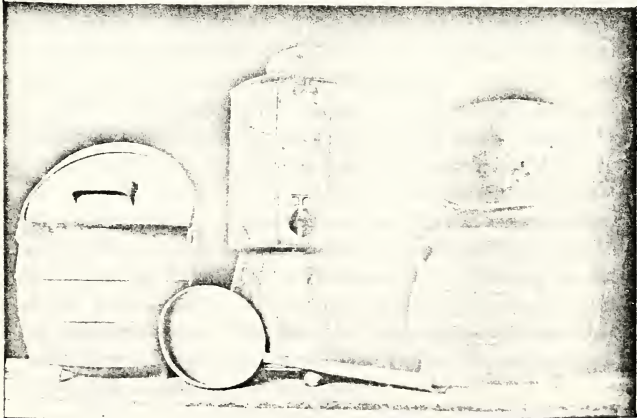
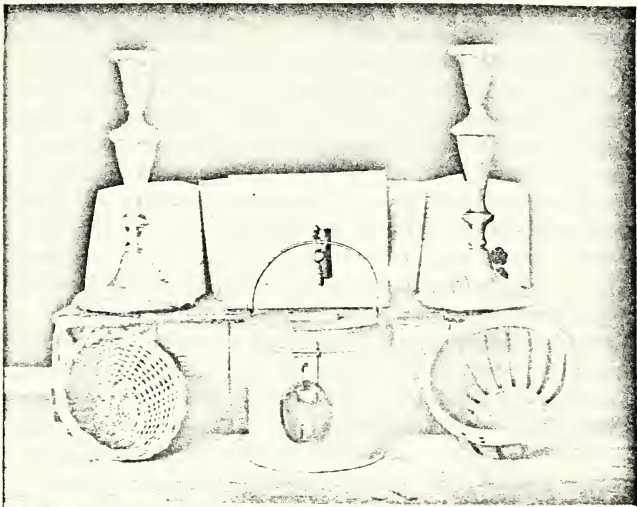
ALEXANDER MACK, THE PATRIARCH.



E have already traced, in the preceding chapters, the Origin and Organization of the Brethren church in Germany. Then tracing the First Emigration, followed the church in America in its organization, in its growth and development, and in its vicissitudes for a period of ten years. In the last chapter, reference was made to the original congregation of Schwartzenu in its wanderings in Europe and the emigration to America in 1729. Upon his arrival, Alexander Mack again became the leading spirit of the church, as he had been in the beginning, in the capacity of the "leader and first minister" at the time of organization in 1708. Some so-called historians speak of him as the "founder" of the Brethren church, but in no sense is he either the founder or the foundation. He was only one of eight to organize the work, but because of his previous experience and activity as a minister and evangelist, he naturally became the leading spirit.

As to foundation, we accept the words of the Apostle

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



RELICS OF THE BRETHREN CHURCH AT GERMANTOWN.

ANCIENT CANDLE-STICKS
PARCHMENT DEEDS
COLLECTION BASKETS
POOR BOX

COOKING UTENSILS
COPPER URN
POTS AND BUCKETS
SKIMMER

Paul, I Corinthians, 3: 11: "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." It may be well to recall Alexander Mack's recital of the covenant of the eight: "Under these circumstances some felt themselves drawn powerfully to seek the footsteps of the primitive Christians, and desired earnestly to receive in faith the ordained testimonies of Jesus Christ according to their true value. At the same time they were internally and strongly impressed with the necessity of the obedience of faith to a soul that desires to be saved. * * *

"Finally, in the year 1708, eight persons consented together, to enter into a covenant of a good conscience with God, to take up all the commandments of Jesus Christ as an easy yoke, and thus to follow the Lord Jesus, their good and faithful shepherd, in joy and sorrow, as his true sheep, even unto a blessed end."

This is a clear statement of those who, having come from different beliefs, accepted Christ and His gospel as fundamental principles. There is no other creed or confession to-day, but the Brethren still accept the New Testament as their rule of faith and practice.

Birth.—Because of the importance of his ministry and leadership for twenty-seven years, it will be of interest to relate briefly such biographical facts as have come down to us. It may be said, however, that we know but little about Alexander Mack. He was born in 1679 at Schriesheim, about midway between Mannheim and Heidelberg, in the Electorate of Palatia or the Palatinate, now forming a part of the grand duchy of Baden, in southern Germany. Of his parents we have little positive information. From what his biographers say of him, we know that his parents were respectable, wealthy and religious.

Inasmuch as "After the Reformation Heidelberg was

long the headquarters of German Calvinism and gave its name to a famous Calvinistic catechism," it is altogether likely that Alexander Mack received careful instruction in the Heidelberg catechism, since he was born and raised only a few miles from that city. Elder James Quinter writes¹ in 1867: "Although we know but little of his ancestors, it appears he descended from a very respectable and wealthy family. He was a Presbyterian (Reformed), and educated in the Calvinistic faith. Of his literary acquirements we know nothing but what we can gather from his writings, and from these it does not appear that he had a classical education."

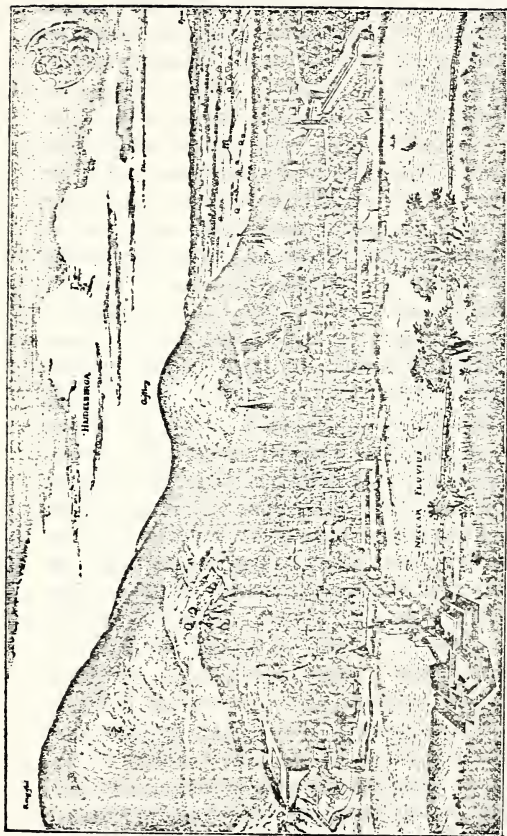
Occupation.—It seems that in early life he was a miller and operated his milling interests. Morgan Edwards, writing² in 1770, says: "He had a handsome patrimony at Schriesheim, with a profitable mill and vineyard thereon, but spent all in raising and maintaining his church at Schwarzenau."

Marriage.—In the year 1700, at the age of twenty-one, he was married to Anna Margaretha Klingin, a native of the same place and about his own age. To this union were born five children, three sons and two daughters.

Life-work.—His life-work began at an early age. He was only twenty-nine years of age when the church was organized and he was chosen the first minister, but he had been active already for a number of years before this time. Being dissatisfied with the religious system in which he had been brought up, he directed his prayerful attention to the scriptures in searching for "the old paths," for he was anxious to ascertain the mind of the Lord as therein revealed. This soon brought persecution and in a few

¹ Memoir of Alexander Mack, Sen., *Brethren's Encyclopedia*.

² Materials toward *A History of the American Baptists*, Vol. I., Part IV.



HEIDELBERG BEFORE ITS DEVASTATION BY THE FRENCH (MERIAN, 1645).

years he was an exile from his splendid estate at Schriesheim. He took his wife and little ones, and with many others found refuge at Schwarzenau under the mild rule of Count Henry. Here he found many active Pietists and among them Ernest Christoph Hochmann von Hochenau who was an active evangelist and with whom Mack traveled much, for they held much in common. There is no doubt but that Hochmann's Confession of Faith encouraged and confirmed Mack considerably in his own growing convictions; but Hochmann seemed to lack the courage of his convictions and his work ultimately came to naught and he died in sorrowful poverty. The work organized here in 1708, as has already been noticed, continued for twelve years, or until 1720; when upon the death of the mild and friendly Count, they were driven to Holland. But the year 1720 is emphasized for sadness in addition to persecution and exile. From *Quinter's Memoir*, I quote as follows: "But he had domestic afflictions to endure, as well as those arising from persecution. In 1720, twenty years after they were united in the bonds of matrimony, and twelve years after they were united to Christ by a living faith and gospel obedience, his companion was taken from him by death. She is said to have been a meek Christian and virtuous wife. She found in death, what she and her husband had sought in vain for on earth, a calm retreat from the storm of persecution. Within one week of the death of his wife, his oldest daughter, then about six years old, also died. It is said that the child was uncommonly fond of its mother. And out of regard perhaps to the fondness which existed between the mother and child, as well as out of regard to the circumstances of persecution under which the father and child were placed, the Lord in His wisdom and goodness may have taken the little daughter

to the quiet home of the mother where it could enjoy her fond caresses, rather than leave it where it must endure the hardships and troubles of persecution in common with its father. Thus in about one week, in addition to the troubles consequent upon the great persecution which was then raging, he had to bear the loss of a kind and Christian wife and a dear little daughter.

“After seeking unsuccessfully for a retreat from persecution in his native country, he with his three sons, and a number of his brethren, emigrated to America in 1729, and settled as a poor man, poor in this world’s goods but rich in faith, on a small lot of ground near Germantown, in the vicinity of Philadelphia.”

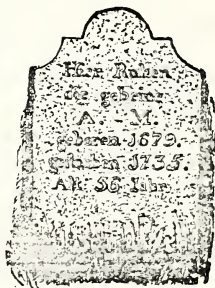
His company consisted of about thirty families and so large an addition to their numbers greatly stimulated the Brethren in Pennsylvania. But the heart of this devoted man was saddened when he found the sad condition of things among his brethren, the result of the Beissel secession. His life was full of heroism, however, and his true courage and moral bravery failed him not now. He went resolutely to work, once more, to win the last great battle of his life. Perhaps he little realized that it was to be the last great struggle. After several vain attempts to reconcile Beissel, all efforts were concentrated to bring harmony out of the confusion and chaos, and once more organize his forces for united Christian work. The result of the efforts is perhaps best indicated by pointing to the fact that a number of churches were organized in the course of a few years. The following is at least a partial list of the churches and the dates of their organization: The Oley Church, in 1732; the Great Swamp Church, in 1733; Amwell Church, New Jersey, in 1733; the Cocalico Church, in 1735; the White Oakland, in 1736; the Cono-

wango, in 1738; and others soon afterwards. But he saw only a part of the fruits of his latter labors. His life was too intense, too full of sacrifice and service, to last long; and at the early age of fifty-six, on February 19, 1735, he peacefully passed away. He had sacrificed all, he lived a hero, he died a martyr. He lived not long, but so well. Morgan Edwards exclaimed of him: "He was a man of real Piety."

Though he probably was not classically educated, his writings have lived for two hundred years. He was perhaps not an eloquent preacher, but his consistent life and consecrated devotion wonderfully impressed the truth he professed. He was truly loved and deeply mourned by those who followed his leadership. His death at this time was a very serious loss, coming as it did so soon after the confusion of Beissel secession; and it would certainly have proven fatal if his followers had builded on the personality of their leader. But he was so anxious about the truth that he had carefully eliminated his own personality. Perhaps the truth of this statement is best illustrated by the following incident. Some time before his death, he said to his family, "Now when I am gone, don't mark my grave, or they might sometime want to erect a monument over my grave." The family was grieved to think that his grave should be lost sight of, and so they protested against an unmarked grave. It is said he then yielded to the wishes of his loved ones and gave them privilege to place his initials on a small stone slab. This incident seems well established as a fact; it is at any rate entirely consistent with the man's life and character, and the unpretentious blue-stone, scarce two feet in height, has been a silent witness for more than a century and a half, to multitudes of his followers.

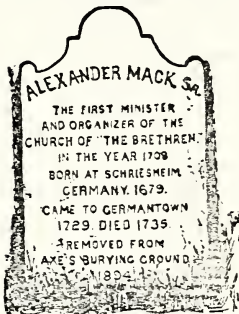
“ His Christian character appears to have been that of a primitive follower of Christ. Humility, zeal, self-denial, and charity were conspicuous among the graces that adorned his character. The high estimation in which he was held by his brethren is seen in the circumstance that he was chosen by them to be their minister. He was the first minister in the little Christian community organized at Schwartzenau in 1708, and labored zealously and successfully to enlarge the borders of their Zion. Of his private character as a Christian father we may infer favorably from the circumstances that all his sons became pious and were united to the church before they had completed their seventeenth year. And what seems somewhat remarkable, they all made a public confession of religion in the seventeenth year of their age.”¹

The graveyard connected with the Brethren church was not opened until near the close of the century, so when Alexander Mack died in 1735, there was but one in the neighborhood, called the Upper Burying Ground of Germantown, and here with loving hands his body was laid away, to rest for one hundred and fifty-nine years. This place has long since been but little used and many removals have taken place within recent years. Because of the growing neglect of the place, it was very desirable that his remains should be removed to the well-kept cemetery of his own brethren and laid in the midst of his descendants, now consisting of six generations buried here. A proposition of removal was pre-



¹ *Quinter's Memoir.*

sented to some of the descendants and they quickly consented, scarcely one of them knowing of his place of burial. The removal took place on November 13, 1894, at which time brief funeral services were held in the historic meeting-house, conducted by the author of this



sketch, assisted by Rev. T. T. Myers, of Philadelphia. On this occasion descendants of the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth generations were present to the number of twenty-five. During these long years, there stood over his grave a small slab of Pennsylvania blue-stone marble, with the following inscription: Hier Ruhen | die gebeine | A. M. | geboren 1679. | gestorben 1735. | Alt

56 Jahr. This slab was retained as a foot-stone, and for a head-stone there was erected a plain white marble slab about five feet in height, with the following inscription: Alexander Mack, Sr. | the first minister | and organizer of the | Church of "The Brethren" | in the year 1708. | Born at Schriesheim, | Germany, 1679. | Came to Germantown | 1729, died 1735. | Removed from | Axe's Burying Ground, | 1894.¹ Thus his remains now rest in the midst of his own people, and beside those of his son and successor, Alexander Mack, Jr. He has to-day a numerous descent, some account of which is given in the appendix to this sketch.

It would be interesting to have a list of the baptisms performed by Alexander Mack, but aside from the seven of

¹ See illustrations.

the original members that he baptized, there are no records of his work in this line.

HIS SEAL.

Some years ago a few descendants made some investigation for the purpose of recovering the seal of Alexander Mack, but without success and it is now feared that it will never be found. Such a seal indicates the prominence of his family. What the character of this seal was, in its symbolic representation, was probably unknown for nearly a century. While the seal is probably lost, we know its character from an impression that was recently discovered. The Brethren church of Germantown has an interesting collection of old parchment deeds. While we were examin-

ing these documents from their historic interest, Mr.

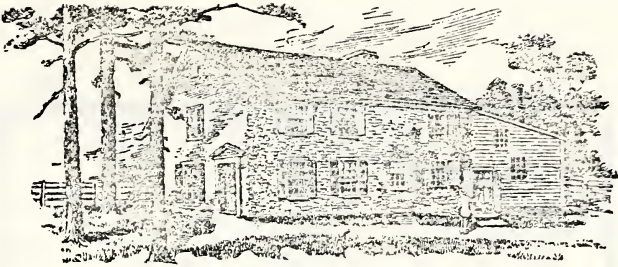
Julius F. Sachse discovered the impress of Mack's seal accompanying an official signature.

The impression is in red sealing-wax and is in perfect condition. The illustration herewith shows

that the seal consisted of several symbols, each of which had a religious significance.

The entire combination constitutes a remarkable index to the character of its owner. In the center is the cross, which means sacrifice; the heart means devotion, and placed on the cross, further means sacrificed in devotion; the branches of the vine, mean fruit-bearing. Thus the seal reads: a devoted, fruit-bearing, sacrificed life. How significantly true this is of the life of Alexander Mack!





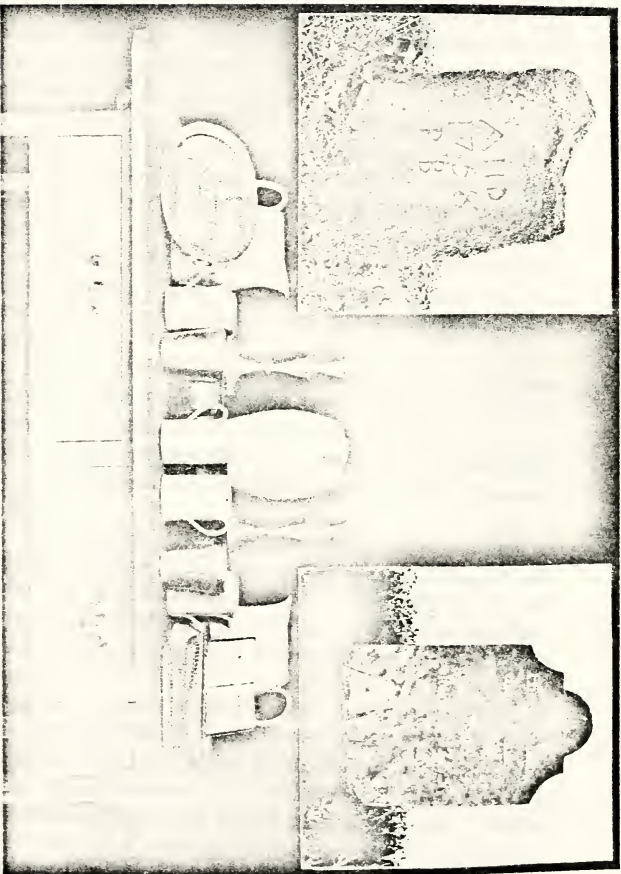
THE OLD PINE COTTAGE, GERMANTOWN.

CHAPTER IX.

THE REACTION.



THE history of the Brethren church for the first twenty-seven years, viz., 1708-1735, has been given with a good deal of detail, since this period is the most important historically in the present treatment. The scope of this sketch will not admit of the same fullness in treatment from this time on, but it is necessary to notice some important events and changes. The death of Alexander Mack in 1735 proved to be a very serious loss. That the work received somewhat of a stunning blow for the time being, and that some of the workers were thrown into confusion, is very evident and is not to be wondered at, when the circumstances are carefully considered. There are a number of distinct elements that enter into this consideration, each one of which is, indeed, important. We may name as fruitful subjects for consideration, such elements as the work, the workers, the discouragements, the conditions of the times, and others might be added to the list.



J. F. BACHGE, PHOTO.

RELICS OF THE BRETHREN CHURCH AT GERMANTOWN.

ORIGINAL PRFRACHER'S TABLE AND CANDLE STICKS.

FULFILL BIBLE AND DISHES USED AT LOVE-FEAST AND COMMUNION CUPS.

TOMBSTONE OF ELDER PETER WICKEN.

TOMBSTONE OF ELDER ALEXANDER MACK, SR.

1. The work was in many respects a new one under these circumstances and presented many difficulties and unsolved problems. Much energy was needed to push the work, and such an important event as the loss of a leader would easily affect its progress.

2. The workers were from different communities, the subjects of different educational influences, and trained under the influence of very varied religious impressions. They felt the need of the harmonizing influence of a common training. They needed a leader who was able to command their love and respect, which would constitute a bond of common union in times of little differences. In Mack they had such a leader, and they keenly felt the loss when he died.

3. Many were the discouragements. The views and doctrines of the early Germans were very varied and divergent. All shades of belief were accepted and prevailed. Agitation was rife. Beissel led a powerful influence in opposition, strengthened by the recruits from all sources.

4. There seemed to have been at this time a period of religious excitement, the natural extreme of the previous indifference that existed a decade or two before. It was also the result of the great agitation in religious doctrine, and the marked antagonism and opposition of some of the workers.

Then, too, it must be remembered that it was not an easy matter to change back again to the leadership of Becker. This is no discredit to Elder Peter Becker, who had been such an efficient support of the work from 1723 until 1729, at which time Mack took full charge of the work. While Becker was not a noted preacher, he was a sweet singer and gifted with more than ordinary power in prayer; he

was a conscientious and devoted worker; he was quiet and conservative in time of crisis; and he must ever be regarded as a judicious and faithful leader for six years previous to Mack's coming to America, as well as twelve years after his death. It will be remembered that in describing the organization of the church in America, the life of Peter Becker is intimately interwoven with all the history of that event, and space therefore forbids a separate treatment of his life. Further reference will also be made to him and the importance of his work.

In some respects, the time of Mack's death seemed most unfortunate. A great crisis was approaching among the Germans in Pennsylvania. Beissel was especially active and aggressive, and while he had confined himself to the Brethren settlements in various places, he now branched out and began to proselyte among the Lutherans and Reformed in the Tulpehocken and other places. It was in 1735 that Rev. Peter Miller and Conrad Weiser and other prominent Germans accepted Beissel's doctrine, and removed to Ephrata. Beissel now seemed to put forth every effort possible to destroy the Brethren congregations. He organized large parties, sometimes as many as twelve in a party, to visit the settlements of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. He laid claim to following the Brethren's doctrine in the observance of all the commandments of the New Testament and everywhere threatened the church. He found in after years that his work was too aggressive, for he had many converts he could not hold, and many he did not want, for he could not assimilate and use them to his own ends. This at least partly explains the reason why so many prominent persons, who became converts of Beissel, remained at Ephrata only long enough to find out the man and the character of his work.

It is not strange, therefore, that there should be a serious reaction when Mack died, owing to the time and conditions in which he died. The newly organized churches (organized in the years immediately preceding his death) indicated the prosperity and progress of the cause for which he stood. But the organizations were too new to endure much of a strain. They needed time to grow, as well as time to crystallize the doctrine and concentrate their strength. There was not time enough to do all of this. As may be expected, the most serious effect was at Germantown; because here were those who knew him best and loved him most, and therefore most deeply mourned the loss of his personal presence. These had come with him in 1729 and had never known any other leadership and ministry than his. Among these were Alexander Mack, Jr., then a young man of 23 years of age, very active in the church, but disheartened when his father died whom he dearly loved. He became somewhat despondent and believed that he too would soon die. There were others who became indifferent and were ready to drift with circumstances. Under these distressing conditions, there comes upon the scene a new and strange character. He was not a stranger, however, but an old friend and believer, who now turns into a strange history. He was a believer already in Germany, and according to the old record, he was a minister at Crefeld before 1715. He came to Germantown in 1719, in the first emigration, and sat at the first Love-feast table on December 25, 1723. In some way or other a great change came over the man. He early leaned to Beissel, and yet Beissel was unfriendly to him, because he and Henry Traut visited Stuntz who had been excommunicated by Beissel. He was especially intimate with Traut, who was at one time a professed be-

liever in the teaching of the Hermits of the Ridge, and had taken the vow of celibacy, but afterwards married a widow. This man was Stephen Koch. He states that the immediate cause of his spiritual unrest was the death of Traut, January 4, 1733. His troubles multiplied. He had been seized with the spirit of mysticism. He was strong under the conviction that he should take the vow of celibacy, and yet he was betrothed to a widow. In addition he states that he was a great sufferer from physical ailment, so that he at times lay for days in the greatest extremity.

Under these circumstances, Koch began to have ecstatic visions, which he related from time to time, and some of which were published, first in Germany and also by Christopher Saur, of Germantown,¹ "Apparitions of Spirits," 1st edition, 1744; 2d edition, 1748. The nature of these apparitions may best be given by an example, as related in his own words: "On the third of May, 1735, at Germantown, as late at night I went behind the house into the orchard, it being bright moonlight, there came to me a delightful odor, partly from the blossoms of the trees, partly from the flowers in the garden, whereat I sobbing spoke to God: 'O, my God, everything is in its order and contributes to Thy glory and honor, save I alone! For I am created and called by a holy calling to love Thee above everything and to become a pleasant savor unto the glorifying of Thy name. Now, however, I behold the contradiction, for I not only do not love Thee as I ought, but am also become an evil smell in Thy nostrils. Alas, unfortunate that I am! Must I then pass my days in such mis-

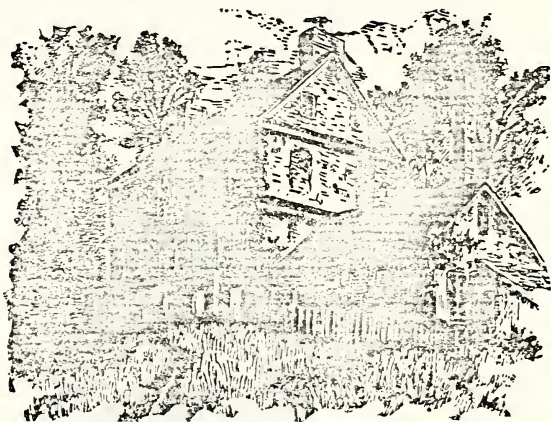
¹ See list of publications on Sower Chart, by CHAS. G. SOWER, *Verschiedene alte und neuere Geschichten von Erscheinungen der Geister*, 1st Ed., 1744; 2d Ed., 1748.

ery? I gladly would love God, the highest good, but I cannot. The world with all its glories cannot satisfy my sad spirit, for I ever see before my eyes spiritual and bodily death.'

"While I thus lamented to God, it seemed to me as though suddenly a flame of God's love struck into me, which entirely illumined me within, and I heard a voice say to me: 'Yet one thing thou lackest.' I asked, 'What is it then?' The answer was, 'Thou dost not know God and never hast really known him.' I said, 'Yes, that is so, but how shall I attain to it?' Then it seemed as though I were beside myself. But when I came to myself again, I felt an inexpressibly pleasing love to God in my heart, and on the other hand all anxiety, with all the temptations of the unclean spirits, had vanished. Yea, it seemed as if all my transgressions were pardoned and sealed, and day and night there was nothing else in my heart but joy, love and praise to God."

These visions continued from time to time for several years, and Koch freely related them and sought every opportunity to promulgate his strange doctrines. In this work he had plenty of help from Ephrata, as frequent visits were made from there to Germantown. He now determined to live a secluded solitary life, and retired to the quiet of Wissahickon. He greatly influenced with his visions the young Alexander Mack, still grieving over the death of his father; also Henry Kalckglässer and others. He readily induced Mack to retire with him to the Wissahickon. There was much agitation, and Koch made converts until the congregation was more or less divided. Receiving all possible encouragement, Koch now commenced to hold public meetings of his own, which meetings were frequently addressed by Peter Miller and others from Ephrata.

The crisis was finally reached, and Koch and his adherents marched out of Germantown, most of them never to return. They journeyed to Ephrata, there to bury themselves in seclusion behind monastic walls. A few, when they realized their disappointment, repented and returned; others there were who died in the sadness and solitude of their disappointment. Perhaps most of this exodus took place March 27, 1739. It was a sad day for Germantown;



THE OLD "MONASTERY" ON THE WISSAHICKON.

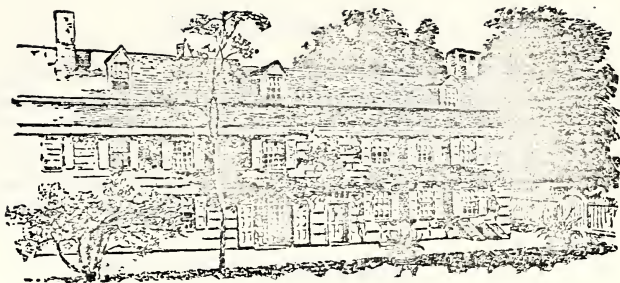
many valuable members had been lost, and some of the best families were represented. There was probably only one thing that maintained Germantown under these circumstances, and that was the faithful devotion of Elder Peter Becker and those who stood with him.

The following names are given as composing the exodus of 1739: Stephen Koch; Heinrich Kalckgläser, and wife; Valentine Mack, and wife Maria (Hilderbrand); Louis

Höcker, his wife Margretha, and daughter Maria; Johannes Hilderbrand, and wife; Johannes Pettikoffer, and wife Anna Elizabeth; the widow Gorgas and her children. Among the single persons who joined the celibates at Ephrata, besides Koch, were Alexander Mack, Johannes Reismann, Christian Eckstein, Heinrich Höcker, Martha Kinsing, Miriam Gorgas and Elizabeth Eckstein.

The chapter that follows indicates the condition of things, thirty years later, among the Brethren congregations in Pennsylvania. Alexander Mack's return will be considered in the chapter on Germantown.





THE "WYCK" HOUSE GERMANTOWN.

CHAPTER X.

EARLY CONGREGATIONS.



It has already been noted that the Brethren, on coming to America, were scattered into distant parts of the country, settling in the various places that offered conditions best suited to their tastes. In due time these scattered settlements became congregations which at an early day well covered the entire eastern part of Pennsylvania. These congregations, at first small and struggling, in due time had many accessions to their numbers, until many families were represented in the membership, wherever these congregations were located. Hundreds of German families were thus enrolled before the close of the century, and tens of thousands of Pennsylvania-German descendants find that their ancestors were enrolled as members of the Brethren church, in the early German settlements of eastern Pennsylvania. For lists of members of these early congregations, we are largely indebted to Morgan Edwards, that thoughtful and far-seeing historian,

who gathered so much valuable information in his *Materials towards a History of the American Baptists*. In some cases the lists of membership he gives are practically the only ones in existence. I freely quote from him in the materials for this chapter. See as above named, Vol. I, Part IV.¹ He wrote in the year 1770.

BEGGARSTOWN.—GERMANTOWN.²

“This takes its distinction from a little village of the above name, in the township of Germantown, eight miles northwest from the city. The meeting house is of stone, thirty feet square, erected this year, on a lot of eighty rods, the gift of one Peter Shilbert. On the same lot stands their old building erected by one John Pettikoffer for his dwelling house in 1731. The families belonging to this congregation are about thirty; whereof fifty-seven persons are baptized and in the communion of the church. This was their state in 1770. For their beginning we have no further back to look than December 25, 1723.

“The membership in 1770 was as follows: Alexander Mack, minister, with his wife and daughter, Christopher Sower, exhorter, with his wife and son, Margaret Boyer, deaconess, George Shriber and wife, Henry Slingluff and two daughters, Philip Weaver and wife, Richard Roob, Michael Keyser, Peter Keyser and wife, Peter Lybert and wife, John Slingluff and wife, Henry Slingluff, Anthony Snyder and wife, Jacob Bowman and wife, Justus Fox and wife, John Kime, Conrad Good, Conrad Stamm and wife, Hannah Stamm, Mary Baker, Sarah

¹The copy I had access to was kindly loaned by its present owner, Chas. M. Benson, Germantown. The book was once the property of Henry Sharpnack.

²See chapter on Germantown.

Isten Dicht
 wir mich
 Johannes
 Beggarstown Jan 8. 1789
 8. 1^{ste} December

TITLE OF JOHANNES LENTZ' HYMN-BOOK.

Only known book bearing the name Beggarstown. Original in possession of Mr. James Warrington.

Handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is extremely faint and illegible due to the quality of the scan. It appears to contain several lines of text, possibly including a name and a date.

Baker, Susannah Baker, Eve Fith, Elizabeth Boyer, Mary Bossert, Margaret Herszback, Magdalen Mellinger, Elizabeth Roob, Christian de Lashet and wife, William Spyra and wife, Nathaniel Shryber, Katharine Shryber, Henry Sharpnack and wife, Mary Nyse, Rudolph Harly and wife, Mary Fend, Sybelia Ent.

“GREATSWAMP.

“This society is distinguished by the above name, which is a name of a tract of land called the Greatswamp. The meeting is kept at the house of Mr. John Frick in Upper-milford township, in the county of Bucks, about 40 miles northwest from Philadelphia. The families belonging to the society are about 20 whereof 28 persons are baptized. Thus stood things with them in 1770. Their beginning was in this manner. In the year 1733 one Salome Miller and Joseph Miller her brother, John Brech and wife, Peter Longanacre and Peter Rhode were baptized by Mr. John Naass. In 1735 were baptized by Mr. Peter Baker and Mr. Martin Urner, one Hanse Zuk and wife, John Sleifer, and John Frick and wife; and the same time had the Lord's supper administered to them by Mr. Peter Baker. This was the period of their existence as a society; and 11 their number. They have existed for 35 years without any remarkable event, except that count Zeinzendorf took away some of them in the year 1752. At first they were visited by ministers from other parts, and increased fast. Several of the Mennonites joined them. But since that time the increase has been inconsiderable. The first settled minister they had was

“REV. ABRAHAM DUBOY.

“He was born in 1679 at Epstein in Germany. Bred a Presbyterian. Embraced the principles of the Baptists in

1712. Came to America in 1728. Settled at Perkiomen; and from thence went to the Greatswamp in 1738, where he died and was buried March, 1748. Since that time Mr. John Frick hath preached to them; but is not ordained." It seems that Duboy was a minister already in Germany and was a man of considerable prominence. He joined the church in the Marienborn district, but a few years later joined the mother congregation at Swartzenau and became an assistant to Alexander Mack. He was a modest, pious and devoted man. He was unmarried. A. H. Cassel, the antiquarian, relates of him that he had a strange presentiment of his death. On the morning of the day on which he died he informed the family where he lived that the time of his departure had come. He dressed in a shroud and invited the family to join him in singing "*Nun fahr ich hin mit Freuden, ins rechte Vaterland,*" etc., then, after a fervent prayer, he reclined on a couch and breathed his last, as one would fall into a quiet sleep.

The following is the list of members as given by Morgan Edwards: John Frick, exhorter, and wife, Laurence Erboch and wife, Andrew Meinzinger, John Demud and wife, John Sleifer and wife, Henry Kun, Philip Goodman and wife, Philip Deal, Frederick Deal, John Redroch and wife, Egite Christian and wife, Lodowick Christian and wife, Jacob Staut and wife, Mary Christian, widow Rinker, Catherine Rinker, widow Olinger, widow Crayling, Freny Trissel.

COVENTRY.

This was the second congregation organized. It had a large number of accessions from time to time and has maintained a continuous existence until the present time. It has furnished many members for colonization in different parts of the country. The church has had an efficient

ministry. Its first members were "The First Fruits of the Church in America," as already noted in the organization of Germantown. Because of its early importance, it will be of interest to give some detail of its history, at least its earlier history.

Professor I. N. Urner, as an introduction to his history of the *Urner Family*, writes a sketch of the history of the Coventry church, from which I quote as follows: "As the Urners were the founders of the Coventry Brethren church, and its preachers and bishops for the first eighty-seven years of its existence, a sketch of its history seems the proper introduction to the genealogy of the Urner family.

"The Coventry church took its name from the township in which it is located, and the township is supposed to have received its name through Samuel Nutt, an early settler and iron-master, who came from Coventry, in Warwickshire, in England. The township first took the name Coventry in the year 1724, the same year in which the church was organized. * * * At its formation, the township of Coventry comprised not only the land along the Schuylkill River, now North Coventry, East Coventry, South Coventry, but all of the upper part of Chester County, and even a part of the present county of Lancaster."

The organization of this congregation on November 7, 1724, has already been noted in Chapter VI., and its constituent members named at the same time.

"While it had many accessions, its growth in number was retarded by heavy colonizations from the Church. The members were mostly farmers, and while the land was good, the lands in other localities were better. Some moved to what was then called the Conecocheague, now

embraced in Franklin and Perry counties, in Pennsylvania, and Washington County, Maryland; some to the Shenandoah Valley, in Virginia; and some to Carroll and Frederick counties, in Maryland, where the Urners, the Wolfes, and the Crumbachers are still found."

The Coventry Church was in charge of Elder Peter Becker of Germantown, from the time of its organization until 1729. The first resident minister was Martin Urner, who was ordained to the Eldership by Alexander Mack, Sr., in 1729, at which time he took upon himself the care of the church. The following account is given of this Martin Urner, Sr., in *Urner Family*: "Martin Urner, the founder of the Coventry Brethren church, and its first bishop, was born in Alsace, then a province of France, in the year 1695. The family had been driven by religious persecution out of the Canton of Uri, Switzerland, whence the name Urner, and took refuge in Alsace. About 1708, Ulrich Urner, with his three sons—Jacob, Hans and Martin—emigrated to Pennsylvania, and is said to have settled for awhile at Roxborough, near Philadelphia. In 1712 the name of Martin Urner appears among the settlers of Lancaster county. In 1718 he bought a tract of four hundred and fifty acres of land of the Penns, in what is now called Coventry township, Chester county, Pennsylvania, on the Schuylkill river, immediately opposite the present town of Pottstown. On this property, now called Bellwood, he and his descendants lived long years afterwards, and on part of the land the Coventry Brethren church and the Coventry Brethren graveyard are located. He died in 1755, and was buried in the Coventry Brethren graveyard."

Thus it will be seen Martin Urner was born in 1695; came to America in 1708; was baptized in 1723; was ordained in 1729, and died in 1755.

Morgan Edwards gives the following view of the church in 1770: "This takes its distinction from the township where most of the members reside, in the county of Chester, 37 miles from Philadelphia. Coventry is on the banks of the Schuylkill, opposite to Potsgrove. These people have no public place of worship, but hold their meetings in a kind of rotation at five private houses. The present minister is Mr. Martin Urner, who has to his assistance Mr. Peter Reinhart. The families belonging to them are about 22, whereof 40 persons are baptized. This was their state in 1770."

While they had no meeting-house in 1770, they probably built their first house in 1772, two years after Germantown had been built. The Martin Urner referred to in the account of Morgan Edwards, is the second Martin Urner, nephew of the first. He was a son of Jacob Urner and was born in 1725, one mile northeast of the present town of Pottstown, in New Hanover township, then in Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania, but now in Montgomery county. He joined the church at an early age, and was a very active and prominent preacher in his day. After the death of his uncle in 1755, he was ordained elder or bishop of the Coventry church in 1756, and was in charge of the congregation until his death in 1799. The church flourished under his ministry. This second Martin Urner was an intimate friend of the second Alexander Mack of Germantown.

"List of Preachers of the Coventry Brethren Church from 1724 to 1893," according to I. N. Urner :

	Born.	Died.
Martin Urner, Sr.,	1695	1775
Martin Urner, Jr.,	1725	1799
Jonas Urner,	1772	1813

	Born.	Died.
Casper Ingles,		
Peter Rinhart,	1733	1806
Martin Rinhart,	1757	1820
Abraham Rinhart,	1770	1842
George Price,	1753	1823
John Price, Sr.,	1782	1850
John Price, Jr.,	1810	1879
Jacob Harley,	1786	1842
John Harley,	1812	
David Keim,	1802	
Peter Hollobush,	1805	1872
Jacob Conner,	1834	
Isaac Urner Brower,	1844	
Jesse P. Hetric,	1844	
John Y. Eisenburg,	1840	

List of members in 1770, of the Coventry Brethren church :

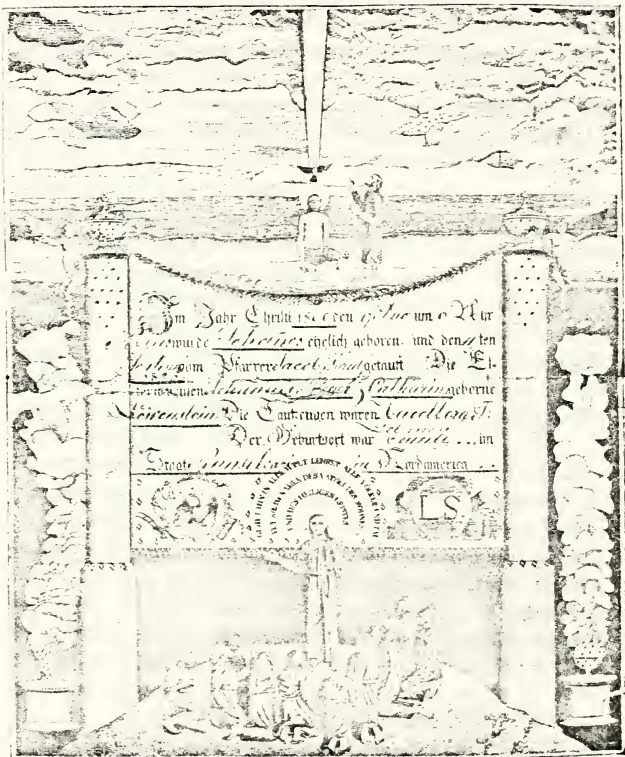
Martin Urner, minister, and wife, Peter Reinhart, exhorter, Owen Reinhart, Henry Dasker and wife, Nicholas Harwick and wife, Abraham Grub and wife, Christian Monsieur, Barbara Miller, Barbara Welty, Frederick Reinhart and wife, Barbara Urner, Elizabeth Ingles, Catherine Grumbacker, Catharine Boch, John Eiker, Jacob Pfauts and wife, Abraham Boch, Andrew Woolf, Easther Switser, Wendle Danfelsner, Henry Bear and wife, Jacob Sweitser and wife, Maud Reinhart, Jacob Light and wife, Philip Waggoner and wife, Eliz. Holderman, Anthony Bernard and daughter, John Light and wife.

OLEY.

“This society takes its distinction from the township where most of the people reside, in the county of Berks, fifty-four miles northwest from Philadelphia. The present



THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



DUNKER BAPTISMAL CERTIFICATE.

JOHANNES REYER BORN AUG. 9, 1800; BAPTIZED SEPT., 1825.

preachers are Mess. Martin Gaby and Jacob Joder, but not ordained. The families belonging to the place are about twelve, whereof twenty persons are baptized. This is their present state. They had their beginning about 1732, when one Ritters, Shilbert, Blanth and others, did unite for communion of saints, having Peter Baker to their assistance. Since this time they have no ordained minister, but are visited by Rev. George Kleine. This church is much reduced by reason of removals of families to other parts, particularly to Conococheague in 1743."

It will be noticed that here, as elsewhere, Peter Becker, of Germantown, was active in organizing the work, and that the Oley church, like Coventry and, in fact, all the early congregations, lost heavily by colonizations to other parts. Thus all the congregations furnished their quota towards making up the advance guard that gradually carried the influence of the church into every new territory in the opening up of the Great West. For many years they were visited by Elder George Kleine, of the Tulpehocken, so active and helpful in many places. While Martin Gaby was not ordained in 1770, he was ordained some years later.

The membership in 1770 was as follows: Martin Gaby, exhorter, and wife; John Joder, exhorter, and wife; Conrad Price and wife, David Price and wife, David Kinsey and wife, Jacob Baker and wife, Christian Kinsey and wife, Peter Kleine, Liss Ellis, Margaret Harpine, Catharine Plank, Daniel Kleine and wife.

COCALICO.—CONESTOGA.

"This society is distinguished by the above name which is the name of a little river near to which the people reside, in Cocalico township and county of Lancaster, 60 miles w n w from Philadelphia. The minister is Rev.

Jacob Sunday, who has Mr. John Landis to his assistance. Mr. Sunday was born in Germany in 1700, came to this country in 1735, was ordained in 1763, at which time he took on him the oversight of the church. He married Mary Landis by whom he has one son. The families belonging to the society are about 53 whereof 86 persons are baptized. This is their present state. They originated about the year 1735, when the following persons separated from the church of Ephrata and became a distinct society viz. : Michael Pffauts, Rant Woolf, John Frantz, Emick Reyer, George Reyer, John Landis, Samuel Good, Henry Sneider, Philip Rouland and others, having Rev. Peter Baker to their assistance. The first minister they had was Rev. Michael Frantz, a native of Switzerland. He was ordained in 1734, and the next year took on him the oversight of the church. He died in 1748 and was buried at Cocalico. After his death Rev. Michael Pffautz and others preached to them until their present minister was ordained."

The above account is concerning the Conestoga congregation. It will be remembered that there was a great missionary tour undertaken from Germantown, in the fall of 1724, led by Elder Peter Becker. See Chapter VI. for full description. Upon this occasion there were a number baptized in the Conestoga country, and a church was organized on November 12, 1724, with Conrad Beissel as minister. He soon preached his strange doctrines, and in 1728 left the Conestoga church and took many members with him to form his new organization, which ultimately he located as the Ephrata Monastic Community. The Germantown Brethren took care of the remnant for some time, until about the year 1735, when they were organized according to the above account. Elder Michael Frantz

was their first minister and leader. He was born in Switzerland in 1687; came to America in the year 1727, and settled on the Conestoga. He proved a giant of strength to the little congregation, and in a few years of his ministry it prospered greatly and there were several hundred accessions. He was an energetic and efficient workman. His ministry was not long, for he died in 1747 or 1748; but he left the work in a well-organized condition, and he was succeeded in the Eldership by Michael Pfautz, whose ministry was equally efficient and successful. He was born in Germany in 1709, and came to America in 1727. Having been ordained by Elder Frantz just a few weeks before his death, Elder Pfautz remained in charge of the congregation for more than twenty years, during which time large numbers were added to the Church by baptism. He died in 1769, and was succeeded by Elder Jacob Sonntag; but it seems that Elder Christian Longenecker of the Whiteoakland Church, was in charge of the congregation.

In 1770, the membership was as follows: Rev. Jacob Sunday and wife, John Landis, exhorter, and wife, Peter Eychelberger and wife, Michael Frantz and wife, Henry Mohler and wife, Peter Reyer and wife, Tobias Millar and wife, Christopher Becker and wife, Elizabeth Lessley, Catharine Harlacher, Ann Mohler, Magdalene Millinger, Daniel Ballinger and wife, John Rosh and wife, Daniel Reyer and wife, John Reyer and wife, Martin Meyer and wife, Jermiah Woolf and wife, George Schwarts and wife, Jacob Landis and wife, David Landis, Christopher Westenberger and wife, Jacob Sponhauer and wife, Christopher Widder and wife, Jacob Knodel and wife, Salome Harlacher, Barbara Frantz, Catherine Reyer, Margaret Landis, Barbara Steiner, Barbara Schob, Henry Schneider and wife, Daniel Hollinger and wife, Christopher Reyer

and wife, John Meyer and wife, Samuel Good and wife, Eva Sychrift, Jermiah Woolf, Jr., and wife, Jonas Joner and wife, Jacob Heller and wife, Mrs. Histant, Mrs. Moser, Mrs. Behr, Christopher Haas and wife, Jacob Harnley and wife, Magdalene Landis, Mary Frantz, Magdalene Bel-lenger, Mary Koch, Barbara Koch, Henry Schneider, Jr., and wife, Susannah Landis, Catherine Landis.

The Conestoga church had an able, aggressive and efficient ministry, and before the close of the century, there were probably five hundred baptized members, the work of those years. Many of these members, scattered by colonization, far and wide, laid the foundation for many new congregations in this and other States.

WHITEOAKLAND.—WHITE OAK CHURCH.

“ This society is distinguished as above from a tract of land so called, in the parish of Warwick, Lancaster county, 75 miles west by north from Philadelphia, and two miles from Lititz. They hold their meetings at private houses. The minister is Rev. Christian Longanacre, who was born November 11, 1732, in Raffo township. Ordained May 15, 1769, at which time he took on him the care of the church. He married Margaret Geib by whom he had six children. The families belonging to the society are about 39, whereof 65 persons are baptized. This is their present state. They began in this manner. About the year 1729 one George Reyer, John Langanacre and others came from Germany and settled in this neighborhood. After them came several more from other places who in the year 1736 united together and had the Lord's Supper administered to them by Rev. Michael Pffautz. He was their first minister but lived at Cocalico. He married Catherine Schluch by whom he had four children. Was ordained

in the year 1735. Died May 21, 1769, leaving behind him a good character."

The list of members in 1770 was as follows: Rev. Christian Langanacre and wife, John Zug and wife, Christian Zug and wife, John Langanacre and wife, John Pffautz and wife, Henry Kuensing, Jacob Kuensing and wife, Christian Krabel and wife, Jacob Zug and wife, widow Huber, Catherine Bitner, Elizabeth Reir, Abraham Flohry and wife, Conrad Gingle, George Mohler and wife, Elizabeth Huft, Martin Schuh and wife, Henry Giebel and wife, Barbara Eby and four daughters, Henry Eter and wife, Elizabeth Langanacre, Henry Langanacre and wife, Ulrich Langanacre, John Hackman and wife, Henry Stholer and wife, John Lautermilch and wife, George Kleine and wife, Catherine Gish, John Frantz and wife, Ann Huber, Fronica ———, Catherine Reyer, Salome Borgart, Mrs. Kratzer, Conrad Hausser and wife, and George Stohler and wife, Jacob Hershy and wife, Andrew Eby and wife.

GREATSWARTARO.—BIG SWATARA CHURCH.

"This church is so distinguished from a river near to which the people dwell; and sometimes by the name of Eastconewago which is another river that runs through the neighborhood. The meeting is held chiefly at private houses in the township of Mount Joy, county of Lancaster, 20 miles from Lancaster and 86 miles west by north from Philadelphia. Their preachers are Messrs. George Miller and Adam Hammaker, but not ordained. The families belonging to the congregation are about twenty, whereof 39 persons are baptized. This is their present state. They began in this manner. In the year 1752 the said George Miller embraced the principles of the Baptists, and soon after, his wife. Others moved hither from White-

oakland, and in the year 1756 united into a society, having Rev. Michael Pfautz to their assistance. He continued to visit them while he lived; and after him, others. They purpose soon to ordain Mr. Miller to be their minister."

The 39 members in 1770 were as follows: George Miller, exhorter, and wife and daughter, Adam Hammacker, exhorter, and wife and daughter, Peter Eritzstone and wife, Philip Roemer and wife, John Buck and wife, John Eter and wife, Jacob Metsegar and wife, Henry Thomas and wife, Christopher Branser and wife, Margaret Thomas, Philip Reicker and wife, Peter Bersh and wife, Henry Stohner and wife, Wendel Merich and wife, Frederick Hess and wife, Jacob Eter and wife, George Balshbach and wife, George Henry and wife, Barbara Henry, Freny Cass.

LITTLE SWATARA CHURCH.

"This church also takes its distinction from a river of the above name, in the township of Tulpehocken and county of Berks, twenty-five miles from Reading and eighty-one miles northwest from Philadelphia. Some of the people live in Bether township, in Lancaster county. They hold their worship in private houses. Their preacher is Mr. Peter Heckman, but is not ordained. The families belonging to the society are about nineteen, whereof forty-five persons are baptized. This is their present state. Their beginning was in this manner: About year 1745 one George Beshler settled in this neighborhood, and one Michael Frantz, Peter Heckman, John Frantz and others. These were baptized by Rev. George Kleine, and in 1757 coalesced into a church, having the said Kleine to their assistance. He has ministered the Lord's supper to them

ever since, but they purpose soon to ordain Mr. Peter Heckman."

The members were as follows: Peter Heckman, minister, and wife, Jacob Heckman and wife, Michael Frantz and wife, Nicholas Gerst and wife, Jacob Moyer and wife, George Beasher, David Marge and wife, Simon Menich and wife, John Frantz and wife, Christian Frantz and wife, Rose Shnables, Jacob Smith and wife, Liss Kentzel, Adam Henrich, Mrs. Cyder, Philip Zeigler and wife, Jacob Breisen and wife, David Kleine and wife, widow Benedict, Elizabeth Benedict, Sophy Kish, Leonard Sebalt and wife, John Grove, Jacob Baker and wife, Jacob Deal and wife Hans Stohler and wife, Jacob Beshor and wife.

NORTHKILL.

This is an illustration of how each scattered settlement became an organization, wherever there were a few members to form a nucleus. It shows too how some relatively small congregations maintained their existence under very unfavorable conditions. Because of an unfavorable frontier position and colonization to other parts, Northkill made very slow progress for many years. We know little of its early struggles except what Morgan Edwards records. I might take his facts and dress them up in other language, as others have done, but I have preferred in this case, as in the case of the other congregations, to use his own language, which is often interestingly quaint. In this region of the Tulpehocken, there is by that name to-day a strong and flourishing congregation and has been for many years.

"This little society is distinguished as above from a small river called Northkill, in the townships of Tulpehocken and Bern, county of Berks, 15 miles from Reading, and 71 miles northwest by west from Philadelphia. The

minister is Rev. George Kleine. He was born at Zweibrücken in Germany, October 9, 1715. Came to America in 1738. Was baptized in 1739 by Mr. Naas of Amwell in the Jersey. Ordained in 1757 by Revs. Michael Pfautz and Martin Urner. He married Dorothy Repman by whom he has seven children. The families belonging to them are seven, whereof 11 persons are baptized and in fellowship. This is their present state. They began to be a church about the year 1748 when one John Stump and sister, Frederick and wife, with a few more, had the Lord's supper administered to them by the Rev. Michael Pfautz. About two years after, their present minister settled among them. The society was reduced to its now low estate, by the removal of families to other parts."

The members were as follows: Rev. George Kleine, minister and wife, Valentine Lang, Elizabeth Reiler, Elizabeth Stump, Sarah Solenberger, John Stohner and wife, Mary Stohner, Susanna Mackley, Elizabeth Brandel.

CODORUS.

It has already been noticed in connection with the history of different congregations in Lancaster county and other sections in the eastern part of the State that there was much colonization at an early day. This migration and colonization was first to the southern counties of Pennsylvania and then into various counties in Maryland and Virginia and even south as far as North Carolina. It was not until after the Revolutionary War that western emigration was open to any extent. The Brethren at an early day crossed the Susquehanna, entered what is now York county, and occupied hundreds of its fertile acres. The strong congregations within the county to-day attest their prosperity for one hundred and sixty years.

The following account is given of early settlements that became permanent: "This society is distinguished as above from a river that is called Codorus, in a township of the same name in the county of York, 11 miles from the town of York, and 99 miles west by south from Philadelphia. The preacher is Mr. Henry Neff, but he is not ordained. The families belonging to the place are about twenty whereof thirty-five are baptized and members of the church. This is their present state. They began to be a church about the year 1758 when one Rudy Yunt, Peter Brilharth, John Brilharth and others, united for communion of saints, having Rev. Jacob Tanner to their assistance. This Tanner left them to go to Monocasy; since, they have been supplied from other places. Mr. Neff will soon be ordained."

The membership in 1770 was as follows: Henry Neff, exhorter, and wife, Jacob Tilman and wife and daughter, Jacob Spitler and wife and two daughters, Peter Brilharth and wife, Jacob Neiswanger and wife, Ann Neiswanger, Catherine Beightley, Elizabeth Leip, George Beary and wife, John Harold and wife, Rudy Yundt and wife, William Spitler and wife, Christian Eby and wife, Wendel Baker and wife, Michael Berkey and wife, George Ettor and son, Mathias Sitler and wife, Susanna Weltner.

LITTLE CONEWAGO.

"This society is so distinguished from a branch of the river Conewago near to which the people made their settlements, in the township of Hanover and county of York, 20 miles from the town of York and 107 miles west by south from Philadelphia. The preachers are Messrs. Jacob Moyer and James Henrick, but are not ordained. The families belonging to the place are about 40, whereof

52 persons are baptized. Their beginning was in 1738 when one Eldrick, Dierdorff, Bigler, Gripe, Studsman and others united into a church, having Rev. Daniel Leatherman to their assistance. He left them and went to Monocasy; after him they had Rev. Nicholas Martin who also quitted them to go to Conecocheague; of both which we shall speak when we come to the Baptists in Maryland. Their successors are the present ministers, before mentioned." It seems the volume promised on Maryland was never issued; at any rate I have no knowledge of such volume being in existence.¹ Many members went to the Conecocheague and to Monocasy, from the various congregations in Pennsylvania; and among them were prominent and efficient ministers, but we know little of their work in the early days. The scores of congregations of the present day, however, attest the faithful devotion of these pioneers and the success of the migration to the "Southland."

The membership of the Little Conewago congregation in 1770 was as follows: Jacob Moyer, exhorter, and wife, James Henrick, exhorter, and wife, Hans Adam Sneider and wife, Barbara Sneider, George Wine and wife, John Geiny, Daniel Woods and wife, Henry Geiny and wife, Joseph Moyer and wife, Nicholas Housteter and wife, Christian Housteter, Rudy Brown and wife, Dobis Brother and wife, Jacob Miller and wife, Michael Koutz and wife, Mrs. Powser, Mrs. Moyer, Stephen Peter, wife and daughter, Maud Powser, George Peter, Henry Tanner and wife, Michael Tanner and wife, John Moyer and wife, Jacob Souder and wife, Henry Hoeff and wife, Hesther

¹ I am informed by J. F. Sachse that the volume on Maryland was written, but not published, and in MS. form it burned in the late fire of the Baptist Publication Society.

Weise, Christian Etor, John Peter Weaver, Barbara Bear, John Swarts and wife, Liss Bearing, Great Hymen.

CONEWAGO.

“This society also takes its distinction from a river of the above name near to which the people reside, in the township of Reading, county of York, 14 miles from the town of York and 101 miles west from Philadelphia. Their preacher is Mr. George Brown, who is not ordained. The families are about 45, whereof 77 persons are baptized. Their beginning, as a society, was in the year 1741 when John Neagly, Adam Sower, Jacob Sweigard, Peter Neiper, Joseph Larzcho, etc., did unite for communion of saints, having to their assistance Rev. George Adam Martin, of whom more hereafter. Next to him were Rev. Daniel Leatherman and Nicholas Martin, of whom we shall speak when we come to Maryland.”

The following were the members in 1770: George Brown, exhorter, and wife, Peter Werds, John Heiner and wife, Peter Fox and wife, Anthony Dierdorff and wife, John Dierdorff and wife, Nicholas Moyer and wife, Manass Bruch and wife, Michael Basserman and wife, David Erhard and wife, Ann Mummard, Daniel Baker and wife, Abraham Stauffer and wife, Henry Dierdorff and wife, John Burckholter and wife, Christian Fray, Andrew Trimmer and wife, Ustace Reinfel and wife, Samuel Arnold, Peter Dierdorff and wife, Barnet Achenbach and wife, Mary Latzcho, Catherine Studyker, John Neagley and wife, Michael Brissel and wife, Velte Brissel and wife, Mathias Bouser and wife, and daughter, Laurence Baker and wife, Nicholas Bakener, Philip Snell and wife, Nicholas Bakener, Jr., and wife, Adam Sower and wife, and two daughters, Adam Dick and wife, Marilis Baker,

Henry Brissel and wife, David Brissel and wife, Sarah Brissel, Henry Rudibush and wife, George Waggoner and wife, Jacob Miller, Mrs. Martsh, Rudolph Brown, George Reeson and wife.

BERMUDIAN.

“This society also is distinguished by the above name of a little river, in the township of Warrington and county of York, 15 miles from the town of York and 102 miles west by north from Philadelphia. Most of these people observe the seventh day of the week for sabbath, and are to be considered as the offspring of Ephrata church. Their preacher is Mr. Henry Lowman, who is not ordained. The families are about 40, whereof 58 persons are baptized. They began to be a church in 1758 when Philip Gebel, Peter Beissel, Henry Lowman and others united for communion of saints, having Rev. Conrad Beissel to their assistance. Afterwards Rev. mess. Peter Miller and George Adam Martin and others officiated among them.”

It will thus be seen that the Bermudian congregation was in the first place under the control of Beissel influence. After the death of Beissel, and Peter Miller ceased to visit the place, and Martin removed to Stony Creek, in Bedford, the congregation passed under the influence of the Brethren and has so remained until the present day.

The following is a list of members in 1770: Henry Lowman, exhorter, and wife, Frederick Reuter, wife and daughter, Daniel Fahnstick and wife, Peter Henry, wife and mother, Dietrick Fahnstick and wife, Paul Traub and wife, Sebastian Shalles and wife, John Cook, wife and son, Peter Bender and wife, Melchoir Webber and wife, John Bence, wife and daughter and four sons, — Frick, John Lehn and wife, John Messerbach and wife, John Miller, wife and two sons, George Reiss, George Neiss and wife,

Benjamin Gebel and wife, Philip Gebel, Peter Beussel, wife and son and daughter, Philip Beussel and wife, Belzar Smith and wife, Adam Weyley and wife, Mrs. Dorothy, — Stauffer, Elizabeth Foltz.

STONY CREEK.

“This is also denominated from a little river of the above name, in the township Bruederthal (alias Brotherstown) in the county of Bedford, 30 miles from Bedford and 245 miles west by north from Philadelphia. The minister is Rev. George Adam Martin, of whom mention has been made before. He was born near Landstuhl in Germany in the year 1715. Was bred a Presbyterian. Embraced the principles of the Baptists in 1737, and was ordained by Peter Baker in 1739. Afterwards he resided at Little Conewago, where some misunderstanding arose between him and the people and occasioned him to remove to Antitum. In the year 1762 he adopted the sentiments of the seventh-day Baptists, and preached at Bermudian. From thence he went to Stony Creek this year. He married one of the Knippers and has many children. The families belonging to the place are 12, whereof 17 persons are baptized and may be considered as the constituents of the church, viz. : Rev. George Adam Martin and wife, Henry Roth and wife and daughter, Henry Roth, jun., and wife, George Newmoyer, Philip Oswald and wife and daughter, Abraham Gebel and wife, Philip Kimmel and wife, Mr. Widdebarger and wife. This church also is the offspring of Ephrata (for the most part); the seventh-day sabbath is kept.”

From the above account of Martin, it will be noticed that he had a rather checkered experience in roving about from place to place. He is said to have been a man of

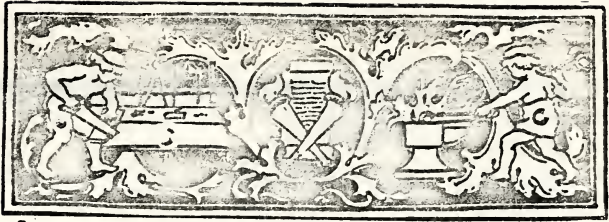
good education. He was a man of excellent ability and at one time of great promise, but he was unsettled in his conviction that his work amounted to little, considering his prominence and ability. He ended his days at Stony Creek, and this congregation soon after passed to the control of the Brethren, and there are to-day many congregations in Bedford and Somerset counties.

“Thus we see that there are in this province fifteen churches of Tunker baptists, to which appertain eight ordained ministers, elders or bishops, and thirteen exhorters or probationers, and four meeting houses; the reason of their having no more places of worship is, that they choose rather to meet from house to house in imitation of the primitive Christians. We see also that their families are about four hundred and nineteen, which contain about two thousand and ninety-five souls allowing five to the family, whereof seven hundred and sixty-three persons are baptized and in communion.”

It must be noted that the above account of statistics includes the Ephrata congregation with one hundred and thirty-five members. It may be stated in passing that Beissel is already dead and the Monastic community has commenced to decline, but it is not necessary in this connection to describe Ephrata, because it forms no part of the Brethren congregations of 1770. In compiling this chapter on early congregations, I have largely used the materials and accounts of Rev. Morgan Edwards. In many important facts, we are almost entirely dependent upon him, and I desire to give full recognition to the value of his writings and descriptions of the early congregations of the Brethren. Because of the frontier conditions, the records of the scattered congregations are singularly incomplete. I have here presented in this chapter a compre-

hensive view of the church in the province of Pennsylvania, a few years before the breaking out of the Revolutionary War. I cannot in this connection give account of the church in New Jersey and Maryland and farther south. I have now described the organization and establishment of the Brethren church, and have to some extent traced its history for half a century. I have indicated, somewhat, the onward steps of conquest and progress across the frontier lines in the days of Penn's province. I hope it may be of interest to present some proofs that these people contributed elements of strength that were laid deep in the foundation of the commonwealth. In the opening of new territory, after the close of the Revolutionary War, the Brethren church presented her full share of her sturdy sons and daughters to organize the new industrial life and lay the foundations of the great commonwealths of the Middle West; and long before Ohio, Indiana and Illinois had reached the development of Statehood the Brethren church was well established there, and to-day 80,000 of her communicants are citizens of other commonwealths than Pennsylvania.





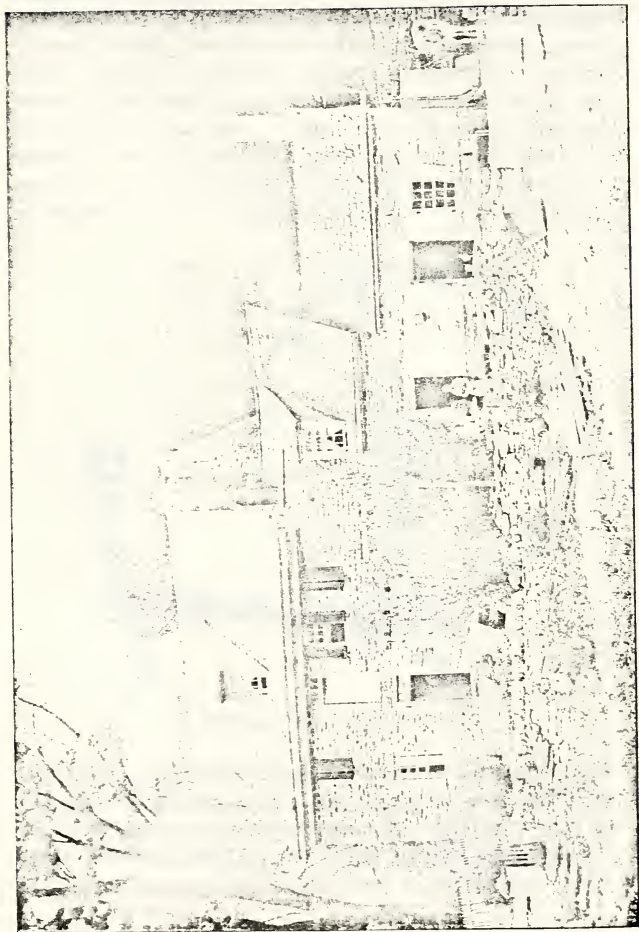
CHAPTER XI.

INDUSTRIAL LIFE.



HAVE been considering the history of the religious activities of the Brethren church, both as to their origin in Germany and a part of their onward progress in America. In this consideration I have confined myself to the religious life, and its relation to the religious life and spiritual activity in the growth and development of the province into a great State. But our great commonwealth is not a religious institution; its great arteries of trade and commerce and industry, throbbing and pulsating with such tremendous energy, indicate the most intense industrial activity everywhere to its remotest bounds. As citizens, what has been their relation and influence in the social, civil and material interests in commonwealth buildings? The social characteristics have ever been a marked feature in the life of this people. In their religious worship from house to house, their hospitality was ever large enough to invite the entire assembly. Indeed, hospitality is part of their religion, and they feed the multitude as the Master did of old, and hospitality is the basis of their

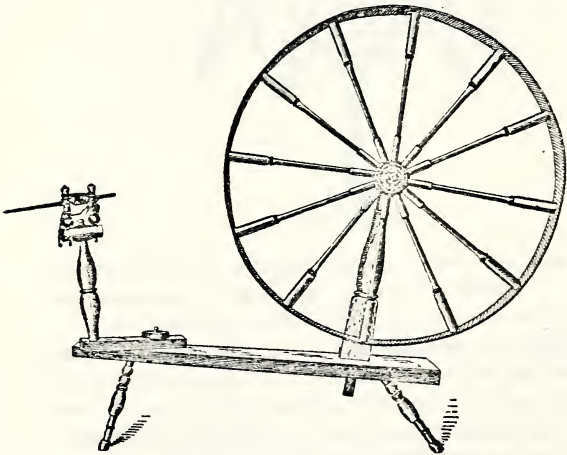
THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY.



THE LIVEZEY HOUSE.

ON THE EAST BANK OF THE WISSAHICKON, AT LIVEZEY'S LANE.

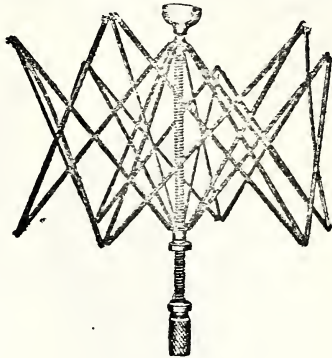
charity to the poor, and the needy. They have been a positive factor in laying the social foundations of domestic happiness. Mutual helpfulness and hospitality builds a great social bulwark, a defence against poverty and wretchedness. Their simplicity of life is a fundamental principle in their faith, and was at once one of the most effectual means to self-support; and their simplicity and habits of economy have ever been a sure foundation for material advancement and a serviceable competency. True to their



WOLL-RAD OR ZWIRN-RAD.

faith and doctrines, the Brethren must ever be kind friends and good neighbors, and suffer wrong if need be from their neighbors and associates that they may gain them or retain them as friends, rather than redress the wrong by process of law and so make them their enemies. But

aside from their religious, social and civil characteristics, the Brethren led an intensely active industrial life. In the rural districts they were first of all engaged in agricultural pursuits, and a majority of the members of the

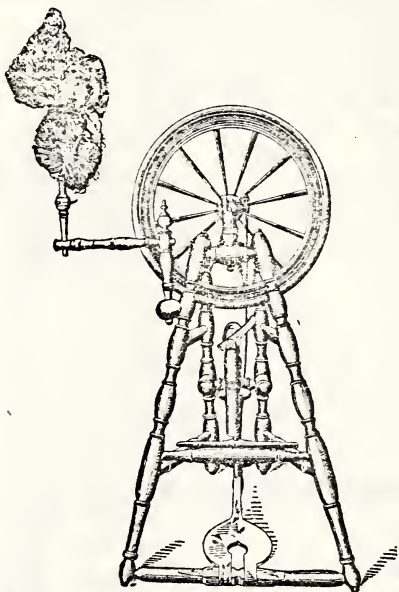


FADEN-HASPEL.

Brethren church of to-day are still largely interested in the various departments of agricultural industries.

In the township of Germantown and other parts of Philadelphia county adjacent to the settlement of Philadelphia, the Brethren were early engaged in a variety of industries, and helped to lay the foundations of many important manufacturing industries for which Philadelphia became noted from time to time. It is interesting to look over the old deeds and study the long and varied list of occupations, indicating the industrial activity. Elder Peter Becker was a master weaver, and early contributed his share toward making Germantown what it has been for almost two centuries, a center for weaving and knitting industries. With each succeeding generation, the mills have become larger,

the looms and machinery more perfect, and the business more complex and extensive. Alexander Mack, Jr., followed in the same line of work, besides his very extensive work in the church; and for his day and times, he had a large manufacturing establishment, with a variety of



UPRIGHT SPINNING WHEEL.

products ranging from knitting stockings to weaving blankets. The Saurs became printers, bookbinders and book publishers, and the family has continued in the publishing business for a century and a half. The Leiberts were printers and publishers for several generations, and pub-

lished some of the earliest hymn-books the Brethren had. Some of the Schreibers were bookbinders.

Additional reference will be made to literary and publishing interests in the sketch on Germantown, in the



"ENGRAVED COPPER PLATE OF DIRCK KEYSER."

chapter that follows. The Keyzers were tanners, and for several generations had an important business. There were tailors and twiners and shoemakers and many others.

Then there were masons, and there were carpenters, and there were plasterers, and other like occupations. These suggestions which I have made indicate the life of the Brethren in an industrial sense, both in the rural districts and also in and around Germantown and Philadelphia. To be sure there were also merchants and dealers of various kinds, as circumstances demanded the development of such business. But before leaving this industrial life, I must say that it was not always exclusively agriculture in the country or rural district. There were many instances where there was a combination of country and town, or of farming and manufacturing, a combination of industries. I can best illustrate by describing an actual example to indicate this type of industrial life and activity.

In order to make the illustration understood, it is necessary to give some detail of the history of this actual family. It is necessary to refer to different epochs, in order to show the development of the family as well as the industry, or I should rather say the industries. I will say, however, that the family when complete, consisted of father and mother, and seven sturdy sons and six daughters; and there seemed to be nothing especially unlucky about the number thirteen in this case. Early in life, the family lived on a small place and life was begun without means. In the summer time the father tilled the few acres, with such help as his growing children could give him; besides he assisted his neighbors at busy times. In winter time he made shoes for his neighbors and friends, going from house to house, and remaining at each home long enough to meet the demands of the family. Meanwhile in these early years, spinning and weaving was also commenced. The family was taught that self-help was the first step towards self-support. The house on the little

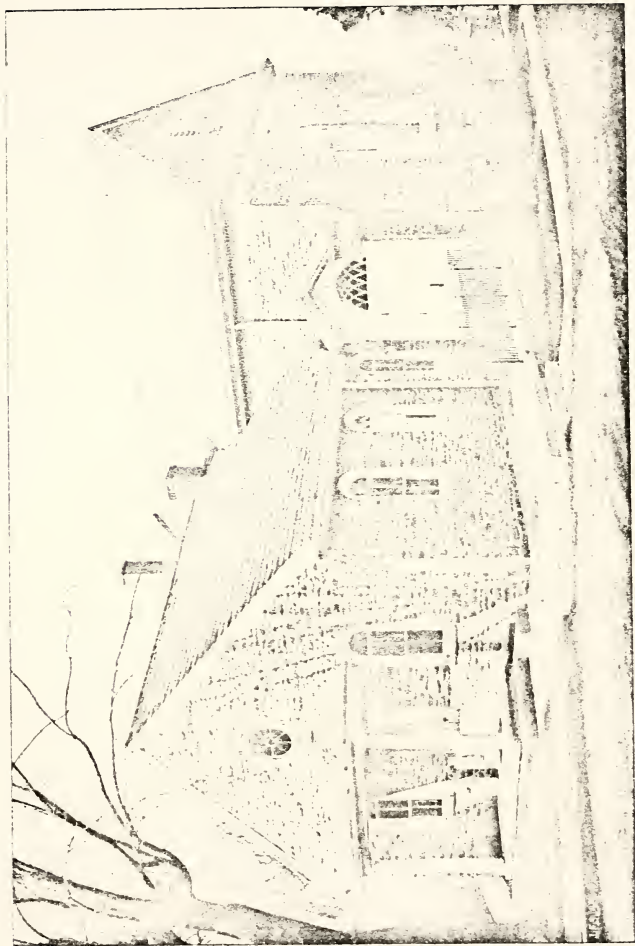
homestead was not very spacious, and was entirely without plaster upstairs. The older children were girls, and had now grown well towards womanhood, and we shall notice how they found a way to plaster the second story of the home. The father had given the land for a new church close by, and when the church was completed it was found that there was considerable mortar left. The young ladies proposed that if the father would secure the mortar, they would see to it that the upstairs would get plastered. He secured the mortar and they did the plastering. These are a few indications of the earlier family life. The scene has changed, and years have passed. The father has years ago been elected a minister in the Brethren church, and has devoted much time to study and self-improvement in order to meet the demands of circumstances. He has commenced the study of medicine, under the direction of two able physicians in the nearby county-seat. He has also commenced to settle estates, write agreements, wills, deeds, and other legal papers. The family has moved some miles away from their former home on a farm of two hundred and thirty acres. Here there was new life and increased activity. Agriculture was carried on on a much larger scale. There was plenty of opportunity for ambitious robust young women to make themselves useful, as well as to make some money. I take pleasure in quoting here from the words of one of the girls who took part in these activities: "The place was the scene of active busy life. The girls were toiling in the fields day after day during the summer months. Corn had to be planted with hoes; the grain was cut with sickles. The women made their hand and received as much per day as the men, —fifty cents during harvest for cutting grain with sickles, twenty-five cents for corn-planting and hay-making, except

the men received fifty cents per day for mowing with the scythe." She further says: "When the summer work was over, the girls found plenty of work in the house at the spinning-wheels. In our family, three spinning-wheels were kept running from about four weeks before Christmas until about the middle of March. These were kept going from four o'clock in the morning until nine in the evening." It may be noted in passing that five or six girls could keep the wheels going by relieving each other from time to time. Here is an argument in favor of the wheel. These girls went "wheeling" early, and what robust girls they became! But let us continue the study of the industrial life. She continues: "There were three looms kept running also, one of which was usually run by one of the girls." It should be noted that the father, soon after coming to the large farm, made ample provision for the large family as well as the increasing manufacturing plant and industrial establishment. He built a large addition to the farmhouse, and in this addition there was a room, about 40 feet long by 30 feet wide, which was for the accommodation of the looms and other machinery. By removing the looms, this room became an assembly room with ample accommodation for preaching services several times a year. Her story grows in interest as she proceeds. She says: "We manufactured flannels, towels, coverlets, etc." "In the basement, underneath the big room, mother did the coloring of the yarns, etc. There was the walled-in kettle to color blue. This kettle was used exclusively to color blue—while other kettles were used for various other colors. Everybody made his own yarn in those days. Then the people brought it to the shops and had it manufactured into goods."

This description of one who took part is brief, but it

gives us a vivid picture of the busy scenes around the family hearthstone. Such energy and activity and enterprise of long ago, would even do credit to a present-day family with modern opportunities and better advantages. But I have omitted a part of the industry. Nearby was a milling plant, run by water power, where plaster of Paris was ground, as well as flax-seed. After the oil was pressed out by crude machinery, the oil-meal was sold to the neighbors for feed for the cattle. This milling plant was later turned into a carding and weaving establishment and, later still, into a grist and flour mill. All in all this family was a marvel of industrial activity; and yet it is a true example of a true type, of which there were many constituents. The Brethren church has been singularly blessed with many such intelligent, energetic, industrious families. The father, who was the head and soul of all this industry, must have been a busy man; and yet this was the least important as a factor in his busy life. As a physician, he had a large practice, and that for many years. He was eminently successful as a practitioner. In drawing up legal papers and transacting legal business, his work was never called into question by any lawyer or judge. As a minister, he traveled far and wide, and preached much. He was for many years a Bishop. As deacon and minister and Bishop, he served the Brethren church for forty-nine years. I hope this chapter, though brief in its scope, may to some extent illustrate the industrial life of the early members of the Brethren church, and that it may prove of interest to its readers.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



DUNKER MEETING HOUSE, GERMANTOWN.

OLD MEETING HOUSE BUILT 1770.

NEW CHURCH DEDICATED MAY 1897.



BRETHREN CHURCH AND PARSONAGE, GERMANTOWN.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MOTHER CHURCH AT GERMANTOWN.



IT seems to me eminently proper that even in this short sketch of the "History of the Brethren Church," there should be one chapter especially devoted to the Mother Congregation at Germantown. The name of Germantown has a universal charm and interest to all those who have any knowledge of or taste for the historical accounts of the settlement of Pennsylvania. Many historians have delighted themselves, in the true spirit of investigation, to make extensive research in order to confirm the important facts of the settlement of Germantown, and present the many interesting phases of its more than two hundred years of history. Others have contented themselves with garbling from the general legendary accounts of common folk-lore, or have joined the general squabble of arguing on controverted points of minor importance. Dr. Oswald Seidensticker, who died a few years ago, has written most interestingly on his profound investigations of early German life in America. Mr.



PARSONAGE OF THE BRETHREN CHURCH. BUILT 1756.
6611 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia.

Julius F. Sachse, in his *German Pietists* and other historic studies, has written in a most interesting manner of different phases of Germantown history. By far the most learned and exhaustive treatise on the *Settlement of Germantown* ever written, was that by Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker as published in the *Pennsylvania-German Society's Annual* of 1898. The Judge has spent years in the most profound research of all historical matter of many countries and languages, that would throw any light on the beginning of German emigration and the settlement of Germantown in 1683. As the history of this old town is interesting, so also is the history of the mother congregation that has been in existence here for one hundred and seventy-seven years. There is a large amount of historical matter bearing on the Germantown church, directly or indirectly; but it has become much scattered years ago by careless or unfaithful custodians, and much of it being now in the hands of private individuals, it is difficult to collect and confirm the necessary facts for a much-needed reliable account.

There is still a wealth of good material, and of sufficient magnitude, to make a large volume of history; but he who will write the "History of the Brethren Church of Germantown," to be worthy of his subject, must be diligent and energetic in his researches, and must be withal a thoughtful and painstaking student. There is considerable material lying on the surface, as is always the case, that passes current as history, and yet is entirely worthless to the reliable historian until confirmed by careful study and research. It would seem that in this respect Germantown has been singularly unfortunate in its experience of being at the mercy of the unscrupulous historian.

In the scope of this chapter I cannot devote any space

in useless arguments in trying to settle controverted points ; but I shall confine myself largely to the presentation of the two following lines of thought :

1. I shall present some studies in original research, which may correct some misstatements of would-be historians ; and,

2. I shall aim to record some important facts and events, that are unrecorded at present, or else too briefly recorded to be intelligent. I regret very much that I cannot devote a liberal space to biographies of the prominent men that have made the history of the Germantown church what it is—so full of earnest Christian devotion and noble deeds in the spirit of self-sacrifice.

HISTORY OF THE PRESENT LOCATION OF THE CONGREGATION.

It will be manifestly of interest to know something of the history of the ground where the congregation is at present located, and when and how possession was secured. But it is necessary to give the facts in regard to this matter, for the additional reason that there have been some false and misleading statements made regarding the history. These statements are copied again and again, apparently without any attempt being made to know the facts, when



the records of the office of the Recorder of Deeds are at all times accessible to all who care to investigate. The usual reference is made that Johannes Pettikoffer received the ground as a gift, from one Peter Schilbert ; and

then some add that Schilbert had much difficulty in gaining possession of the land again, when Pettikoffer went to Ephrata, as he did in 1739. Now all this is sheer nonsense, and is the absolute creation of somebody's fancy. The evidence of ownership will be presented in each case in regular order. It will be sufficient for the present study to begin with the ownership of Peter Shoemaker. I have before me the original parchment papers,¹ consisting of the lease for one year, and the deed issued the next day, which indicates the transfer from Shoemaker to Pettikoffer. This lease is a strip of real parchment thirty and a half inches long and four and a half inches wide. The deed is twenty-three and a half inches long and eleven and a half inches wide. I quote from the deed as follows: "THIS INDENTURE made the fourth day of August In the year of our Lord One-thousand seven-hundred and thirty-one BETWEEN Peter Shoemaker of Germantown in the county of Philadelphia in the province of Pensilvania, Turner, & Margret his wife of the one part And Johane Pettenkoven [Johannes Pettikoffer] of Germantown aforesd Stocking-knitter of the other part WITNESSETH that thesd Peter Shoemaker & Margret his wife for & in consideration of the sum of five Pounds & five shillings lawful money of Pensilvania to them in hand paid by thesd Johanes Pettenkoven The receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge & thereof do fully acquit & forever discharge thesd Johanes Pettenkoven his heirs & assigns by these presents HAVE Granted Bargained Sold Aliened Enfeoffed Released & Confirmed And by these present DO Grant Bargain Sell Alien Enfeoff Release & Confirm unto thesd Johanes Pettenkoven (In his actual possession now being by Vertue of one Indenture of Bargain & Sale to him thereof made by

¹ The property of the Brethren church.

them thesd Peter Shoemaker & Margret his wife for one whole year bearing Date the day before the date hereof & by force of the Statute made for transferring uses into possession) And to his heirs & assigns A CERTAIN Piece parcel of Land Situate lying & being in the Adjacent side-land of thesd Germantown Beginning at a stone by the North East Side of the high way leading from thesd Germantown to North Wales being also a Corner of Johanes Mock's land thence by the Same & other land North East forty perches to a post set for a Corner thence North West two perches Eight foot & three inches to a post set for a Corner thence by thesd Peter Shoemaker his land South West forty Perches to a stone set for a Corner by thesd highway & by thesd Highway South fifteen degrees East two perches Eight foot & five inches to the place of Beginning Containing a Half acre & twenty perches of land TOGETHER with all & singular the buildings Woods Underwoods Meadows Ways Waters Watercouses fishings fowlings hawkings huntings Rights Liberties priveledges Improvements Hereditaments & appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining And the Reversions & Remainders Rents Issues & profits thereof TO HAVE AND TO HOLD thesd Piece or parcel of Land Hereditaments & premises hereby granted & Released or Mentioned so to be with their appurtenances unto thesd Johanes Pettenkoven his heirs and assigns TO the only proper use & behoof of him thesd Johanes Pettenkoven his heirs & assigns forever."

Then follows the usual condition of the "yearly rent of a half-penny"; the usual "warrant"; and after that the declaration of rightful ownership, to show the right to transfer. I have quoted about one-third, so much indi-

ates the usual amount of specific detail and legal wordiness.

Signed by

Peter Shoemaker
ac
Margaret III Shoemaker
mark

Witnessed by

Henry Pastorius.

On the reverse side of the deed, is the receipt in which Shoemaker acknowledges having received of Pettikoffer the full amount of five pounds and five shillings as the purchase money mentioned within. It will be seen by the claim of this deed, that Pettikoffer paid a fair price for his half acre, considering that it was nearly half a mile out of the settlement of Germantown as it then was, and that altogether the settlement had not more than twenty houses. He paid at the rate of ten pounds, or fifty dollars, per acre, entirely unimproved. These original papers should be sufficient testimony to prove that Johannes Pettikoffer did, on August 4, 1731, acquire title to his half acre from Peter Shoemaker. But to the unscrupulous historian, it does not make much difference whether he says Peter Schilbert or Peter Shoemaker.

This strip of ground now described as forty rods long and two rods and eight feet wide is the north half of the present church property, or the part on which the church buildings are located. The year preceding, or 1730, Peter Shoemaker sold to Johannes Mack, located immedi-

ately to the south of this, a strip twenty-one perches long and four perches wide, also a half acre, at two pounds and ten shillings. A part of this strip now forms the south

Jo hannes mark

half of the church property, or the part on which the parsonage is located. It will be noticed by the foregoing that Mack paid just half as much for his half acre, as Pettikoffer did for his half.

John gorgas

The deed is signed as follows:

Johann Gorgas

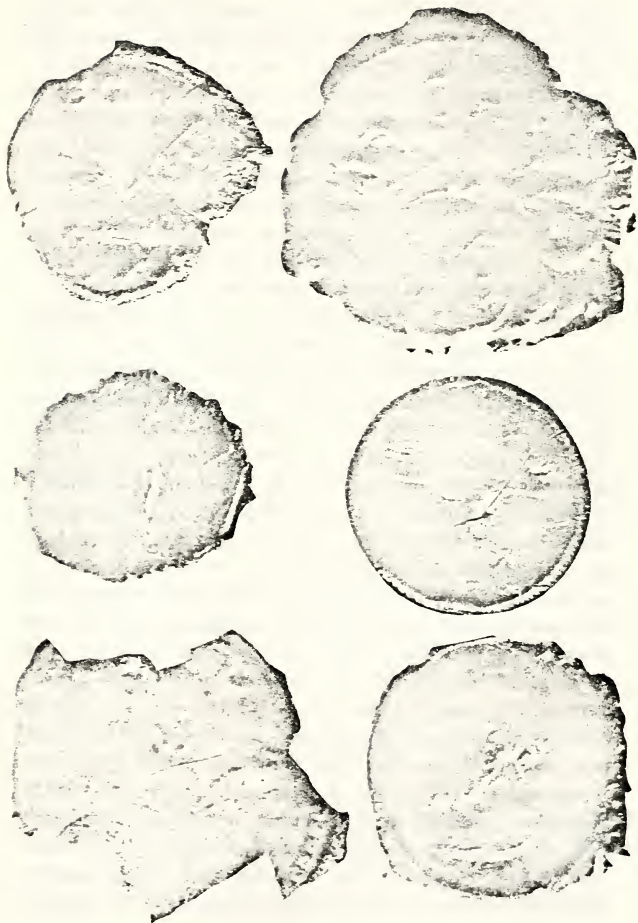
her

*Ann Elizabeth Petter
Covers
Marke*

Witnesses { John Gorgas,
his
Henry X Fridrick,
mark
Richard Robb.

On the twenty-second day of August, 1739, Johannes Pettikoffer and Ann Elizabeth, his wife, sold the half acre,

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



J. F. SACHSE, PHILA.

ANCIENT SEALS ON DEEDS
AND DOCUMENTS OF THE GERMANTOWN CHURCH.

together with the house he had built upon it, to Johannes Mack and Andreas Bonney, for the sum of sixty-five pounds, each of the two holding a half interest. This house was built in 1732, and because of its importance in later years, we shall give some description of its interesting history and notice it hereafter as the "Pettikoffer House." It will be noticed, that whereas he had paid for the ground five pounds and five shillings, he now receives on his sale sixty-five pounds, thus valuing his improvements at fifty-nine pounds and fifteen shillings.

It thus appears that there is no documentary evidence to sustain the old fable that Pettikoffer received the lot as a gift and then begged the money to build the house.

Because of the importance of several statements, I quote at some length from the following deed: "THIS INDENTURE made the twentyeth day of July in the year of our Lord one-thousand seven hundred and forty-two BETWEEN John Mack of Germantown and the county of Philadelphia, Stocking-weaver, and Margrett his wife of the one part and Peter Shilbert of Germantown aforesaid yeoman of the other part WHEREAS an Indenture made the twenty-second day of August one-thousand seven-hundred thirty-nine between Johannes Petenkoven of German-town aforesaid stocking-knitter and Ann Elizabeth his wife of the one part and the said John Mack and one Andreas Bonney of the other part the said Johannes Petenkoven and Ann Elizabeth his wife for the consideration therein mentioned did grant release and confirm unto the said John Mack and Andreas Bonney A CERTAIN messuage or tenement and piece or parcel of land thereunto belonging situate in the adjacent Side Land of Germantown aforesaid containing by Computation half an Acre and twenty perches of Land to hold the one full equal and undivided

moiety thereof unto the said John Mack his heirs and Assigns forever and to hold the other full equal and undivided moiety thereof unto the said Andreas Bonney his heirs and assigns forever Under the yearly Rent of one half penny lawful money of Pennsylvania payable to Peter Shoemaker his heirs and assigns As in and by the said recited Indenture Relation thereunto had appears AND WHEREAS the said Andreas Bonney did make his last will and Testament in writing bearing Date on or about the sixth Day of October one-thousand seven-hundred forty-one and therein and thereby devised in these words or to the Effect following viz. : ' And I leave unto the said John Mack and to his heirs forever the house and lot whereon I now dwell (being the same Messuage) for the consideration of twenty-nine pounds ten shillings money of Pennsylvania with full power to keep or sell the same at his pleasure and if the same John Mack should sell the same house and lot to any person or persons I give him full power and authority to sign seal and deliver deed or deeds of sale to the purchaser for the same according to law' as in and by the same last will and Testament duly proved and entered in the Register General's Office at Philadelphia Relation thereunto had appears NOW THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH that the said John Mack and Margrett his wife for and in consideration of the sum

Margaretta Mack

of seventy-three pounds lawful money of Pennsylvania to them in hand paid by the said Peter Shilbert HAVE granted bargained sold released and confirmed and by these presents do grant bargain sell release and confirm

unto the said Peter Shilbert.....and to his heirs and Assigns, etc.”

This deed also declares the sale of a small triangle that is required to give a half interest in the well of water on the south side. The deed is signed by John Mack and his wife, and Richard Robb is the witness to the transaction.

There are several points of interest in regard to valuation and occupancy that might be noted in this connection. While Pettikoffer had paid five pounds and five shillings for the half acre lot without improvements, he sold the same lot with the house he had built for the sum of sixty-five pounds in 1739. It will be noticed that Bonney willed his half to Mack in 1741, twenty-nine pounds and ten shillings, or at the rate of fifty-nine pounds for the entire property, which was just fifteen shillings less than the difference between Pettikoffer's buying and selling price, or the value of the house alone. It will be noticed further that Mack sold to Shilbert for the consideration of seventy-three pounds, which was a considerable advance, but which included a half interest in the well. This deed is interesting in the next place because it tells us who occupied the house after Pettikoffer left it in 1739. It seems that when Pettikoffer sold and moved to Ephrata, Bonney took possession of the newly acquired premises in which he had half interest, or at any rate we find him in possession October 6, 1741, when he made his will, for he says, “the house and lot whereon I now dwell (being the same message).” Thus, instead of Shilbert being the original owner and giving this lot to Pettikoffer, as some accounts say, the ownership, as we have clearly proved, runs as follows: Peter Shoemaker, Johannes Pettikoffer, John Mack and Andrew Bonney, John Mack, Peter Shilbert; and all these changes in the eleven years from 1731 to 1742.

It seems to have been the intention of Peter Shilbert to present this half acre to the Brethren congregation, but he died with the property legally in his possession. After some years of delay, this was finally accomplished, as will be seen by the quotation that follows. This deed was issued on the eleventh day of August, 1760. After tracing the ownership from Shoemaker to Shilbert, and giving a description of the half acre, and also of two small triangles, the deed continues with the following recital: "AND WHEREAS The said Peter Shilbert dying (in effect) Intestate Possessed of the said Messuage and three pieces of Land & premises (He having Made only a Non-cupative Will) The Right of the inheritance of his Said Possessions Depending Legally unto Johanna Hoech the wife of Bastian Hoech which Johanna being the only Issue and Heir of Abraham Shilbert who was the Brother and Heir at Law of the Said Peter Shilbert AND the said Bastian Hoech and Johanna his wife in and by a Certain Deed Roll or writing under their Hands and Seals bearing date the Twenty sixth day of August Ao: Di: 1746 did for the consideration therein Mentioned (among other lands of which the said Peter Shilbert died Possessed of) grant and Convey the said Messuage and three pieces of Land (by the name of the little place and House near Germantown) unto the said Theobold Endt and Hennery Slingloff in ffee NOW THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH That the said Theobald Endt and Henery Slingloff For and in Consideration of the sum of Ten Pound Lawfull money of Pennsylvania to them in hand paid by the said Alexander Mack Christopher Sower Peter Libert and George Schriber the Receipt whereof is hereby Acknowledged HAVE granted bargained Sol Released and Confirmed and by these presents DO grant bargain sell Release and

Confirm unto the said Alexander Mack Christopher Sower Peter Libert and George Schriber and to their Heirs and assigns the said Messuage and above described three peices or parcels of Land thereunto belonging, etc." The deed closes with usual provision for paying the yearly half penny rent and the proper Warrant, and Theobald Endt and Henry Slingloff dispose of the property which they had held for the term of fourteen years.

It is not difficult to see now what was the intention, when it is noted that the four men to whom the property was deeded, were four of the principal men of the Brethren congregation. These four men were simply four trustees, to hold the property "in trust"; and on the day following, they published a Declaration of Trust. In the opening part of this Declaration, Alexander Mack, Christopher Sower, Peter Libert and George Schriber, formally acknowledge having received the property from Theobald Endt and Henry Slingloff; and then the important document continues as follows: "NOW KNOW YE that the said Alexander Mack, Christopher Sower, Peter Libert and George Schriber do hereby acknowledge and declare that the said Messuage or Tenement and three peices of Land or ground was so as aforesaid granted unto them in Trust nevertheless by the direction and at the appointment of the persons who are members of the Religious Society or Community of the people called Dutch (German) Baptists and belonging to the Meeting of that People in or near Germantown aforesd To the intent only that they the said Alexander Mack, Christopher Sower, Peter Libert and George Schriber and such or so many of them as Shall be and continue in Unity and Religious Fellowship with the Said People and remain members of said Meeting whereunto they do now belong Shall stand and

be Seized of the said Messuage or Tenement three peices or parcels of Land or ground & premises So Conveyed to them as before recited To the use and intents hereinafter Mentioned and declared and under the Conditions & Restrictions hereinafter limited & Restricted and to no other use or purpose whatsoever, That is to say, One Room in the said Messuage to be made use of for a Meeting place of the said People living at or near Germantown aforesaid and for such other as the said Community may think proper to admit thereto The which Room May be improved or enlarged for the better convenience of the said Meeting at the discretion of the said Community in such Manner as they may think Meet AND one Room and kitchen of the sade Messuage to be made use of for a dwelling place for some Widow woman of the Said Society or Community to live in Rent free and that the said Society or Community Shall & do keep the said Messuage or Tenement & peices or parcels of Land or ground in repair from time to time Towards the Charge of which they are to have the use Rents Issues & Profits which may accrue or arise yearly from the remaining part of the premises PROVIDED always nevertheless that if it should so happen that a Regular Society & Community of the said People Should cease to be kept up at & near German-town and that they should decline holding up their Said Meeting That then and in such case it Shall & may be Lawfull for the said Alexander Mack Christopher Sower Peter Libert and George Schriber or the Survivors or Survivor of them in the said Trust To sell and Dispose of the said Messuage or Tenement three pieces or parcels of Land or ground & premises and to make & execute a ffee Simple Deed of Conveyance for the Same to the purchaser And the money arising by Such Sale to Distribute (chiefly

or mostly) to & amongst the Poor belonging to the said Society in or near Germantown aforsd (not exempting the poor of other Societies from Some part thereof) and to be assisted in Making the said Distribution by & with the advice & consent of the Elders & other Discreet persons of the Same Society holding Community and keeping a regular Meeting at the next or nearest place to Germantown aforsaid To which Meeting the accounts of such Distribution Shall be made & Submitted PROVIDED also that neither the said Alexander Mack Christopher Sower Peter Libert & George Schriber nor any of them Nor any person or persons Succeeding them in this Trust Who Shall be declared by the Members of the Said Society for the time being to be our of unity or Church fellowship with them Shall be capable to execute this Trust or stand seized thereof to the uses aforsaid Nor have any Right or Interest in the premises or any part thereof whilst they or any of them Shall So remain BUT that in all such cases as also when any of them or others Succeeding them in the Trust aforsaid Shall happen to Depart this life Then it Shall & may be Lawfull to and for the said Members as often as occasion Shall require to make choice of others to Mannage the said Trust and to execute the Same instead of those or Such as Shall so fall away and be out of unity with the said People called Dutch (German) Baptists or depart this life, etc." The Declaration further contains the provision that the said Trustees shall assign their Trust to other Trustees whenever asked to do so by the congregation; and also contains the acknowledgment that they act simply as Trustees and in no other capacity whatsoever.

The Pettikoffer house is getting interesting in its history. By the above quotation it is clearly set forth that one room of the Pettikoffer house was duly set apart and devoted

conditions & restrictions above expressed and to and for me
and seals this Twelfth day of August in the year

Peter Leibert



Alexander Mack-

Georg Schreiber



Christopher Sauer

SIGNATURES TO THE DECLARATION OF TRUST.

by the congregation of the Brethren for religious worship ; and we know from many proofs that they so continued to worship in the said house until July 8, 1770, when their new meeting-house was dedicated, or for a period of ten years. It is altogether likely, however, that during the period of holding services from house to house, meetings were frequently held in the Pettikoffer house, as well as others in the immediate vicinity. For we do know that prior to the year 1760, a number of members had settled in the neighborhood.

THE OLD FOLKS' HOME.

While the said Declaration of Trust tells us of the regular and permanent meeting-place, it also tells in a very interesting manner how one room and the kitchen were set apart for some widow to dwell "rent free"; thus showing how early the Brethren thought of making special provision and providing a home for the "widows and fatherless." I know of no instance where any other denomination made a similar public provision for its widowed poor, at so early a date. The history of this Home is interesting. While it is probably true that in a few years the congregation so increased that perhaps the entire house was needed for purposes of worship, we do know that when the new stone meeting-house was dedicated in 1770, the Pettikoffer house was set apart anew for the comfort of the widows, and it remained such a home until 1861, or a period of 101 years from the time it was first set apart. There are many people living to-day who remember the place well as the "Widows' Home." I am indebted to Charles M. Benson, of Germantown, and also Rachel Douglass Wise, of Philadelphia, for facts that enable me to describe the Pettikoffer house as it appeared fifty years ago. The main

part of the house was about twenty feet long by sixteen feet wide, built of logs, with frame gables, and shingle roof. The house fronted south, with gables east and west. The spaces between the logs were chinked and plastered, and the entire house whitewashed. It had a good cellar, with an outside trapdoor, which was located between the pavement and the outside door leading into the east room. There were four windows and one outside door. There were two windows in the west gable towards

Alfred Ziegenfuss
Georg Sauer

the street, one upstairs and one downstairs. Then there were two additional windows in the west room, one on the north and one on the south side. There were two rooms upstairs and two rooms downstairs. At the east end of the east room, there was a large fireplace which was in constant use from 1852 until the time the house was taken down in December, 1861, so my informer tells me. The meeting-room was the west one, well lighted with three windows. The ceilings were of good height. The house was still in good condition in 1861, when it was torn down, after such an interesting history of one hundred and thirty years.

Immediately to the rear of the above-described house there stood many years ago a good-sized frame building, whose history I have not been able to unravel. Many suggestions have been made of its probable history, but I have been unable to confirm anything so that I can safely regard it as history. I hope the future may yet reveal the purpose of this ancient structure.

THE OLD CHURCH.



IN this same half acre that we have been considering, or the northern half of the church grounds, are located the church buildings, consisting of the old, which was built, as stated before, in the year 1770, and the new, built in 1896-1897. It is interesting to note the completeness of this old building, considering the time at which it was built. Not only was it complete in its appointment, but it was substantially built, as may be noted from the fact that it is still standing and from the additional fact that it is still doing good service and in most excellent state of preservation. It is thirty feet square, built of stone; the walls are eighteen inches thick. There was a large well-appointed basement, under the entire building, of good height, where there was a large fireplace for cooking and making the necessary preparation for lovefeast occasions. In the corner, near the fireplace, is a large flat stone built into the wall. This stone was hollowed out trough-like, and on it the waste water was poured to drain out of the building. The floor in the audience-room is characteristic and interesting. It is yellow pine, very hard and full of pitch. The boards were carefully selected, almost every board has a heart in it, consequently there are no sap boards, and there has been no decay in all these years. But there is another reason why the floor boards are neither decayed nor worm-eaten. The floor rests on a bed of mortar, which is supported by a layer of split oak lath. The distinguishing mark of the hand-made nails (long narrow heads), is visible in every board. About twenty-five years ago, the audience-room was remodeled, the windows were arched, the ceiling was raised and new seats put in.

Formerly the ceiling was about eight feet high, plastered and whitewashed; and a heavy wooden girder, supported by two posts, was visible. There was a large loft, very roomy and well-lighted, supplied by four windows, two in either gable. It seems to have been built and arranged for some special purpose, perhaps largely unknown at this time. There was an outside entrance to this loft, making access easy, and without disturbing in any way, or entering, the audience-room. Many years ago, this front gable was rough-cast, covering up all traces of this loft-door and windows, and all knowledge of them seems to have been lost until three years ago when we restored this front. Upon removing the rough-cast, there were the distinct outlines of the door and windows visible. At this time I made the following measurements: The door was four feet, three inches wide and six feet, six inches high, a very large door, if it was a single door. The windows were three feet, two inches wide and four feet, six inches high. This loft seems to have been extensively used for storing the unbound sheets of publications that required months to run through the press. It is said that Christopher Sower so occupied the place, with his third edition of the Bible, in 1777, and that the unbound sheets were confiscated by the British soldiers, and used for gun-wads and for bedding their cavalry horses. The old meeting-house is still in constant use—being open on Sunday, for the Sunday-school services, and on Thursday evenings, for the prayer-meeting. The council and business meetings are also held here.

The south half of the church grounds needs to have a brief account in this connection. The church came into possession of this portion many years after acquiring title to the north half. It was noted in the early part of this chapter that this part was purchased from Peter Shoe-

maker in 1730 by Johannes Mack. On the twenty-ninth day of August, 1751, Johannes Mack and Margaretha, his wife, sold the same to Christopher Sower, and we are informed that the place consisted of "two Messuages or Tenements and seventy-eight perches of ground." On the twenty-fourth day of September, 1753, Christopher

Christopher Sower junr.

Sower and Catharina, his wife, sold the same to Philip Weaver, for the sum of sixty pounds. On the eighteenth day of March, 1796, John Weaver, Philip Weaver and Susanna Keyser, three children and heirs of the above Philip Weaver, deeded the property to Abraham Keyser, for the sum of four hundred pounds; and on the following day, the said Abraham Keyser deeded the same, for the same amount, to Philip Weaver, one of the sons and heirs

Catharina Sower

of the first above mentioned Philip Weaver. On the fourth day of April, 1804, Philip Weaver and his wife, Ann, sold the same to the Trustees of the Brethren congregation, for the consideration of four hundred and thirty pounds. On it was located the present parsonage, which the first Philip Weaver erected as his dwelling in 1756.

THE WEAVER LOG-HOUSE.

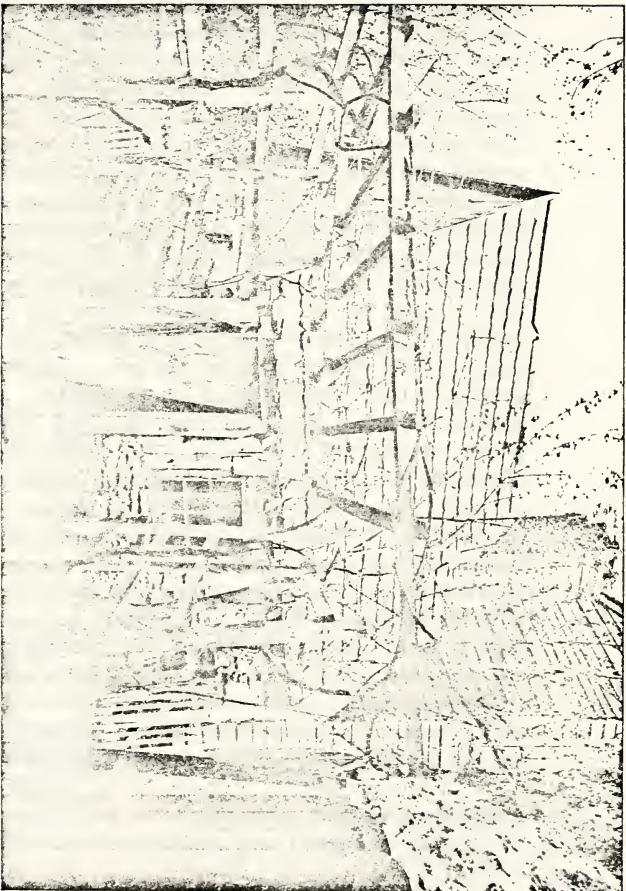


MMEDIATELY to the rear of the parsonage there stood for many years an ancient-looking house, which was frequently known as the "Weaver Log-house," and which he had occupied before building his spacious stone house. But by whom it was built and when, is now an open question, for the deed of 1751 informs us there were then two houses. This log-house was an interesting old house, at any rate, and stood until January, 1871. It was built of logs, as intimated, and was covered with tile. The roof was high and very steep, and presented a very striking appearance. The building was about eighteen or twenty feet square, and had but one room upstairs, and one room down. There were no windows upstairs. There were two windows down, and there was one door. In the west part of the room there was a large bakeoven, with the opening from the outside. There were a large chimney and fireplace. In its latter years, this house did service only as a summer kitchen, but it was still in fair condition when it was removed, after serving at least five generations of the Weaver family.

A SELECT SCHOOL.



HE parsonage just referred to is now one hundred and forty-four years old, and has been the property of the congregation for ninety-six years; and yet, strange to say, it was never occupied by the pastor or minister, until the present pastor occupied it seven years ago. Its history as a parsonage is therefore short and not very important, and yet memorable to a few people. Your humble servant will



ANCIENT HOUSE OF JOHANNES MACK.

(ALSO KNOWN AS THE WEAVER AND TILE-ROOF HOUSE.)

FROM PHOTO ABOUT 1870.

look back with interest, and remember the cozy old stone house as the place where he wrote this sketch and where he prepared more than seven hundred and fifty sermons. The family can well look back to the place where seven enjoyable years were spent. To two people the place will be doubly interesting—two little people, five and two years old, Alexander Mack and Esther Eva. Some day they may be much interested in the fact that they were born in the old parsonage at Germantown. But the place has history and plenty of it; and many an aged person sitting in silent meditation in the closing years of their lives, and reviewing the years of their childhood, will remember with pleasure the school days spent in this old house. This school opened more than seventy-five years ago, continued for many years, and was presided over by a sweet-faced woman, a member of the congregation. The schoolroom was about fifteen by twenty-five feet, and had at times seventy scholars. The teacher was Susanna Douglass, and in addition to the regular school curriculum she taught sewing, knitting and fancy work. Her daughter, Rachel Douglass Wise, is still living in Philadelphia, at the age of eighty-eight years. Upon a certain occasion, the mother went to visit her sisters in Virginia, going by boat, as the only means of travel, and remained six weeks. During this time the daughter, Rachel, then fifteen years of age, taught the school. She used to rise at four o'clock in the morning to set the copy-books. Many, in their latter days, are delighted to see their schoolroom once more. This schoolroom is now occupied by the pastor's study and the dining-room.

These are a few short chapters of the unwritten history of the Germantown church, and there are others to be written.

THE CEMETERY.



HE cemetery is a very interesting place. So far as grave-stones indicate, the first burial took place in 1797. Nearly all the old families of Germantown are represented, and in some cases many of the same family and several generations. In a few cases five and six generations are buried. Among the ministers buried here are the following: Alexander Mack, Sr., Alexander Mack, Jr., Peter Leibert, Peter Keyser, Christian Van Laushett, John Van Laushett, Jacob Spanogle, Christian Custer, John W. Price, Amos Cowell and others.

Among other noted persons buried here may be named Miss Harriet Livermore, in an unmarked grave; the woman who prayed in our National Congress in 1832, the "Evangelist," "The Guest" of Whittier's *Snow Bound*, the "Pilgrim Wanderer" in the Holy Land and in Egypt, the "Watcher" on Mt. Sinai in the immediate expectation of the coming of Christ. After she had wandered all over the world, her tired body was laid to rest in this beautiful God's acre, in the midst of these historic surroundings.

The cemetery is still much used as a burial place, and is an ideal little spot. Everything pertaining to it receives constant attention and care, and everything is in good condition.

ALEXANDER MACK, JR.



HAVE briefly traced some outlines of the history of the Brethren congregation at Germantown, and have spoken of a few of the now historic surroundings. It is perhaps about as much as should be said in a sketch of this character. When a history of this congregation is written in

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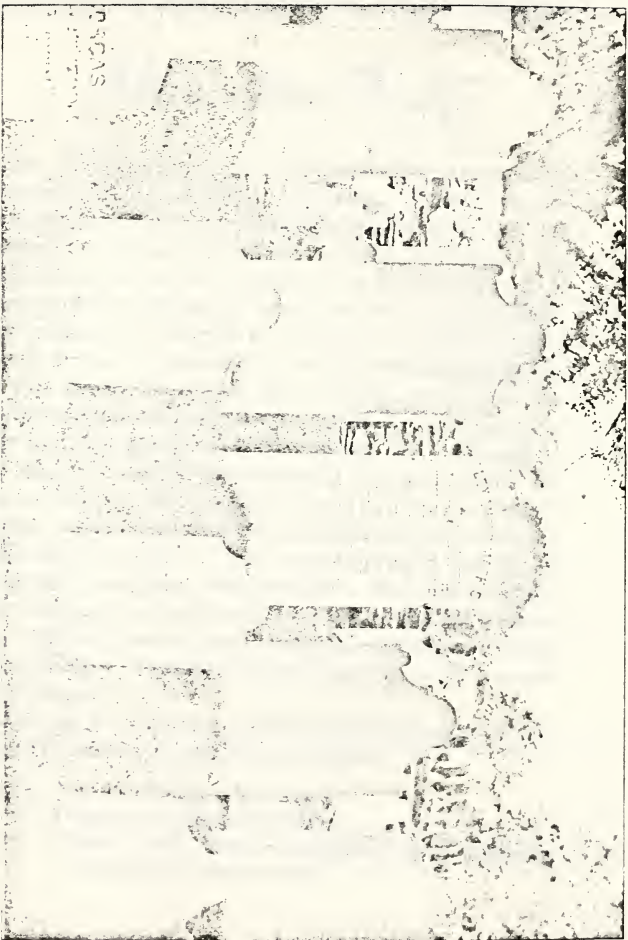


PHOTO. BY JULIUS F. SACHSE

GRAVE OF ALEXANDER MACK,
(BROTHER THEOPHILUS)

IN THE DUNKER GRAVEYARD AT GERMANTOWN.

GRAVE OF ALEXANDER MACK THE PATRIARCH,
SHOWING OLD AND NEW GRAVESTONES.

full, much space needs to be devoted to Alexander Mack, Jr., and I think I cannot close this part without a few state-

Alexander Mack

ments. It will be remembered that in the Koch excitement and exodus in 1739, he went to Ephrata. In the course of a few years, however, he returned to Germantown and was destined to become his father's eminent successor. He was probably elected to the ministry in 1748; and in 1749 he was ordained Bishop of the Germantown congregation. It is strange that the work of this man is so little known. He was a man of great energy and far-reaching influence. He was the most eminent man, beyond doubt, that the Brethren church has ever had in America, considering the times and circumstances of his eventful life. He was an able man as a preacher and counselor in church work. He was well known and greatly beloved all over the church. He was a gifted hymn-writer, and wrote much in defense of the church doctrines. For more than half a century, he served the church ably and faithfully. His work in organizing congregations and ordaining elders was very extensive. His life was a great blessing to many and was full of good deeds. He died at the ripe age of 91 years, 1 month and 20 days.

Some of the baptisms performed by Alexander Mack, Jr., at Germantown, after the year 1766 :

1766.—May 15, Margretta Hartzbach.

“ October 3, Nathaniel Schrieber.

“ October 17, Henry Schlingluft, Jr., Catharine Schlingluft, Dorothea Fox.

- 1767.—July 12, Charles Lang.
 “ August 7, Anna B. Van Lashett and Elizabeth Schlingluff.
 “ August 16, Jacob Bauman and Maria Barbara, his wife.
 “ October 2, Conrad Good, William Spira and Maria Spira.
- 1768.—March 27, Christina Schlungluff, Jr.
 “ September 25, Hannah Stamm.
- 1769.—May 14, Sarah Baker.
 “ July 27, Christopher Saur, Jr.
 “ September 3, Michael Keyser, Sarah Mack and Susanna Baker.
 “ October 5, Peter Keyser and Hannah, his wife, Henry Sharpnack and Sarah, his wife, John Schlingluff, Conrad Stamm, Maria Fendt, Elizabeth Raab.
- 1770.—September 2, John Weber, William Leibert, Dirock Keyser and Rachel, his wife.
 “ September 30, Julius Roberly and Appolonia, his wife.
- 1771.—May 19, Thomas Langstroth and Catherine, his wife, Hannah Mack, Hannah Stier.
 “ September 8, John Kaempfer.
 “ November 10, Rudolph Harley and Barbara, his wife, John Harley and Margaretta, his wife, Ulrick Stouffer and Hannah, his wife.
- 1772.—April 19, Michael Corbit, Garehart Clemens and Gertrude, his wife, Jacob Landis and Maria, his wife.
- 1773.—January 4, John Prisz.
 “ January 20, Phillipina Vernon.
- 1774.—March 27, Edmund Langstroth.
 “ May 12, Edward Bright and Elizabeth, his wife, Elizabeth Painter, Ruth Silence.
 “ July 3, Cornelius Neisz, William Heisler, David Meredith, Jacob Raab, George Duke, John Leibert, Anna Leibert, Susanna Hinckle, Hannah Knorr, Lydia Keyser, Catherine Bauman.

1774.—October 16, William Prisz and Susanna Knorr.

Here occurs a break in the records for the period of nine years.

1783.—October 20, Susanna Weaver, John Weaver's wife, and Catherine Keyser, Michael Keyser's wife.

1785.—March 6, Emanuel Fox and his wife, Margaret, Jacob Zigler and Lydia Kulp. I very much regret that I cannot present a complete list of his baptisms, but it has been impossible to confirm a part of the list. There is no complete record extant.

The following is a partial list of baptisms by Christopher Sower:

1748.—November 3, Elizabeth Weiss, Catherine Buchmarin, Susanna Miller.

1749.—April 2, Jacob Ganz.

1755.—May 18, Andrew Menichinger.

1758.—March 26, Uly Rinder and wife.

1781.—July 15, George Becker and his wife, Catherine, Nancy Becker, their daughter, Catherine, daughter of Frederick Stamm.

1783.—November 6, Adam Weber.

1784.—June 10, Martin Urner and wife, Barbara Baugh.

When Christopher was dead and Alexander Mack was past seventy-two years of age, the second Martin Urner baptized some at Germantown, and the following is perhaps a complete list:

1784.—August 15, Derick Keyser and his wife, Elizabeth, and Susanna Weaver, Philip Weaver's daughter.

1785.—September 25, Nicholas Oliver, Benjamin Lehman, and Peter Keyser, Jr.

1786.—September 14, Henry Rinker, William Keyser and his wife, Barbara, Elizabeth Lehman and Mary Heisler.

1788.—September 4, Charles Hubbs and his wife, Mary, Catherine Clemens and Hannah, the daughter of Derick Keyser.

MACK FAMILY.¹

1st Gen.	Date of Birth.	Place.	Date of Marriage.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
Alexander	1779	Germany	1700 Germany	1735 1720	Anna Margaretha Klingen.
2d Gen.					
John Valentine		"	(?) 1731 America	1755	
		"	(?) 1731	"	8-11-1758 Maria Hildebrand Mack.
John Alexander	1-28-1712	"	"	"	Sneider.
		"	1- 1-1749	"	3-20-1803 Ordained, 1749. Edwards.
	9-25-1725	"	1- 1-1749	"	5- 6-1811 Elizabeth Nice Mack.
3d Gen.					
William	10-31-1741	"	10-13-1772 10-13-1772	"	Blacksmith. Agnes Gantz Mack.
Anna Maria	10-29-1752	"	6- 6-1769	"	4- 5-1770 Death in child- birth.
		"	6- 6-1769	"	Husband.
3 Sarah Marg.	12-23-1753 2-17-1753	"	2- 2-1776 2- 2-1776	"	9- 8-1799 Baptized, 9-3-1769. 1-23-1822 Husband, Jacob Zigler.
4 Hannah	9-10-1755	"	8-27-1775	"	4- 6-1816 Baptized, 5-19- 1771.
	1-20-1756	"	8-27-1775	"	8-30-1815 Husband, Adam Weaver.
Alexander Lydia	1-18-1758 1- 4-1761	"	"	"	3-26-1760
		"	1779 1779	"	12-14-1785 Baptized, 3-6-1785. Husband, Dielman Kulp.
		"	7-15-1788	"	Husband, John Lentz, Baker.
7 Elizabeth	5- 2-1763	"	"	"	5-29-1770 Died of smallpox.
8 Anna Marg.	7-31-1765 1764	"	8-22-1784 8-22-1784	"	5-29-1838 Baptized, 3-6-1785. 3- 2-1833 Baptized, 3-6-1785. Husband, Eman- uel Fox.

¹ Three generations of Alexander Mack's family, the third being Alexander Mack, Jr.'s, children.



APPENDIX.



THE brief sketch of the history of the Brethren church having been presented, it will be of interest to present a few subjects in the form of an Appendix, such as the main points in church doctrine, government, statistics, educational interests, missionary fields, etc.

PART A. FAITH AND PRACTICE.

Elder D. L. Miller, editor of *The Gospel Messenger*, the principal church paper, has compiled a twelve-page pamphlet on "The Brethren," descriptive of "Faith and Practice," etc. This pamphlet is issued as tract No. 42, by the "General Missionary and Tract Committee," Elgin, Ill. I make the following abstracts :

INTRODUCTION.

"The Brethren are a large body of Christians, whose faith and practice are not generally known outside of their immediate localities. The errors in the books that attempt to describe the Brethren, as they call themselves, have been both numerous and lamentable. Starting with Buck's 'Theological Works' and ending with the ponderous encyclopedias and standard diction-

aries, error after error is found, and the faith and practice of the church have been greatly misrepresented. The statements that the Brethren are celibates, that they discourage marriage, that they do not marry outside of their own fraternity, that they keep the seventh day sabbath, that they live in communities, and other similar errors, set forth in the books, always have been without foundation. These misstatements, to be found in nearly all the standard works, show a lack of care, in obtaining correct information, that is far from commendable.

“FAITH AND PRACTICE.

“The Brethren hold the Bible to be the inspired and infallible Word of God, and accept the New Testament as their rule of faith and practice. In the subtleties of speculative theology the church takes but little interest. She is chiefly concerned in giving willing and cheerful obedience to the plain, simple commandments of Christ Jesus. The Brethren are, in every respect, evangelical in their faith. They believe in the Trinity, in the divinity of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, and in future rewards and punishments. Faith, repentance and baptism are held to be conditions of salvation. These three constitute true evangelical conversion, and upon them rests the promise of the forgiveness of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost.

“BAPTISM.

“Baptism is administered by trine immersion. After being instructed in the principles of the Gospel, and having faithfully promised to observe the same, the applicant is taken down into the water, and, kneeling, reaffirms his faith in Christ and promises to live faithful until death. He is then baptized for the remission of his sins, into the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, the administrator immersing the applicant face forward at the mention of each name in the Trinity. The administrator then lays his hands on the head of the kneeling candidate and offers a brief prayer on behalf of the one baptized, and he rises to be greeted as a brother, with the right

hand of fellowship and the kiss of love, to walk in newness of life.

“The Brethren follow closely the practice of the apostolic church, and admit none into fellowship until they have been baptized. In the language of Peter to the Pentecostians they tell all believers to ‘repent, and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.’ Acts 2: 38. Holding that baptism is only for believers, and those who have repented, they oppose infant baptism. Infants can neither believe nor repent, hence they are not proper subjects for baptism. Christ having sufficiently atoned for them, all children who die before coming to a knowledge of good and evil will be saved.

“In defense of trine immersion they hold that the great commission, given by Christ, and recorded in Matt. 28:19, Revised Version, ‘Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,’ teaches a three-fold action. As there are three persons in the Trinity, each one of the Divine Three is honored in this form of baptism. As the three Persons constitute one God, and a belief in each of these one faith, so the three dippings constitute one baptism. In favor of their practice they have the testimony of all Greek scholars, who have examined the subject, the practice of the entire Greek church, and reliable history. These all show that trine immersion was the almost universal mode of baptism for centuries succeeding the apostolic age. Changes were gradually made from trine immersion to sprinkling, but the church that made the change, the Roman Catholic, still retains the three actions in applying water to the candidate. Nearly all the Protestant churches that practice sprinkling retain the same form, thus testifying to the truth that the commission teaches a three-fold action in baptism. Their baptism is accepted as valid by all religious denominations of any note whatever.

"LOVEFEAST AND COMMUNION.

"The Agape, or Feast of Love.

"The evening before his death, our Blessed Master, after having washed his disciples' feet, ate a supper with them and instituted, in connection with this sacred meal, the communion—the bread and cup. The apostles, led by the Holy Spirit, followed the example of their Great Leader and introduced the *agape* into the apostolic church. This feast of love, of which all the Christians partook, was a full meal, was eaten in the evening, and is called by the apostle Paul the Lord's Supper. The communion of the bread and wine was given in connection with this meal. The lovefeast was kept up in the primitive church for four centuries, but as the church grew in numbers and wealth, it lost its first love and spirit of fraternity, and the feasts of love were discontinued. The Brethren, in their reformatory movement in 1708 restored these lovefeasts, and in this particular still follow the example of Christ and the practice of the apostles and primitive Christians, and keep the feast of love. A full meal is prepared and placed upon tables, used for that purpose, in the church, and all the members partake of the supper.

"Feet-washing.

"Before eating supper, the religious rite of washing feet is observed. Their authority for this practice is found in John 13; 1-17. 'He riseth from supper, and laid aside his garments; and took a towel, and girded himself. After that he poureth water into a basin, and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded. * * * If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you.' The Brethren do not stand alone in the practice of this rite. The Greek church, with ninety million communicants, has adhered to feet-washing, as she claims, ever since the days of the apostles, and the patriarch of Jerusalem engages in feet-washing to-day near the spot where Jesus himself gave the example and the precept.

“In their practice of the ordinance of feet-washing at love-feast occasions the Brethren follow very closely the example of the Master. Water is poured into a basin, a brother girds himself with a towel and washes and wipes his brother's bared feet, and in turn has his feet washed. The rite is in this way performed over the entire congregation. The sisters wash the sisters' feet and all the proprieties of the sexes are most rigidly observed. By this ordinance the Gospel principle of humility is set forth and by its observance all are placed on a common level. The rich and poor stand alike together in the great Brotherhood established by Christ.

“The Supper.

“After observing the ceremony of feet-washing, a blessing is asked upon the simple meal spread on the tables, and it is eaten with solemnity. It is held to be typical of the great supper at the end of the world, when Christ Himself will be master of ceremonies. The important lesson is taught that we are all children of one common family, members of one common brotherhood, having one common purpose in view, and the bond of fraternity and loving fellowship is shown by eating together this sacred meal as did Christ and His disciples and as did the primitive Christians. At the conclusion of the meal thanks are returned and then, as the members are seated around the table, the right hand of fellowship and the kiss of charity are given. The salutation of the kiss of love in worship and in customary greetings, as enjoined by the apostles, is never observed between the sexes.

“The Communion.

“The Communion is then administered. This consists in partaking of the bread and wine in commemoration of the sufferings and death of our adorable Redeemer. In the Lord's Supper we are pointed forward to the evening of the world, to the great reunion of the saints. In the communion we are pointed back to the cross. The emblems are passed from hand to hand by the brethren, while the officiating minister breaks the

bread and passes the cup to the sisters. After this a season of earnest devotion follows, and then a hymn is sung and the services are closed for the evening. Love-feasts are held in each congregation usually once or twice each year, but as the members visit from congregation to congregation, during the love-feast season, they engage many times in this service during the year.

“OTHER PRINCIPLES OF FAITH AND PRACTICE. NON-CONFORMITY PRINCIPLES.

“*Plainness.*

“The Brethren claim to be, and are in many respects, a peculiar people. Plain dressing is taught and required, and a general uniformity is observed, but this is regarded as a means to an end. They believe that the New Testament teaches plainness in attire, 1 Tim. 2: 9, 10; 1 Pet. 3: 3, and that by a general uniformity of habit, marked enough to distinguish the church from the world, Gospel plainness may be made a living fact instead of a dead letter, as it has become in many other churches whose discipline strongly insists on plain dressing.

“*Non-litigant.*

“The Brethren are not allowed to go to law with one of their own number, nor with others, without first asking the counsel of the church, and it is rare indeed for a brother to be engaged in a lawsuit. Among themselves differences are adjusted personally, or by the church, in accordance with the Christian law of trespass given by the Master. Matt. 18: 15-20.

“*Non-resisting and Non-swearing.*

“The Fraternity is strictly non-resistant, as well as non-litigant. It is held that Christ is ‘the Prince of Peace,’ that His Word is ‘The Gospel of Peace,’ hence His servants can not go to war and fight. ‘For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds.’ 2 Cor. 10: 4. They take no active part in politics, and ‘swear not at all.’ If called upon to testify in

the courts, they simply affirm, without raising the hand or kissing the Bible. In this they literally obey the command of Christ who said, 'Swear not at all. But let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.' Matt. 5:34-37.

" Secretism.

"No brother may become a member of any secret or oath-bound society, the Brethren holding that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is fully sufficient for all the wants of humanity. All the converts who are identified with such orders are required to sever their connection with them before they can be adopted into the family of the Brotherhood.

" Marriage.

"The Brethren hold that the marriage bond can only be dissolved by death. Divorce and remarriage are practically unknown among the membership. It is held by some that those who have been divorced for a violation of the sanctity of the marriage vow and remarried before conversion, might be received into church fellowship while their former companions were living, but the rule has been against even this much leniency, and they hold, with Paul, that the woman which hath a husband is bound by law to her husband so long as he liveth: but if the husband be dead, she is loosed from the law of her husband. Rom. 7:2.

" The Anointing.

"They, in compliance with the instruction of the apostle James, 5:14, 15, anoint the sick with oil. This rite is administered only by the request of the sick. The elders are called and the sick member is raised to a sitting posture. After the officiating elder applies the oil to the head three times, two elders then lay their hands on the head of the sick, and offer a prayer for the anointed one."

TEMPERANCE.

The positions of the Brethren church on the subject of liquor and tobacco—on her temperance principles—are indicated by the following brief, but clear, statement :

“On the question of temperance and prohibition the Brethren have, for more than a century, given no uncertain testimony. They are one of the oldest temperance organizations in the United States. More than one hundred years ago a decision was passed, forbidding any of the members to engage in the manufacture or sale of intoxicants. They forbid the use of all alcoholic or malt liquors as a beverage, in public or private. They request the members not even to have dealings with saloon keepers. They discourage the use of tobacco, and the rule is that no brother can be installed in office who uses tobacco without making a promise to quit it. All applicants for baptism, who are addicted to the tobacco habit, are advised to abstain from its use before they are received into church fellowship.”

PART B. CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

On the subject of Church Organization and Church Government, I quote the following from Eld. D. L. Miller, on “Church Government.”

“Church Government.

“The Brethren have a republican form of church government. Each congregation is independent in the management of its local affairs, such as the election of deacons, ministers, elders, or bishops, and in matters of local church discipline; but is subject to the entire Brotherhood through District and General Conferences. A number of congregations, usually in the same State, conveniently located, are formed into a District, and these hold annual conferences, to which each congregation sends two delegates, either lay-members, deacons, or ministers. Questions, local to the District, are discussed and settled by the District Conference, but those of a general character are sent to the

General Conference, or Annual Meeting, as it is commonly called. This is also a delegated body. The Districts each elect one delegate, who must be an elder, to serve on the Standing Committee, and each congregation, with a membership of two hundred or less, may elect one delegate. Congregations with a larger membership may send two delegates. The delegates may be selected from the laity or the church officials; the Standing Committee and delegates form the official body of the Conference. Any member present may take part in the discussion of questions, but the voting is confined to the delegates, two-thirds of the votes cast being required for a decision.

“The General Conference is also a great annual reunion for the Brethren. They come together from all parts of the Brotherhood, and it is not unusual for thousands of them to assemble at the place of meeting.

“The decisions of the Conference are to be adhered to by all the members of the church. An examination of the book of Minutes of the Annual Meeting shows that questions referring to church doctrine rarely come before the Conference, proving that there has been a firm adherence to the principles of the Gospel, as originally adopted by the church. But the application of those principles, in special cases, and the best means to carry them into effect, have been subjects of frequent discussion and decision by the Conference. The tendency of the Conference and the annual reunions is to unify the Brethren in all their church work, and it is a fact that there is rarely found so large a body of religious people so closely united on the doctrines and principles to which they hold.

“Elders, ministers and deacons are elected by the church from among her members, such as she may deem qualified for the important work to which they are called. Each member, without reference to sex, has a right to cast a vote. Ministers, after giving full proof of their faithfulness and ability, are advanced to the ‘second degree’ of the ministry. They are then authorized to baptize, solemnize marriage, and make and fill appointment for preaching the Word. Elders, or bishops, who pre-

side over the congregations, are chosen from the ministers in the second degree. No salaries are paid, but poor ministers, and those who are sent out as missionaries, are properly supported."

PART C. STATISTICS.

The Brethren church has about 100,000 communicants—of this number Pennsylvania has nearly 20,000. There are 6,000 members east of the Susquehanna. While the entire church emigrated to Pennsylvania, on being driven out of Germany, this State always has had a larger membership than any other. The rest of the membership is widely scattered. There are a few small congregations in New Jersey, a good membership in parts of Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia. These are the principal settlements on the Atlantic Coast. There are no congregations in New England, as may be expected from the difference of language in the first place. There is a mission in Brooklyn, N. Y. There are a few organized churches in North and South Carolina, and one in Georgia, and a few in Florida. Because of the position of the church on the question of slavery, there was little work in the South. As is well known, the Brethren took an advance position against slavery at a very early day. In 1797 the church in Conference action abolished and prohibited slavery, and if members still persisted in the unholy business, they were expelled. This action was taken sixty-six years before the nation abolished slavery. Of late years the work has been spreading south somewhat. Leaving the Atlantic Coast, we find the strongest States in membership to be the following: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas and Nebraska. All the other States and Territories throughout the Great West and Central portions, are represented in the membership. Reference to the mission fields will indicate the membership in foreign countries.

The church has about 2,500 ministers in all departments of her work. There are about 850 organized congregations, with about 1,100 church buildings.

PART D. EDUCATIONAL INTERESTS.

I cannot in this connection trace the history and development of the educational system as it exists to-day in the Brethren church. It will be sufficient for the present purpose to name the principal institutions, to show the extent and distribution of the work in the several States. The following is a list of the institutions in existence to-day, arranged chiefly in the order of their establishment :

1. Juniata College,	Huntingdon,	Pa.
2. Mt. Morris College,	Mt. Morris,	Ill.
3. Lordsburg College,	Lordsburg,	Cal.
4. McPherson College,	McPherson,	Kan.
5. Manchester College,	North Manchester,	Ind.
6. Bridgewater College,	Bridgewater,	Va.
7. Fruitdale College,	Fruitdale,	Ala.
8. Smithville Collegiate Institute,	Smithville,	Ohio.
9. Maryland Collegiate Institute,	Union Bridge,	Md.
10. Elizabethtown College,	Elizabethtown,	Pa.

In addition to these, there are several private institutes and normal schools.

PART E. MISSIONARY FIELDS AND FOREIGN WORK.

The General Missionary and Tract Committee controls all the extensive publishing interests of the Church, located at Elgin, Ill., and the income of the said interests is devoted by the committee to Missionary Work at Home and in Foreign Fields. The following list will indicate the fields in foreign countries, as conducted for the Church :

Denmark, Sweden, France, Switzerland, Philadelphia and Smyrna in Asia Minor, and India. All of these countries and places have organized churches. There are at present six missionaries in India, and four more are to sail this month. There is a large Orphanage maintained in connection with the work in India, and this year the Church has sent to that large field, \$20,000 for the famine sufferers.

The General Mission Board carries on work in many fields at home. The publishing house, controlled by the Missionary Committee, publishes the *Gospel Messenger* (the principal organ of the Church), the Sunday-school literature, various books and many tracts.

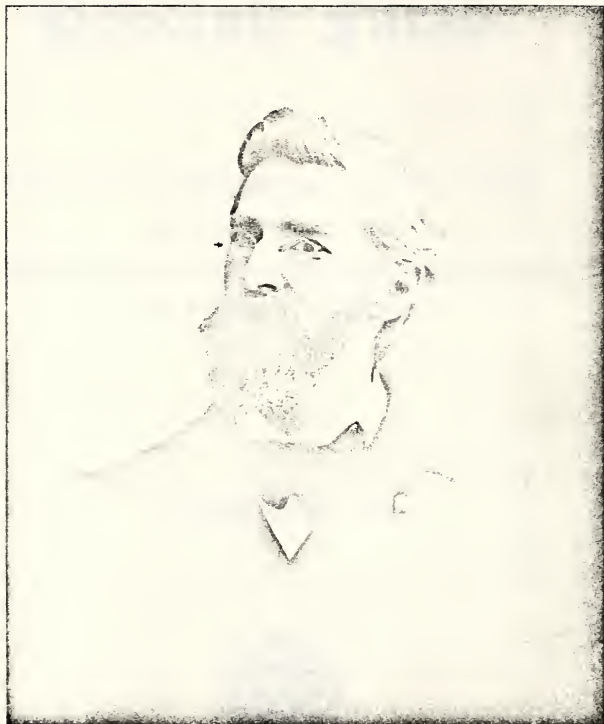


Pennsylvania-German Literature



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

1900



J. May "Lark"

En
Wondfull Färsh:

EXPERIMENTS IN PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN VERSE,
WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON
THE CAPABILITY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN
FOR POETIC EXPRESSION.

BY
J. MAX HARK, D.D.



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.
1900



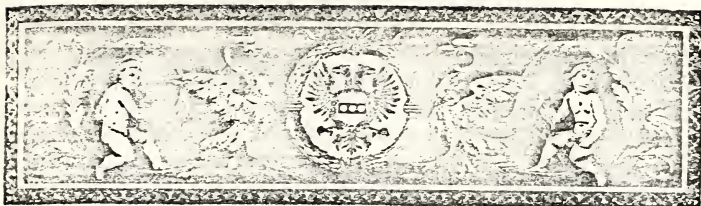
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PREFATORY NOTE.

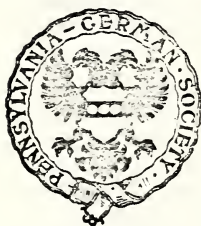


THE contents of this booklet were originally communicated to the Pennsylvania-German Society, at its Annual Meeting held at Ephrata, Pa., in October, of 1899. The substance of the address of the author on that occasion, on "The Capability of the Pennsylvania-German for Poetic Expression," in illustration of which a number of the poems were read, is given in the introductory essay. With one exception the poems have never been printed before. They appear here for the first time, and are published according to a special resolution of the Executive Committee, and as one of the official publications of the Pennsylvania-German Society.



INTRODUCTION.

THE CAPABILITY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN FOR POETIC EXPRESSION.



THE verses which follow were written at odd moments in an endeavor to show that the Pennsylvania-German as such is not incapable of poetic sentiment and of being stirred by poetic emotions, and that the dialect he habitually speaks is not inadequate to express those emotions and sentiments, nor to lend itself to all the usual forms of versification, with all its requirements of metre, rhythm, and rhyme.

Until quite recent times the current conception of the Pennsylvania-German has been that he is a very commonplace, somewhat dull, slow and stolid plodder, albeit honest and thorough in all he does; a thorough materialist, concerned exclusively with material occupations for material ends. Thanks to the labors of the Pennsylvania-German Society this erroneous notion is being pretty well dissipated. His rightful place in the political, economic, social, educational and religious history of the state and

country, as well as in its agricultural development, is being more and more fully recognized. But even yet this recognition is only qualifiedly given, is very partial. Outside of religion and education his achievements have been mainly of a utilitarian character. It is implied, if not actually said, that he knows little or nothing of the world of higher thought and finer feeling. In other words, he is still considered as essentially less spiritual, coarser, and on a lower plane of being than the descendants of the early settlers of other nationalities than the German. At all events, to connect the deeper emotions of the heart, and finer sentiments of the soul, with the Pennsylvania-German as he is commonly thought of, is somewhat incongruous, and is apt to provoke an incredulous smile, if not a sneer.

Nor is it mere ill-nature, or altogether blind prejudice, on the part of our friends that denies us all poetic feeling and expression. There is some ground for it, and, in part at least, we have ourselves to blame for it.

First of all, what have we Pennsylvania-Germans done to disabuse the minds of our friends of their error? If we except most of the poetry of Harbaugh, the one or two little poems that Rondthaler wrote, and some of that of Lee Grumbine, with perhaps a few scattered verses by others, is it not true that all the metrical composition thus far produced in the Pennsylvania-German dialect has not been real poetry at all, but only attempts to arouse laughter at the expense either of the Pennsylvania-German himself or of the strange-sounding dialect? Sometimes the attempts have been genuinely humorous, oftener than not they have been coarse and in questionable taste. The same is true of too much of the newspaper-writing in the dialect. Nearly all that has been done, in prose or verse,

has been broadly humorous, with no attempt at anything else, no higher ambition or aim than to make the reader or hearer laugh. From this the world has formed its judgment of us and of our speech. Can we blame it for its verdict?

But, again, the Pennsylvania-German is not to be censured too severely for having confined himself thus almost exclusively to humor in his writings. Let us remember that he was from the beginning a hard worker. The early settlers and makers of this commonwealth were kept exceedingly busy in their struggle for bare existence. Their daily lives were full of hardships, disappointments, suffering, full of tragedy and pathos all the time. When they did have leisure to write, or even in their social converse, what they needed was not the recital of the same experiences and feelings which they were constantly having, but a change, diversion, amusement, something to take their minds off the too great seriousness of their life. They naturally, necessarily, turned to humor to lighten their lot.

As a matter of fact, the Pennsylvania-German is rather more serious habitually than those of most other nationalities. But it is a fact, too, that he is unusually undemonstrative. He certainly does not "carry his heart on his sleeve." He hides his deeper feelings. Admiration, enthusiasm, hope and fear, joy and grief, love, hate, aspiration and despair, all the most delicate sentiments born of the conjugal and filial relations—these are carefully repressed before the stranger, and the outsider is allowed to see no signs of them. Only in the sacredness of the home, the bosom of the family, or the inner circle of the most intimate companionship, is their manifestation ever permitted. But that they all exist there, as strong, and rich and full as in any human breast, he who has ever been privileged to enter

into the inner life of the Pennsylvania-German need not be told. I have myself witnessed scenes of the most touching tenderness, such as the stranger would be surprised at, when a son or daughter bade farewell to their childhood's home; of tragic sorrow at the grave of a child or wife; and of the most beautiful, heroically self-sacrificing devotion on the part of a husband for the wife of his bosom become a lifelong invalid. I know that, among the uncultured rustics as much as among the highly educated, their home-life is often characterized by habitual gentleness, words and deeds of thoughtful affection, loving consideration, and the display of all the finest sensibilities. The lover is as fond in his wooing, and as full of pure sentiment, as anywhere else in the world. The rough mountaineer has as keen and correct a sense of the beautiful in nature, and shows it in the selection of the site for his humble cabin, in his open admiration of the golden sunset, and in the cultivation of his little plot of flower garden, as though he had studied art all his lifetime. And why should this not be so? These are qualities that have been inherited from his German forefathers, just as much as his tireless industry and his sterling honesty. And are they not the elemental qualities that must enter into every poetic soul whatever else may be present or wanting there? Where they are found the capabilities of true poetry cannot be absent.

Nor will those who are at all acquainted with his folklore be inclined to deny him great imaginative power. This, too, however, he is not in the habit of exploiting in public. He reserves its display for his intimates, for those who know him well enough not to suspect him of being sentimental or weakly effeminate, the one thing of which he seems to be morbidly afraid. This alone goes far to account for the public's knowing so little of the Pennsylvania-German's poetic capabilities.

Finally, as has before been intimated, the early settlers and their immediate descendants were too busy,

“Busy with hewing and building, with garden plot and with merestead,
Busy with breaking the glebe, and mowing the grass in the meadows,”

to have either time or inclination for writing poetry. And when in later years they did attain to a position which gave them more leisure, and they perhaps would have felt more disposed to court the muse, they found that their mother-tongue, the words in which they thought and spoke, was not a written language. And, moreover, if one did succeed in writing it, the number of those who could read it was discouragingly small. So that, if he would reach the real public, he must think and write in some other than the Pennsylvania-German tongue.

This is not saying by any means, however, that his dialect is lacking in richness of vocabulary, flexibility, or expressiveness. Let me not be so misunderstood. As a rule, dialects are if anything richer and more expressive than the languages from which they are derived; and the Pennsylvania-German is no exception to this. There is no reason why it should be. So far as that is concerned, it is fully the equal of the Yankee dialect which gave us Lowell's Biglow Papers, or the Negro patois of “Uncle Remus” and Paul Lawrence Dunbar, or the Hoosier dialect of James Whitcomb Riley. It is even richer than these, because it has freely drawn from the vocabularies of two languages, and not only from one as have these. But precisely in this, that it has appropriated and freely assimilated idioms and words from both the German and the English, lies the reason why it has found no place in the literature of either. The German cannot read it because of its English affiliations. The English finds it a

strange tongue because it is so largely composed of German. It is a foreign dialect to both alike. Its very fullness and richness, therefore, and not its poverty or meagreness, have been a main cause of its having found so few authors, and fewer poets, to use it for the expression of their thoughts and feelings. No poet wants to write for himself alone, least of all a Pennsylvania-German, who is nothing if not practical, whether in cultivating the arts or the earth.

Taking all these things into consideration, the conclusion I finally arrived at was that the Pennsylvania-German has inherited, from the same ancestry that has produced a Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, Heine, and Rückert, a temperament that is at least not in any sense unpoetic; but that the circumstances attending his emigration to this country, and settlement and development of this state, have caused him to refrain from any published expression of the same, have kept his muse timid and shy, and studiously hidden from public view.

To satisfy myself that this conclusion was correct, and that there is no inherent lack of capability for poetic expression in the Pennsylvania-German, I essayed the composition of the several poems that follow, on a variety of subjects and in a number of different kinds of versification. If occasional imperfections of rhyme are noticed, it must be remembered that the rules governing rhyme are not nearly as rigorous in German poetry as in English, especially the English of more recent years.

Unnich 'em Aldé Keshdé Bazm was written in a reminiscent mood, with a note of sadness running through it, and the echo of a childish romance suggested. The dialect lends itself readily to this style; it is smoothly rhythmical; and rhyme and metre are simple. The same is true

of the narrative verses of *Au der Fair*, where the humorous element is uppermost, and however expressed, the description of subjective and objective events is at least true to nature. Description, coupled with religious feeling, are attempted in *En Herrhoodter Oshder Margé*, and religious meditation in *Dcr Aldé Kärch-hof uf 'em Bärq*. In a different style of verse and mood the tragically pathetic incident of *Der Shbohdé Shool Boo* is related. *Fire!* describes an incident in a country village that will appeal to many.

The sonnet is a form of verse that perhaps more than any other tests the capabilities of the dialect, requiring, as it does, delicacy of touch and great flexibility of language. So far as I know it had never before been attempted in Pennsylvania-German, until I tried it in *Im Bush vann's Shnayd* and *Vann der Wind mohl ivver dee Shdubblé blohst*. *Unser Henny* tells how a country lad left home to go to the city, grew to manhood there, and, returning on a visit, tried to impress his former neighbors and companions with his superior city ways;—and also how the latter felt about it. Until Mr. Lee L. Grumbine's excellent poem on *Der Alt' Dengel Shtock* appeared, which it did after I had written *Dee Amshel*, I had never seen an attempt in the dialect of onomatopoeic verse. It also is a rather severe test of the capabilities of the language. A different metre was used for *Der Koo Shdohr*, which bases some moralizing remarks on the well known habit of the cow blackbird, or cow bunting, to lay its eggs in another bird's nest. The last poem of the collection *En Leychd* (A Funeral), is after the manner of the impressionistic school of art, somewhat vaguely allusive, and suggestive of a hidden tragedy. The snow and storm that prevail at the burial of the young girl are

but trifles compared with the storm of remorseful memories that arise in the breast of the young man as he witnesses the burial, and silently offers up a prayer for pardon for her sins and for his. The sentiment suggested the style of verse.

I must yet be permitted a word about the spelling of the dialect. I confess that I found this almost the most difficult part of the entire undertaking. Should I spell the words strictly phonetically? This I finally determined to do. But according to which, the German or the English sounds of the alphabet, should I do it? I found that the main difficulty was *not* to spell according to both promiscuously. This has been the mistake made by nearly all who have written in our dialect, with the result that they have made the reading of their writings doubly difficult. I discovered that there is an absolute lack of uniformity of spelling in most if not all Pennsylvania-German writings; and it impressed on me the crying need of some fixed standard of orthography. We ought to have it, and that right soon. I chose, arbitrarily I confess, to spell according to the English sounds of the letters, and have tried to be consistent in this throughout. In how far I have succeeded in this, as well as in showing that the Pennsylvania-German has some capability for poetic expression, must be left to the judgment of the reader. If I have at least opened a new field for study and endeavor, my experiment shall not have been altogether in vain.



UNNICH 'EM ALDÉ KESHDE'-BAWM.



'SINNSHD Dich noch an den Keshdë-bawm
Drunné in der Vees?

Ich sayn en oftmohls van ich drawm,
Un reech sei Bleedé seess.

Vaysh'd noch vas mer fer G'shbass hen g'haddé

Vee mer als in der Grick
G'shbeeld hen, bohrfoos, in seim Shaddé? —
Sell vohr ovver lang tzurick!

Un vee mer als Moi-ebbel g'suchd hen, dort
Im Bish'l hinné droh',
Un Seesswartzel; un geblaudert alsfort
As vee tzway Fegel so froh?

Ehmohl awe hen mer'n Neshd'l g'funné,
Mit sex glay Meis'l drin;
Ich het see all grawd mit genummé;
Doo'shd ovver g'sawd 's'vehr en Sin'!

Doo vohrshd yoh awe seilayvé soh —
Vaysh'd noch sellé Shlong?
Vee ich see dohdt gemachd hab, noh
Vahrshd Doo ehrshd orndlich bong!

Grawd vee en Leychd so veiss hoshd' g'goockt,
Un hoshd mich g'haldé fasht,
Bis mer uns unner'n Bawm hen g'huckt,
Dei Kup uf meiner Brusht.

Sell hut mich selver shëer bong g'macht;
My Härtz hut so geglubt
As Doo's g'feeld hushd; noh hushd Doo g'lacht; —
Un sell hut's, denk ich, g'shdubt!

Ennyhow hav ich sunshd nix may g'hehrd,
 As en Hummel an unsré Fees;
 'S'gebabbel fum Vasser hut uns net g'stehrd.
 'S'gepeiff fun der Lärch in der Vees,

Un fum' e Badreesel im anneré Feld,
 Vohr'n dayl fum Sunneshei.—
 'S'vohr all so nadirlich in seller Veldt
 As kennd's nee annershd sei.

Vohr's värklich nix sunshd as en shayner Drawm,
 Dee Vees, dee Blummé, dee Lusht,
 Un der mehdich aldé Keshdé-bawm?—
 'S'Mayd'l uf meiner Brusht?

Ebmohls mayn ich 'svehr tzidderm nix vohr,
 Un alles dayd drawmé now.
 Dee ganz Veldt kummd mer so onnershd fohr,
 So abg'ferbd, un so shloh.

Dee Veesé sin net halver so gree',
 Der Himmel is nimmy so bloh';
 Dee Fegel, un Blummé, voo sin see all hee?—
 Un's Mayd'l is awe nimmy doh'!

Och, unnich dem aldé Keshdé-bawm,
 Vas vohr doch 's'Layvé so shay!
 Un now is es all vee en shlayfricher Drawm,
 O yea, is ken Uffvecké may?



AN DER FAIR.



AS der Tshake ovver heyd net so grossfeelich doot,
In seim besht, neyé Sunndawg soot!
'Sis veyl er dee Kate uf dee Fair nemmé vill,
Im neyé Veggelché un em grohé Fill.

Dee Kate is noch ärger gebutzd as vee er.

Ich vays net vee's gor miglich vehr
May Feddré un Blummé uf eer Hoot tzu doo;—
Udder en shayneres Maydché tzu finné dertzu!

G'viss saynd mer net oft en shmärdguckichers Pawr
As vee dess an dem Margé vohr
Vee see in der Fair-grund nei g'fawré sin,—
'Svohr Dannershdawg Margé, so vee ich mich b'sinn.

Vas vohr ovver shun en Lot Menshé dort,
Un en Tzuchd un Gegreish alsfort;—
'Svohr'n Huckshder un Gämblér un allerhand Shows;—
Mer het denké kenné der Deyvel vehr loh!

Dee Oxsé hen geblärd un dee Hawné ggrayd,
Mer hut sheer net g'vist voo mer shdayd;
Un noh kummd dee Band noch un shbeeld uf'm Shtand!
'Swar'n ayvicher Lerm, ovver doch var's awe grand.

Tzu ershd huts dee Kate sheergawr bang gemacht;
Der Tshake ovver hut yushd g'lacht.
"Nemm Doo yushd mei Hand," secht der Jake; un noh
Gayd's ab tzu sayné vas tzu sayné is doh.

En Sockful Grundniss värn g'kawfd for'n Shtärtdt,
See sin vuhl ken finf Sent värtdt,
An der Fair ovver guckt mer net uf dee Exshbense,
Un der Jake feeld heyd awe so reych as en Brince.

See shtayné en veyl an der Shliffelmeel.

Fun dee Buhvé un dee Mayd sin feel
 Vas druf fawré; dee Kate ovver vill's net doo;
 See secht s'machd see dormlich, uns koshd noch dertzu.

Doch ivveraveyl grick'd der Tshake see so veyd—
 Ennich Maydl wärd b'schwedst mit der Tzeydt—
 As see'n goot dutzend mohl mit em rum g'fawré is;
 Er hut see fasht g'haldé,—vaygem Dormel var's g'viss!

Nohch dem sin see gangé midenanner dee Kee
 Tzu begucké, uns anneré Fee.
 Fun Shohf un fun Sey's nix abbardes tzu say';
 Dee Geyl sin recht goot; un dee Hinckel sin shay.

Dee Kate bleibt's lengsht beim'e Hammely shtay,—
 See kann gar net fart derfun gay;
 See shtreichelt's un shwedtzt tzu'm; noh shemd see sich halb,
 Vee der Jake tzu'er secht er vud er vehr'n Kalb!

Een soot seller sheckiche Hengsht es maysht;
 Er secht er vehr ayns fun dee grayshd
 In der Veldt;—un's var awe en mechdiches Deer,
 Tzu grohs un tzu shwehr fer feel Use mayn ich sheer.

Bei der Tzeyd now muss es bal' Middawg sei;
 So gayné see in a Shtand nei
 Voo mer'n Oyshder-shdew grickt, mit Grackers un Grout,
 For'n Färdel;—uns shmockd'ne baydé yushd 'boud!

Naygshd bei for'm'e Tzeldt tshumpd en Hansvorshd rum,
 Un's shbeeld a yung Weibsmensh dee Drum.
 See hen grossé Bilder uf's Tzeldt-duch gepaynd
 Fun vildé Grayduré, un vas mer dree saynd.

“Dort gayné mer nei,” secht der Tshake; un see sin.
 Ovver frohg'en 'mohl vas see dort drin
 Hen g'sayné! Es macht en bis heyd noch als bays!
 “En ferdulde B'sheisserei's 'vas ich so ebbes hays!”

'Swar inderresand awe dee Races tzu say;

Vas kenné dee Drodder net gay!

Ebwohl as der Tshake maynd es vehr feel im Dräck,

Un awe net e'vennich im Driver sei Näck.

See shtayné so lang dort am Race-grund draus,

Es verd 'ne tzu shbohdt fer ins Haus

Nei tzu gay, voo dee Shdohr-saché sin, uns G'nay,

Un Gebeck, un dee Tshelly, un allerhand may,

As der Tshake secht am beshdé vehr doch net so goodt,—

'S'het ennyhow eem net so g'soodt,—

As es Brohd un der Butter as dee Kate selver macht,

Un fun vellem er g'shbeckt noch tzu essé fohr Nacht!

“Ovver's G'shbeckté is net immer's Havvé!” secht see.

Un er maynd as er het see noch nee

So gegliché s'vee now, vee see'n oh'geguckt hut

As dayd see en frohgé eb er see havvé vudt!

Es macht en sich dummlé tzu shtärdté fer Haym,

So's er g'shwind fun der Growd eveck kaym.

Es nemmd awe net lang sin see'm Veggelché dree,

Un safe uf em Vayg noch der Bushkill hee.

Sei Ohrm hut er sumhow now g'shlipt um see rum,

Un dee Kate is of kors net so dumm

Net tzu visse's er's doot veyl der Ohved is keel;

Un es gebt aym yoh awch en Ohrd saferes G'feel!

Uf eh'mohl noh hut er see g'busst as es gracht,

Un g'sawd, un hut loud dertzu g'lacht:

“Es Havvé kummt oft ohne's G'shbeckdé fer Mayd!”

“Des hav ich shun lang ovver g'shbeckt,” secht dee Kate!

Fer en lang Shdory kartz maché: fohr der naygshd Fair

Var dee Katy dee Mrs. Tshake Lehr!

Un der Tshake neckst see oft, un secht s'dood em layd

As er net an dee Fair may kann gay mit dee Mayd!

EN HERRNHOODTER OHSHDER-MARGÉ.



CH hab en Drawm g'hadt fun Engel un Harfé un
G'sang,

Un fun Musick so shay as ich nee derfohr g'hehrd;
See's kummé gans leys darch dee shdillé Nachd-luft,
'S'vee's Shterné-licht falld un's Dunkel net
shdehrd.

Ich bin ufg'wacht noh'. 'S'vohr Ohshder-margé gans free,
So free 's'hut kay Mensh noch, kay Foggel, sich g'reerd.

'S'hen dee Bosowné geblohsé veyd ab uf'm Shquare,
Fer dee Leyd fer dee Kärch uftzuvecké in Tzeyd.
Ich shday dann auch uf, un bin ferdich eb lang
Middem Kaffy un Kuché. Dee Kärch is net veyd,
Doch dummelt mer sich yushd so arg as mer kann,
Veil neemond vill shbohd sei,—abbardich net heyd.

Vee'ch dart huck in der Kärch, un's Singé fangd oh',
Un dee Orgel tzu shbeelé 's'vee en Shdimm fun der Hay,
Kummt's ehrlich mer fohr as vehr's vidder im Drawm,
As dayd ich now selver fum Dodt uffersyday.
Es gebt mer en G'feel, deaf drunné im Härtz,
As vehr ich grawd reddy in der Himmel tzu gay!

Dree in der Kärch ovver bleyvé mer yushd e' glay Veyl;
D'noh gayd's uf der Kärch-hof nuf, middem Kohr
Fun Bosowné, vas Musick machd, forné eveck.
'S'gayd langsam der Berg nuf, un nei darch's grohs Dohr;
Noh' unnich dee mechdiché evergree' Baym;—
Im dishdere Licht kummt's mer showerlich fohr!

S'lang as ich layb hav ich neemohls so wunnerlich g'feeld.
Ich hab g'shbeerd in der luft as sich's Freeyohr shun raygt.
Dee Felder un Bish, vas mer Meylé-veyd saynd,



DRAWN BY ALICE BRIDGER STEPHENS.

A MORAVIAN EASTER MORN.
COURTESY OF LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

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Hen g'guckt as vehr'n darchsichdich's Vayl drivver g'laygt;
Im Himmel sin noch en Bawr Shterne tzu say,
Ebwohl as fum Oshdé sich's Morgé-rohd shdreckt

Ivver dee Berge, un Nodiss soh gebt der gans Veldt
As dee Nacht is am End. Uf dee Grayver naygshd bei
Sin farviché Blummé hee g'shdreyd. In dee Baym
Rings rum, unnich vellé mer shdayé, doon glei
Feel Hunnerdé Feggel ufvecké mit G'sang
Soh loud 's'eb see visdé 's'misd Ohshdere sei.

Nohch dem's der Porrer en ernshdes Gebayt hut g'macht,
Vee dee Leyd un dee Feggel, mit Bosowné un'm Kohr,
En frayliches Leed duhn singé eer'm Gott,
As vee en B'veiss as dee Beevel is vohr,
Kummt's Sunné-licht ivver dee Bergé hell raus,
Un filld mit ney'm Layve vas dohdt vohr tzufohr.

'S'hut mer, vee g'sawd, en ganz märgvårdchs G'feel ohgebracht.
Ich hab g'maynd ich dayd sayne, so glawr 's'midtem Awg,
Dee Mudder 's'shunn lang uf'm Kärch-hof dart leyd,
Un Shveshder, un Freyndé, un's glay Bayvy auch,—
S'hen mit uns g'sungé, un vee Engel geguckd,—
See layvé im Himmel im ayviché Dawg.



DER SHBOHDE SHOOL-BOO.



M Tshärley sei Mudder shdayd an der Fens for'm
Haus,

Un roofd alsfart eer Boo:

“Voo bleibd don der Tshärley? Dee Shool is
lengshd aus;

Bei der Tzeyd is er sunshd immer doh.”

Hee un tzurick gayd see, un rei un raus,

Un vays net vas tzu doo.

Deeveyl leyd der Tshärley im Black Rocker Domm, dodt shdill,
Om Buddem fum Deefe Loch.

Mer sin gongé schwimmé, ich, er un der Bill,—

Van ich droh' denk, es greyseld mich noch!—

Uf ehmohl greishd er,—un doo vas ich vill,

Er sinkd, un fersaufd mer doch.

Mer hen en uf en Board gelayg'd, un so

Gedrawgé bis ans Haus.

Sei Mudder dee saynd uns;—a Grish gebd see; noh

Falld see grawd um, un is shdill as en Maus.

Mer laygé en hee,—vas sunshd is tzu doo?—

Un gayné rooich noh naus.

Sell var fer färtzich Yohr. For'm saymé Haus

Roofd heyd noch dee Mudder eer Boo:

“Voo bleibd don der Tshärley? Dee Shool is lengshd aus;

Bei der Tzeyd is er sunshd immer doh.”

Hee un tzurick gayd see, un rei un raus,

Un vays net vas tzu doo.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.

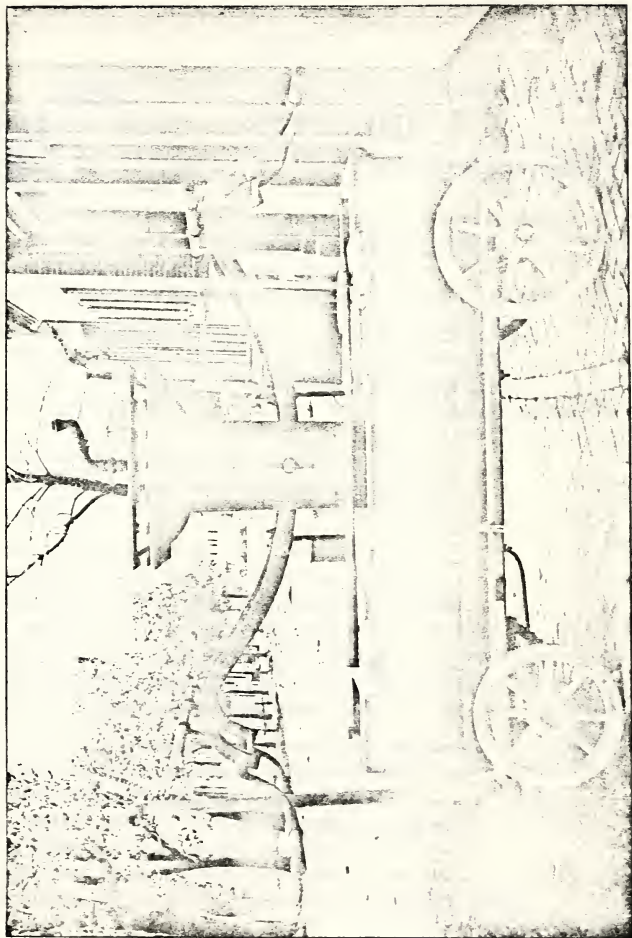


PHOTO BY J. F. MALONE

DED ALDE SHBRITZ.

THE OLD FIRE ENGINE, AT NAZARETH, PENNA.

FIRE!



'GANSE Town dood fasht shlohfé, un dee
Nacht is dodt-shdill.

Uf ehmohl hehrd mer vee'm Drawm en G'roof,
En färchderlichs G'roof; un fershreckd vachd
mer uf.

Veyd eveck greishd en Mann's Shdimm im'é hays're Gebrill.

'S'is Fire! S'is Fire! un vas Bay hut Shbringd naus,

En yayder vill ehrshd sei am Entshin Haus!

Now loud awe dee Kärch-bell!—'S'is en showerlich's G'feel!

Der gans Himmel guckd rohd noch der seed-oshdlich Seyd.

“Es Värtshaus brennd! S'kann yoh sunshd nix sei”—

“Nay, sell is es net! 'S'is dee Foundry naygshd bei!”

'Sin dee Veibsleyd's so blaudré; 's'hen dee Mannsleyd kay

Tzeyd

See shlayfé un sheevé dee aldé Shbritz raus,

Un yawgé dermit darch dee Mainshdrohs naus;

Deeveyl see all yohlé as see vehrn net recht g'sheyd.

'S'is en Sheyer's dort brennd in der Hullo'er Lane;

Un's nemmd net lang is dee Shbritz am Blatz.

See bumpé mit G'vald, doch falld's Wasser kartz.

Es muss ebbes voo letz sei.—Der Deyvel! Yushd sayn

E'mohl dart! Vas fayld em dumm Ding?

Der Buddem's raus g'shdärdst fun der aldé Machin!

Vas now is tzu doo is neemond gans blayn.

En Dayl hut's g'lechert; dee Mayshd hut's fertzärndt.

Der aynd blaymd der anner in Boové Shdyl.

See mowlé un howsé dee lengshdé Veyl!

Un bis see 's'lengshd dann dee Uhrsach hen g'lärnd

Is s'Fire aus un dee Sheyer ferbrennd!

Noh verd mit der Shbritz vidder Haym gerennt,—

Un fun sunshd nix may g'shwedzt bis dee naygshdé Ärndt!

IM BUSH VANN'S SHNAYD.



AS is doch alles soh rooich un shdill!

Mer hehrd ken Loudt net im gansé Bush hee,
 Net 'mohl es Gebeeb's fum'é glay Tshickadee,
 Kay Grabp, un kay Shquärl, mer harchd vee
 mer vill.

Ken Lifdel reerd sich; un s'gebd aym en G'feel

As vann dee Veldt mit allmechdicher G'waldt

Uf aymohl now sich der Ohdem haldt.

Noh kummd der Shnay! Ovver net in'mé G'veel;

Dee Flucké kummé vee Feddré soh leyhd,

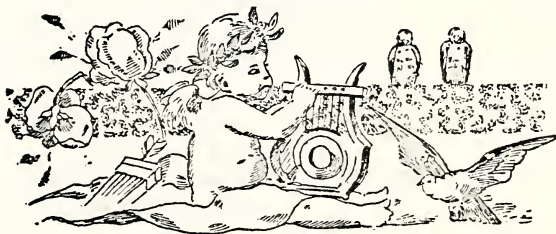
Un enseln tzuehrshd; ovver bal' im'é G'värr

'S'dee Luft dermit vimmeld. Dort druvvé now shleichd

En Nachd-eyl darch dee dick Luft, as eb's vähr

En G'shbook, soh veiss un soh shdill. Un im Shnay

Värd alles im Bush vee'n Geishder-veldt shay.



DER ALDÉ KÄRCH-HOF UF'M BÄRG.



CH vays ken Blotz in der gansé Veldt so shay,
So rooich un shdill,
Un voo ich so g'sädisfyd feel
As alles nix ausmachd, kay Druvvel, kay Vay,—
As der aldé Kärch-hof uf'm Bärq.

Ich gleich tzu hucké dort, gans allay uf're Bonk,
Mit neemond sunshd bei;
Dann leichd mer dee Värklichkayd ei
Fum Fadder im Himmel, uns Härtz is foll Donk,—
In'm aldé Kärch-hof uf'm Bärq.

Sell is fer vas ich so gärn dort drovvé als bin
Im dishderé Licht,
In vellem mer Vohrhaydé sicht
Un hehrd, so vee sunshd net tzu finné may sin
As im aldé Kärch-hof uf'm Bärq.

Dart sheynd als unnich dee Baym noch's Ohved-rohd,
Ebwohl as dee Sun
Is g'sunké en langé Veyl shunn;—
So vays ich 's'awe layvé dee 's'mer sawgé leyn dodt
In'm aldé Kärch-hof uf'm Bärq.

So is awe alles; dart feel ich 's' is nix as net laybt;
Dee Shterné un Moond
As ayvich net shdoppé noch ruhn,—
Der Vind, hut en Shdimm as aym Droshd ins Härtz gebt,—
In'm aldé Kärch-hof uf'm Bärq.

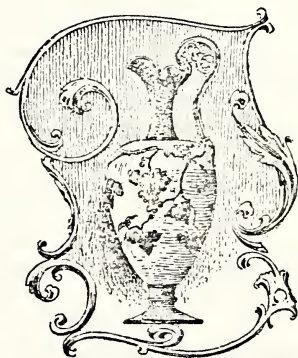
Dee Feggel singé mer wunnerlich' Saché als fohr;
Der Keffer Gebrumm
Hut Mayning,—vehr ich yushd net so dumm!

Dee Baym doon eer G'haymniss mir pishbré ins Ohr;—
In'm aldé Kärch-hof uf'm Bärg.

'S'dee saymé Shbrohch as dee Grayver dart awe shwedzé doon;
See sawgé uns all:

“Dei Tarn, leever Brooder, kummd ball!

Noh värshd Doo fershday vas mir lang wissé shunn,—
In'm aldé Kärch-hof uf'm Bärg.”



DEE AMSHEL.



EE Amshlé sin doh! Dee Amshlé sin doh!

Ich hab dee ehrshd g'hehrd heyd margé im
Bedt;

See hut g'sungé im Gawrdé as vehr see soh froh:

“Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt!

Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt!

'S' is dee haygshdé Tzeyd 's 'mer sich pawré doodt,

Un suchd sich fer'n Neshd en Bawm as aym soodt!

Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt!”

Ich glawb as see vidder bowé vell'n dart

Uf'm ald' Berné-bawm 's 'ich umg'hackd hedt

Dee naygshd' Voch, vehr's net fer eer Singé alsfart:

“Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt!

Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt!

Doh's der beshdé Bawm in der gansé Veldt

Fer'n Neshd; un ich glawb er is parbess här g'sdellt!

Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt!”

Vas loud's doch soh shay im Margé gans free,—

En shenneré Musick winsh ich mer net,—

Vann see shwingd uf'm Gibbel un singd far sich hee:

“Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt!

Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt!

Fer vas leyshd un shlohfshd vann dee Nacht 's ferbei?

Dee Veldt's yoh nee shenner 's im ehrshd Sunné-shei!

Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt!”

Nix dood mer soh layd as vann see'm Shbohdyohr

Fart gayn, un mer saynd see der gans Winder net.

Over see doon's net meyndé, see singé 's tzufohr:

“Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt!

Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt!

In en anneres Land now missé mer gay';

Soh sawgd Färryvell un egshbeckt's Viddersay'!

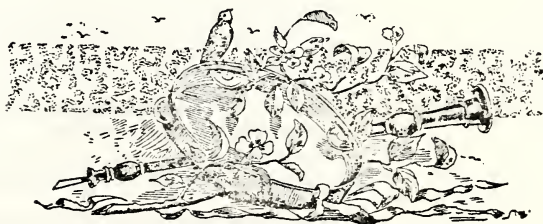
Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt!”

VANN DER WIND 'MOHL IVVER DEE SHTUBBLÉ
BLOHSDT.



AN der Wind mohl ivver dee Shtubblé blohst
Noh vase mer g'wiss iss der Summer ferbei.
'Siss en anneres Lichtd noh im Sunneshei,—
Un en anneres G'feel as im Hartz ufshdohst!
Vann dee Shwalvé ohveds um der Sharnsday
'rum

Doon tzärklé un tzwidrè, un dee Grickshel im Feldt,
Un dee Kadydids awe mit eehrem ayfeldich G'sheldt,
Mache 'n Tzuchdt,—noh sechdt mer als ebbes, "Now kumm",
'Siss Tzeydt s'Doo Dich ferdich machshd; s'Shbohdyohr iss doh;
'S'naygshd kummd der Winder, mit Shnay un mit Eis.
Hushdt Doo Aervedt tzu doo, donn mach Dich now droh,
Eb Dei Awgelichd fayld un Dei Hohr sinn gons veiss."
Dei Blichdt recht gedoo' iss der beshdé Drohshdt
Vann der Wind mohl ivver dei Shtubblé blohst.



UNSER HENNY.



OO hushd doch als " unser Henny " g'kennd,
Em aldé Tshon sei Boo?
En fedder, glayner, bawrfeessicher Kärll,
Was als g'shbrungé is grawd vee en Koo.

Am Dawg hut er alsfart seim Dawdy sei Kee
In dee grawssiche Alleys g'heed;
Dee Milch hut em Tshon sei Fraw ferkawfd,—
Meer hen als unsry Milch dort g'reed.

Ivveraveyl hut der Henny awe's shoomaché g'lärnd,
Ovver's Harn-blohsé var'm feel leever!
En aldes B-flat Harn hut er g'haddé,
Uf dem hut er g'blohsé vee lenger vee leever.

Dem Tshon hut's ovver märkvärdich fertzärnd:
" Ich bin dei Gedoodel bal' satt!
Hush'd g'hehrd, ehleennicher Bull-tarry doo?
Vann d'net shaffé vid machshd dich fart! "

Bal' nohch selm is der Henny awe gongé,—
Den Summer vohr's finf Yohr;—
Un neemond hut nix may fun em g'hehrd,
Un neemond hut awe net g'vist voo er vohr.

Am letschdé Sammshdawg Ohved var's
As dee Staydge is g'fohré naus
Bis an em Tshon sei Shoomacher Shop,
Un dart tshumpd en finer Tshendleman raus.

Sell hut uns all vunnerfitzich g'machd;—
Vär kennd seller Tshendleman sei?
Der Tshon hut nix fun Koombany g'sawd.
Yushd vohrd! Ferleychd kummt er awe net rei.

Er goockd as vee en rechter Shbohrd;
 Mer sayn'd er kummt fun der Shdodt!
 En Shdovepipe hut er uf em Kup,
 So sheinich as vee der Porrer hut.

Grulliche Hohr, un en g'vicksder Musdache,
 Un en Halsdich rohd un bloh;
 Hellé Hussé, un en schwartzer Ruck,
 Un be'gosh, er hut gaylé Henshing oh'!

En Shteckly hut er in ayner Hand,
 Un en Drävelling-bäg in der onner.
 Er goockd now shmehrd, un no Mishdake!
 Un grawd in dee Shop-deer kummt er runner!

“Vell, Fawther,” sehd er tzum aldé Tshon;
 “Dontcher know your Harry yet?”
 Mit sellem raycht er eem dee Hand.—
 Ich glawb der Tshon ovver kennd en net.

Mid dem kummt dee Kärline in der Shop,
 Un sehnd den Shbohrd dort shtay.
 See gebd en Grish, un falld um sei Hals:
 “Ei Tshon, kennshd unser Henny net may?”

Bei der Tzeid bin ich un der Bill
 On der hinnere Deer naus g'shneekd.
 “Dunner-vedder” seht er tzu meer,
 “Voo hut der Henny den Shdyle her g'rickt?”

Noh sin mer nivver im Frank sei S'loon,
 Doch vohré mer net lang dort,
 Doh kummt der Hen mit seim Dawdy rei;—
 'S'nemmd uns ehrlich der Ohdem sheer fort!

Ehrshd hut er recht gross-ohrdich rum g'goockt,
 As vehr er Millioné vehrd;
 Noh seht er: “Tshendlemen, I shtand dreet!”
 Un glei sin all unser Glessler ausg'lehrd.

'S'verd feel g'shwedsd noh, hee un tz'rick,
Ebvohl er's mayshdé doot.

Er brawldt gans mehdich, sell is shoor;—
Mer brauch yoh net glawvé may as em soot!

Er sawgd see haysen en all Professer,
Drunné in der Shdot.

Er is an Leeder funneré Band;
Un verd betzawld defor, en lot.

“Professer Harry!” denk yushd mohl!

Er is an grosser Mann;

Mer Saynds em on dee Glayder oh'!

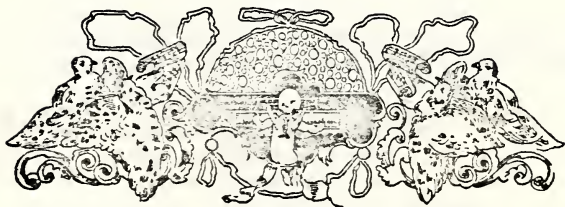
'S'b'weisd mohl vas en Mensh doo kann.

So hav ich uf em Haym-vayg g'sawd;

Der Bill over hut yushd g'lacht:

“'S'b'weisd as en Narr bleibd ayvich en Narr;

Dee Shdot hut der Narr yushd närrisher g'macht!”



DER KOO-SHDOHR.



V'OHR als nix as mich ärger fertzärndt

In dee Yohré tzurick,

As em Koo-shdohr sei Drick.

Ich hab ovver tzidderm, Gott vays, feel
g'lärndt,

Un awe as der Koo-shdohr net meener kann sei

As en mancher Mensh, as soh unshuldich gookd as vee er,
As net bloogd un net sayd, ovver doch immer ärndt.

'Sis em Koo-shdohr sei Drick sell tzu doo.

Er bowd selver kay Neshd,

Ovver suchd sich yushd 's beshd

As Ann'ré gebowd hen, es machd nix aus voo,

Un laygd dart sei Oy nei as het er's beshd Recht.

All der Druvvel fer's ausbree'é, feedré, un ufbringé noh

Hut der Aygner fum Neshd,—un er grickd vennich Ruh!

Ovver's ärgshdé kummd vonn der yung Shdohr

Iss grohs värré un fett.

Dennoh shemmd er sich net

'Dee ann'ré glay Feggel tzu growdé, un gohr

Aus'm Neshd see tzu schmeissé, vee'n Reyver un Deeb.

'Es machd eem nix aus as see shdervé fun Hunger un Nohdt,—

Er iss dankbohr as er now hut may as tzufohr!

Kennshd net Leyd as yushd soh meen sin?

See doon nix uf der Veldt,

Un doch hen see may Geld

As meer as hardt shaffé fer'n glayner Gewinn.

See fowlensé yushd darch eer gans Layvé long,

Un doon grohsfeelich ägdé, 's eb alles fer see allay vehr;—

Doch hut Neemond kay Usé fer soh Kärl as see sin,—

Un ich donk als mei'm Gott's ich so'n Koo-shdohr net bin!

EN LEYCHD.



ICK falldt der Shnay;
Aus der dunklé Hay
Blohsdt der Shdarm-wind middem 'é mehdiché
G'haus;

Un deef in meym Härtz
Is en bitterer Shmärtz:—

See begrawvé en Maydel uf em Kärchhof draus.

Fall shdärker, O Shnay!
Deck tzoo all dee Vay

Fun eer un fun meer mit deym veissé Gewind!

Blohs härdter, doo Shtarm!

Mach Dei ärgshder Lärm!

Ferdreyb in dee Ayvichkaydt eer' un my Sind!



Pennsylvania=German Genealogies



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1900

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



Henry Melchior Muhlenberg

Descendants of

Henry Melchior Mühlenberg

PREPARED BY AUTHORITY OF
THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

BY

H. M. M. RICHARDS



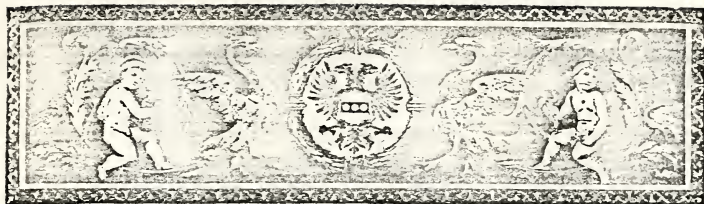
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Publication Committee.

JULIUS F. SACHSE

DANIEL W. NEAD, M.D.

HENRY M. M. RICHARDS



DESCENDANTS OF
HENRY MELCHIOR MÜHLENBERG.



ESCUTCHEON:—Sable, a lion rampant or, grasping in the dexter paw a sword proper, and in the sinister a wheel argent. CREST:—A demi lion as in the Arms.

Genealogical and heraldic works on the ancient noble families of Germany state that the von Mühlenbergs were recognized in times before the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) as among the old baronial families of the Empire; that they derive their origin from Ziracka, a prince of the Wendish and Sorbic tribes; that about the year 950 A. D. he was converted to Christianity; that he had his residence near the present Mühlberg, on the right bank of the Elbe River in the Merseburg district of Prussian Saxony. In the neighborhood of this town, Mühlberg, the electoral prince John Frederick, after an unfortunate battle, fell, April 24, 1547, into the hands of the Emperor Charles V. Mills (Mühlen in German) erected in that locality, gave name to the town, and subsequently also to the family reigning there, which increased and, in

the course of time, acquired large possessions in Saxony, Austrian Silesia and other parts. In the escutcheon of the family were two wheels, and the members of it signed themselves "of the Mühlenberg." The ancestral prince was, as a vassal of the bishop of Naumburg, received into the nobility of Germany. His son Bonifacius, apparelled in a coat of mail, accompanied Emperor Otto (unfortunately our sources leave us in doubt as to which of the three Ottos) on an expedition to Italy, and was rewarded for his services with valuable privileges. Various members of the family made themselves eminent in war and peace, and in the beginning of the sixteenth century the family is still counted among the prominent and wealthy nobility. But, during the wars of the sixteenth century, and especially the Thirty Years' War, some of its branches died out, and others were, like many noble families, greatly reduced in circumstances. After the middle of the seventeenth century the name is no longer found on the roll of the nobles of the empire, and the family never made any attempt to have their title acknowledged and restored by the imperial court of heraldry at Vienna.

G.=Generation.

G. 1. **NICOLAUS MELCHIOR MÜHLENBERG**, d. 1723; m. Anna Mary Kleinschmid; d. 1747. She was the daughter of an officer in military service. He was a citizen and tradesman of Eimbeck, Hanover, Germany, and in the church register is called a "brewer" which simply means that he enjoyed the prerogative of a privileged class, but never made use of it. He is also introduced to us as a deacon in the church to which the family belonged. There is a tradition that the Mühlenbergs emigrated to Eimbeck from Bohemia. If this be so it is not risking too much in sup-

posing that they belonged to the thousands who, because of their fidelity to evangelical principles, suffered persecution in that country.

The church records at Eimbeck, which antedate 1700, are very defective, and give no clue to the earlier history of the family. We know they had a number of children born to them, the first of whom may have been Ilse Mary, who is entered on the church register as having seen the light of this world on September 11, 1700, but not even the name of the mother is there given. A son was given the name John Arndt, which shows that John Arndt, the author of the renowned work, *True Christianity*, stood high in the estimation of the father. None of the name are now met in Eimbeck, but descendants on the female side appear to be still living there.

Nicolaus died suddenly of palsy, soon after the confirmation of his son, Henry Melchior Mühlenberg.

G. 2. **HENRY MELCHIOR MÜHLENBERG**, b. September 6, 1711; d. October 7, 1787; m. April 22, 1745, Anna Maria Weiser, b. June 24, 1727; d. August 23, 1802, daughter of Colonel Conrad Weiser and wife, Eva Anna. He was born at Eimbeck, Hanover, Germany, and received a thorough classical education, from his seventh to twelfth year in that town. At this age, 1723, he was confirmed a member of the Lutheran Church, his father dying soon after. From the spring of 1723 to the autumn of the following year, he continued his studies at the classical school of Zellerfeld, east of Eimbeck, under the guidance of Rector Rapel, A.M. On March 19, 1735, he was on the road to the University of Göttingen, established that year, and therefore one of its first students. Here the Rev. Prof. Oporin, D.D., took him into his house, made him his sec-

retary, and did much toward moulding his character. Here he also gained the friendship of Herr von Münchhausen, high sheriff of Hanover, also that of the Count of Wernigerode. He here also came under the protection and care of Count Reuss, who was instrumental in originating what became later the Göttingen Orphan House. When he graduated in the spring of 1738, his friends, the Counts Reuss of Koestritz and Henkel of Poeltzig, had him appointed a teacher in the Orphan House at Halle. After some time spent at the University of Jena, he finally entered on his new duties. Here he obtained the friendship of Councillor Cellarius and Gotthilf August Francke, son of August Hermann Francke, founder of the institution, who decided to prepare him as a missionary to the East Indies. By mere chance this plan was disarranged and, instead, at the request of the Baroness von Gersdorf, the sister of Zinzendorf's mother, and a relative of Count Reuss, he became pastor, August 12, 1739, at Grosshennersdorf, situate in the eastern part of the present Saxony, not far from the Bohemian boundary, only a few miles south of Herrnhut, the central seat of Moravianism and headquarters of Count Zinzendorf.

Because of her great liberality in benevolent operations, which transcended her income, the Baroness von Gersdorf was obliged to sell her estate, in 1740, to Baron Charles G. von Burgsdorf. At the entreaty of his old friend Mühlberg remained with her until July, 1741, when, as he was about to pay a visit to his native place, he was greeted by the Baron von Gersdorf, brother of the baroness, who was engaged in diplomatic services, and had just arrived as a visitor. He made Mühlberg his companion on the route to Leipsic. Thence he went to Koestritz, to pay his respects to Count Reuss, and, at the suggestion of the



latter, from there proceeded to Halle. During his visit to Koestritz a certain Baron von Brann had been staying there, who had heard about the condition of affairs at Grosshennersdorf, and, reaching Halle before Mühlenberg, most probably gave the Rev. Dr. Francke some information concerning his situation. This fully explains how it happened that when Mühlenberg arrived a few days later, Francke, at a supper to which he had invited him, offered him "a call to the dispersed Lutherans in Pennsylvania." Without much deliberation Mühlenberg answered that if he could see in it the will of God he would go, and that he felt bound to go wherever Providence called him. This happened September 6, 1741. Thus in a moment, and with few words, was determined his career of a lifetime, from which emanated the mighty church in America which delights to call him its Patriarch.

Some months were spent in preparation, visiting friends, bidding farewell to his mother and family, and arranging all necessary details, so that it was not until April 14, 1742, he sailed from Helvoetsluys, Holland, for Harnich, England, which he reached, after a stormy passage, on April 16th, and at once proceeded to London, finally arriving safely, on the evening of April 17th at the house of Rev. Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen, D.D., court preacher at the German St. James Chapel, and residing in the district of Kensington. After a short but pleasant and beneficial stay in London, he took ship at Gravesend for his new field of labor. On June 13th, at 5:00 P. M. the anchor was weighed and the voyage began. It was not until September 23, 1742, he put his foot on the soil of the New World near Charleston, S. C.

In this vicinity he labored till November 12th, when he sailed for Philadelphia, arriving at his destination on

Thursday, November 25, 1742, at 8:00 A. M., when his work may be said to have properly commenced. The immensity of this work can hardly be realized. He found his people occupying homes scattered miles apart, along roads constantly penetrating dense forests, the homes of wild beasts and betimes hostile Indians, and these homes covering a territory equal in size to that of a kingdom. Congregations were to be formed, supplied with pastors and made self-sustaining; these congregations must be gathered into Synods; the pure doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran Church taught, and false doctrines excluded. Order and system must emanate from what was well nigh chaos. It was a herculean task and the more discouraging because, of necessity, it was that of laying the foundation. None but a man of God, filled with His Holy Ghost, would have attempted it or would have succeeded in it. How well he succeeded the present generation knows. To but briefly recapitulate his work in America would fill a volume alone. Fortunately it is, in general, well known and needs not to be rehearsed. For the purpose of this genealogy it only remains to call attention to the fact that a part of his very first work here was his taking charge, on December 12, 1742, of the congregation at the Trappe, Montgomery county, Penna. Here, on May 2, 1743, he laid the corner-stone of the old Augustus Church, in which its congregation worshipped for the first time on September 12th of the same year. Here, also, during the summer of 1745, with the assistance of his father-in-law, he built his home on the lot adjoining the church property, in which he lived much of his time, and in which eight of his eleven children were born. It is still standing, although remodelled in 1851.

In 1784 he was given the Degree of Doctor of Divinity by the University of Pennsylvania.

His last pastoral act was the baptizing, on September 29, 1787, of a child of John Frey, of Providence, Montgomery County.

During the year 1787 his health was constantly failing until on October 2d he realized his end was drawing near. He expected to die at midnight, and, shortly before that time, at his request, two of his children took him to bed. There reclining, he recited the last verse of Paul Gerhard's immortal hymn, *Befehl du deine Wege*, etc. :

“Haste Lord, to end our sorrow,
Our feeble hands support ;
Each day and each tomorrow
Be Thou our soul's resort.
May we to Thy great mercy
Till death commended be,
Then shall our earthly footsteps
Us safely lead to Thee.”

Having finished this verse, he once more took a deep breath, and then quietly fell asleep in Jesus, between twelve and one o'clock on Sunday morning, October 7, 1787.

His body lies buried beside the old Augustus Church at the Trappe, covered by a large marble slab, on which, besides his name, birth and death are cut these words in Latin :—

“Who and what he was future times will know without a monument of stone.”

“Qualis et quantus fuerit
non ignorabunt sine lapide
Futura Saecula.”

G. 3-1. **JOHN PETER GABRIEL MUHLENBERG**, b. October 1, 1746; bap. October 14, 1746; d. October 1, 1807; married November 6, 1770, to Anna Barbara Meyer, b. 1751; d. October 27, 1806. He was born at the Trappe, Montgomery county, Pa. At the age of sixteen, with his younger brothers, Frederick Augustus and Henry Ernestus, he was sent to Halle for education. Not liking the discipline of the institution he ran away and enlisted in a German regiment,¹ from which he was extricated with difficulty, by a British officer who recognized him as an American acquaintance and took him back to that country as his Secretary. His father then completed his education. Having been prepared for the ministry of the Swedish Lutheran Church, which requires Episcopal ordination, he went to England in 1772, with the late Bishop White, then also a candidate for holy orders, where they were ordained together in the priesthood by the Bishops of London and Ely. After a short engagement in New Jersey he fixed his residence in Virginia, in charge of several parishes in Dunmore county. During the agitation preceding the Revolution he was an active Whig and was sent as a delegate to the House of Burgesses. At the outbreak of the War, Washington, who knew his worth, urged him to take a military command, and he accepted the Colonelcy of the Eighth Virginia Regiment which was tendered him. Ascending his pulpit for the last time he preached upon the duties men owe their country. In the course of this sermon he told his hearers that "there was

¹A regiment of dragoons, which dismounted, was opposed to his brigade at Brandywine. As they saw his prominent figure advancing, at the head of his men, mounted on a white horse, some of the older soldiers (German enlistments being for life) recognized him, and the cry ran along their astonished ranks, "Hier kommt teufel Piet!" (Here comes Devil Pete). This incident was related by himself.

a time for all things—a time to preach and a time to fight—and that now was the time to fight.” The sermon finished he pronounced the benediction. Amidst the breathless silence of his congregation he deliberately removed the clerical gown which had hitherto concealed the uniform beneath, and stood before them a girded warrior. He immediately ordered the drums to beat for recruits and nearly three hundred men of his frontier churches took up arms under him. This occurred about the middle of January, 1776. His first campaigns were in Georgia and South Carolina and, at the Battle of Sullivan’s Island, he proved that he fully merited the good opinion of his commander-in-chief. On February 21, 1777, he was promoted to Brigadier General and ordered North. At the Battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777, his and Weedon’s brigade gallantly bore the brunt of the action. On October 8th, at the Battle of Germantown, having advanced into the town further than the other troops, a British officer seized a musket and fired at him; whilst in the act of reloading and directing his soldiers “to pick him off,” the General, drawing a pistol, shot him dead on the spot. In 1778 he was at the Battle of Monmouth; commanded the reserve at the storming of Stony Point, 1779; when Leslie invaded Virginia in 1780, he was opposed to him with the chief command; he acted under Baron Steuben against Benedict Arnold, and, when Cornwallis entered Virginia, was next in command to Lafayette. At the Siege of Yorktown he commanded the First Brigade of Light Infantry which furnished the American division of the troops that carried the British redoubts by assault, he leading them. He was promoted to Major General on September 30, 1783. Some months after the army was formally disbanded and he returned to his family at Wood-

stock, Virginia. He became a member of the Society of the Cincinnati.

Upon his return to civil life he removed to Pennsylvania and was immediately elected a member of the Supreme Executive Council of that State. In 1785 he was chosen Vice-President of the Commonwealth, Dr. Franklin being President, and was reelected to the same office the two following years. He was a member of the 1st Congress of the United States, 1789-91, the 3d Congress 1793-95, the 6th Congress 1799-1801; was elected United States Senator, February 18, 1801, but resigned a few months after taking his seat; appointed, by Jefferson, June 30, 1801, Supervisor of Internal Revenue for the State of Pennsylvania; appointed, July, 1802, Collector of the Port of Philadelphia, which office he retained until his death, which occurred near the city of Philadelphia, from an affection of the liver, on October 1, 1807. His remains rest beside those of his father, in the Augustus graveyard, Trappe, Pa. The epitaph is:—

“Sacred to the memory of General Peter Muhlenberg,
Born October 1, 1746. Died October 1, 1807.

He was brave in the field, faithful in the Cabinet,
honorable in all his transactions, a sincere friend and
an honest man.”

G. 4-1. HENRY MYERS MUHLENBERG, b. October 9, 1775; d. July 7, 1806; no issue.

G. 4-2. CHARLES FREDERICK MUHLENBERG, b. November 16, 1778; d. May 31, 1795; no issue.

G. 4-3. HESTER MUHLENBERG, b. April 1, 1785; d. July 21, 1872; married April 10, 1810, to Dr. Isaac Hiestler, of Reading, Pa.; b. Bern township, Berks county, Pa., June 22, 1785; d. at Reading, September 12, 1855, one of

the most distinguished physicians of Pennsylvania; first president of the Berks County Medical Society, organized 1824, and, in all respects, a leading and highly respected citizen.

His genealogy is:

1. His father, William, b. June 10, 1757; d. July 13, 1822.

2. His grandfather, Daniel, b. June 1, 1713; d. June 7, 1795.

3. His great-grandfather, John.

Daniel came to America, in 1738, with his brother Joseph, from the village of Elsoff in Westphalia, Germany.

G. 5-1. ANNA MUHLENBERG HIESTER, b. October 28, 1812; d. February 17, 1850; married June 10, 1840 (his first wife) John Pringle Jones, b. 1812, near Newtown, Bucks county, Pa.; d. March 16, 1874, in London, England. He was admitted a member of the Philadelphia bar in 1834; Deputy Attorney General for Berks county 1839-47; Judge of third District (Berks, Lehigh and Northampton counties), March 15, 1847. His mother was a Pringle, and a member of an English family of great respectability in Philadelphia.

G. 6-1. JOHN PRINGLE HIESTER JONES, married Rebecca Rambo.

G. 7-1. JOHN PRINGLE JONES.

G. 5-2. JOHN PETER MUHLENBERG HIESTER, b. May 3, 1815; d. March 10, 1834; no issue.

G. 5-3. WILLIAM MUHLENBERG HIESTER, b. May 15, 1818; d. August 16, 1878; married June 12, 1849, Julia F. Roland. He was born and died in Reading, Pa.; admitted to Reading bar, January 7, 1840; Pennsylvania State Senator, 1852-55; Speaker of same, 1855; appointed Secretary of the Commonwealth, January, 1858-61, by Governor William F. Packer.



G. 6-1. A son, b. February 20, 1853; d. March 20, 1853.

G. 6-2. ISAAC HIESTER, b. January 8, 1856. Admitted to Reading bar, 1878. Single.

G. 5-4. FRANCIS MUHLENBERG HIESTER, b. March 11, 1829; d. April 9, 1864; married June 5, 1856, Ella V. Lauman. Graduate Medical Department, University of Pennsylvania, 1852; spent eighteen months in medical hospitals of Paris, France; followed his profession in Reading, Pa.; Assistant Surgeon, 55th Reg't Penn'a Vol., 1861, then Brigade Surgeon with rank of Major; Medical Director, Department of Ohio.

G. 6-1. GEORGE LAUMAN HIESTER, b. May 29, 1857; d. June 5, 1857.

G. 6-2. ANNA MUHLENBERG HIESTER, b. January 13, 1859; married Dr. H. Clinton McSherry; no issue.

G. 6-3. EDWARDINE LAUMAN HIESTER, b. October 28, 1863; married October, 1889, John A. Hoogewerff.

G. 7-1. HIESTER HOOGEWERFF.

G. 4-4. PETER MUHLENBERG, b. March 20, 1787; d. August 21, 1844; married September 19, 1826, Sarah Coleman, of Reading, Pa., b. October 4, 1803; d. February 5, 1860. Captain 6th Reg't U. S. Infantry, 1811-14; Major 31st Reg't U. S. Infantry, 1814-15, in War of 1812 and Indian Wars. Died at Grand Ecore, La., where his regiment was stationed.

G. 5-1. CATHARINE ANNA MUHLENBERG, b. November 19, 1827; d. November 5, 1894; married August 8, 1848, her cousin Rev. Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, D.D., LL.D., b. August 25, 1818; 'an eminent Lutheran clergyman and scholar; Professor of Greek, Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa.; President of Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa.; Professor of Greek, University of

Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; President of Thiel College, Pa. Now retired and living at Reading, Pa., where his wife died and is buried.

G. 6-1. ERNEST A. MUHLENBERG, b. May 9, 1850. Single.

G. 6-2. WILLIAM F. MUHLENBERG, b. November 18, 1852; married October 28, 1884, his cousin Henrietta Augusta Muhlenberg, b. February 10, 1861; d. February 21, 1890. He is a graduate of the Medical Department, University of Pennsylvania, 1872, practicing at Reading, Pa.

G. 7-1. HIESTER HENRY MUHLENBERG, b. November 8, 1885.

G. 7-2. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG, b. September 25, 1887.

G. 7-3. AUGUSTA ELIZABETH MUHLENBERG, b. February 6, 1890.

G. 6-3. PETER HENRY MUHLENBERG, b. November 20, 1854; d. September 14, 1857.

G. 6-4. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG, b. December 10, 1856; d. September 16, 1860.

G. 6-5. HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG, b. April 11, 1860.

G. 6-6. FRANCIS BENJAMIN MUHLENBERG, b. August 8, 1864; married August 23, 1888, Margaret Orr.

G. 7-1. FRANCES EDITH MUHLENBERG, b. December 2, 1890.

G. 5-2. MARY MUHLENBERG, b. April 6, 1832; d. August 25, 1837.

G. 5-3. ELIZABETH MUHLENBERG, b. July 27, 1835. Single.

G. 5-4. MARY ANN MUHLENBERG, b. May 4, 1838; d. November 29, 1840.

G. 5-5. FRANCIS PETER MUHLENBERG, b. June 22,

1840; married November 22, 1864, Margaret G. Van Reed, b. November 2, 1839, Berks county, Pa. He was a private Co. G, 1st Penn'a Vol., April 20, 1861; 1st Lieut. 13th U. S. Infantry, May 14, 1861; Captain, January 4, 1862; Brevet Major, April 21, 1865. Resigned April 5, 1866. Resides Galesburg, Mich.

G. 6-1. MARY B. MUHLENBERG, a twin, b. July 25, 1865; d. March, 1866.

G. 6-2. CATHARINE A. MUHLENBERG, a twin, b. October 23, 1867; Galesburg, Mich., married July 5, 1888, Fred. W. Franklin, Cornstock township, Kalamazoo county, Mich.

G. 7-1. MARGARET M. FRANKLIN, b. August 17, 1889, Galesburg.

G. 7-2. FRANCIS MUHLENBERG FRANKLIN, b. November 3, 1890, Galesburg.

G. 6-3. ELIZABETH C. MUHLENBERG, b. October 19, 1870, Galesburg.

G. 5-6. SARAH MUHLENBERG, b. April 29, 1843. Single.

G. 4-5. FRANCIS SWAINE MUHLENBERG, b. April 22, 1795, Philadelphia; d. 1832, Pickaway county, Ohio; married Mary Denny; no issue. Admitted a member Berks county bar May 8, 1816; private secretary Governor Joseph Hiester, 1820-1823; member Legislature, Ohio; member 20th Congress from Ohio.

G. 4-6. MARY ANNE MUHLENBERG, b. 1793; d. 1805. Single.

G. 3-2. EVE ELIZABETH MUHLENBERG, b. January 29, 1748; bap. February 10, 1748; d. 1808; married September 23, 1766, Rev. Christopher Emanuel Shulze, b. December 25, 1740, at Probstzell, near Saalfeld, Saxony,

d. March 9, 1809. An eminent Lutheran divine. He received his theological education at the University of Halle, and was, for a few years, one of the instructors in the Orphan House and scholastic institutions of that place. Having received the call to Pennsylvania through Dr. G. A. Francke and Dr. Ziegenhagen, he was ordained at Wernigerode before departing, by way of Hamburg and London, for America, where he arrived October 24, 1765. He was a man of very commanding appearance; as a preacher he was acceptable, and as a catechizer without a superior. When, in 1769, J. N. Kurtz was called to York, Schulze was elected his successor at Tulpehocken, Berks county, Pa., in which vicinity he labored until his death occurred. The First Tulpehocken (or Reed) Church, the oldest in the Lebanon Valley, stands on a small knoll, just a little east of Stouchsburg. The present building, a plain stone edifice, bears in its western wall a stone with this inscription: "Die Zions Kirche Erbaut in Jahr 1837." The original building was of hewn logs, with roof of thatch or tiles, erected in 1727. Owing to the troubles which arose, in its early history, from the administration of Moravian clergymen, in 1742 a new, and purely Lutheran church was erected about a mile west of the former edifice and called Christ Lutheran Church. This first church was also, probably, of logs, replaced, in 1786, by a fine stone structure. In 1747, through the influence of Conrad Weiser and Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, the original (Zion's or Reed's) congregation was again brought back to the Lutheran fold. It was as pastor of Christ Church that Rev. C. E. Shulze labored from 1770 to 1809, and in its graveyard, beside the body of his wife, rest his remains. On the tombstone is cut this inscription:

“Hier Ruhet Christoph Immanuel Schulze, Prediger, war geboren den 25 December 1740, Saatfeld in Sachsen.

Er kam in das Abend land 1765

Im Ehestand lebte Er mit seiner Ehefrau

Eva Elizabeth 43 jahr, als Prediger stand er

5 jahr in Philadelphia und 38 jahr in Tulpehocken.

Hinterlies 9 Kinder, und starb den 11 Martz 1809,

Alt 68 jahr, 2 monat, 2 wochen.”

G. 4-1. ANNA MARIA MARGARETTA SHULZE, b. 1774, d. 1849; married Michael Ege, b. 1774; d. February 9, 1824. Son of George Ege, b. March 8; 1748; d. December 14, 1829, who was one of the largest land owners of his time in Berks county, Pa., and prominently identified with its iron interests for half a century. During the Revolutionary War an ardent patriot, and in 1783 a member of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania. Appointed, 1791, one of the first Associate Judges of Berks county, under the Constitution of 1790, serving until 1818.

G. 5-1. HARRIET EGE, b. January 27, 1802; d. April 19, 1887; married John Ermentrout, b. December 1, 1803; d. May 17, 1882. Both highly respected citizens of Reading, Pa., and of eminent piety.

G. 6-1. MARGARETTA CATHARINE ERMENTROUT, b. September 28, 1836; d. October 7, 1894. A worthy daughter of worthy parents. Esteemed and loved by all. Residence, Reading, Pa. Single.

G. 5-2. SARAH EGE, b. December 19, 1804; d. March 10, 1880; married Richard Boone, b. March 12, 1794, d. September 23, 1881. He was a second cousin of Daniel Boone, the great pioneer of Kentucky. No issue.

G. 5-3. MICHAEL MUHLENBERG EGE, b. March 29, 1806; d. July 19, 1875; married Louisa Morrell, b. January 12, 1808; d. February 20, 1890.

G. 6-1. GEORGE EGE, b. June 13, 1830; married Martha Woodman.

G. 7-1. SARAH LOUISA EGE, b. July 17, 1860; married R. F. James.

G. 6-2. JOHN EGE, b. August 10, 1831. No issue.

G. 6-3. WILLIAM EGE, b. January 21, 1834; married Eliza J. Thomas, b. 1837.

G. 7-1. MARGARETTA ELLEN AGE, b. September, 1854; married Anthony Bonine, b. 1853.

G. 8-1. ROY BONINE, b. September, 1876.

G. 8-2. GEORGE BONINE, b. February, 1878.

G. 8-3. FLOYD BONINE, b. April, 1882.

G. 8-4. WILLIAM BONINE, b. February, 1886.

G. 7-2. WILLIAM EGE, b. February 22, 1861; married Kate Hall.

G. 8-1. ERNEST EGE, b. 1882.

G. 8-2. WILLIAM EGE, b. 1884.

G. 8-3. EMMA EGE.

G. 8-4.

G. 6-4. ELIZA EGE, b. July 12, 1837; married September 7, 1870, David McCulloch.

G. 7-1. WILLIAM W. McCULLOCH, b. June 27, 1872.

G. 7-2. GEORGE EGE McCULLOCH, b. June 20, 1874.

G. 7-3. GERTIE ERMENTROUT McCULLOCH, b. June 20, 1874.

G. 7-4. JOHN ERMENTROUT McCULLOCH, b. December 3, 1878; d. December 18, 1880.

G. 6-5. CHARLES M. EGE, b. March 16, 1839; married October 4, 1860, Mary E. Yonge, b. December 21, 1839.

G. 7-1. HENRY EGE, b. July 2, 1861.

G. 7-2. HARRIET EGE, b. December 3, 1863; married August 10, 1884, Ezra Elliott; b. November 25, 1860.

G. 8-1. EARNEST GLENN ELLIOTT, b. May 28, 1885.

- G. 8-2. ETHEL GLENN ELLIOTT, b. April 23, 1887.
- G. 7-3. MARY E. EGE, b. October 18, 1865; married January 1, 1890, Wilbur F. Chalfant, b. September 9, 1855.
- G. 8-1. HOWARD B. CHALFANT, b. June 16, 1891.
- G. 7-4. GEORGE L. EGE, b. September 29, 1867.
- G. 7-5. EDWARD EGE, b. August 26, 1873.
- G. 7-6. CHARLES EGE, b. June 12, 1876.
- G. 7-7. ABBIE EGE, b. April 28, 1879.
- G. 6-6. SARAH AMELIA EGE, b. March 29, 1842.
- Single.
- G. 6-7. RICHARD B. EGE, b. May 15, 1843; married 1st, Elizabeth Waters, born England, 1841; d. 1872.
- G. 7-1. ALICE LOUISA EGE, b. 1866; married Bishop Look, b. 1864.
- G. 8-1. HENRY LOOK, b. 1883; d. May 20, 1889.
- G. 8-2. GRACE LOOK, b. 1886.
- G. 7-2. NETTIE D. EGE, b. 1868; married O. S. Streater, b. 1867.
- G. 8-1. NEVIN STREATER, b. March, 1894.
- G. 7-3. ELIZABETH EGE, b. 1871; married Richard Cassidy, b. 1866.
- G. 8-1. GEORGE CASSIDY, b. 1891.
- G. 8-2. RICHARD CASSIDY, b. April, 1893.
- G. 6-7. RICHARD B. EGE, married 2d, Anna McFarland, b. 1861.
- G. 7-4. JULIA EGE, b. 1876.
- G. 7-5. CHARLES EGE, b. 1879.
- G. 7-6. ROSS EGE, b. 1881.
- G. 7-7. PEARL EGE, b. 1883.
- G. 7-8. ROBERT EGE, b. 1889.
- G. 7-9. RICHARD EGE, b. 1890; d. 1891.
- G. 7-10. GLENN EGE, b. September, 1893.

G. 4-2. HENRY L. SHULZE, b. 1774; d. 1824; married Maria Elizabeth Miller, b. 1775; d. 1843; no issue.

G. 3-3. JOHN ANDREW MELCHIOR SHULZE, b. July 19, 1775, in Tulpehocken township, Berks county, Pa.; d. November 18, 1852, in Lancaster, Pa.; married Susan Kimmell, b. 1781, d. 1860. Liberally educated for the ministry he was ordained a Lutheran clergyman in 1796, and for eight years assisted his father, but owing to a rheumatic affection, was obliged to relinquish preaching in 1804. He then pursued the business of a merchant in Myerstown, Pa., at that time in Dauphin county, later Lebanon county. In 1806 he was elected a member of the State Legislature, serving with distinction for three terms. In 1813, upon the erection of Lebanon county, he was appointed to fill the office of Prothonotary where he continued eight years. In 1821 again elected to the Legislature, and, in 1822, chosen Senator. Elected Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, 1823, on the Democratic ticket; in 1826, reelected to the same position; in 1829, again brought out as a candidate, but withdrew for the sake of harmony. His administration was distinguished for integrity, wisdom and statesmanship. During his term of office he had the honor of tendering the courtesies of the State to Lafayette, at the time of his second visit to this country, 1824-25.

G. 5-1. AUGUSTUS EMANUEL SHULZE, b. June 24, 1806; d. November 9, 1888; married September 20, 1836, Emily Gilbert.

G. 6-1. AUGUSTA E. SHULZE, b. July 12, 1837.

G. 6-2. JOHN ANDREW SHULZE, b. September 5, 1839; married Edith Miller.

G. 7-1. CHARLES SHULZE, b. 1875.

G. 5-2. WILHELMINA MARIA SHULZE, b. March 9, 1810; d. November 29, 1893; married April 8, 1839, Martin Madison Moore, d. July 25, 1847. He was a captain in the Seminole and Mexican Wars and died of yellow fever in Mexico.

G. 6-1. MARY LOUISA MOORE, b. March 31, 1840. Single.

G. 6-2. OSCEOLA AMELIA MOORE, b. July 27, 1841. Single.

G. 6-3. FRANK MOORE, b. May 4, 1847. Single.

G. 5-3. LOUISA SHULZE, b. October 1, 1814; d. October 2, 1875; married March 20, 1862, Christian Rine, d. January 10, 1874; no issue.

G. 5-4. FRANCIS SWAINE SHULZE, b. December 25, 1818; d. May 6, 1873; married January 3, 1855, Mary Alice Mulliken.

G. 6-1. JOHN FRANK SHULZE, b. September 30, 1855; married Alice Seachrist.

G. 6-2. MARY ALICE SHULZE, b. January 12, 1861.

G. 4-4. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS SHULZE, b. September 11, 1777; d. February 1, 1836; married October 21, 1804, Mary Rosina Hiester, b. December 28, 1781; d. February 13, 1824.

G. 5-1. ELIZABETH SHULZE, b. May 2, 1806; d. May 4, 1806.

G. 5-2. HIESTER E. SHULZE, b. October 12, 1807; d. March 17, 1824. Single.

G. 5-3. JULIA ANN SHULZE, b. December 24, 1809, Womelsdorf, Pa.; d. Wednesday 1:49 A. M., September 17, 1855. "She made home happy." Married, April 15, 1833, Felix R. McManus, M.D., b. May 30, 1807, Baltimore, Md.; d. March 3, 1885, son of Owen and Maria McManus.

G. 6-1. FELIX SHULZE McMANUS, b. July 2, 1834; d. November 20, 1857; married February 2, 1856, Esther Sinclair, daughter of Robert and Margaret Sinclair.

G. 7-1. MARY FELIX SINCLAIR McMANUS, b. December 8, 1857; d. January 2, 1858.

G. 6-2. MARY ROSINA McMANUS, b. December 11, 1835; entered Convent of Mercy, Brooklyn, N. Y., on December 13, 1865, where she is Mother Mary Theresa.

G. 6-3. JULIA ANGELICA McMANUS, b. September 3, 1837; d. February 26, 1858.

G. 6-4. PHILOMENA McMANUS, b. March 13, 1838; married October 17, 1871, Richard I. C. Jones, Jr., son of Richard I. C. and Mary Cocault Jones, of Baltimore, Md.

G. 7-1. LOUIS C. JONES, b. October 20, 1872.

G. 7-2. JULIA JONES, b. January 19, 1873.

G. 7-3. PHILOMENA JONES, b. March 5, 1874.

G. 7-4. FELIX JONES, b. May 13, 1875.

G. 7-5. RICHARD JONES, b. September 27, 1876.

G. 7-6. FOLEY JONES, b. January 26, 1877.

G. 7-7. ROBERT JONES, b. April 20, 1878.

G. 6-5. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS McMANUS, b. May 20, 1840; d. April 16, 1885; married 1st, November 2, 1867, Florence Wier, daughter of Robert Wier.

G. 7-1. FELIX R. McMANUS, b. July 18, 1868.

G. 6-5. FRED. AUGUSTUS McMANUS, married 2d, Annie C. Shepherd of Illinois; no issue.

G. 6-6. ELIZA RANDALL McMANUS, b. April 30, 1843; d. November 8, 1865, in convent. Entered the Visitation Convent in Washington, D. C., August 15, 1863.

G. 6-7. SAMUEL HAHNEMANN McMANUS, b. September 12, 1844; d. October 27, 1864.

G. 6-8. GENEVIEVE McMANUS, b. January 3, 1846; d. 1846.

G. 6-9. ANNIE REGINA McMANUS, b. September 7, 1849; d. May 20, 1850.

G. 6-10. AGNES MARY McMANUS, b. January 26, 1851. Entered Convent of Mercy, Brooklyn, N. Y., October 28, 1871, where she is known as Sister Mary Agnes.

G. 6-11. HELENA McMANUS, b. May 3, 1854; married October 15, 1878, Harry Paul Goldsborough, son of William Howes Goldsborough and Sarah Rebecca Pacault.

G. 7-1. MARY AGNES TERESA GOLDSBOROUGH, b. September 6, 1879.

G. 7-2. JULIA GOLDSBOROUGH, b. October 12, 1881.

G. 7-3. FELIX VINCENT GOLDSBOROUGH, b. November 1, 1882.

G. 7-4. HARRY PAUL GOLDSBOROUGH, Jr., b. June 9, 1886.

G. 7-5. HELENA TERESA GOLDSBOROUGH, b. May 8, 1887.

G. 7-6. WILLIAM YERBURY GOLDSBOROUGH, b. September 5, 1888.

G. 7-7. GEORGE JOSEPH GOLDSBOROUGH, b. March 14, 1891.

G. 5-4. MARIA ISABELLA SHULZE, b. October 25, 1811; d. November 4, 1811.

G. 5-5. SABINA ELIZABETH SHULZE, b. October 28, 1813; d. November 23, 1813.

G. 5-6. EMANUEL GABRIEL SHULZE, b. January 8, 1815; d. September 14, 1867; married April 17, 1838, Frances Elliott, b. April 27, 1821.

G. 6-1. CHARLES ELLIOTT SHULZE, b. January 5, 1839; married December 18, 1860, Margeretta Gregg, b. December 31, 1838.

G. 7-1. FRANCES PECK SHULZE, b. October 26, 1862; married July 30, 1888, David Scott Kennedy.

- G. 8-1. JOSEPH ELLIOTT KENNEDY, b. June 11, 1889.
G. 8-2. FRANCES SCOTT KENNEDY, b. July 11, 1891.
G. 7-2. ELLIOTT GREGG SHULZE, b. January 29, 1865;
married March 25, 1890, Myrtle Rose Philly.
G. 8-1. HERBERT MORTON SHULZE, b. February 14,
1891.
G. 7-3. CHARLES HERBERT SHULZE, b. September 7,
1868.
G. 7-4. WILLIAM H. SHULZE, b. April 29, 1871.
G. 7-5. ELSIE SHULZE, b. June 22, 1878; d. July 29,
1878.
G. 6-2. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS SHULZE, b. February 28,
1841; married September, 1868, Elvira M. Bailey, b.
February 12, 1848.
G. 7-1. RALPH GOLDEN SHULZE, b. April 25, 1873.
G. 7-2. WALTER HENRY SHULZE, b. July 22, 1880.
G. 7-3. HELEN PEARLE SHULZE, b. July 10, 1885.
G. 6-3. WILLIAM HIESTER SHULZE, b. July 23, 1842;
married October 5, 1871, Nellie Henrietta Prentiss, b.
September 28, 1851.
G. 7-1. INFANT, d. July 25, 1872, at birth.
G. 7-2. EDITH GIFFORD SHULZE, b. March 1, 1875.
G. 7-3. GERTRUDE MAY SHULZE, b. November 21,
1877.
G. 7-4. INFANT, d. June 10, 1880, at birth.
G. 7-5. PRENTISS FRENCH SHULZE, b. August 25, 1889.
G. 6-4. FRANCIS MUHLENBERG SHULZE, b. February
6, 1844; married October 22, 1868, Ellen Gillett Groce,
b. April 24, 1845.
G. 7-1. CHARLES GROCE SHULZE, b. July 22, 1869.
G. 7-2. EMANUEL EDGAR SHULZE, b. January 13, 1879.
G. 6-5. ELIZA JANE SHULZE, b. September 6, 1846.
Single.

G. 6-6. EMMANUEL HENRY SHULZE, b. February 27, 1849; d. November 25, 1878; married August 2, 1870, Marilla Almeda Weston, b. May 5, 1851.

G. 7-1. HARRIET SOPHRONIA SHULZE, b. April 2, 1871.

G. 7-2. GEORGE EMORY SHULZE, b. July 23, 1872.

G. 7-3. MAURICE SHULZE, b. May 20, 1878.

G. 6-7. GEORGE GREGG SHULZE, b. March 15, 1852.
Single.

G. 6-8. HARRIET EMILY SHULZE, b. February 10, 1854; married December 28, 1880, John Connel King, b. February 9, 1853.

G. 7-1. FANNIE SHULZE KING, b. February 1, 1882.

G. 7-2. MADGE STEWART KING, b. June 3, 1883.

G. 7-3. MAURICE HARRIET KING, b. September 18, 1888.

G. 5-7. ELIZA MATILDA SHULZE, b. October 5, 1818; married April 29, 1846, Elias Fidler (of old Fitler), b. July 1, 1814; d. April 15, 1879.

G. 6-1. MARY FRANCES FIDLER, b. March 11, 1847; married January 18, 1870, Henry W. Stauffer.

G. 6-2. JULIA CATHARINE FIDLER, b. December 8, 1849; married May 11, 1876, George Henry Valentine, b. October 17, 1848.

G. 7-1. HENRY LE ROY VALENTINE, b. January 3, 1878.

G. 6-3. HENRY SHULZE FIDLER, b. April 30, 1852; married September 12, 1873, Fannie S. Smith.

G. 7-1. ARTHUR PENN FIDLER, b. January 26, 1875.

G. 7-2. JULIA ELIZA FIDLER, b. August 30, 1876.

G. 7-3. ALFRED SMITH FIDLER, b. April 5, 1882; d. August 12, 1882.

G. 7-4. HERBERT SMITH FIDLER, b. April 24, 1887.

G. 6-4. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS FIDLER, b. September 6, 1854; married May 20, 1875, Lizzie H. Valentine.

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G. 7-1. HOWARD V. FIDLER, b. May 10, 1876.

G. 7-2. ELIAS SHULZE FIDLER, b. March 6, 1879.

G. 7-3. FREDERICK RALPH FIDLER, b. January 1, 1882.

G. 7-4. ADAM CLAUDE FIDLER, b. January 11, 1888.

G. 5-8. MARIA A. SHULZE, b. May 20, 1821; d. March 2, 1824.

G. 4-5. JOHN PETER GABRIEL SHULZE, b. 1780; d. 1840; married Mary Magdalene Immel, b. 1788; d. 1853.

G. 5-1. EDWARD LEONARD SCHULZE, b. December 28, 1805; d. May 6, 1864; married 1832, Elizabeth Spencer, b. June 11, 1816; d. May 10, 1880. She was of Quaker descent (Nutters and Spencers of Delaware).

G. 6-1. MARY JANE SCHULZE, b. 1834; married 1st, May 14, 1857, Rev. Thomas Gotwald, d. December 3, 1863.

G. 7-1. EDWARD SCHULZE GOTWALD, b. December 9, 1862; d. November 11, 1865.

G. 7-2. ELIZABETH SPENCER GOTWALD, b. March 27, 1868; married Wilbur F. Reeder, a lawyer in Bellefonte, Pa.

G. 8-1. JOHN WALLACE REEDER.

G. 6-1. MARY JANE SCHULZE, married 2d, February, 1877, M. W. Jackson.

G. 7-3. MARY JACKSON, b. November 27, 1878.

G. 6-2. PHEBE ANN NUTTER SCHULZE, b. February 2, 1838; married August 12, 1858, J. Grafius Harris.

G. 7-1. ELIZABETH SPENCER HARRIS, b. April 8, 1861.

G. 7-2. WILLIAM SPENCER HARRIS, b. October 5, 1862.

G. 7-3. SALLIE GRAFIUS HARRIS, d. quite young.

G. 6-3. EMMA ELIZABETH SCHULZE, b. September 9, 1849; married May 29, 1877, John W. Wallace, d. June 18, 1891.

G. 7-1. ELIZABETH SPENCER WALLACE, b. December 9, 1878; d. October 28, 1879.

G. 7-2. DONALD WALLACE, b. January 20, 1881.

G. 5-2. LUCETTA SALOME SHULZE, b. May 20, 1809; d. February 6, 1881; married June 17, 1828, at Myers-town, Pa., by Rev. William Ernst, Samuel Schaeffer Rex, b. August 5, 1806; d. October 3, 1878.

G. 6-1. GEORGE MARION REX, b. July 18, 1831; d. February 12, 1871; married October 17, 1852, Rachel Isabelle Felthousen.

G. 7-1. ISABELLE VIRGINIA REX, b. July 12, 1853; married October 19, 1875, Hiram Wesley Ball.

G. 8-1. LULU BELL BALL, b. August 3, 1876.

G. 8-2. MARGIE MAUDE BALL, b. February 3, 1879.

G. 8-3. GEORGE REX BALL, b. November 21, 1880.

G. 8-4. WALTER EARL BALL, b. September 21, 1887.

G. 8-5. MARSHALL EDGAR BALL, b. October 21, 1890.

G. 7-2. GEORGE ABRAHAM REX, b. February 10, 1855. Single.

G. 7-3. LULU S. REX, b. September 26, 1857; d. September 26, 1878.

G. 7-4. EMILY S. REX, b. May 21, 1862.

G. 7-5. ALBERT D. REX, b. November 21, 1863.

G. 7-6. MARGARETTA M. REX, b. April 24, 1866.

G. 6-2. SAMUEL SHULZE REX, b. July 24, 1833; d. December 2, 1849.

G. 6-3. FRANK REX, b. September 13, 1837; married December 24, 1874, Leonore Leila Gibbens. Hardware merchant at Parkersburg, W. Va.

G. 7-1. ALINA REX.

G. 6-4. G. ALBERT REX, b. August 31, 1840. Single.

G. 5-3. IMMEL SCHULZE, b. 1813; d. 1871. Single.

G. 5-4. CLEMENTINA SCHULZE, b. 1817; married Ed-

ward Vanderslice, D.S., Philadelphia, Pa., b. 1807; d. 1883, a grandson of Henry Vanderslice, Sheriff of Berks county, commissioned October 5, 1775.

The Vanderslice Genealogy is:

1. BARON VON DER SLUYS.

2. ANTHONY VANDERSLICE, married Martha Pannebacker (now Pennypacker).

3. HENRY VANDERSLICE (1726-1797) Sheriff of Berks county, 1774-76.

4. DR. GEORGE VANDERSLICE.

5. EDWARD VANDERSLICE (1807-1883).

G. 6-1. EDWARD SHULZE VANDERSLICE, b. 1843; married Virginia Gould Zieber, b. 1845. A physician in Philadelphia, Pa.; no issue.

G. 6-2. HENRY MUHLENBERG VANDERSLICE, D.S., Philadelphia, b. 1852; married Helen Seiss, daughter of Rev. Joseph A. Seiss, D.D., LL.D., L.H.D., an eminent divine of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

G. 7-1. ETHEL VANDERSLICE, died.

G. 6-1. MARY JANET VANDERSLICE, b. 1858. Single.

G. 4-6. CATHARINE G. SHULZE, b. 1782; d. 1815. Single.

G. 4-7. CHRISTIANA SALOME SHULZE, b. 1783; d. 1853; married John Albright, b. 1780; d. 1847; no issue.

G. 4-8. MARY MAGDALENA SHULZE, b. 1787; d. April 6, 1875; married John Cameron, b. 1797; d. 1841; a brother of Simon Cameron, of Lancaster county, Pa., a distinguished United States Senator. In 1861 Secretary of War, and in 1862 Minister to Russia. Twice again United States Senator till 1877, when succeeded by his son James Donald Cameron.

G. 5-1.

G. 5-2. CATHARINE E. CAMERON, married May, 1845,

her cousin Henry Ernestus Muhlenberg, of Lancaster, Pa., b. January 10, 1817; d. July, 1877.

G. 6-1. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG, died an infant.

G. 6-2. JOHN CAMERON MUHLENBERG, b. about 1846; married Alice ———.

G. 6-3. MARY ELIZABETH MUHLENBERG. Single.

G. 6-4. HENRY ERNESTUS MUHLENBERG, b. about 1849; married Emma ———. A practicing physician of Lancaster, Pa.

G. 6-5. ANNE AUGUSTA MUHLENBERG, married Major Kriss.

G. 7-1. A daughter.

G. 6-6. WILLIAM MUHLENBERG.

G. 7-1. A son.

G. 6-7. CHARLES EDWARD MUHLENBERG. Single.

G. 4-9. ELIZABETH SHULZE, b. May 4, 1785; d. August 28, 1861.

G. 3-3. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS CONRAD MUHLENBERG, b. January 2, 1750; baptized January 15, 1750; d. June 5, 1801; married October 15, 1771, Catharine Schaefer (Schäfer), b. 1750; d. 1835; daughter of Fred. Schaefer, a Philadelphia sugar refiner and member of the vestry of Zion's Philadelphia congregation.

He was born at Trappe, Montgomery county, Pa., and thoroughly educated at the University of Halle, Germany. Ordained a Lutheran clergyman October 25, 1770. From a remote country congregation he was called to take charge of one in the city of New York. Here his piety, education, eloquence and polished manners speedily gave him a reputation, but because of his ardent Whig principles and pronounced patriotism, he was obliged to flee when the British

occupied that city. He then assisted his father in Pennsylvania, but, because of his marked patriotic devotion, on March 2, 1779, the Legislature of Pennsylvania elected him a delegate to the Continental Congress, and, in the next year, renewed that honorable appointment, when he became ineligible to Congress for the ensuing three years. He was, however, immediately sent to the State Legislature from Philadelphia, and made its Speaker. In 1787 he was elected a delegate to the State Convention, called to consider the Constitution of the United States and act upon its ratification. He was made President of this body. Elected a member of the First Congress 1789-91, he became the first Speaker of the United States Congress. He served during the whole of Washington's Administration, being called to the Speakership a second time by the third Congress. Shortly after leaving Congress he was appointed, by Governor Mifflin, Register of the Land Office, in which he was continued by Governor McKean until his decease. He lies buried at Trinity Lutheran Church, Lancaster, Pa.

G. 4-1. HENRY WILLIAM MUHLENBERG, b. 1772; d. 1805; married July 30, 1795, Mary Catharine Sheaff.

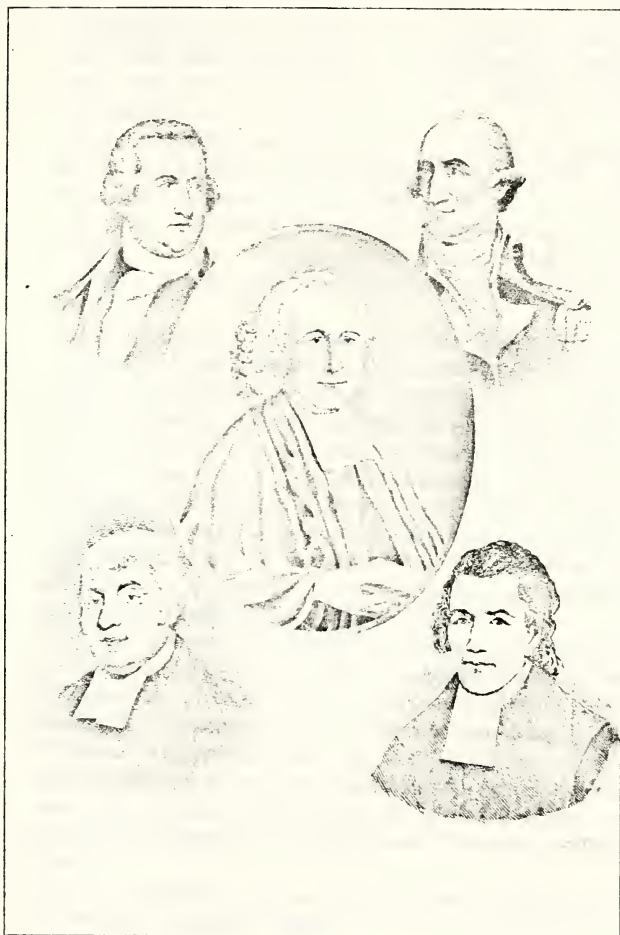
G. 5-1. WILLIAM AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG, D.D., b. 1796; d. April 8, 1877. Single. He was born at the corner of Third and Cherry Streets, Philadelphia, Pa. Baptized a Lutheran by Dr. Helmuth. The prevalent use of the German language, in that church, which the children did not understand, was the reason why they were permitted by their mother to attend the Episcopal Church. After a while a Lutheran minister, Rev. Philip Meyer began to preach in English, when Mrs. Muhlenberg desired them to go with her there, but the services were held in a Hall, without any of the attractive accompaniments of

worship to which they were accustomed in Christ Church, and the change was not an agreeable one. An accidental occurrence, at this time, confirmed the boy's wishes and took him out of his father's denomination. In the spring of 1806 the vestries of Christ Church and St. Peter's decided to erect a church in the neighborhood of Seventh and Market Streets to accommodate the growth of the city. For this purpose a lot was purchased belonging to Mrs. Muhlenberg and, on June 10, 1807, the corner-stone of St. James Church was laid. A part of the consideration, besides the purchase money paid, was a large double pew in the middle aisle to be for the use of the family. This, and the proximity of the new church to their dwelling, brought about their attendance at the same.

He entered the University of Pennsylvania from which he graduated in 1815; ordained a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1817. About January, 1821, he became the pastor of St. James Church, Lancaster, Pa. In 1824-26 he wrote the hymns, "I would not live away," "Like Noah's Weary Dove," "Saviour, who thy flock art feeding," and, perhaps "Shout the glad tidings." In 1827, he began the establishment of a Christian and Church School for the education of boys—Flushing Institute and St. Paul's College. In his fiftieth year he began his work in the City of New York by founding there the Church of the Holy Communion; in 1845 he organized the first Protestant Sisterhood in the United States, and started many charitable institutions which culminated in the great St. Luke's Hospital. In 1866 he undertook the last great work of his life, the establishment of a Christian rural community where the worthy poor might escape from the horrors of New York tenement life. He bought an estate in New Jersey, now comprising an area between five and



THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



HON. FREDERICK AUGUST CONRAD MUHLENBERG.

GEN. JOHN PETER GABRIEL MUHLENBERG.

REV. HENRY MELCHOIR MUHLENBERG, D.D.

REV. GOTTHILF HEINRICH ERNST MUHLENBERG, D.D.

REV. JOHN CHRISTOPHER KUNZE, D.D.

six hundred acres. At first he had no funds for the purpose. He named the place "St. Johnland." Cottages were built here, and, in 1869, a Boy's House, an Old Man's Home, and a church.

He died in St. Luke's Hospital, of which he was the father, and is buried in the cemetery at St. Johnland. He was a sincere and earnest Christian.

G. 5-2. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG, d. 1837. Single.

G. 5-3. MARY ANN MUHLENBERG, married John Rogers.

G. 6-1. MARY ANN ROGERS, married William Chisolm.

G. 4-2. MARY CATHARINE MUHLENBERG, b. May 29, 1774; d. November 28, 1846; married John S. Hiester (his second wife), b. Reading, Pa., July 28, 1774; d. March 7, 1849. He was the only son of Governor Joseph Hiester of Pennsylvania, and wife Elizabeth *nee* Witman. Graduated at Princeton College, 1794; admitted to Philadelphia bar, 1798; first married Miss Fries, of Philadelphia, who died six months after. For nine years he had all the offices in connection with the county courts of Berks county, for which he was well qualified.

G. 5-1. JOSEPH MUHLENBERG HIESTER, b. December 11, 1806; d. February 15, 1881; married Isabella Craig McLanahan, b. December 11, 1812; d. January 8, 1892; buried at Mercersburg, Pa. She was the daughter of William McLanahan and his wife Mary *nee* Gregg, granddaughter of Andrew Gregg, prominent in National and State affairs in the beginning of this century, and great-granddaughter of General James Potter of the Revolution.

G. 6-1. MARIA CATHARINE MUHLENBERG HIESTER, b. November 28, 1833. Single.

G. 6-2. JOSEPHINE ELIZABETH HIESTER, b. June 17, 1837; d. August 21, 1838.

G. 6-3. HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG HIESTER. Single.

G. 5-2. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG HIESTER, b. September 17, 1808; d. July 6, 1868; married Lydia Ann G. Garretson, b. December 20, 1814; d. November 5, 1875.

G. 6-1. MARIA CATHARINE HIESTER, b. June 10, 1830; d. June 24, 1830.

G. 6-2. JOHN SYLVANUS HIESTER, b. August, 1838; married Emily T. Gilson, d. March 29, 1889.

G. 5-3. CATHARINE ELIZABETH HIESTER, b. April 4, 1810; d. June 7, 1885; married 1851 (his second wife) John Pringle Jones, b. June 10, 1812, near Newtown, Bucks county, Pa.; d. March 17, 1874, in London, England; no issue.

G. 5-4. ELIZABETH MARGARETTA HIESTER, b. May 31, 1812; d. December 4, 1827, d. at Madame Segoyne's boarding school, Spruce street, Philadelphia. Single.

G. 5-5. EUGENIA FRANCES HIESTER, b. December 3, 1813; d. December 3, 1849; married 1st, her cousin, William John Sheaff, d. May 4, 1839.

G. 6-1. CATHARINE ELIZABETH SHEAFF, b. December 6, 1834; d. August 24, 1871; married Alexander Murray Stewart.

G. 7-1. EUGENIA STEWART, died an infant.

G. 7-2. MURRAY STEWART, b. July, 1863.

G. 7-3. WILLIAM JOHN SHEAFF STEWART, a twin, b. May 31, 1867.

G. 7-3. MUHLENBERG HIESTER STEWART, a twin, b. May 31, 1867; d. August 25, 1871.

G. 6-2. ELLEN FRANCES SHEAFF, b. November 8, 1837;

married David McMurtrie Gregg, b. April 10, 1833. He was born in Huntingdon, Pa., is an ideal gentleman and soldier. One of his ancestors, David Gregg, of Scotland, was a captain in Cromwell's army. His great-grandfather came from Londonderry, Ireland, to Pennsylvania in 1712, and died at Carlisle in 1789. His grandfather, Andrew Gregg, was a member of Congress and United States Senator 1791-1813. He entered the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1851, graduating in 1855, brevetted second lieutenant of dragoons, and, as such, spent five years in the far West where he participated in a number of engagements with the Indians. Captain 6th Pennsylvania Cavalry from May 14, 1861, to March, 1862, then colonel Eighth Pennsylvania Cavalry. November 19, 1862, he was commissioned Brigadier United States Volunteers, and brevet Major General, August 1, 1864, for "highly meritorious and distinguished conduct." He participated in practically all the battles of the Army of the Potomac, and rendered invaluable service by his cavalry victory at Gettysburg. He resigned from the Army, February 3, 1865, engaged in farming near Milford, Del.; went to Reading, Pa., thence moved to Carthage, Mo., and again returned to Reading; served three years as consul at Prague, Austria, under President Grant; elected Auditor General of State of Pennsylvania, 1892, and filled his office in a model manner. He now resides at Reading. Upon the death of General Hancock he succeeded him to the command of the Pennsylvania Commandery, Military Order of Loyal Legion.

G. 7-1. GEORGE SHEAFF GREGG, b. March 9, 1867.

G. 7-2. DAVID McMURTRIE GREGG, b. October 3, 1869.

G. 5-5. EUGENIA FRANCES HIESTER, married 2d, James Murray Rush.

G. 6-3. RICHARD RUSH, b. 1848, married Ella Day. Officer U. S. Navy—graduated U. S. Naval Academy 1867.

G. 7-1. ELLA DAY RUSH.

G. 7-2. RICHARD RUSH, d. infancy.

G. 4-3. ELIZABETH MUHLENBERG, married April 24, 1794, John Mifflin Irwin, d. August 27, 1814; son of Matthias Irwin and Esther Mifflin.

G. 5-1. ANNA CAROLINA IRWIN, b. May 9, 1803; married J. B. Budd.

G. 6-1. ELIZABETH BUDD, married ——— Tiers; no issue.

G. 6-2. SUSAN BUDD, married Dr. Wharton, St. Paul, Minn.

G. 7-1.

G. 6-3. ANNA BUDD, married ——— Nielson.

G. 6-4. JOHN BUDD, married ——— Maylan.

G. 6-5. EMILY BUDD, married ——— Chapin.

G. 7-1. CORNELIA CHAPIN.

G. 6-6. CORNELIA BUDD, married ——— Worrell.

G. 6-7. MORGAN BUDD. Single.

G. 6-8. EUGENIA BUDD, married her cousin, John Henry Irwin.

G. 6-9. ROSE BUDD.

G. 6-10. IRWIN BUDD. Single.

G. 5-2. FREDERICK IRWIN. Single.

G. 5-3. MATTHEW IRWIN. Single.

G. 5-4. JOHN HIESTER IRWIN, married Margaret Baldwin, daughter of Capt. Stephen Baldwin, ship owner and merchant, Philadelphia, Pa.

G. 6-1. MARY BALDWIN IRWIN, married 1862, George Brooke, a proprietor of E. & G. Brooke Iron Co., of Birdsboro, Pa., one of the oldest and largest industries in the country.

G. 7-1. EDWARD BROOKE.

G. 7-2. GEORGE BROOKE.

G. 6-2. ELIZABETH MUHLENBERG IRWIN, married E. K. Tullidge.

G. 6-3. STEPHEN BALDWIN IRWIN, married Harriet Brooke Grubb.

G. 6-4. MARGARET BALDWIN IRWIN. Single.

G. 5-5. HENRY WILLIAM IRWIN. Single.

G. 5-6. DAVID MUHLENBERG IRWIN, married Sybilla Burchell.

G. 6-1. HELEN IRWIN.

G. 6-2. JOHN HENRY IRWIN, married his cousin, Eugenia Budd; no issue.

G. 4-4. MARGARET MUHLENBERG, b. 1778; d. 1874; married November 27, 1794, Jacob Sperry, b. 1773; d. 1830.

G. 5-1. CATHARINE AUGUSTA SPERRY, b. 1797; married May 24, 1821, Richard Willing, d. April 15, 1833, son of Charles Willing by first wife, Rosalind Evans.

G. 6-1. MARGARET SPERRY WILLING, b. April 1, 1822; d. June 21, 1862, Philadelphia, Pa. Single.

G. 6-2. JACOB SPERRY WILLING, b. July 1, 1826; married June 25, 1857, Emily Newbold, daughter of Charles Newbold.

G. 7-1. MARY NEWBOLD WILLING, b. November 5, 1858.

G. 5-2. MARY ELIZABETH SPERRY, married William H. Hart. He was Captain 1st City Troop of Philadelphia, and, by another wife, grandfather of Robert Adams, Jr., Ex-Minister to Brazil; no issue.

G. 5-3. William Sperry, b. 1818; married Harriet Josephine Tuck.

G. 6-1. HENRY M. SPERRY.

G. 4-5. ANNE CATHARINE MUHLENBERG, b. 1781; d. 1865; married George Sheaff, b. 1779; d. 1851.

G. 5-1. WILLIAM JOHN SHEAFF, d. May 4, 1839; married his cousin, Eugenia Frances Hiester, b. December 3, 1813; d. December 3, 1849.

G. 6-1. CATHARINE ELIZABETH SHEAFF, b. December 6, 1834; d. August 24, 1871; married Alexander Murray Stewart.

G. 7-1. EUGENIA STEWART, died in infancy.

G. 7-2. MURRAY STEWART, b. July, 1863.

G. 7-3. WILLIAM JOHN SHEAFF STEWART, twin, b. May 31, 1867.

G. 7-4. MUHLENBERG HIESTER STEWART, twin, b. May 31, 1867, d. August 25, 1871.

G. 6-2. ELLEN FRANCES SHEAFF, b. November 8, 1837; married David McMurtrie Gregg.

G. 7-1. GEORGE SHEAFF GREGG, b. March 9, 1867.

G. 7-2. DAVID MCMURTRIE GREGG, b. October 3, 1869.

G. 5-2. GEORGE DAVID SHEAFF. Single.

G. 5-3. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS SHEAFF. Single.

G. 5-4. ANN CATHARINE SHEAFF, b. 1809; d. 1880.

G. 5-5. MARY SHEAFF, married George Eigenbredt; no issue.

G. 5-6. ELLEN SHEAFF.

G. 5-7. HENRY MUHLENBERG SHEAFF. Single.

G. 5-8. EMMELINE SHEAFF, married James Watmough, Paymaster, United States Navy.

G. 6-1. ELLEN WATMOUGH.

G. 5-9. JOHN PETER DAVID SHEAFF, married Fanny Platt.

G. 4-6. FREDERICK MUHLENBERG. Single.

G. 4-7. JOHN PETER DAVID MUHLENBERG, b. 1785; d. 1849; married Rachel Evans, b. 1790; d. 1848.

G. 5-1. GEORGE SHEAFF MUHLENBERG, b. 1812; d. 1829. Single.

G. 5-2. OLIVER EVANS MUHLENBERG, b. 1814; d. 1814; infancy.

G. 3-4. MARGARETTA HENRIETTA MUHLENBERG, b. September 17, 1751; bap. October 1, 1751; d. October 23, 1831; married July 23, 1771, John Christopher Kunze, D.D., b. August 5, 1744; d. July 24, 1807. He was born at Artem, near Mansfeld, Germany; took a preparatory course at Halle, and at the high schools of Rosleben and Merseburg; devoted three years to the study of theology at Leipsic, three others he spent as teacher in the then celebrated school at Klosterbergen, near Magdeburg, and one year at Greitz as inspector of the Orphan House. With Fred'k Augustus and Gotthilf Ernst Muhlenberg he left Halle for America, May 3, 1770. In 1784 accepted a call to Christ Church, New York City, where he labored faithfully until his death. He was a very learned man. She was the last of her family, and is buried, beside her husband, in St. Mark's Episcopal graveyard, New York City.

G. 4-1. MARIA KUNZE, b. August 17, 1773.

G. 4-2. MARIA CATHARINE KUNZE, b. October 22, 1774.

G. 4-3. CATHARINE ELIZA KUNZE, b. October 4, 1776; d. January 29, 1863; married May 21, 1801, Caspar Meier, b. September 20, 1774; d. February 2, 1839.

G. 5-1. AMELIA HENRIETTA MEIER, b. October 7, 1802; d. January 4, 1804.

G. 5-2. MARGARETTA HENRIETTA MEIER, b. August 19, 1804; d. November 3, 1836; married May 24, 1827, Laurentius Henry von Post, d. December 19, 1839.

G. 6-1. HERMANN CASPAR VON POST, b. March 22,

1828; married December 8, 1853, Jane Scott Whitlock, b. April 9, 1830.

G. 6-2. ELIZA CATHARINE VON POST, b. November 26, 1829; married May 8, 1853, Gustav Frederic Schwab, b. November 23, 1822; d. August 21, 1888.

G. 7-1. GUSTAV HENRY SCHWAB, b. May 30, 1851; married October 25, 1876, Caroline Wheeler, b. July 31, 1854.

G. 8-1. EMILY ELIZABETH SCHWAB, b. January 10, 1878.

G. 8-2. GUSTAV SCHWAB, b. July 28, 1879.

G. 7-2. HERMANN CASPAR SCHWAB, b. January 5, 1853; married June 4, 1885, Mary Baldwin.

G. 8-1. HENRY BALDWIN SCHWAB, b. June ———

G. 8-2. HERMANN CASPAR SCHWAB, b. July 1, 1891.

G. 7-3. HENRIETTA MARGARETTA SCHWAB, b. August 19, 1854.

G. 7-4. LAURENTIUS HENRY SCHWAB, b. April 2, 1857; married February 21, 1889, Margaret Paris.

G. 8-1. LAURENS VON POST SCHWAB, b. May 1, 1891.

G. 7-5. EMILY SCHWAB, b. June 5, 1861.

G. 7-6. SOPHIA LUCY SCHWAB, b. August 3, 1863.

G. 7-7. JOHN CHRISTOPH SCHWAB, b. April 1, 1865.

G. 7-8. BENJAMIN WILLIAM SCHWAB, b. February 8, 1867.

G. 7-9. CHARLES ALBERT SCHWAB, twin, b. July 5, 1868.

G. 7-9. LOUIS EMIL SCHWAB, twin, b. July 5, 1868.

G. 7-10. RUDOLF LEOPOLD SCHWAB, b. August 25, 1872; d. August 1, 1873.

G. 6-3. HENRIETTA MARGARETTA VON POST, b. December 15, 1831; married October 8, 1852, Christoph Theodore Schwab, b. October 2, 1812; d. 1883.

G. 7-1. GUSTAV HERMANN SCHWAB, b. December 29, 1853; married September 24, 1886, Anna Sick.

G. 8-1. GUSTAV SCHWAB, b. December 25, 1887.

G. 8-2. CARL GEORGE SCHWAB, b. March 1, 1889.

G. 8-3. HERMANN SCHWAB, twin, b. November 13, 1890.

G. 8-3. EMILIE SCHWAB, twin, b. November 13, 1890.

G. 7-2. EMILIE SOPHIA ELIZABETH SCHWAB, b. February 8, 1857; d. 1891; married September 15, 1883, Rev. Alfred Plieninger.

G. 8-1. HELLMUTH GUSTAV PLIENINGER, b. August 7, 1884.

G. 8-2. THEODORA PLIENINGER, b. September 9, 1887.

G. 8-3. ELIZABETH PLIENINGER, twin, b. May 2, 1891.

G. 8-3. HANNAH PLIENINGER, twin, b. May 2, 1891.

G. 7-3. JOHN CHRISTIAN HEINRICH SCHWAB, b. March 6, 1859; d. August 28, 1859.

G. 7-4. SOPHIE HENRIETTA SCHWAB, b. October 6, 1860; married September 30, 1886, Johann Eberhard Noltenius, b. April 12, 1847.

G. 8-1. ELIZABETH NOLTENIUS, b. January 25, 1888.

G. 8-2. HANS NOLTENIUS, b. October 11, 1889.

G. 8-3. MARGARETHE NOLTENIUS, b. November, 1891.

G. 7-5. CLEMENTINE SOPHIE CAROLINE SCHWAB, b. May 12, 1863; married October 15, 1887, Johann Heinrich Kulenkampff, b. October 6, 1857.

G. 8-1. CHRISTOPH KULENKAMPFF, b. September 15, 1888.

G. 8-2. LUCY KULENKAMPFF, b. June 30, 1890.

G. 6-4. AMELIA ELIZABETH CLEMENTINE VON POST, b. November 12, 1833; married May 23, 1856, Wilhelm Schrader, b. May 30, 1829; d. 1889.

G. 7-1. HEINRICH OTTO HERMANN SCHRADER, b. August 8, 1857; d. 1882.

G. 7-2. AMELIA AUGUSTA ELIZABETH SCHRADER, b. February 1, 1859; married October 26, 1879, Edward Gössling.

G. 8-1. WILHELM GÖSSLING, b. October 30, 1881.

G. 8-2. HENRIETTA GÖSSLING, b. April 19, 1884.

G. 7-3. ANNA SOPHIE ELIZABETH SCHRADER, b. May 25, 1860; married July 10, 1882, Julius Lachmann; no issue.

G. 7-4. ELIZA HENRIETTE EMILY SCHRADER, b. August 6, 1861; married March 11, 1884, Carl Klüppel.

G. 8-1. CLEMENTINE KLÜPPEL, b. December 15, 1884.

G. 8-2. ROLAND KLÜPPEL, b. April 18, 1887.

G. 8-3. ALFRED CARL KLÜPPEL, b. October 3, 1888.

G. 7-5. RUDOLF FRANZ AUGUST SCHRADER, b. December 17, 1863.

G. 7-6. WILHELM HERMANN SCHRADER, b. March 23, 1865.

G. 7-7. OTTO CHRISTOPH SCHRADER, b. January 28, 1867.

G. 7-8. EMIL KARL SCHRADER, b. July 28, 1868; d.—

G. 7-9. CLEMENTINE LOUISE SCHRADER, b. November 15, 1869.

G. 7-10. EMILY MARIA SCHRADER, b. May 30, 1871.

G. 7-11. GUSTAV BERNHARD SCHRADER, b. August 10, 1874.

G. 7-12. FRIESBEICH PAUL SCHRADER, b. September 15, 1875.

G. 6-5. EMILY MARIA VON POST, b. January 4, 1835; d. October 27, 1891; married May 24, 1870, Ernst Bernhard Pauli, M.D., b. March 30, 1825.

G. 7-1. ELIZA AMALIE PAULI, b. March 6, 1871.

G. 7-2. HERMANN LUDWIG PAULI, b. April 23, 1874.

G. 5-3. EMILY MARIA MEIER, b. April 20, 1806; d.

March 20, 1872; married May 3, 1825, Albert Smith, M.D., d. February 19, 1884.

G. 6-1. MATSON MEIER-SMITH, D.D., b. April 4, 1826; d. March 26, 1887; married November 14, 1849, Mary Stuart White, b. August 31, 1829.

G. 7-1. NORMAN WHITE MEIER-SMITH, b. October 29, 1850.

G. 7-2. EMILY STUART MEIER-SMITH, b. December 9, 1852; married May 16, 1878, Rev. Henry Ogden Du Bois.

G. 8-1. CONSTANCE DU BOIS, b. March 28, 1879.

G. 6-2. ELIZA CATHARINE SMITH, b. July 19, 1829; d. December 19, 1876; married April 19, 1849, Robert Jaffray, b. October 10, 1824.

G. 7-1. EMILY MEIER JAFFRAY, b. August 1, 1850.

G. 7-2. ROBERT JAFFRAY, b. July 4, 1854; married October 7, 1880, Lydio Butler Griffen, b. June 13, 1854.

G. 5-4. JOHN FREDERICK MEIER, b. December 22, 1807; d. May 21, 1834.

G. 5-5. ELIZABETH LUCIE MEIER, b. November 23, 1809; d. December 4, 1810.

G. 5-6. CHARLES HENRY MEIER, b. August 22, 1811; d. August 21, 1813.

G. 5-7. ELIZA CATHARINE MEIER, b. August 4, 1814; d. January 12, 1831.

G. 5-8. MARY KUNIGUNDE MEIER, b. October 8, 1816; married June 29, 1841, James Punnett, Baltimore, Md., b. November 4, 1813; d. May 28, 1870.

G. 6-1. LOUISA PUNNETT, b. September 23, 1843.

G. 6-2. EMILY MEIER PUNNETT, b. May 10, 1846.

G. 6-3. HERMANN MEIER PUNNETT, b. June 3, 1848 d. January 19, 1850.

G. 6-4. KATHARINE ELIZABETH KUNZE PUNNETT, b. June 25, 1852.

G. 6-5. WALTER PUNNETT, b. May 16, 1853; d. July 31, 1853.

G. 4-4. ANNA MARIA CATHARINE KUNZE, b. August 20, 1778.

G. 4-5. HANNAH CHRISTIANA KUNZE, b. August 29, 1779.

G. 4-6. CHARLES HENRY KUNZE, b. June 24, 1781; d. 1808.

G. 4-7. JOHANNA BEATA KUNZE, b. September 11, 1783.

G. 4-8. MARIA MAGDALENA KUNZE, b. October 8, 1785; d. July 11, 1838.

G. 4-9. CATHARINE FREDERICA KUNZE, b. March 26, 1789; d. March 22, 1869; married March 1, 1807, Daniel Oakley, b. January 6, 1779; d. July 7, 1857.

G. 5-1. MARGARETTA SARAH OAKLEY, b. May 7, 1808; d. February 1, 1874; married 1st May 10, 1825, Robert N. Waite, d. August 31, 1833.

G. 6-1. CATHARINE FREDERICA WAITE, b. February 26, 1826; married September 16, 1845, John S. Mathews; d. January 3, 1892.

G. 7-1. ROBERT WAITE MATHEWS, b. August 21, 1846; married June 10, 1874, Kate Chapman.

G. 8-1. CATHARINE FREDERICA MATHEWS, b. December, 1875; d. 1878.

G. 8-2. FREDERIC CHAPMAN MATHEWS, b. October 6, 1878.

G. 8-3. CLARENCE MUHLENBERG MATHEWS, b. September 15, 1881.

G. 8-4. FREDERICA CATHARINE MATHEWS, b. May 12, 1885.

G. 8-5. CLEMENCE FALLET MATHEWS, b. August 9, 1887.

G. 7-2. CAROLINE SMITH MATHEWS, b. August 28, 1848; d. August 6, 1868.

G. 7-3. MARGARETTA MUHLENBERG MATHEWS, b. May 12, 1851; d. May 31, 1859.

G. 5-1. MARGARETTA SARAH OAKLEY, married 2d, January 12, 1837, William Lee Perkins; d. December 2, 1882.

G. 6-2. MARY LEE PERKINS, b. October 16, 1837; married September 7, 1864, Charles Henry Morley; d. October 9, 1889.

G. 7-1. JULIA PERKINS MORLEY, b. June 15, 1865.

G. 7-2. THOMAS HEALY MORLEY, d. infancy.

G. 7-3. MARGARETTA MUHLENBERG MORLEY, b. June 26, 1869.

G. 7-4. ESTHER HEALY MORLEY, d. infancy.

G. 7-5. CHARLES HENRY MORLEY, d. infancy.

G. 6-3. JULIA PERKINS, b. October 18, 1839; d. August 24, 1856.

G. 6-4. LUCY MYGATT PERKINS, twin, b. February 14, 1842; d. July 19, 1868.

G. 6-4. DANIEL OAKLEY PERKINS, twin, b. February 14, 1842; d. August 27, 1847.

G. 6-6. JOHN KUNZE PERKINS, b. February 1, 1845; d. August 29, 1847.

G. 6-7. GEORGE PERKINS, b. November 15, 1847; married May 12, 1874, Gertrude Eva Withers; d. June 12, 1889.

G. 7-1. MARGARETTA MUHLENBERG PERKINS, b. September 2, 1875.

G. 7-2. GERTRUDE WITHERS PERKINS, b. November 8, 1876.

G. 7-3. LEE PERKINS, b. April 29, 1878.

G. 7-4. MARY LEE PERKINS, b. 1880; d. 1880.

G. 5-2. JOHN WILMOT OAKLEY, b. March 16, 1810; d. September 1, 1842; married July 3, 1832, Mary Randell Thomson.

G. 6-1. CYRIL PASCALIS OAKLEY, b. April 24, 1833; d. April 12, 1886; married December 13, 1855, Harriet E. De Frees.

G. 7-1. WALTER DE FREES OAKLEY, b. July 31, 1857; d. August 31, 1878.

G. 7-2. MARY CLEWELL OAKLEY, b. October 7, 1859.

G. 7-3. JOHN DOUGHERTY OAKLEY, b. March 1, 1862; d. February 14, 1870.

G. 6-2. WILLIAM RANDELL OAKLEY, b. December 20, 1835; d. November 6, 1872.

G. 6-3. MARY AUGUSTA OAKLEY, b. June 16, 1837; d. February 25, 1840.

G. 6-4. HENRIETTA MEIER OAKLEY, twin, b. January 11, 1841.

G. 6-4. HELEN ELIZA OAKLEY, twin, b. January 11, 1841; married September 15, 1868, Jerome Walker, M.D.; b. 1843.

G. 7-1. HOBART ALEXANDER WALKER, b. November 1, 1869.

G. 7-2. RANDELL OAKLEY WALKER, b. June 22, 1871.

G. 7-3. HENRIETTA MABEL WALKER, b. January 17, 1873.

G. 7-4. AMY FRANCES WALKER, b. October 13, 1876.

G. 7-5. LUCY MARGARETTA WALKER, b. July 17, 1878.

G. 7-6. ALLAN LEE WALKER, b. October 1, 1882.

G. 5-3. PATIENCE OAKLEY, b. April 2, 1812; d. April 6, 1813.

G. 5-4. WILMOT OAKLEY, b. July 25, 1814; d. January 13, 1862. Single.

G. 5-5. MARY KUNZE OAKLEY, b. April 25, 1816; d.

March 25, 1889; married 1st, October 16, 1839, Henry H. Taylor, b. October 1818; d. September 23, 1862; married 2d, March (or April), 1864, Ezra Farnsworth, his 2d wife, d. July 4, 1890, of the millionaire dry goods firm of Farnsworth, Wilder & Co., Boston, Mass., where Miss Alice Farnsworth, his daughter (1st wife) resides, 319 Commonwealth Ave.

G. 5-6. CHARLES HENRY OAKLEY, M.D., b. May 26, 1818; d. July 24, 1851. Single.

G. 5-7. HENRIETTA MEIER OAKLEY, b. October 8, 1820; d. September 19, 1849; married July 30, 1844, William A. Coursen, his 2d wife, b. November 21, 1819.

G. 6-1. HENRY DEE COURSEN, b. September 1, 1845; d. October 17, 1866.

G. 6-2. WILLIAM A. COURSEN.

G. 6-3. HENRIETTA OAKLEY COURSEN, b. May 1, 1848; married February 8, 1872, Herbert B. Robeson, b. October 20, 1847.

G. 7-1. SUSAN TAYLOR ROBESON, b. July 8, 1873; d. September 21, 1873.

G. 7-2. MABEL COURSEN ROBESON, b. October 18, 1876.

G. 7-3. WILLIAM COURSEN ROBESON, b. May 27, 1878; d. September 24, 1878.

G. 7-4. EDITH MUHLENBERG ROBESON, b. November 20, 1880.

G. 7-5. HENRY CHARLES ROBESON.

G. 7-6. WILLIAM A. ROBESON.

G. 7-7. HENRIETTA OAKLEY ROBESON.

G. 5-8. DANIEL LORILLARD OAKLEY, b. February 8, 1823; married 1861, Mary Camilla Mills.

G. 6-1. MARTHA DILWORTH OAKLEY, b. September 7, 1863; d. September 9, 1863.

G. 6-2. CATHARINE FREDERICA OAKLEY, b. February 1, 1868.

G. 6-3. MARY CAMILLA OAKLEY, b. July 15, 1871.

G. 6-4. WALTER TAYLOR OAKLEY, twin, b. December 29, 1874; d. August 9, 1875.

G. 6-4. CLIFFORD BRUSH OAKLEY, twin, b. December 29, 1874.

G. 6-6. CHRISTINA OAKLEY, b. December 25, 1877.

G. 5-9. CATHARINE FREDERICA OAKLEY, b. November 4, 1826; married September 28, 1848, Rev. Edwin Adolphus Bulkley, D.D., b. January 25, 1826. A Presbyterian divine, residing at Rutherford, N. J., a lineal descendant of Peter Bulkeley, the first minister of Old Concord, Mass.

G. 6-1. THEODORE MEIER BULKLEY, b. August 26, 1849; d. July 29, 1860.

G. 6-2. CHARLES HENRY BULKLEY, b. June 16, 1851; d. June 28, 1871.

G. 6-3. MARY VIRGINIA BULKLEY, b. October 13, 1853.

G. 6-4. CATHARINE FREDERICA KUNZE BULKLEY, b. February 1, 1856; d. July 11, 1860.

G. 6-5. HELEN MUHLENBERG BULKLEY, b. January 22, 1861; married April 29, 1890, Henry Emerson Dean.

G. 6-6. EDWIN MUHLENBERG BULKLEY, b. September 10, 1862.

G. 6-7. ARTHUR HANKS BULKLEY, b. November 19, 1864; d. November 7, 1865.

G. 6-8. ELIZA JAFFRAY BULKLEY, b. January 15, 1867; d. July 31, 1869.

G. 4-10. ANNA MARGARETTA KUNZE, b. August 14, 1791; d. November 23, 1846, married January 12, 1809, Jacob Lorillard, b. May 22, 1774; d. September 21, 1836, of the New York family of that name.

(The following details of Lorillard family are not complete to date, but the best that could be obtained.)

G. 5-1. ANNA CATHARINE LORILLARD, b. October 23, 1809; married April 18, 1838, George Philip Cammann, M.D., b. September 7, 1804; d. February 14, 1863.

G. 6-1. MARIA MARGARETTA CAMMANN, b. June 4, 1834; d. May 7, 1889; married November 19, 1867, Charles S. Weyman. No issue.

G. 6-2. ANNA MARGARETTA CAMMANN, b. August 6, 1835.

G. 6-3. GEORGE PHILIP CAMMANN, b. November 23, 1837; d. January 14, 1872; married September 8, 1859, Francis N. Schenck; d. 1890.

G. 7-1. MARY EVELYN CAMMANN, b. August 5, 1860; married April 18, 1891, W. de Lancey Cunningham.

G. 7-2. GEORGE PHILIP CAMMANN, b. December 27, 1861.

G. 7-3. WILLIAM EDGAR CAMMANN, b. May 24, 1863; d. January 19, 1865.

G. 6-4. JACOB LORILLARD CAMMANN, b. June 21, 1840; d. July 5, 1868; married September 1, 1863, Isabella Apolline Mali, b. December 26, 1843.

G. 7-1. HENRY LORILLARD CAMMANN, b. May, 1864.

G. 7-2. ISABELLE MALI CAMMANN, b. January 13, 1868.

G. 6-5. ANNA CATHARINE CAMMANN, b. October 25, 1842.

G. 6-6. HERMANN HENRY CAMMANN, b. January 30, 1845; married June 5, 1873, Ella C. Crary.

G. 7-1. EDWARD CRARY CAMMANN, b. May 12, 1874.

G. 7-2. ROBERT FULTON CAMMANN, b. April 23, 1878.

G. 7-3. HERMANN MUHLENBERG CAMMANN, b. October, 1882; d. April 29, 1883.

G. 7-4. HERBERT SCHUYLER CAMMANN, b. December, 1884.

G. 6-7. DONALD MUHLENBERG CAMMANN, M.D., b. April 13, 1852.

G. 5-2. MARGARETTA HENRIETTA LORILLARD, b. January 13, 1811; married December 18, 1833, Thomas Ward, M.D., b. June 8, —; d. —, —.

G. 6-1. ANNA MARGARETTA WARD, b. 1836; d. July 23, 1886; married February 18, 1868, Thomas B. Arden.

G. 7-1. HELEN ARDEN.

G. 7-2. THOMAS B. ARDEN, b. January 5, —.

G. 7-3. JOHN ARDEN, b. May 16, 1875.

G. 6-2. KATHARINE CAMMANN WARD, b. July, 1839; d. November 29, 1879; married June 25, 1868, Theodorus Bailey Woolsey. No issue.

G. 6-3. THOMAS WARD, b. May 22, 1842; d. 1874.

G. 6-4. MARGARETTA MUHLENBERG WARD, b. September 5, 1843.

G. 6-5. FANNY LORILLARD WARD, b. April 12, 1847.

G. 6-6. EMILY MORRIS WARD, b. November 30, 1854.

G. 5-3. JACOB LORILLARD, b. September 5, 1813; married October, 1834, Eliza Ann Bayard.

G. 6-1. JACOB LORILLARD.

G. 6-2. ELIZA LORILLARD; married Scott Rodman—children 1 daughter married.

G. 5-4. ELIZA MEIER LORILLARD, b. July 15, 1815; married July 26, 1836, Nathaniel Platt Bailey; d. October 12, 1891.

G. 6-1. ANN MARY BAILEY, b. April 24, —; married October 1, 1863, Theodorus Bailey Woolsey. No issue.

G. 6-2. LORILLARD BAILEY, twin, b. February 22, 1839; d. 1860.

G. 6-2. JAMES MUHLENBERG BAILEY, twin, b. February 22, 1839; married October 9, —, Alletta Ramsen Lynch.

G. 7-1. NATHALIE BAILEY.

G. 5-5. EMILY LORILLARD, b. September 13, 1819; d. August, 1850; married July, 1839, Lewis G. Morris.

G. 6-1. FORDHAM MORRIS, b. 1842; married Annie Westcott.

G. 7-1. EMILY MORRIS.

G. 6-2. FRANCIS MORRIS, b. 1845; d. 1883; married February 9, 1875, Harriet Hall Bedlow. Lt. Comd'r U. S. N.

G. 5-6. JULIA LORILLARD, b. June 17, 1821; married December 4, 1840, Daniel M. Edgar; d. December 10, —.

G. 6-1. LEROY EDGAR, b. 1842.

G. 6-2. DANIEL EDGAR, b. 1845.

G. 6-3. EMILY EDGAR, b. 1846; d. —.

G. 6-4. WILLIAM EDGAR, d. —.

G. 6-5. NEWBOLD EDGAR; married Agnes Strachan.

G. 7-1. CAROLINE STRACHAN EDGAR.

G. 7-2. JULIA LORILLARD EDGAR.

G. 6-6. JULIA EDGAR.

G. 5-7. FREDERICA LORILLARD, died infancy.

G. 5-8. ANNA LORILLARD, died infancy.

G. 5-9. MARY LORILLARD, died infancy.

G. 3-5. **GOTTHILF HENRY ERNESTUS MUHLENBERG**, b. November 17, 1753; bap. December 4, 1753; d. May 23, 1815. He was thoroughly educated at Halle, Germany, with his brother, Frederick Augustus, and, with him, ordained a Lutheran clergyman in the city of Philadelphia on October 25, 1770. He was the only one of the three brothers who served steadfastly in the ministry until the day of his death. After laboring in Philadelphia, New Jersey, etc., he was on April 5, 1774, elected the third regular pastor of the Philadelphia congregations. His

outspoken loyalty to the Congress necessitated his flight, when Philadelphia was captured by the British to escape the vengeance of the Tories. For the several years following, being temporarily without a charge, he devoted himself entirely to scientific pursuits, in the departments of botany and mineralogy, and became one of the foremost botanists in the country. With such habits he could not be expected to take an active, personal part in politics. In 1780 he was called to the pastorate of Trinity Lutheran Church, Lancaster, Pa., where he labored faithfully until his death, and in whose graveyard his body lies buried. He married, July 26, 1776, Mary Catharine Hall, b. December 26, 1756; d. May 1, 1841, daughter of Philip and Susan Catharine Hall.

G. 4-1. MARY CATHARINE MUHLENBERG, b. Philadelphia, September 2, 1776; d. 1843; married May 11, 1802, John Musser, b. Lancaster, November 2, 1774; d. 1813.

G. 5-1. MARY CATHARINE MUSSER, b. May 6, 1803; d. August 15, 1825. Single.

G. 5-2. HENRIETTA AUGUSTA MUSSER, b. September 29, 1804; d. June 5, 1856; married December 20, 1832, Zephaniah McLenegan, b. March 7, 1801; d. January 13, 1842.

G. 6-1. EDWARD MCLENEGAN, b. February 19, 1833; d. June 13, 1863; married Mary L. Dunn.

G. 7-1. JAMES LORRAINE MCLENEGAN, b. October 2, 1862; d. April 27, 1889; married Emily L. Fichthorn.

G. 8-1. JAMES LORRAINE MCLENEGAN (a daughter), b. April 1, 1889.

G. 6-2. HENRY HALL MCLENEGAN, b. November 24, 1835; married Sarah F. Reigart.

G. 7-1. CHARLES EDWARD MCLENEGAN, b. January 23, 1858; married Clara Rogers. No issue.

G. 7-2. SAMUEL BOWMAN MCLENEGAN, b. February 23, 1861; married Carrie H. Cutler.

G. 8-1. CUTLER McLENEGAN, b. February 2, 1888.

G. 7-3. AUGUSTA McLENEGAN, b. September 17, 1866; d. 1866.

G. 7-4. ARCHIBALD REIGART McLENEGAN, b. August 7, 1868.

G. 7-5. ANNA SUSAN McLENEGAN, b. April 12, 1875.

G. 6-3. CHARLES McLENEGAN, b. October 3, 1837; d. November, 1859. Single.

G. 6-4. JOHN ARCHIBALD McLENEGAN, b. February 2, 1841; married February 25, 1864, Mary Ann McKnight, b. December 3, 1839, oldest daughter of David and Elizabeth McKnight.

G. 7-1. ELIZABETH HIESTER McLENEGAN, b. January 3, 1865.

G. 7-2. SELINA WITHERS McLENEGAN, b. April 6, 1866; married September 23, 1889, Frederick Estabrooke Yorke.

G. 8-1. DOROTHY McLENEGAN YORKE, b. February 2, 1891.

G. 7-3. HENRY McLENEGAN, twin, b. November 21, 1867; d. May 7, 1880.

G. 7-3. WILLIAM McLENEGAN, twin, b. November 21, 1867.

G. 7-5. JOHN McLENEGAN, b. January 1, 1873; d. January 5, 1874.

G. 7-6. ROBERT WALLACE McLENEGAN, b. January 5, 1877.

G. 7-7. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS McLENEGAN, b. February 22, 1880.

G. 5-3. HENRY MUHLENBERG MUSSER, b. January 6, 1807; d. 1855. Single.

G. 5-4. CAROLINE AMELIA MUSSER, twin, b. December 28, 1808; d. 1875; married John Philip Hiester (his 3d

wife), b. June 9, 1803; d. September 15, 1854; son of William Hiester (1757-1822) and Anna Maria Myers (1758-1824); grandson of Daniel Hiester (1713-1795) and Catharine Schuler (1717-1789).

G. 6-1. CAROLINE ELIZABETH HIESTER.

G. 6-2. JOHN LOUIS HIESTER, b. September 2, 1849; d. April 20, 1851.

G. 6-3. MARY AUGUSTA CATHARINE HIESTER, married George A. Reid.

G. 5-4. SELINA MATILDA MUSSER, twin, b. December 28, 1808; d. December 7, 1880; married May 1, 1827, George Bowman Withers, b. February 16, 1798; d. December 24, 1860. No issue.

G. 5-6. SUSAN ANN MUSSER, b. February 22, 1811; d. October 15, 1853; married March 21, 1843, at the Morinna Church, New York City, by Rev. David Bigley, to John George Hoffman.

G. 6-1. ANN MUHLENBERG HOFFMAN, b. July 5, 1844; d. November 3, 1844.

G. 6-2. EFFIGINIA CRAIG HOFFMAN, b. June 8, 1847; d. June 1, 1855.

G. 6-3. A son, b. November 4, 1849; d. November 7, 1849.

G. 6-4. FREDERICK MAX HOFFMAN, b. November 29, 1845; married June 21, 1868, Rusha A. Teed.

G. 7-1. IDA CAROLINE HOFFMAN, b. March 26, 1869; married October 28, 1891, Edward Stevens.

G. 7-2. FRANK ELLIS HOFFMAN, b. January 18, 1873.

G. 7-3. ROSE SELINA HOFFMAN, b. July 27, 1874.

G. 7-4. OSCAR FREDERICK HOFFMAN, b. May 29, 1877.

G. 7-5. ERNEST BENJAMIN HOFFMAN, b. November 17, 1885.

G. 6-5. JOHN ANDREW HOFFMAN, b. June 16, 1848; married January 21, 1871, Caroline S. Lind.

G. 7-1. GEORGE WILLIAM HOFFMAN, b. September 7, 1871.

G. 7-2. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS HOFFMAN, b. October 22, 1873.

G. 7-3. LOUIS WATSON HOFFMAN, b. September 9, 1875.

G. 7-4. CARRIE SELINA HOFFMAN, b. August 18, 1877.

G. 7-5. ANDREW JOHN HOFFMAN, b. August 7, 1879.

G. 7-6. FRANCIS MAX HOFFMAN, b. August 18, 1881; d. September 16, 1882.

G. 7-7. ARTHUR JAMES HOFFMAN, b. July 1, 1883.

G. 7-8. CHARLES MILLARD HOFFMAN, b. September 12, 1885.

G. 7-9. HENRY MAXWELL HOFFMAN, b. August 10, 1887.

G. 7-10. EDWARD BENJAMIN HOFFMAN, b. May 10, 1889.

G. 7-11. MARY HOFFMAN, b. June 8, 1890; d. June 30, 1890.

G. 7-12. MABEL IRENE HOFFMAN, b. October 4, 1891.

G. 5-7. JOHN PERRY MUSSER, b. November 20, 1813; d. 1814.

G. 4-2. SUSANNA ELIZABETH MUHLENBERG, b. October 26, 1779; d. July 9, 1838; married Peter Schmidt, b. February 10, 1780; d. July 18, 1831.

G. 5-1. CATHARINE ANN SMITH, b. February 12, 1812; d. June 28, 1835. Single.

G. 5-2. HENRY MUHLENBERG SMITH, b. August 16, 1813; d. August 13, 1858. Single.

G. 5-3. PETER GAMZER SMITH, b. August 5, 1815; d. July 18, 1758. Single.

G. 5-4. SUSANNA REBECCA SMITH, b. October 4, 1816. Single.

G. 5-5. MARGARETTA HENRIETTA SMITH, b. August 17, 1821; d. July 7, 1868. Single.

G. 4-3. HENRY AUGUSTUS PHILIP MUHLENBERG, b. May 13, 1782; d. August 11, 1844. Born in Lancaster, Pa.; studied theology in New York City with his uncle, the eminent Rev. Dr. Kunze. In 1802 having been licensed to preach, he accepted the charge of Trinity Lutheran Church, Reading, Pa., which he served with great faithfulness and ability until 1827, when his impaired health obliged him to give up the ministry. Having finally yielded to the wishes of the people, he was elected a member of the 21st Congress. He served for nine years with distinction in that body. Candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania in 1835. Tendered by President Van Buren, 1837, a seat in his Cabinet as Secretary of the Navy, also the mission to Russia, both of which he was obliged to decline. Appointed Minister to Austria in 1838, from which he returned December, 1840, having been recalled at his own request. On March 6, 1844, again nominated for Governor of Pennsylvania, but his sudden death prevented his election to that high office. He married 1st, 1805, Mary Elizabeth Hiester, a sister of his 2d wife, b. 1784; d. March 21, 1806; a daughter of Governor Joseph Hiester.

Genealogy of Governor Hiester:

1. His father, John Hiester, b. 1707; d. 1757; married, 1750, Mary Barbara Epler, b. 1732; d. 1809.

2. His grandfather, John Hiester. His father, John, came to America in 1732, from the village of Elsoff, Westphalia, Germany.

Governor Joseph Hiester was born November 18, 1752; d. June 10, 1832; married 1771, Elizabeth Witman, b. April 2, 1750; d. June 11, 1825. They had one son,

John S. Hiester, and two daughters, Mary Elizabeth and Rebecca, wives of Henry A. Muhlenberg; also daughter Catharine, wife of Hon. John Spayd, and daughter Elizabeth, wife of Levi Pauling. He (Governor Hiester) was a distinguished citizen, patriot and official. His early days were spent on his father's farm in Bern township, Berks Co., Pa.; later he entered the store of Adam Witman, Reading, Pa., whose daughter, Elizabeth, he married. He raised a company of eighty men at Reading about June, 1776, which became a part of the "Flying Camp," and with it participated in the Battle of Long Island, where he was taken prisoner, confined on the notorious prison-ship "Jersey" for a time and later imprisoned in New York, where he was taken sick with fever and suffered many hardships until exchanged. Having recuperated his health, for a short time, in Reading, he rejoined the army in time to take part in the Battle of Germantown, where he was wounded in the head. He served until the close of the war. After his return he entered into partnership with his father-in-law in the mercantile business. He was a member of the General Assembly from Berks county, 1787-90, during which time that body ratified the Constitution of the United States; State Senator 1790-94; in 1797 he succeeded his cousin, Daniel Hiester, as Member of Congress from Berks county and served 1797-1807; again sent to Congress 1815 and re-elected twice. In 1817, nominee of the Federalist party for Governor, but not elected; again nominated 1820 and elected—the first successful candidate of his party. His remains were first interred in the burying ground of the Reformed Church, Reading, and later removed, with those of his wife, to the Charles Evans Cemetery.

G. 5-1. MARY ELIZABETH HIESTER MUHLENBERG, b.

March 21, 1806; d. February 21, 1838; married June 3, 1834, Ehrgott Jonathan Deininger, Reading, Pa., b. September 10, 1801; d. August 21, 1880.

G. 6-1. EMMA MUHLENBERG DEININGER, b. October 27, 1835; d. March 13, 1837.

G. 4-3. HENRY AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG, married 2d, June 7, 1808, Rebecca Hiester, sister of his first wife, b. July 4, 1781; d. January 22, 1841.

G. 5-2. EMMA ELIZABETH MUHLENBERG. Single.

G. 5-3. HIESTER HENRY MUHLENBERG, b. January 15, 1812; d. May 5, 1886; married 1st, Amelia Hanold, b. 1818; d. June 15, 1852. No issue; married 2d, Kate Spang Hunter, b. May 19, 1835, daughter of Nicholas Van Reed Hunter and Hannah, *nee* Spang. He was a graduate of Dickinson College, 1829; graduate as M.D. from University of Pennsylvania 1832; practicing physician, Reading, Pa. During the panic of 1837 the Farmer's Bank of Reading was threatened with ruin. On account of his strict integrity and great ability Dr. Muhlenberg was placed in charge of its affairs; his management was so excellent that it was speedily restored to its former high standing. He remained in charge of the same, as cashier, until his death, relinquishing the practice of medicine. He occupied many public and private positions of trust and honor in Reading; was a true Christian, serving many years as an officer in Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, of which his father had been pastor; a true patriot, enlisting twice in the service of his State when threatened by invasion, 1862, and 42d Regt. P. V. M. of 1863. He died universally lamented.

G. 6-1. REBECCA AMELIA MUHLENBERG, b. October 25, 1854; married April 20, 1881, Elhanan Zook Schmucker, b. December 17, 1846; d. May 25, 1894; a graduate of

Hahnemann Medical College, Philadelphia, in 1870, and of New York Homœopathic Medical College in 1871. In 1879 took a course of instruction in Europe. He was of Swiss and Prussian ancestry, the latter maternal.

1. His father, Jacob Schmucker, b. April 2, 1810; d. November 1, 1874; married Mary Ann, daughter of Jacob and Elizabeth Ritter.

2. His grandfather, Peter Schmucker, of Cumru township, Berks Co., Pa., married Fannie Zook.

He was a most prominent and skillful physician of Reading, and died a martyr to his profession.

G. 7-1. HIESTER MUHLENBERG SCHMUCKER, b. January 20, 1882; d. July 6, 1882.

G. 7-2. KATHARINE MUHLENBERG SCHMUCKER, b. July 24, 1884.

G. 7-3. JACOB ZOOK SCHMUCKER, b. January 5, 1889.

G. 6-2. NICHOLAS HUNTER MUHLENBERG, b. August 11, 1856; married Georgina Kurtz, a daughter of Dr. S. L. Kurtz, a leading physician of Reading, Pa. During the Civil War assistant surgeon 11th Regt. Penna. Reserves and surgeon 85th Regt. Penna. Vol.

G. 7-1. HIESTER HENRY MUHLENBERG, b. December 4, 1857; d. January 16, 1858.

G. 6-3. ROSA KATHARINE MUHLENBERG, b. March 31, 1859; married 1st, Richard H. West; d. 1891.

G. 7-1. RICHARD MUHLENBERG WEST, b. March 21, 1886.

G. 6-3. ROSA KATHARINE MUHLENBERG, married 2d, December 29, 1897, Rev. H. Douglass Spaeth, 2d son of Rev. Dr. A. Spaeth.

G. 6-4. HENRIETTA AUGUSTA MUHLENBERG, b. February 10, 1861; d. February 21, 1890; married October 28, 1884, her cousin, William Frederick Muhlenberg, b. November 18, 1852.

G. 7-1. HIESTER HENRY MUHLENBERG, b. November 8, 1885.

G. 7-2. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG, b. September 25, 1887.

G. 7-3. AUGUSTA ELIZABETH MUHLENBERG, b. February 6, 1890.

G. 6-5. KATHARINE HUNTER MUHLENBERG, b. May 2, 1863. Single.

G. 6-6. FREDERICK HUNTER MUHLENBERG, b. February 19, 1865. Architect, Reading, Pa., married June 2, 1898, Mary Rick, daughter of Charles Rick.

G. 6-7. CHARLES HENRY MUHLENBERG, b. June 1, 1870. Architect, Reading, Pa., married September 22, 1894, Anna Dunham, Farmington, Conn.

G. 7-1. ANNA MUHLENBERG, b. October 9, 1895; d. May 18, 1897.

G. 5-4. HENRY AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG. Single.

G. 5-5. EMMA ELIZABETH MUHLENBERG, b. May 5, 1817; d. November 25, 1833. Single.

G. 5-6. ROSA CATHARINE MUHLENBERG, b. 1820; d. May 15, 1867. Highly distinguished for her intellectual superiority and loved for her many charitable works. She was instrumental in forming the first Ladies' Aid Society in the country during the Civil War and especially active in everything pertaining to the welfare of the Union soldier and her country. Married, May, 1846, Gustavus Anthony Nicolls, his first wife, b. April 3, 1817, at Abbey View, Thomastown, County of Kilkenny, Ireland; d. May 18, 1886, at Reading, Pa. No issue.

His father was Colonel William Dann Nicolls of the English Royal Artillery, and his mother was Maria Graves, daughter of Anthony Graves, a landed proprietor in the County of Kilkenny, Ireland. He was named after his

uncle, General Gustavus Nicolls, of the Royal Engineers; came to America in 1834, assisted in the construction of the Philadelphia and Reading railroad, eventually becoming its general superintendent and 2d vice-president. He was a most exemplary citizen; unsurpassed in intellectual ability; a true patriot and friend, and distinguished for his many kind acts. In 1864 the nomination to Congress was offered him by the Republican party but he was obliged to decline it. He lies buried with his wife in Charles Evans Cemetery, Reading, Pa.

G. 5-7. HENRY AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG, b. July 21, 1823, Reading, Pa.; d. January 9, 1854; married, November 16, 1847, his cousin, Ann Hall Muhlenberg, her first husband, b. March 25, 1829. He graduated at Dickinson College in 1841; studied law till 1844 with Hon. J. Pringle Jones; in 1849 elected to State Legislature; very prominent in many matters of public interest; elected member of Congress in 1852, but died just after taking his seat. He bade fair to occupy a high position in the annals of his country.

G. 6-1. HENRY AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG, b. November, 1848. Single. Attorney-at-law, Reading, Pa.

G. 4-4. JOHN PHILIP EMANUEL MUHLENBERG, b. March 31, 1784; d. 1825; married Susan Ann Craig. No issue.

G. 4-5. GEORGE PETER SAMUEL MUHLENBERG, b. October 7, 1786; d. 1827. Single.

G. 4-6. MARY HENRIETTA MUHLENBERG, b. April 26, 1789; d. 1850. Single.

G. 4-7. PHILLIPPA ELIZABETH MUHLENBERG, b. December 19, 1791; married Henry Huffnagle, b. 1787; d. 1823. No issue.

G. 4-8. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS HALL MUHLENBERG, b. March 28, 1795; d. July 5, 1867. A prominent physi-

cian of Lancaster, Pa.; married 1st, February 6, 1816, Elizabeth Schaum, b. December 23, 1799; d. January 8, 1826; daughter of Benjamin and Mary Schaum.

G. 5-1. HENRY ERNESTUS MUHLENBERG, b. January 10, 1817; d. July, 1877; married May, 1845, his cousin, Catharine E. Cameron.

G. 6-1. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG, died in infancy.

G. 6-2. JOHN CAMERON MUHLENBERG, b. ab. 1846; married Alice ———.

G. 6-3. MARY ELIZABETH MUHLENBERG. Single.

G. 6-4. HENRY ERNESTUS MUHLENBERG, b. ab. 1849; married Emma ———. A practicing physician of Lancaster, Pa.

G. 6-5. ANNA AUGUSTA MUHLENBERG; married Major Kriss.

G. 7-1. A daughter.

G. 6-6. WILLIAM MUHLENBERG.

G. 7-1. A son.

G. 6-7. CHARLES EDWARD MUHLENBERG.

G. 5-2. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG, b. August 25, 1818; married August 8, 1848, his cousin, Catharine Anna Muhlenberg, b. November 19, 1827; d. November 5, 1894. An eminent Lutheran clergyman and scholar, with honorary degrees D.D., LL.D.; Professor of Greek, Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa.; President Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa.; Professor of Greek, University of Pennsylvania; President of Thiel College, Pa.

G. 6-1. ERNEST A. MUHLENBERG, b. May 9, 1850. Single.

G. 6-2. WILLIAM FREDERICK MUHLENBERG, b. November 18, 1852; married October 28, 1884, his cousin

Henrietta Augusta Muhlenberg; b. February 10, 1861; d. February 21, 1890. Graduate Medical Department University of Pennsylvania, 1872; practicing at Reading, Pa.

G. 7-1. HIESTER HENRY MUHLENBERG, b. November 8, 1885.

G. 7-2. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG, b. September 25, 1887.

G. 7-3. AUGUSTA ELIZABETH MUHLENBERG, b. February 6, 1890.

G. 6-3. PETER HENRY MUHLENBERG, b. November 20, 1854; d. September 14, 1857.

G. 6-4. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG, b. December 10, 1856; d. September 16, 1860.

G. 6-5. HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG, b. April 11, 1860.

G. 6-6. FRANCIS B. MUHLENBERG, b. August 8, 1864; married August 23, 1888, Margaret Orr.

G. 7-1. FRANCIS EDITH MUHLENBERG, b. December 2, 1890.

G. 5-3. MARY CATHARINE MUHLENBERG, b. January 20, 1821; d. October 25, 1855. Single.

G. 5-4. BENJAMIN SCHAUM MUHLENBERG, b. May 20, 1823; d. October 1, 1894. Single. Surgeon in Mexican War.

G. 5-5. MARGARET ELIZABETH MUHLENBERG, b. January 1, 1826; d. August 20, 1826. Single.

G. 4-8. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS HALL MUHLENBERG, married 2d, May 8, 1828, Anna Eliza Duchman, b. November, 1807; d. April 25, 1881.

G. 5-6. ANN HALL MUHLENBERG, b. March 25, 1829; married 1st, her cousin, November 16, 1847, Henry Augustus Muhlenberg, b. July 21, 1823; d. January 9, 1854.

G. 6-1. HENRY AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG, b. November, 1848. Single. Graduate of Harvard University; attorney-at-law, Reading, Pa.

G. 5-6. ANN HALL MUHLENBERG, married 2d, January, 1869, his second wife, Gustavus Anthony Nicolls, b. April 3, 1817; d. May 18, 1886.

G. 6-2. FREDERIC WILLIAM NICOLLS, b. 1870; married April 12, 1898, Minnie Ramsey Taylor, daughter of Geo. R. Taylor, Robesonia, Pa.

G. 5-7. EDWARD DUCHMAN MUHLENBERG, b. May 15, 1831; d. March 10, 1883. Single.

G. 5-8. EMMA ELIZABETH MUHLENBERG, b. December 26, 1833; d. July, 1900; married July 5, 1860, Jacob Isidor Mombert, b. November 6, 1829. An Episcopal clergyman, now residing in New York City.

G. 6-1. ISIDOR MUHLENBERG MOMBERT, b. May 24, 1861; d. August 14, 1861.

G. 6-2. ANNE THEODORA MOMBERT, b. August 6, 1862. Single.

G. 6-3. JOANNA MUHLENBERG MOMBERT, b. March 4, 1864. Single.

G. 6-4. HENRIETTA AUGUSTUS MOMBERT, b. February 10, 1866. Single.

G. 6-5. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MOMBERT, b. February 6, 1868. Single.

G. 6-6. EMMA ELIZABETH MOMBERT, b. March 8, 1870; d. July 10, 1874.

G. 6-7. ADOLF WILHELM MOMBERT, b. June 1, 1871. Single.

G. 6-8. GUSTAVUS HENRY MOMBERT, b. September 24, 1872; d. March 8, 1874.

G. 6-9. FRANCIS JAMES MOMBERT, b. February 9, 1874. Single.

G. 6-10. LILY MOMBERT, b. January 25, 1876; d. June 28, 1876.

G. 6-11. ELEANOR MOMBERT, b. March 11, 1877.

G. 5-9. ELLEN MARIA MUHLENBERG, b. August 25, 1835. Single.

G. 5-10. CHARLES PHILIP MUHLENBERG, b. November 24, 1837; d. January 9, 1872. Single. Graduate Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa., 1856; admitted to Berks County Bar 1859; Member Ringgold Light Artillery, First Defenders, 1861; commissioned, 1861, 1st Lieut., 5th U. S. Artillery. Served during Civil War. Brevet of captain for service on Peninsula, 1862; brevet of major for gallantry at Antietam. Resigned 1867.

G. 5-11. ELLEN MUHLENBERG, b. April 5, 1840; d. March 1, 1847.

G. 5-12. WILLIAM MUHLENBERG, b. April 5, 1842; d. September 17, 1847.

G. 5-13. FRANCIS MUHLENBERG, b. April 4, 1844; d. September 8, 1894; married October 25, 1875, Ada Snodgrass. Member Co. A, 26th Emergency Regt., Penn. Vol., 1863. At time of death practicing physician at Lancaster, Pa.

G. 6-1. FRANCIS MUHLENBERG, died infancy.

G. 5-14. ROSA AMELIA MUHLENBERG, b. April 9, 1846. Single.

G. 3-6. MARY CATHARINE MUHLENBERG, b. November 4, 1755; d. October 15, 1812; married Francis Swain his first wife, b. January 2, 1754; d. June 17, 1820. During Revolution furnished clothing for troops of Pennsylvania; Brigadier General State Militia, 1805; Sheriff of Montgomery county, Pa., 1784-5-6; for nine years after 1800, Clerk of Courts and Prothonotary; 1st President

Bank of Montgomery County. His body lies in the churchyard of Trinity Lutheran Church, Reading, Pa., immediately under the rear entrance to its Chapel. She died at Norristown, Pa., and lies buried at the Trappe.

G. 4-1. GEORGE WASHINGTON SWAINE. Single.

G. 4-2. MARIA MUHLENBERG SWAINE, b. 1788; d. 1792.

G. 4-3. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG SWAINE, b. 1791; d. 1795.

G. 4-4. ANNA MARIA SWAINE, b. 1795; d. 1797.

G. 3-7. JOHN ENOCH SAMUEL MUHLENBERG, b. August 21, 1758; d. in infancy.

G. 3-8. JOHN CHARLES MUHLENBERG, b. November 18, 1760; d. November 24, 1760.

G. 3-9. CATHARINE SALOME MUHLENBERG, b. April 18, 1764; d. early.

G. 3-10. MARIA SALOME MUHLENBERG, b. July 13, 1766; d. March 13, 1827; married May 8, 1782, Matthias Richards, b. February 26, 1758; d. August 4, 1830. She was born in the City of Philadelphia, where her father then preached in St. Michael's German Lutheran Church, and baptized shortly after her birth, her sister and brother-in-law Rev. C. E. Shulze being sponsors. She was confirmed a Lutheran by her father in her fourteenth year. She was married to Mr. Richards by her father, whilst she still lacked two months of being sixteen years old, he then being feeble, and, in anticipation, no doubt, of his early decease, being well pleased to see her so well suited and settled with a worthy husband before his death. She died in her husband's home on 5th Street, Reading, Pa., having been confined to bed but three days. Her son

John William was with her, also her daughter Margaret, and their cousins Hetty and Maria Hiester. Her disease was lingering and complicated, aggravated by the death of her two grown sons within the short space of four months. She was aged 60 years, 8 months, and at first interred beside her husband in the Lutheran graveyard at 6th and Walnut Streets, Reading, but in 1850 removed with him and the other bodies to Charles Evans Cemetery where she now rests in the lot of her son Matthias S., adjoining that of her other son John William. At her funeral, which was very large, the Rev. William Pauli, of the German Reformed Church, officiated in the place of her own pastor, Rev. H. A. Mühlenberg, who, as the nephew, was amongst the mourners. He preached a good German funeral sermon from Isaiah 3:10—"Prediget von den Gerechten, dass sie es gut haben: denn sie werden die Frucht ihrer Werke essen."

"As a friend she was sincere in her attachments; as a neighbor she was kind and affable, ever ready to relieve the afflicted, to succor the distressed, to minister to the sick and to comfort the bereaved. As a child, a sister and a wife, few, perhaps, have excelled her in filial affection, in sisterly love and in exercising all the duties necessary to constitute an affectionate and faithful 'helpmate'; as a mother, words can not express her qualities nor describe her."

Matthias Richards, b. February 26, 1758; bap. April 16, 1758; d. August 4, 1830. He was born on the "Old Place" in Falkner Swamp, Montgomery county, Pa. He was seventeen years old when his father died, March 28, 1875. On May 1, 1774, he was duly confirmed a member of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. His father was very wealthy at the time of his death, but Matthias did not profit from his

wealth as did most the others. The elder brothers received the land, the rest of the heirs being paid their shares in depreciated Continental currency. The story is that Matthias invested his money in a black horse, but the currency depreciated so rapidly that an unpaid balance remained which his brothers generously made up for him. One of the sons-in-law, Dr. Beitenman, a physician, being of a jovial turn, invested his wife's patrimony in a bowl of punch, then took a fresh start in life and acquired a fair competency. About one year after his father's death Matthias went to Reading, Pa., where he was apprenticed to Mr. John Rightmyer to learn the trade of a saddler. In 1777, when the British came up the Chesapeake Bay and threatened Philadelphia, all the battalions of the Berks County Militia were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for active duty. In the early part of August the 1st Battalion, Colonel Daniel Hunter, and 2d Battalion, Colonel Daniel Udree were ordered to join Washington's Army at the front. Mr. Rightmyer was drafted into service and commissioned as a captain in the 2d Battalion. Matthias, though not drafted himself, *volunteered* as a substitute for some person who had been, and became a private in Colonel Daniel Udree's 2d Battalion. With it he participated in the Battle of Brandywine and probably also the Battle of Germantown, serving, most likely, until the Continental Army went into Camp at Valley Forge when the Militia were discharged. On April 18, 1780, he married his first wife, Maria Missimer, b. April 27, 1759, a sister of Henry Missimer of Pottstown, Pa. He then moved on the Swamp Road (known as Old Philadelphia Road), leading from Reading to Philadelphia, just in Montgomery county, one-half mile below Boyertown, where the line divides it from Berks county. There he kept tavern (then a most rep-

utable business); also farmed and followed his trade of saddler. Shortly after his first marriage, in 1780, he was elected Major of the 4th Battalion, Philadelphia County Militia, of which Anthony Bitting was Lieutenant-Colonel. He lived with his wife only a little over one year when she died August 20, 1781, in giving birth to a son, their only child, who died eight days afterwards. She was buried in the Falkner Swamp Lutheran graveyard. May 8, 1782, he married his second wife, Maria Salome Muhlenberg. After being appointed Justice of the Peace for Berks county, he moved into that county. This appointment was quite an honor at that day (1788) when, under the Constitution of 1776, the Justice also officiated as a Judge of the county, and especially honorable because the office generally sought the man, and not the man the office. He then gave up all his former business except that of farming. He also commenced storekeeping with his brother Peter, and afterwards carried it on alone. In addition he followed scrivening. Considering the limited facilities for education which were then enjoyed by persons situated as himself he may be properly called a "self-made man." He learned English, behind the plow, taking with him a spelling-book and dictionary, and studying when his horses rested. Yet he became very proficient both in English and German, and was well acquainted with literature in general, standing preëminent among the men of his day. He served as Justice of the Peace for forty years, at various times together; also was Associate Judge of the Berks County Courts, 1791-97. Appointed Inspector of Customs (unsolicited) under Tench Coxe and General Peter Muhlenberg, 1801-02, he moved to Reading, where he opened a dry-goods and grocery store. Member of Congress for the counties of Berks, Lancaster, etc., 1807,

reëlected, 1809-11. In 1812 appointed Collector of Revenue by President Madison; in 1823 appointed Clerk of the Orphans' Court for Berks county by his intimate friend, Governor Joseph Hiester; after that appointed Associate Judge of the Courts for Berks county by Governor John Andrew Shulze. Like all of his family he was a faithful and true Lutheran, and Trustee of Trinity Lutheran Church, Reading, Pa. The duties of his many positions of honor and trust were invariably performed with unswerving fidelity. During his entire life he was very highly esteemed for his strict integrity, business habits, kindness to others, warm friendship, sincere patriotism, mature judgment and holy walk. He was a genuine Christian, a most excellent and loving husband and father. Whilst a true patriot and sound Republican, he was never a tool for any party or man, his motto being "principles and not merely men."

He was the last of the 3d generation of the family. Rev. Jacob Miller, pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church, preached a German sermon in the church from the text Proverbs, 14-32, latter part: "Der Gerechte ist auch in seinem Tode getrost."

G. 4-1. HENRY MUHLENBERG RICHARDS, b. March 7, 1783; d. December 20, 1822. He was born at Falkner Swamp, New Hanover Township, Montgomery county, Pa., and was baptized by his grandfather, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, October 2, 1783. He was confirmed a member of the Swamp Lutheran Church, April 26, 1799, by Rev. Fred'k Wm. Geissenhainer. He learned surveying of John Spyker, Esq., of Reading, and was for a long time Deputy Surveyor General of Berks county; Auditor, 1813-16; Clerk of Quarter Sessions, 1821-22. He was an active and intelligent man. Married April 26, 1809,

Elizabeth Otto, b. November 27, 1789; d. June 5, 1877; daughter of Dr. John A. and Catharine Otto, of Reading.

Genealogy of Otto family:

1. CHRISTOPHER OTTO, b. Hanover, Germany, in 1685; d. Landeberg, October 21, 1752; married Maria Magdalena Neineken.

2. Dr. BODO OTTO, Sr., b. 1709; d. June 13, 1787; buried in Trinity Lutheran churchyard, Reading, Pa.; married May 21, 1742, Doratha Dolhmehen—emigrated to America 1755—Senior Surgeon, Revolution.

3. DR. JOHN AUGUSTUS OTTO, b. July 30, 1751, Hanover, Germany; d. December 14, 1834; married Catharine Hitner, Montgomery county, Pa.; d. December, 1834.

G. 5-1. FRANCIS SWAINE RICHARDS, b. February 6, 1810; d. December 3, 1819.

G. 5-2. GEORGE WASHINGTON RICHARDS, b. February 22, 1813; d. December 15, 1873. He was born in Reading, became a merchant, railroad agent, alderman, etc. During Civil War he was a captain in the 3d Reg't Penna. Vol. Reserve Corps. Married Mary Slemmer, b. March 11, 1818, daughter of Jacob and Hannah Slemmer.

G. 6-1. ELIZABETH OTTO RICHARDS, b. November 19, 1837; d. November 28, 1894; married October 8, 1873, Samuel Hart Smith, b. Norwich, Conn., September 8, 1831; no issue.

G. 6-2. EMILY RICHARDS, b. November 13, 1839; d. May 17, 1893; married September 17, 1868, Albert Short Burroughs, b. Newburyport, Mass., July 28, 1842.

G. 7-1. MARY ELSIE BURROUGHS, b. Philadelphia, July 12, 1869; d. March 8, 1870.

G. 7-2. ROWLAND BURROUGHS, b. December 23, 1870; d. December 23, 1870.

G. 7-3. STANLEY MORRELL BURROUGHS, b. Philadel-

phia, April 6, 1872; Mechanical Engineer; married January 27, 1897, Janette Manuel Cox, daughter of Chas. E. Cox, of Philadelphia.

G. 7-4. MABEL RICHARDS BURROUGHS, b. Philadelphia, May 19, 1875.

G. 7-5. HELEN BURROUGHS, b. March 9, 1879; d. March 9, 1879.

G. 6-3. MARGARETTA SLEMMER RICHARDS, b. Bridgeport, Montgomery county, Pa., October 13, 1841; married January 28, 1874, David Keyser, b. March 10, 1829; d. March 19, 1895.

G. 7-1. HERBERT SLEMMER KEYSER, b. November 8, 1874.

G. 4-2. MARY CATHARINE RICHARDS, b. May 28, 1785; d. February 17, 1866. She was born in the old house at Falkner Swamp, baptized by Henry Melchior Muhlenberg June 9, 1785. Confirmed to membership in the Swamp Lutheran Church, April 26, 1799. Married March 21, 1816, by Rev. H. A. Muhlenberg to Isaac Myers, son of John and Catharine *nee* Hahn Myers, of Myerstown, Lebanon county, Pa. Catharine a daughter of Philip Hahn and Ann Margaretha, daughter of Daniel Hiester (January 1, 1713-June 7, 1795). He was born March 1, 1787, and died May 15, 1864. In his earlier days Mr. Myers kept a store. During the war with Great Britain he was an Ensign in the United States service at the battles of Fort George in Canada, May 27, 1813, Stony Creek, etc., and later, in 1814, apparently Adjutant 1st Pennsylvania Regiment, 2d Brigade, Lieutenant-Colonel Jere Shappell. He was a grandson of Isaac Meier, the founder of Myerstown, Pa.

Genealogy of Meier Family.

G. 1. ISAAC MEIER, b. January 4, 1730; d. (shot) July 5, 1770, married Catharine.

G. 2-1. JOHN MYERS, married Catharine Hahn; father of Major Isaac Myers and Margaret Myers.

G. 2-2. ANNA MARIA MYERS, b. December 28, 1758; d. October 3, 1822; married March 18, 1784, William Hiester, b. June 10, 1757; d. July 13, 1822.

G. 2-3. ELIZABETH MYERS.

G. 2-4. CATHARINE MYERS.

G. 2-5. EVA MYERS.

After her husband's death, Mary Catharine and her daughter removed to Reading, Pa. She and her family (and husband) are buried together in Charles Evans Cemetery.

G. 5-1. MARIA SALOME MYERS, b. April 8, 1819; d. Harrisburg, December 22, 1889.

G. 4-3. MATTHIAS SWAINE RICHARDS, b. February 7, 1787; bap. March 18, 1787; d. May 11, 1862. Confirmed a member of Trinity Lutheran Church, Reading, Pa., October 3, 1802. Married September 10, 1812, Margaret Myers, b. October 6, 1785; d. November 19, 1858, a sister of Isaac Myers and daughter of John and Catharine (*nee* Hahn) Myers, of Myerstown, Pa. In his early life engaged in the mercantile business in Reading; in 1812 commenced as a Surveyor and Scrivener and continued actively employed in that business until about 1845; nor did he entirely relinquish it—occasionally giving his services to his friends—until near the time of his death. He was appointed Deputy Surveyor of Berks County in 1823 until 1837. He made an almost incredible number of surveys in Berks, Schuylkill and adjoining counties, and such was the confidence of the community in his integrity, accuracy and business abilities that he was entrusted with the settlement of more than one hundred estates, invariably discharging his duties to the satisfaction

of all interested. Justice of the Peace, 1827; Associate Judge of Berks County, 1829-1846; Member of Board of the Reading Water Company and Secretary from 1820. In 1833 appointed one of the Commissioners to organize the Philadelphia & Reading R. R. Co., and was a manager for many years. Also manager of several railroads in Schuylkill county. For a long time Secretary of the Trustees of the Reading Academy, and, when the usefulness of the institution had ceased, gave his aid in having its property transferred to the public schools of Reading. For more than twenty-five years had charge of the Reading Library, as Librarian, Secretary and Treasurer. A Director of the Office of Discount and Deposit of the Bank of Pennsylvania at Reading for many years, and, for some years, a Director of the Farmers' Bank of Reading. A member of the Board of the Reading Gas Co., also its Secretary and Treasurer; took a leading part in the organization of the Charles Evans Cemetery Co., and was made its Secretary; also an active member of the Philadelphia, Reading and Pottsville Telegraph Co.; for some years a deacon in Trinity Lutheran Church, where he was confirmed, but when the necessity for English preaching became apparent and could not be brought about in his own church, he united himself to Christ Episcopal Church, of Reading, of which he became a most active and influential member and officer.

G. 5-1. EDWIN MYERS RICHARDS, b. June 25, 1813; d. September 16, 1813.

G. 5-2. LEMUEL JAMES RICHARDS, b. March 10, 1815; d. May 13, 1835. Single. Confirmed a member of Christ Episcopal Church.

G. 5-3. WILLIAM AUGUSTUS RICHARDS, b. October 6, 1818; d. June 18, 1865. Single.

G. 4-4. MARGARETTA HENRIETTA RICHARDS, b. August 17, 1789; bap. September 8, 1789; d. November 28, 1861. Confirmed a member of Trinity Lutheran Church, Reading, by Rev. H. A. Muhlenburg, on Easter Sunday, 1804. Single.

G. 4-5. JOHN CHRISTOPHER RICHARDS, b. May 28, 1791; d. June 3, 1791.

G. 4-6. CHARLES RICHARDS, b. June 10, 1792; bap. June 17, 1792; d. April 30, 1823. Confirmed by Rev. H. A. Muhlenburg, a member of Trinity Lutheran Church, Reading, Pa., on Easter Sunday, 1808. Studied law under Judge Bird Wilson, of Norristown, Pa. (later a Rev. Dr. in Episcopal Church), also under Judge John Spayd. He practiced law at Lebanon, Pa., and last at Reading, being very successful and ranking high at the bar for his honesty, ability and generosity. He was an excellent scholar in literature. Deputy Attorney General for Berks County from 1821 until time of his death. Single.

G. 4-7. ELIZABETH RICHARDS (generally called Eliza Salome Richards), b. February 20, 1794; bap. March 1, 1794; d. February 23, 1872. Confirmed a member of Trinity Lutheran Church, Reading, Pa., by Rev. H. A. Muhlenburg, on Easter Sunday, 1809. Married James Farmer McElroy, b. January 24, 1787; d. April 16, 1839. He was an officer in the regular Army—Captain 16th U. S. Infantry—and in several engagements during the War of 1812 with the British. He also held some civil offices. There were several children who were either stillborn or died shortly after birth.

G. 4-8. CHARLOTTE FRANCISCA RICHARDS, b. January 19, 1802; bap. January 27, 1802; d. March 6, 1867. Confirmed a member of Trinity Lutheran Church, Read-

ing, Pa. Married November 6, 1827, George W. Oakeley, of Philadelphia, b. July 21, 1807; d. June 2, 1874; son of Robert and Maria Oakeley. They resided in Reading, where he was a business man, druggist, and interested in iron ore mines, etc.

G. 5-1. ROBERT RICHARDS OAKELEY, b. July 1, 1830; bap. July 15, 1830; d. March 19, 1831.

G. 5-2. MARY MARGARET OAKELEY, b. February 23, 1833; bap. March 10, 1833; d. September 22, 1877. Confirmed 1851 a member of Trinity Lutheran Church, Reading, by her uncle, Rev. J. W. Richards. Married September 25, 1855, Henry Huhn, of Philadelphia; b. July 3, 1832; eldest son of John R. and Eleanor P. Huhn. Mr. Huhn was prominently identified with Pennsylvania politics and a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, besides holding other civil offices.

G. 6-1. JOHN RICHARDS HUHNS, b. July 8, 1856; married Elizabeth Shaw.

G. 7-1. MARGUERITE SHAW HUHNS, b. 1889.

G. 6-2. MARY C. HUHNS, b. February 22, 1858; married 1880, William T. Porter.

G. 7-1. WILLIAM T. PORTER, b. 1881.

G. 6-3. ELEANOR P. HUHNS, b. June 3, 1860; married 1883, Henry W. Beck.

G. 7-1. MIRIAM TILGHE BECK, b. 1884; d. 1884.

G. 5-3. CORDELIA CHARLOTTE OAKELEY, b. August 25, 1840; bap. September 25, 1840; married March 19, 1861, Van Rensselaer Barnhart, b. October 30, 1884. He was a volunteer soldier in the Union Army during the Civil War.

G. 6-1. GEORGE PHILIP BARNHART, b. December 14, 1861; married January 5, 1882, Henrietta Hess, b. June 2, 1864.

G. 6-2. CHARLOTTE ELIZA BARNHART, b. June 2, 1872; d. August 20, 1874.

G. 4-9. JOHN WILLIAM RICHARDS, b. April 18, 1803; bap. April 28, 1803, by his first cousin, Rev. Henry Augustus Muhlenberg, being the first child he baptized as pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church, Reading, Pa.; d. January 24, 1854. He studied, the languages principally, under Dr. John Grier, of the Reading Academy; read theology under Rev. (afterwards D.D.) Henry Augustus Muhlenberg, May 4, 1821, to September 21, 1824, when he was examined at Reading, according to a resolution of Synod, by Rev. Jacob Miller, then of Falkner Swamp, later of Reading, and Rev. Wm. G. Ernst, of Lebanon, a cousin, both since Doctors of Divinity. He was licensed to preach as Candidate of Theology in the "German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States," being the same which his grandfather, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, was instrumental in forming. He was ordained as pastor at the meeting of said Synod, in Trinity Lutheran Church, Reading, June 3, 1828. On November 6, 1825, he was unanimously elected pastor of the congregations of New Holland, Earl township, Lancaster county, Pa., also of Berg Strass and Muddy Creek, in the same county, as well as of Allegheny Church, in Brecknock township, Berks county. On August 28, 1831, he was, in addition, elected pastor of the Forest Church in Berks county. Having been unanimously elected pastor of the old Augustus Church at the Trappe (or Treppe), Upper Providence township, Montgomery county, Pa., where his great-grandfather, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, first preached and is buried, he resigned and left New Holland, April 29, 1834, and on May 11, 1834, commenced the pastorate of the Augustus Church. On May 21, 1835,

married Andora Garber, b. May 21, 1815; d. May 26, 1892, only daughter of Henry Garber and Susanna; his wife living at their beautiful homestead "Garwood," two and one-half miles south of the Trappe. Having received a providential call to Germantown, Pa., he resigned these congregations, and, on April 10, 1836, he preached his first sermon as pastor of St. Michael's Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germantown. At the meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, in 1843, he was elected its secretary and reelected to the same office for the two succeeding terms, after which he could no longer constitutionally hold the office. On May 2, 1843, he preached the sermon, in English, from Psalm 78: 2-8, at the celebration of the centennial of Augustus Church, Trappe. He removed to Easton, Northampton county, Pa., and on November 16, 1845, preached his introductory sermon as pastor of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church to which he had been unanimously called. May 27, 1850, he was elected president of the venerable Ministerium of Pennsylvania, at its meeting held in Pottsville, and unanimously reelected to the same office for the two following years. After having previously refused three times, on November 1, 1850, he finally accepted a call to Trinity Lutheran Church, Reading. He organized the Dorcas Society and thoroughly systematized all benevolent and mission operations in the church. His wife organized, April 18, 1852, the Infant Department of the Sunday-school. August 6, 1851, the degree of Doctor of Divinity was unexpectedly conferred upon him by the old-school Presbyterian institution, "Jefferson College." It has been said of him, quoting the words of St. Luke of Barnabas: "He was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith."

G. 5-1. ADELAIDE SUSANNA RICHARDS, b. December 26, 1836; married October 2, 1882, Jacques Van der beek Craig, his second wife, b. December 22, 1817; d. August 8, 1884. He was a very prominent business man and iron manufacturer. Amongst other things he built the beautiful Lebanon Valley railroad bridge over the Schuylkill River, which was destroyed during the railroad riots of 1877; no issue.

Genealogy of Craig family:

1. MOSES CRAIG (1702-July 31, 1777), of Lamington, Somerset county, N. J., from the north of Ireland about 1730; served in N. J. Militia during Revolution as Private.

2. ROBERT CRAIG (November 15, 1734-October 6, 1797), married Elizabeth Taylor (d. August 6, 1830).

3. JOSEPH CRAIG (May 2, 1780-May 13, 1860), married Maria Van der Beak (December 28, 1783-April 21, 1863), descended from Andrew Van der Beak from Holland, a Private N. J. Militia in Revolution.

4. JACQUES VAN DER BEAK CRAIG.

G. 5-2. ANDORA ELIZABETH RICHARDS, b. June 9, 1839; d. September 17, 1889; married, 1860, John McKnight, b. January 8, 1838; d. December 20, 1882, a son of David McKnight and wife Elizabeth, *nee* Hiester.

His genealogy is as follows:

In the McKnight line:

1. His father, David McKnight, b. May 2, 1814; d. August 29, 1873, a highly respected citizen of Reading, Pa., prominent bank official, lawyer, etc.; married April 13, 1837, Elizabeth Hiester.

2. His grandfather, John McKnight, b. May 31, 1774; d. March 9, 1856, a prominent bank official in Reading, Pa.

3. His great-grandfather, Paul McKnight, of Scotch-

Irish descent, emigrated to America in 1752 and settled in West Nantmeal township, Chester county, Pa. A member of Committee of Safety, October, 1775.

In the Hiester line :

1. His mother, Elizabeth Beck Hiester, b. May 5, 1817 ; d. October 11, 1897.

2. His grandfather, Joseph Hiester, b. August 4, 1768 ; d. April 16, 1830.

3. His great-grandfather, Joseph Hiester, b. ab. 1710 ; d. ab. 1772. The latter, with his brother Daniel, came to America in 1738, from the village of Elsoff in Westphalia, Germany.

Mr. McKnight was a prominent business man of Reading ; was engaged in the hardware business, and later in the wholesale grocery business. In 1880 he originated the present flourishing Mt. Penn Stove Works. In 1863 he served as a Captain in the 42d Regiment P. V. M.

G. 6-1. JAMES MCKNIGHT, stillborn, September 11, 1861.

G. 6-2. DAVID MCKNIGHT, b. December 9, 1862 ; d. August 21, 1893. Single.

G. 6-3. GRACE MCKNIGHT, b. March 20, 1865 ; d. July 12, 1865.

G. 6-4. JOHN WILLIAM RICHARDS MCKNIGHT, b. August 31, 1866 ; married March 15, 1885, Fannie E. Bowen, b. November 9, 1867 ; Assistant Secretary of the Mt. Penn Stove Works and 2d Lieutenant Company A, 4th Regiment, N. G. P.

G. 7-1. ELIZABETH MCKNIGHT, b. March 9, 1891.

G. 7-2. DORA RICHARDS MCKNIGHT, b. September 14, 1893.

G. 6-5. ROBERT MCKNIGHT, b. July 21, 1869 ; d. August 26, 1869.

G. 6-6. PAUL McKNIGHT, b. January 17, 1876; married April 30, 1896, Carrie Gertrude Harbach, b. July 13, 1877.

G. 7-1. GRACE LYDIA McKNIGHT, b. February 7, 1900.

G. 6-7. ARTHUR McKNIGHT, b. November 20, 1881.

G. 5-3. MATTHIAS HENRY RICHARDS, b. June 17, 1841; d. December 12, 1898; baptized in St. Michael's Church, Germantown, by his father, August 1, 1841. He removed, with his parents, to Easton, thence to Reading. He underwent various private instruction, attended the Reading Military Institute, under Col. Bachelder, later the Gettysburg battlefield historian, then he entered the High School, when started in 1852, graduating in its first class, July 3, 1856. From there he entered the Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg, Pa., from which he graduated with highest honors in 1860. After a short time engaged in teaching he entered the Theological Seminary of the Lutheran Church at Gettysburg, Pa., in advanced standing, in the fall of 1863, graduating in 1864, in time to apply for and receive ordination from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, during its convention at Pottstown, Trinity week, 1864. Whilst a tutor in Pennsylvania College, in 1863, prior to his entering the Theological Seminary, the Rebels invaded the State. In conjunction with many of the students he enlisted in Co. A, 26th Emer. Regt., Penna. Vol., served actively and honorably throughout the Gettysburg campaign, participating in the battle of Gettysburg. Married June 14, 1866, Sarah Maginley McClean, b. December 1, 1841, daughter of Hon. Moses McClean, M. C., of Gettysburg, Pa., and wife, Hannah Mary (born McConaughy). In 1868 he was elected Professor of English and Latin in Muhlenberg College and removed to Allentown. There he remained until the spring of 1874 when he accepted a call as pastor of a

Lutheran congregation at Indianapolis, Ind. During the greater part of his connection with the College (1868-74) he was also pastor of Grace Lutheran Church at Phillipsburg, N. J., which he organized, built up, housed and left in a condition to sustain its own pastor. During his pastorate at Indianapolis he effected the successful transfer of the congregation to a new location and built thereon a neat chapel, besides laying the foundation for a church. He remained there until January, 1877, when he accepted an urgent call to his former position in Muhlenberg College. His return brought that institution the ripe scholarship of a man whose whole life had been given to study and teaching. Besides his manifold duties as professor he undertook to resuscitate and carry along Trinity congregation at Catasauqua until it was able to support a pastor of its own. After being relieved of these duties he supplied the pulpit of Grace English Church, Bethlehem, during the fatal sickness of its pastor, the Rev. Jacob B. Roth. After this he confined himself more particularly to his college work, though still aiding his ministerial brethren as needed and requested. Whilst nominally Professor of the English Language and Literature he has taught, at one time or another, everything in the college course except the natural sciences. After his return in 1877 he had charge more particularly of English language and literature, rhetoric, logic, social sciences, psychology and some Latin, with all the drill work in composition, declamation, orations and debates. He was Secretary of the Faculty, 1886-1898. Besides his work in the College he gave the public schools of Allentown the benefit of his experience in educational affairs. He was elected a director 1879, the next year a member of the Central Board of Control; in 1883 Secretary of the Board. The vast amount of literary

work done by him is difficult to realize. From 1880 he ably edited the *Church Lesson Leaves* and *The Helper*, for the use of Lutheran Sunday-schools and, from 1884, regularly furnished an editorial article each week for *The Lutheran*, the weekly Lutheran periodical. For several years he aided in editing and publishing the *Church Messenger*. He wrote and delivered more than a score of lectures, popular and educational; prepared and read a number of poems and, besides, wrote numerous articles for the *Gettysburg Quarterly* and *Lutheran Church Review*. He published a catechism for little ones consisting of an arrangement of "Luther's Small Catechism," in short answers suggested by easy questions and entitled "The Beginner's Catechism." June, 1889, the twenty-fifth anniversary of his entrance into the ministry, his *alma mater*, Pennsylvania College, conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

G. 6-1. JOHN WILLIAM RICHARDS, b. April 12, 1867; married September 15, 1890, to Caroline S. Pfeiffer, b. March 7, 1869. Graduate of Muhlenberg College, Allentown, in 1887, with second honor and the German oration. He received honorable mention in the contest for the Botanical prize, 1884; the German prize in Sophomore, 1885; and Senior, 1886; and the Junior oratorical prize, 1886. Graduated from the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, May 26, 1890. On June 3, 1890, ordained a Lutheran clergyman and on June 8th, took charge of St. John's Lutheran congregation at Sayre, Pa. Having accepted a call to Lancaster, Pa., he was duly installed, on Sunday, January 22, 1893, pastor of Christ Lutheran Church.

G. 7-1. MATTHIAS HENRY RICHARDS, b. July 3, 1891.

G. 7-2. DOROTHEA YOUNG RICHARDS, b. January 3, 1893.

G. 6-2. MARY McCONAUGHY RICHARDS, b. July 28, 1868; married May 29, 1894, David Reeves Stockton, son of Rev. Dr. W. R. Stockton (Episcopal), of Phoenixville, Pa., brother of Capt. Chas. H. Stockton, U. S. Navy; and a descendant of Commodore Stockton, U. S. Navy, of the Mexican War; also of Richard Stockton, signer of Declaration of Independence. He is a graduate from the Hahnemann Medical College, of Philadelphia, May, 1900, and now practicing his profession in Lancaster, Pa.

G. 7-1. RICHARD MUHLENBERG STOCKTON, b. December 14, 1895.

G. 7-2. RUTH STOCKTON, b. July, 1897.

G. 6-3. DORA GARBER RICHARDS, b. May 26, 1870. Single.

G. 6-4. ELIZABETH McCLEAN RICHARDS, b. March 26, 1872; d. September 20, 1872.

G. 6-5. ADELAIDE PAUL RICHARDS, b. April 17, 1873.

G. 6-6. ROSA MUHLENBERG RICHARDS, b. January 29, 1878; married April 25, 1900, Rev. Fred E. Cooper, son of Rev. C. J. Cooper, D.D., a Lutheran clergyman at South Bethlehem, Pa. Genealogy of Cooper Family:

1. REV. CHARLES JACOB COOPER, D.D., b. April 1, 1847; married Miss Moss.

2. JACOB COOPER, married Susannah Fink.

3. DANIEL COOPER, b. March 11, 1752; married Elizabeth Gery.

4. WILHELM COOPER, b. August 24, 1722; d. January 23, 1809; married Gertrude ———, d. April 21, 1812. He came from Dillenburg, Duchy of Nassau, Germany, 1770.

G. 5-4. HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG RICHARDS, b. August 16, 1848, in Easton, Pa. Removed with his parents to Reading, Pa., where he received his preliminary education in the public schools of the city. He entered

the High School, June 30, 1860, at the head of all the male applicants, graduating from the same in 1864. June, 1863, he enlisted as a private (doing duty as drummer) in Co. A, 26th Emer. Regt., Penna. Vols., and served through the Gettysburg campaign, participating in the battle of Gettysburg. In disguise, he and his brother penetrated into the midst of Early's Corps of the Confederate Army and were the first to give notice of their retrograde movement from Harrisburg towards Gettysburg. He re-enlisted July 10, 1864, as private in Co. A, 195th Regt., Penna. Vols., and served in West Virginia under Sheridan. July, 1865, he entered the U. S. Naval Academy at Newport, R. I. as a midshipman, graduating from the same, July, 1869, at Annapolis, Md. During this time he ranked at the head of his classes each year (never falling below number 3) and graduated a "star" pupil (the highest honor), when he was publicly complimented by Admiral D. D. Porter and given his diploma by General U. S. Grant. In 1866 he made a cruise along the coast of the United States on the U. S. S. *Macedonian*; in 1867, on the U. S. S. *Savannah* he made a cruise to Europe and participated in the great naval ovation to the Empress Eugenie at Cherbourg, France; in 1868 he cruised among the islands on the west coast of Africa on the U. S. S. *Savannah* having previously visited the Military Academy at West Point; during 1869-70-71, on the U. S. S. *Juniata* and U. S. Flagship *Franklin* he was attached to the European Squadron and was actively engaged in connection with the Franco-German War, the Carlist Insurrection, the Communistic Outbreak and a threatened uprising against the Christians in Tunis, Africa.

He was married December 26, 1871, to Ella Van Leer, b. November 8, 1848, daughter of Branson Van Leer and

Drucilla Turner, on her paternal side a descendant of the German noble "von Loehr" family, and on her maternal side descended from the English families Washington, West, Gilpin, Pennington, etc., and through them from the old reigning families of England, France, the Holy Roman Empire and Scandinavia, the records remaining unbroken for 2,000 years.

On duty at the Torpedo Station, Newport, R. I., in 1872, at which he invented a circuit closing fuse, far superior to anything then in use, which was adopted by the Government. During 1873-1874 on the United States Ship *Narragansett* under Commander (now Admiral) George Dewey, he was on surveying duty in the Pacific Ocean, and the charts now in use of the peninsula of Lower California, the Gulf of California, the Mexican Coast, and various islands in the Pacific Ocean were mainly the result of his work. At this time occurred the "Virginius" difficulty with Spain when Commander Dewey asked to be ordered to attack Manila, in the Philippine Islands, in case of war. While at Panama a severe revolutionary outbreak took place when Lieutenant Richards volunteered for active service and was sent on shore in performance of same, which was of a dangerous character. He also volunteered for and was given charge of a hazardous boat expedition to Las Tres Marias Islands, and he saved the vessel from shipwreck on La Roca Partida of the Revillagigedo Group of Islands. To the regret of his commanding officer he decided to tender his resignation as an officer in the United States Navy to take effect January 1, 1875, to enable him to be more with his family as during ten years of service he had only been able to remain at home some six months in all. He then, eventually settled in Reading, Pa., and became connected with the iron busi-

ness. During the labor riots of 1877, being at that time in the employ of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, he assisted in organizing a company of Coal and Iron Police, composed of veteran soldiers, and served in the same during the continuance of the disturbances. He volunteered for service when a war with Chili was threatened in 1892, and again volunteered April, 1898, so soon as a war with Spain became evident. His services were accepted and he resumed his position of a Lieutenant (Senior) in the United States Navy. He was immediately ordered on duty and served during the entire war at the front as Executive officer of the United States Ship *Supply*, one of the large trans-Atlantic passenger steamers of the International S. S. Co. (American Line) fitted out by the government as an auxiliary cruiser and supply ship. He was at Guantanamo Bay, off Santiago, with the *Cristobal Colon* at the Jacuro Anchorage, on the blockades of Manzanillo and Cienfuegos, at the Isle of Pines, on the blockade off Bahia Honda, Cabañas, Muriel, Havana (during the last engagement of the War), Matanzas, Cardenas and at San Juan and Palominos Island off Porto Rico. He reached Gibara, Cuba, upon the cessation of hostilities, just as the only remaining Spanish man-of-war had entered (the *Infanta Isabella*) and anchored beside her. He was probably the first United States Naval officer to exchange friendly greetings over the close of the war with a free Spanish naval officer. Some months after the war he was given his honorable discharge with the thanks of the government.

On June 28, 1893, Mr. Richards was appointed by Governor Pattison a member of the commission to locate the forts of Pennsylvania used for defense against the Indians prior to 1783. His able and exhaustive report on the

“Frontier Forts of the Blue Range” was ordered printed by the Legislature. He is the author of various magazine articles, historical papers, genealogies, etc. Lieutenant Richards is a member of the following societies: Pennsylvania-German Society, *Secretary*; Sons of the Revolution; Military Order of Foreign Wars, *National Delegate*; Naval Order of the U. S., *Member of Council, Pennsylvania Commandery*; Naval and Military Order of the Spanish-American War; Grand Army of the Republic, *National Aide-de-Camp, etc.*; Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania; Wyoming Historical and Geological Society of Pennsylvania; Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pa.; Historical Society of Berks County, Pa.; Historical Society of Lebanon County, Pa.; Naval Academy Graduates Association; *Past Master*, Masonic Fraternity.

He has been actively engaged in religious work in the Lutheran Church, that of his father's, for many years, and is prominently identified with its most important operations. Upon the consolidation of various large iron industries, September 1, 1899, into the American Iron and Steel Manufacturing Co., he was made its General Auditor and a member of its Board of Directors, which necessitated his removal to Lebanon, Pa., where the general office of the company is located. This is now his residence.

G. 6-1. HENRY BRANSON RICHARDS, b. February 5, 1873; graduated from Muhlenberg College, June 23, 1892; graduated from the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Mt. Airy, June 4, 1895; June 10th ordained a minister of the Lutheran Church. At present pastor of the “Church of the Transfiguration,” Philadelphia, Pa.

G. 6-2. CHARLES MATTHIAS RICHARDS, b. April 19, 1875; married June 22, 1898, Anna Alfaretta Harner, b.

July 4, 1874, daughter of Henry A. Harner. On May 10, 1899, received his degrees of Doctor of Medicine and Doctor of Homœopathic Medicine at the Hahnemann College, Philadelphia, Pa. At present practicing physician in Reading, Pa.

G. 6-3. FLORENCE RICHARDS, b. March 23, 1878.

G. 6-4. ALICE RICHARDS, b. September 8, 1880.

G. 3-II. EMANUEL SAMUEL MUHLENBERG, b. July 11, 1769; d. early.

ERRATA.

Page 29.—Vanderslice Genealogy:

For Baron von der Sluys read Reijner van der Sluyse, —naturalized 1709 along with Pastorius and others; d. 1713.

Page 84.—Cooper Genealogy should read:

1. Rev. C. J. Cooper, D.D., married Emma S. Knause, instead of Miss Moss.

2. Jacob Cooper married Sarah Ann Horlacher, (previously omitted).

3. Jacob Cooper married Susannah Fink, etc., etc., as already given.

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