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SUMMER 1977



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SANDRA LUEBKING, Chicago, Illinois, is a teacher and genealogist, with a B.A. from the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle. She worked with Professor Schelbert to produce the article on "Swiss Mennonite Family Names: An Annotated Checklist".

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COVER:

The cover illustration, from the Editor's Collection, is a print by Augustus Koellner. It is entitled "On Foot of Blue Ridge Mountains, Pennsylvania". Koellner was renowned for his depictions of everyday life in pre-Civil War America.

SWISS MENNONITE FAMILY NAMES:

An Annotated Checklist

LEO SCHELBERT and SANDRA LUEBKING



Seventeenth-Century View of Andelfingen by Matthäus Merian.

In the decades after 1520 the people of Western Europe experienced a thorough religious transformation. Instead of one Western Christendom centered in Rome a variety of competing interpretations of true Christianity emerged that were able to translate their assumptions into viable and enduring institutions. Among the emerging persuasions one group was unique, however: its members, scornfully called “catabaptists” or “anabaptists” — re-baptizers — by their opponents, rejected the millennia-old idea of the *corpus christianum* which postulates the unity between the ecclesiastical and political domain. For the Brethren, as they called themselves, the secular world was not an aspect of the divinely sanctioned order, but the sphere of anti-Christ. This belief was institutionally expressed not only in a rejection of infant baptism as invalid and blasphemous, but also in an abhorrence of the oath and the bearing of arms as forbidden entanglements with the powers of evil. The true church, they held, was exclusively the gathering of the sanctified who in the acceptance of baptism had submitted irrevocably to divine lordship.

These views led to severe conflicts with the established churches as well as with the authorities of the various states. The three wings of enduring Anabaptism — the Swiss Brethren, the Hutterian Brethren, and the (Dutch) Mennonites — experienced recurrent persecutions, an important reason for their migrations to areas where they were welcome or at least tolerated. The Swiss and Hutterian Brethren

were, furthermore, dedicated to farming as the only God-ordained way of life, a conviction which necessitated successive moves to areas that offered good, but inexpensive farmland.

The Swiss Brethren — the list presented below pertains to them alone — split in the 1690’s into two groups. The Swiss minister Jakob Ammann felt that the Brethren had spiritually declined in the second half of the 17th Century. He insisted on a more rigorous observation of discipline (especially in dress and outward appearance), viewed footwashing as an important sacred ritual, and demanded the strict avoidance of those not in unison with the demands of the faith. This split led in the United States to the survival of two sets of religious groups descended from the Swiss Brethren, the “Swiss Mennonites” and the “Amish”.

Between 1650 and 1690 persecution and the search for good farm land led many Swiss Brethren to Alsace, the Palatinate, and to adjoining territories like Durlach and Zweibrücken. After 1680 and especially after 1710 the migration to Pennsylvania began which drew its strength not only from Switzerland, but also from Alsace and from South German regions, thus transcending national boundaries. The post - 1680 Swiss Brethren migration has been divided into six phases by the eminent Mennonite historian Harold S. Bender (ME III: 686):

- (1) 1683 - 1705: 100 persons, from the Lower Rhine to Germantown, Pennsylvania.

- (2) 1707 - 1756: 3,000 - 5,000 persons, mostly Mennonite, possibly 300 Amish, from the Palatinate and Swiss regions to Eastern Pennsylvania, especially the Franconia and Lancaster districts.
- (3) 1815 - 1880: possibly 3,000 Amish, from Alsace, Bavaria, and Hesse to Ohio, Ontario, Indiana, and Illinois.
- (4) 1830 - 1860: possibly 500 Mennonites, from Switzerland to Ohio and Indiana.
- (5) 1830 - 1860: possibly 300 Mennonites, from the Palatinate to Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; (some more immigrants of all three 19th Century groups arrived after 1864 until the end of the century).
- (6) 1875 - 1880: about 400 Mennonites, from Galicia, and Volhynia to Kansas and South Dakota.

According to Bender, "a total of possibly 8,000 persons crossed the Atlantic in the two centuries". He estimated their descendants numbered in 1956 "approximately 120,000 or three fifths of the total Mennonite membership" (ibid.).

The following list pertains to these migrations of the Swiss Brethren. It presents the major Swiss Mennonite and Amish family names, their variants, and if known, their Swiss origin as well as the names of successive first migrating family members who had often settled in German areas before moving to North America. Most entries also contain a reference to the general Swiss origin of a given family name which is only seldom exclusively or even principally Mennonite; the earliest known non-Mennonite arrival in Philadelphia of a given family name has also been added. Thus two goals will hopefully be achieved. Genealogical researchers will have a checklist for some 150 family names with a series of bibliographical leads for further investigation. Historians of immigration might find an overview concerning this immigrant group useful, especially in the context of family, religious, and quantitative history; they might also take more extensive note of the impressive scholarly achievements of Mennonite historians.

The compilation is based on the following works (for full citation see the bibliographical note at the end of this article):

- BA: Gratz, *Bernese Anabaptists*
 F/BR: Faust and Brumbaugh, *Lists of Swiss Emigrants*
 HBLS: *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz* (7 vols. & supplement)
 MC: *Mennonite Cyclopedic Dictionary* (4 vols.)
 ME: *Mennonite Encyclopedia* (4 vols.)
 MQR: *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (since 1927)
 PGP: *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* (3 vols.)

Thus the list presents a summary of the research of others; it may also occasionally include their errors. At times a given family name may include in the

variations a non-related family or may be at the same time not only Swiss in origin. The spellings of the names in the lists collected in *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* often vary significantly. In the list given below the spelling was taken whenever possible from the signature of the immigrant, otherwise from the passenger list. The page indicated for PGP refers not to the whole list, but only to the page on which the name appears; the ship's name as well as the given date may thus be found on a different page. Readers should also note that names of counties cited without state location refer to Pennsylvania counties.

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1. ACKERMAN (Achermann, Ackermann, Akermann).
In 1750 two Ackerman families to Lancaster County, (MC 1-2); perhaps *Christoff Ackerman*, on the *Bennet Gally*, August 13, 1750; and *Johan Wendell Ackherman* and *Johann Georg Ackermann*, on the *Osgood*, September 29, 1750 (PGP I:429; 445).
 1. Swiss forms: *Acherman, Ackermann, Akermann*; widely dispersed (HBLI I:88; 90-91).
 2. *Meichel Ackermann*, on the *Alexander and Anne*, September 5, 1730 (PGP I:36).
2. AESCHLIMAN (Aeschiman, Aeschleman, Aeschliman, Ashliman, Eschelman, Eshelman, Eshleman.).
17th Century Anabaptists Aeschlimann at Rigenen in the Emmental, Ct. Bern (BA 48). 1710 *Margreht Aeschliman* on a Bernese list of Anabaptists (MQR XLV [January 1971] 95).
Daniel Eshelman in Lancaster County, before 1718 (ME II:249).
Johan Eshelman, on the *Britannia*, September 21, 1731 (MC 99; PGP I:47).
Paul R. Aeschliman, b. October 25, 1862 near Brenets, Ct. Neuchâtel; with several family members to Pulaski, Iowa (ME I:20).
 1. Swiss form: *Aeschlimann*; origin in the Emmental and at Grindelwald, Ct. Bern (HBLI I:154).
 2. *Henrich Eschelman*, on the *Mortonhouse*, August 24, 1728; *Ulrich Hessleman*, on the *Brothers*, September 30, 1754; *Hans Aeschlimann* and *Peter Eselman*, on the *Phoenix*, October 1, 1754 (PGP I:19; 610; 629, 635).
3. ALBRECHT (Allbrecht, Albright, Allbright).
1629 *Hans Albrecht*, minister in Hungary.
1837 5 brothers and sisters from Bavaria to Bureau County, Illinois (MC 4-5).
 1. Swiss form; *Albrecht*; widely dispersed (HBLI I:217-219).
 2. *Joseph Albrecht*, on the *William and Sarah*, September 21, 1727 (PGP I:9).
4. ALDERFER (Aldorffer, Alldörfer, Altaffer, Altorfer).
Frederick Aldorffer, b. 1715 in Palatinate; on the *Samuel*, August 11, 1732; *Friederich Alldörfer*, age 18, on the *Samuel*, August 17, 1733 (PGP I:60; 112).
Family in Montgomery and Lebanon Counties; Virginia; Williams County, Ohio (ME I:43; MC 5).
Swiss form: *Altorfer*; in Ct. Zürich since 1331, and in Ct. Schaffhausen (HBLI I:300-301).
5. ALLEBACH (Allenbach, Allebaugh).
Christian Allebach, before 1728 to Pennsylvania, 1739; member of Salford congregation (MC 5; ME I:54).
Family in Bucks and Montgomery Counties (MC 5).
John and Andrew Allebach, arrived 1734, no known descendants (ME I:55).
Swiss form: *Allenbach* (cf. HBLI I:232).
6. AMSTUTZ (am Stutz, Am Stutz, Amstoutz, Amstuz, Stutz, Stutzer).
Mennonite branches from Sigriswil, Lake Thun area, Ct. Bern. 18th Century to Bernese Jura; families at Châtelat, Pruntrut; also at Massevaux, Florimont, and Montbéliard in Alsace (ME I:110-111; BA 91-166, passim).
Migrated in early 19th Century; first arrivals *Johannes Amstutz*, age 18, and sister *Anna*, age 17, in 1818, to Lancaster County; *Johannes* ca. 1821 to Sonnenberg, Wayne County, Ohio (MC 9; ME I:111); concentrated especially in Sonnenberg, Crown Hill, and Bluffton congregations (ME I:111).
 1. Swiss forms: *Amstutz, am Stutz, Stutzer*; primarily in Ct. Unterwalden and Ct. Schwyz; "one family from Sigriswil, Ct. Bern" (HBLI I:353).
 2. *Anna Stutz*, age 30, on the *Mercury*, May 29, 1735; *Lewis Stutz*, on the *Pallas*, November 25, 1763 (PGP I:148; 688).
7. AUGSBURGER (Augsberger, Augsbourger, Augspurger, Ougspurger, Oxberger).
Mennonite branch from Langnau, Emmental Valley, Ct. Bern; *Johannes Augsburger* (1783-1885) and wife, *Elizabeth Jacob* (m. July 26, 1805), arrived from Amsterdam October 10, 1817; to Liberty, Tioga County; ca. 1829 to Wayne County, Ohio; ca. 1842 to Adams County, Indiana (BA 129-130; ME I:188).
Swiss forms: *Ougspurger* and *Augsburger*, patrician family of city of Bern (HBLI V:367; I:478).
8. BACHMAN (Bachmann, Bauchman).
Mennonite family 1672 in Bottenstein, Ct. Aargau; to Palatinate; *Andreas Bachman* with other Amish to Pennsylvania, on the *Francis and Elizabeth*, September 21, 1742; especially in Lebanon County. (BA 39, 42, 47, 87 especially on Swiss background; ME I:203; PGP I:329; MC 16).
19th Century: a leading Amish name; from Alsace mainly to Central Illinois (ME I:203).
Other families: to the Palatinate, then to Galicia and after 1875 to prairie states (ME I:204).
 1. Swiss form: *Bachmann*, a widely dispersed named all over Switzerland (HBLI I:513-516).
 2. *Felix, Hans, and Heinrich Bachman*, on the *Jamaica*, February 7, 1739 (PGP I:252, 255).
9. BAER (Bähr, Baehr, Bair, Bar, Bare, Barr, Bear, Beare, Beer, Benr, Boehr, Boer, Pare, z'Bären).
Henry Pare, August 24, 1717, to Lancaster County (MQR XLII [October 1968], 287).
Jacob Baer, on the *Molly*, September 30, 1727, one of earliest arrivals (ME I:211; PGP I:13).

1. Swiss forms: *Baer, Beer*; dispersed all over Switzerland; z'Bären from Ct. Unterwalden (HBLs I:533-534).
2. *Samuell Bare*, on the *Molly*, September 30, 1727 (PGP I:12).

10. BASINGER (Basicker, Bösiger, Boesiger), 1759 Mennonite family Bösiger from Attiswil, Ct. Bern, reported in Montbéliard, Alsace (BA 89); other Bosiger families (BA 91-158 passim).

Christian Bösiger, from Rumisberg, Ct. Bern, left Normanvillars, Alsace, aged 23, in New York, June 1819, to Lancaster County; 1825 to Waterloo County, Ontario; 1836 to Putnam County, Ohio (BA 133, 147).

Other families in Ohio 1824 and 1838 (MC 19; BA 145, 156).

Swiss form: *Bösiger* (cf. HBLs, Supplement p. 28).

11. BAUER (Baur, (de) Boer, Bower, Bowers). 17th Century Mennonite family in Oberhofen, Ct. Bern (BA 49).

1711 a Bauer family to Sapperneer, Groningen, Holland (ME I:248).

Hans Bauer (d. 1749) and wife *Anna* (d. 1761), settled between 1711 and 1717 at Hereford, Berks County, near Bally (ME I:248-249).

1. Swiss forms: *Bauer, Baur*; family in Ct. Graubünden (1524); 19th Century in Cts. Bern, Basel, and Neuchâtel (HBLs II:47, Supplement pp. 15-18).
2. *Johann Christoffel Bauer*, on the *Samuel*, August 16, 1731 (PGP I:42).

12. BAUMAN (Baumann, Bouman, Bowman, (de) Buman).

16th Century an Anabaptist Bauman family attest-

ed in Bern; to Moravia (BA 14); also in the Palatinate (BA 168).

Wendell Bauman (b. ca. 1689), in 1710 among original settlers of Pequea (ME I:249), most likely of Zürich origin, via the Palatinate to Pennsylvania (BA 168; MQR XLV [January 1917] 98; MC 19).

Jacob Bauman (1722-1770), *Christian*, and *Peter*, ca. 1751 members of Allegheny congregation, Pennsylvania (ME I:55 "Allegheny").

Families in Ohio, Ontario, Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, and Virginia (ME I:249; MC 35-36).

1. Swiss forms: *Baumann (Buman, de Buman)* widely dispersed in Switzerland (HBLs II: 50-52; Supplement p. 18).
2. *Hans Jerrick Bowman*, on the *William and Sarah*, September 18, 1727; *Jacob Bauman*, on the *Adventure*, October 2, 127; 7 *Albert Bowman*, on the *Friendship of Bristol*, October 16, 1727 (PGP I:7; 15; 16).

13. BAUMGARTNER (Baumgardner, Bomgarner, Pomgarddiner).

First recorded Anabaptist Baumgartner 1608; 1621 several in Langnau, Ct. Bern (ME I:250).

1720's and 1730's Bomgarner listed among settlers in Shenandoah Valley, Virginia (MQR XLII [October 1968] 292).

David Baumgartner (1765-1853); 1835 from the Jura to Wayne County, Ohio; 1839 to Wells County, Indiana (BA 135; 153; ME I:250; MC 20); sons *Peter* and *Christian* in September 1838 settled in Wells County, Indiana (BA 153).

1. Swiss forms: *Baumgartner* in most cantons; Liestal family also as *Bongarter, Boumgarter, Bomgartner, Baumgarter* (HBLs II:53-55).
2. *Christopher* and *Ursley Bumgarner*, on the

View of Kyburg
by Merian.



Mortonhouse, August 17, 1729 (PGP I:24).

14. BEACHEY (Beachy, Beechy, Bitsche, Bitschi, Peachey).

Since 1697 mostly Amish; to the Palatinate; to Pennsylvania.

1767 *Peter Bitsche*, directly from Switzerland to Bedford (now Somerset) County (ME I:254; MC 20-21, 286).

15. BECHTEL (Bachstel, Bachtel, Bachtell, Bächtold, Bechtold, Böchtel, Portel, Vechtel).

Peter Bechtel, 1664 to the Palatinate (ME I:257); others (BA 81).

Hans Jacob Bechtel (d. 1739), wife *Anna* (d. 1761), 1720 to Berks County (MC 21-22).

George Bechtell (d. 1759), arrived in Philadelphia from Mannheim, August 9, 1729; to Berks County (ME I:257).

1. Swiss form: *Baechtold*; origin at Schleithem, Ct. Schaffhausen (HBLs I:529-530).
2. *Jörg Bechtell*, on the *Mortonhouse*, August 24, 1728 (PGP I:19).

16. BEERY (Beer, Beers, Beire, Beyer, Bieri, Biery).

In 1670's an Anabaptist Bieri family at Kalzbach in the Emmental, Ct. Bern (BA 48).

Abraham Beer (1718-1799) on the *John*, October 19, 1736; to Adams County (MC 22; PGP I:168).

In Shenandoah Valley (MQR XLII [October 1968] 292); in Sonnenberg, Wayne County, Ohio, and in Oregon (BA 165).

1. Swiss form: *Bieri*, especially frequent in the *Emmental*, Ct. Bern, and the *Entlebuch Valley*, Ct. Luzern; many emigrated to Russia, Germany, and the Americas (HBLs II: 242); perhaps also separate name *Beyer* (*ibid.*, p. 220).
2. *Jacob Beyer*, on the *James Goodwill*, September 11, 1728 (PGP I:21).
Albinus Beyer and *Petter Bier*, on the *Samuel*, August 30, 1737 (PGP I:172, 173).

17. BERGEY (Berge, Berke, Berkey, Berki, Berky, Birkey, Birki, Birky, Borcki, Borcky, Buerckey, Buercki, Buerge, Buergey, Buergi, Buerki, Burckey, Burcky, Burgey, Burkey, Bürki, Bürky, Burky, etc.).

1670's Anabaptist Bürki family at Gibel, Emmental, Ct. Bern (BA 48).

1710 *Hans Bürki*, deacon from Langnau (BA 58).

1737 immigrant *Christian Buercki*; Amish (ME I:278).

Johann Ulrich Bergey, ca. 1719 in Montgomery County (ME I:278-279).

Family besides Pennsylvania in Ontario, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Kansas, Indiana, New York, Montana (ME I:279; MC 24-25).

1. Swiss forms: *Bürkey*, Cts. of Appenzell and St. Gall, and *Bürki*, *Bürkli* and *Bürgi* (from Old German *Burghard*, *Burkhart*) especially

Cts. Bern, Luzern, and Zürich (HBLs II:415-417).

2. *Katherina Birkin*, age 23, on the *Britannia*, September 21, 1731 (PGP I:49).

Jacob Bürckh, on the *Brotherhood*, November 3, 1750 (PGP I:447).

3. Anabaptists *Christen* and *Hans Berger*, also their sisters *Magdalena* and *Anna*, from Signau, Ct. Bern, settled in Pennsylvania; *Christen* paid tax on 80 crowns (F/BR 36; entry for February 4, 1750); a *Hans Bergher*, on the *Bennet Galley*, August 13, 1750 (PGP I:428), but other names do not appear. Name widely dispersed in Switzerland; in Ct. Bern especially in the *Emmental* (HBLs II:120).

18. BIXEL (Bichsel, Bixler).

Anabaptist family from Eggwil, Emmental, Ct. Bern; 1670's a Bichsel at Gohl, Emmental (ME I:349; BA 48). others (BA 22, 31, 133, 134, 148).

Andreas Bichsel to the Jura, in 1717 near Corgé-mont; *Johann* and *Christian Bichsel* ca. 1725 to Pennsylvania; 1821 *Jacob Bichsel* and wife to Sonnenberg, Wayne County, Ohio, brother *Peter Bichsel*, and sister *Verena* 1824 to Holmes County, Ohio (ME I:350; MC 29-30).

Swiss form: *Bichsel*, widely known in *Emmental Valley*, Ct. Bern (HBLs II: 234).

19. BLANK (Blanck, Plank).

Early 18th Century Anabaptist family Blank in *Montbéliard* (BA 87).

Hans, Jacob, Nickolas Blanck on the *St. Andrew*, September 23, 1752; to Berks County (MC 30; PGP I:485); later family in Cass County, Missouri (MC 30).

1. Swiss form: *Blank*, origin in Ins and Thun, then to Sigriswil and Steffisburg, Ct. Bern; also in Ct. Schaffhausen since early 16th Century (HBLs II: 264).
2. *Christian Blanck*, age 34, on the *Hope*, August 28, 1733; another *Christian Blanck* on the *Queen of Denmark*, October 4, 1751 (PGP I:116; 473).

20. BLICKENSDOERFER (Blickenstaff, Blickensterffer, Blickensterffer, Blickensterffer).

Origin Hedingen, Ct. Zürich; some to the Palatinate (MQR XXX [April 1956] 137, 138, 139, 146); *Johannes* and *Ulrich Blickensterffer*, brothers, 1748 to Pennsylvania, *Christian Blickensterffer* and two *Josts* (*Blickensterffer* and *Blickensterffer*) on the *Rowand*, September 29, 1753; settled in Lititz, Lancaster County; none remained in Mennonite Church (ME I:362; PGP I:572).

1. Swiss form: *Blickensterfer*, in the northern part of district of Affoltern, Ct. Zürich (HBLs II:274).
2. *Jacob Blickensterfer*, age 25, on the *Patience*, September 16, 1748 (PGP I:386).

21. BLOSSER (Bloser, Bläser, Blasser).

In 1670's Anabaptist Blaser at Walistolen, Emmental Valley, Ct. Bern; between 1671 and 1711 Blasers to Alsace (BA 48, 39).

Peter Blaser, on the *Bettsey*, August 27, 1739 (ME I:365; PGP I:257; MC 31-32).

Christian Blaser arrived on August 31, 1750 (ME I:365).

1. Swiss form: *Blaser*, in Cts. Bern (especially Langnau, Emmental) and Schwyz (HBLS II:267).
2. *Christian Blaser* and family (9 people in all), on the *Mary*, September 29, 1733 (PGP I:130-132, names and ages of children).

22. BONTRAGER (Bontreger, Borntreger, Borntreger, Borntreger).

Martin Bonträger, sons *John*, *Christian*, and *Andrew*, on the *Sally*, October 5, 1767; Amish; settled at Meyersdale, Somerset County; John in Holmes County, Ohio; Christian in Indiana County; Andrew in Virginia; widely scattered Amish family (ME I:387; MC 34; PGP I:714).

23. BOSHART (Bossert, Bossert, Buschert, Buzzard).
1706 a Bossert Anabaptist in Mannheim; Amish; in North America, mainly in Ontario, Michigan, Indiana, Iowa, and Nebraska (ME I:392; MC 34-35).

1. Swiss forms: *Bossard*, *Bossart*, *Bosshard*, *Bosshardt*, *Bosshart*; in Cts. Aargau, Luzern, Schwyz, St. Gallen, Zug, Zürich; in Ct. Freiburg also *Posshart* (HBLS II:319-320).
2. *Jacob Bossert*, on the *Allen*, September 11, 1729; a *Peter Bosart*, on the *Samuel and Elizabeth*, September 30, 1740 (PGP I:30; 279).

24. BRACKBILL (Braechtuehl, Brechbiel, Brechbill, Brechbuehl, Brechbühl, Breckbühl).

Benedict Brechbühl (ca. 1665-1720), at Trachselwald, Ct. Bern; minister and elder, exiled; 1710 deported to Holland; 1717 to Pennsylvania as leader of a large Swiss Mennonite group; founder of Strasburg, Lancaster County, congregation (BA 42, 58f, 63f, 67, 69; ME I:400, 411; MC 37); others (MC 37).

1. Swiss forms: *Brechbühl* (BA 192); also *Brechbühler*, *Brächbühler*, of Huttwil, Ct. Bern (HBLS II:345).
2. *Johannes Brechbil*, age 19, *Anna Brechbielin*, *Wendell*, age 24, *Brechbühll*, on the *Samuel*, August 11, 1732; *Benedict Brechbill* and *Hans*, *Hans Peter*, and *Jacob*, on the *John and William*, October 17, 1732 (PGP I:61, 65; 105).
3. *Abraham Brechtbühler* and family, "very poor Anabaptists," emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1754 (F/BR 30).

25. BRENNEMAN (Branaman, Brannaman, Brenaman, Breneman, Breniman, Brenman, Brennaman, Brennamann, Brenneman, Brennemann, Brinneman,

Brönnimann, Pernerman).

1671 *Melchior Brönnimann* in the *Palatinate* (BA 191); a *Melchior Brenneman* to Conestoga, Pennsylvania ca. 1717 (ME I:417-418); various 18th Century immigrants (MC 37-39; ME I:417, 418; MQR XXX [April 1956] 146; XXXIV [January 1960] 48).

Daniel Brenneman, on the *Hero*, at Philadelphia, October 27, 1765 (PGP I:697).

26. BRICKER (Brücker, Brügger).

Christian Brigger, leading Anabaptist, from Rohrbach, Ct. Bern, at Zofingen debate in 1532 (BA 17-18); *Jacob Bricker* in 1718 in Lancaster County, married 1719 to *Catherine M[e]ylin*; families of that name in Pennsylvania and in Ontario and Alberta, Canada (MC 40-41).

1. Swiss form: *Brügger*; in Cts. Bern, Graubünden, and Luzern (HBLS II:369-370; Supplement, p. 33).
2. *Peter Biker*, age 32, wife *Christan Bricker*, age 29, and children *Elizabeth Brickerin* and *Anna Barba Bickrer*, on the *Plaisance*, September 21, 1732 (PGP I:79, 80, 81).

27. BRUBACHER (Brubacker, Brubaher, Brubaker, Brupacher, Pupater, Pupather).

From Ct. Zürich, a *Hans Brubacher* ca. 1710 at West Hempfield, Lancaster County; *Abraham* (1731-1811), son; others (ME I:441); August 24, 1717 a *Hans Pupather* to Pennsylvania (ME II:715-716); various individuals listed (MC 42-43).

Aberham Brübacher and *Johanes Brubbacher*, on the *St. Andrew*, September 9, 1749 (PGP I:397).

28. BUCHER (Bogar, Bougher, Bücher, Bugar).
1670's an Anabaptist Bucher at Reichenbach, Bernese Oberland (BA 49).

Martin Boger, married daughter of a *Christian Bomberger*, early 18th Century, in Lancaster County (ME I:461; MC 44); in Ohio (BA 148-167, passim).

1. Swiss form: *Bucher*, widely dispersed in Switzerland, especially Ct. Bern and Unterwalden (HBLS II:388-390).
2. *Niclaus Bucher*, on the *Friendship*, October 10, 1727; a *Martin Boger* (same as above?), on the *Pennsylvania Merchant*, September 10, 1731 (PG I:17; 46).

29. BUCKWALTER (Bookwalter, Boughwalder, Boughwalter, Buckwalder).

A *Louis Boughwalder*, 1723 in Lancaster County; a *Johannes Buckwalter* naturalized in 1730 in Berks County (MC 45; ME I:461).

Swiss form: *Buchwalder* (cf. HBLS II:392).

30. BURKHART (Burckhard, Burckhardt, Burghart, Burkhard, Burkhardt).

1751 a *Joseph Burkhardt* in Lancaster County; families in various states (ME I:475; MC 46).

1. Swiss forms: *Burkhard, Burkhardt, Burckhardt*; in many cantons (HBLs II:453-456).
2. *Hans Jerch [Jörg] Burkart*, age 5, and *John Fradrick Burghart*, age 30, on the *Loyal Judith*, September 25, 1732; *Simon Burckhart* and *Johann Georg Burckhardt*, on the *Duke of Bedford*, September 14, 1751; *Jacob Burckhardt*, on the *Phoenix*, September 25, 1751 (PGP I:88, 91; 459; 472).

31. BURKHOLDER (Borcholder, Borcholter, Bork-

Bern (especially Brienz), Luzern, Neuenberg, St. Gallen, and Zürich (HBLs III:769-770).

34. DERSTINE (Derstein, Dierstein, Dirstine, Dürstein, Durstin, Thierstein, Thirstien).

Michael Dirstein (b. ca. 1712-1777), on the *Samuel*, August 11, 1732; settled in Rockhill, Bucks County; families also in Ontario, Canada, and Ohio (ME II:39; MC 78-79; PGP I:64).

Swiss form: *Tierstein*; from Thunerberg near Boswil, Ct. Bern; origin perhaps from a branch of the princely House of Tierstein (HBLs

Aarau.



View of Aarau by Merian.

holder, Borgholder, Borkholder, Burckhalter, Burkholder, Burgholder, Burgholter, Burkalter, Burkhalter).

From Langnau and Ruderswyl, Emmental Valley, Ct. Bern; 1670's an Anabaptist *Burkhalter* at Mättenberg, Emmental (BA 48; MQR XVIII [July 1944] 145).

1717 *Abraham Burkholder* in Lancaster (now Dauphin) County; *Hans Burkholder* at Conestoga Creek, Lancaster County; large number of influential leaders among immigrants (ME I:475-478; MC 46-49).

Swiss form: *Burkhalter* (BA 48).

32. BYLER (Beiler, Beyler).

Jacob Beiler, born in Switzerland, on the *Charming Nancy*, October 8, 1737, to Oley Valley, Berks County; Amish; families in Pennsylvania and Ohio (ME I:488; BA 168; MC 23, 49; PGP I:193).

Perhaps Swiss name *Beyeler*, family origin in Guggisberg, Ct. Bern (HBLs II:220).

33. CRESSMAN

Niklos [Nikolaus] Crössman, on the *Friendship of Bristol*, October 16, 1727, progenitor of families in North America; various prominent men; mostly in Waterloo County, Ontario (since 1807) (ME I:739; MC 71; PGP I:17).

Perhaps Swiss name *Grossmann*, name in Cts.

VI:789-790).

35. DETWEILER (Dätwyler, Dättwyler, Dettweiler, Dettwiler, Detwiler, Dittwiler).

18th Century Mennonite family established especially in Bucks and Montgomery Counties, also in Ontario, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri (ME II:40; MC 79-80).

1. Swiss forms: *Dättwyler, Dettwyler, Dettwiler*; in Germany: *Dettweiler*; origin: *Dättwil*, near Baden, Ct. Aargau; in 16th Century in other communes, also in Langenbruck, Ct. Basel (HBLs II:663-664).

2. *Melchior Detwyler*, age 37, on the *Princess Augusta*, September 16, 1736 (PGP I:163).

36. DILLER

1774 An *Abraham Diller* (d. 1783), at Bowmansville, Lancaster County; 1790 family to Cumberland County; also in Ontario, Ohio, Kansas (MC 81).

Perhaps Swiss name *Dillier* (*Dilger, Tilger*); origin Engelberg, Ct. Unterwalden (HBLs II:723).

37. EBERLY (Eperly).

Lorenz Aeberli from Grünen, executed at Bern, June 3, 1539 (BA 23).

Heinrich Eberle, on the *James Goodwill*, September 17, 1727, settled in Lancaster County; also *Veronica*

(wife?); 6 children; family in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Iowa (MC 89; PGP I:11; cf. also ME I:137).

1. Swiss forms: *Aeberli, Eberle, Eberli, Eberly*; origin on Lake Zürich, known since 14th Century; also in city of Zürich (HBLS I: 115-116).
2. A[Se]bastian Eb[erle], on the *James Goodwill*, September 11, 1728, with 4 others (PGP I:23).

38. EBERSOLE (Aebersold, Ebersohl, Ebersol, Eversole, Eversull).

Abrahm Ebersohl, on the *James Goodwill*, September 27, 1727, 4 in family (PGP I:11); *Johannes, Pedter, Jost Ebersohl*, on the *Robert and Alice*, September 3, 1739 (PGP I:270, 271); *Carl Ebersohl*, age 21, on the *Peggy*, September 24, 1753 (PGP I:550); *Jacob Ebersoll*, on the *Chance*, November 1, 1763 (PGP I:686; ME II:137); 19th Century members (MC 89).

Swiss forms: *Aebersold, Ebersold*; from district of Konolfingen, Ct. Bern; also Zägiwil and Burgdorf, Ct. Bern (HBLS I:116; II:775).

39. EBY (Aby, Aebi, Aeby, Eaby, Ebee, Ebi, Ebie, Uebi).

Theodorus Eby (1663-1730), 1704 to the Palatinate; 1715 to Pennsylvania; settled at Mill Creek, Lancaster County; from Ct. Zürich (ME II:137; 139-140; MC 89-90).

Christian Eby (1698-1756) and family; prominent in Pequea, Lancaster County, especially *Peter* (1765-1843) (MQR XIV [January 1940] 41-51); various prominent leaders (ME II:139-140; MC 90-91).

1. Swiss forms: *Aebi* or *Aeby*, in various Cts. (HBLS I:116-117, 119-120).
2. A *Henrick Ebby*, age 30, on the *Samuel*, August 11, 1732 (PGP I:59; see also entries *Evy, Ewy*, same name?).

40. EGLI (Egle, Egly).

A *Rudolph Egli*, signer of Dordrecht Confession of Faith, 1632. Immigrant with a group of 1711; to Lancaster County (MC 93).

1839 an *Abraham Egli* to Butler County, Ohio (ME II:163).

1. Swiss form: *Egli*: (in Ct. Baselland also *Eglin, Eggli, Eggelin, Eikelin*); family name widely dispersed (HBLS II:788-790).
2. A *Marx Egli*, on the *Vernon*, August 1747 (PGP I:363).

41. EICHER (Eichert, Eichler, Eycher).

In 1670's an Anabaptist *Eicher* from Schwarzenegg, Thun region, Ct. Bern; between 1671 and 1711 to Alsace, near village of Markirch (Marieaux-Mines) (BA 49, 38).

Christian Eicher, age 46, and *Johannes*, age 18, on the *Brothers*, September 30, 1754 (ME II:167;

PGP I:612, 613).

19th Century immigrants from Alsace-Lorraine (ME II:167), in Wayne County, Ohio; also in Iowa, Nebraska, Ontario, Indiana, Oregon (MC 94).

1. Swiss form: *Eicher*; Cts. Bern and Luzern (HBLS III:4).
2. *Michael Eichert*, on the *Adventure*, October 2, 1727 (PGP I:15).

42. ELLENBERGER.

Albrecht Ellenberger, on the *St. Andrew*, September 9, 1749 (ME II:189).

Jacob Ellenberger, b. in Germany 1821, in 1847 to Lee County, Iowa (MQR XLII [July 1968] 197, 198, 200).

Christian and Niclaus Ellenberger, on the *Robert and Alice*, September 3, 1739; *Ulrich Ellenberger*, on the *St. Andrew*, September 9, 1749 (PGP I:271, 396).

43. ENGEL (Angle, Engle)

1698 a *Paul Engel* at Germantown, Pennsylvania, perhaps a Mennonite.

17th Century to the Palatinate (ME II:214); in 1752 brothers *John* and *Jacob Engle* in Lancaster County (MC 97); in 1755 *Ulrich Engel* at Donegal, Pennsylvania (BA 85); he had emigrated from Sonceboz in the Jura in 1754 and paid an emigration tax of 6 pds., 13 shillings, 3 pence (F/BR 61); *Jacob Engel* (b. 1753); 1754 to America; founder of Brethren in Christ (River Brethren) (ME II:214).

1. Swiss form: *Engel*; families in Ct. Bern, Solothurn, Thurgau, Zürich (HBLS III:36-37).
2. *G[e]org Engel*, on the *Townsend*, October 5, 1737 (PGP I:187).

44. ERB.

Nicholas Erb (1679-1740), from the Emmental Valley, Ct. Bern; via the Palatinate 1722 to Lancaster County (ME II:240-241; MC 98).

1. Swiss origin in Cts. Bern (Thun), Baselland (Orinalingen, Rotenfluh, Rickenbach), St. Gallen (earlier especially Toggenburg), Schwyz, Solothurn, Uri, and Zürich (HBLS III:50-51).
2. A *Christian Erb*, age 46, on the *Harle*, September 1, 1736 (PGP I:158).

45. ESCH (Ashe, Eash, Esh, Oesch).

Jacob Esch, and *Michael*, on the *Duke of Wirtemberg*, October 16, 1751; to Lancaster County (ME II:246-247; MC 87-88, 99; PGP I:477).

1. Swiss forms: *von Aesch*, or *von Esch*, extinct, in city of Solothurn; also in village of Grossaffoltern, Ct. Bern (HBLS I:152) or perhaps *Oesch*, from Amsoldingen, Thun, and Oberlangenegg, Ct. Bern (HBLS V:336).
2. *Christian Est*, on the *St. Andrew*, September 26, 1737 (PGP I:180).

46. EYMANN (Eiman, Eyman).

An Anabaptist family from Ct. Bern to Alsace between 1671 and 1711 (BA 38-39).

A *Jacob Eimann*, on the *St. Andrew*, September 9, 1749 (ME II:282; PGP I:397).

47. FRETZ (Frätz, Fraetz).

1734 a *Christian Fraetz* in Pennsylvania, preceded by *John* and *Christian Fretz*, brothers, between 1710 and 1720; settled at Deep Run, Bucks County; John's son *John* (1730-1826) to Ontario, Canada (ME II:395-396; MC 114-115).

Hanns Martin Fretz, age 22, on the *Billender Thistle*, November 3, 1738 (or October 28, 1738) (PGP I:243).

48. FREY (Frei, Fry).

In 1670's an Anabaptist *Frei* from Hilterfingen, Bernese Oberland (BA 49).

Johannes Frey before 1717 at Skippack, Lancaster County; by 1730 name in Virginia Mennonite settlement; 1839 a *Jacob Frey* from France to Fulton County, Ohio (ME II:396).

1. Swiss forms: *Frey*, *Frei*; widely dispersed (HBLS II:242-247).
2. Tobias Frey, with four in party, on the *William and Sarah*, September 18, 1727 (PGP I:9).

49. FUNK (Funck).

Johannes Funk, 1710, settled at Pequea, Lancaster County; *Heinrich Funck* (d. 1760), about 1730 in Montgomery County (ME II:420-421; MC 116-118).

1. Swiss form: *Funk*, originally from Mettmestetten, Ct. Zürich, dispersed throughout the district of Affoltern, spreading to Ct. Bern (HBLS III:360-361).
2. *Hans Funck*, on the *Molly*, September 30, 1727; a *Fritrich Funk*, with 7 week old twins, on the *Mary*, September 29, 1733 (PGP I:13; 134).

50. GALLE (Galli, Gally).

Peter Gally (Galle) to the Palatinate, most likely from Ct. Bern; son *Peter* at the Geistenmühle in 1734; *Peter (III)* said to have emigrated to Pennsylvania; several Mennonite families with this name in Kansas (ME II:436-437).

1. Swiss forms: *Gatti*, *Galdi* (in Ct. Bern); extinct in city of Bern, but in rural region extant; (in Ct. Tessin, *Galli*, *Gallo*, *de Gallis*) (HBLS III:382).
2. *Friederich Galle*, on the *Polly*, September 19, 1764 (PGP I:690).

51. GEHMAN (Gahman, Gaueman, Gäuman, Gäumann, Gayman, Geeman, Geyman).

1759 Bernese family Gäumann from Röthenbach, Ct. Bern in Montbéliard (BA 89).

1732, August 11 on the *Samuel: Christian Geman*, age 24, to Berks County; *Bendich Geman*, age 23, and *Anna Gemanin*, age 20, to Lehigh County (ME II:444-445; MC 122; PGP I:61, 65).

52. GEISER (Geysler, Gyser).

Hans Geiser, 1765 Mennonite minister, in Bishopric of Basel (BA 80); 1823 a family in La Chaux-de-Fonds (BA 125).

Early 1850's a *Geiser* family in Wayne County, Ohio; 1876 *Peter Geiser* to Oregon (BA 165).

1. Swiss form *Geiser*, from Bernese Oberaargau, especially Langenthal and Roggwil, Ct. Bern, and in adjoining regions of Cts. Aargau and Luzern (HBLS III:424-425).
2. *Johanas Gyser*, age 50, *Johanas Petter*, age 17, *Yogha [Johann] Christian*, age 7, *Mariles Pitt [Marie Elsbeth]*, age 20, on the *Billender Thistle*, November 3, 1738 (or October 28, 1738); also *Christian*, age 21, and *Kattarina*, age 20, *Gysler* (PGP I:240-242).

53. GERBER (Garber, Gärber, Garver).

Old Mennonite family; *Walti Gerber* executed July 30, 1566; 1670's Gerber families in the Emmental, Ct. Bern, and at Thun (BA 24, 43, 48, 49); various families (BA, passim).

Gerbers in 1735 in Lancaster County; two families in Shenandoah Valley, Virginia (ME II:478).

1822 *Ulrich, Michael* and *Jacob Gerber* left the Swiss Jura for Sonnenberg, Wayne County, Ohio (BA 133); widely dispersed (ME II:478); various 19th Century individuals (MC 120, 125, 126).

1. Swiss forms: *Gerber*, *Gerfer*, *Gerwer*, in Cts. Appenzell, Bern, Freiburg, Graubünden, Luzern, St. Gallen, Solothurn, Uri (HBLS III:478, 479, 493).
2. *Hans Jacob Gerber*, on the *Hope*, August 28, 1733; *Michel*, age 27, *Anna*, age 22, *Anna*, age ½, on the *Hope*, September 23, 1734; *Johannes*, age 32, on the *Harle*, September 1, 1736 (PGP I:121, 143, 144, 146).

54. GINGERICH (Gingery, Gingrich, Guengerich, Güngerich).

Originated from Konolfingen, Ct. Bern (1389), name Güngerich; to the Palatinate; 1724 in Conestoga, Lancaster County; wide dispersal (ME II:520-521; MC 128).

55. GOERING (Gehring, Gering, Göring).

In the Emmental, Ct. Bern; Anabaptists of that name in Montbéliard, Galicia; Poland, 1874 to the United States (ME II:535).

1. Swiss forms: *Geering*, *Gehring*, *Gering*, *Gerung*, *Gehrig*, *Gerig*; in many cantons (HBLS III:415-416).
2. A *Baltes Gering*, on the *Mortonhouse*, August

23, 1728 (PGP I:18).

56. GRABER (Gräber, Grayber, Greber).

Between 1671 and 1711 Graber Anabaptists family in Alsace (BA 39).

Peter Graber (1741-1805), born in Montbéliard, France, to United States; grandson *Peter*, from Montbéliard to Stark County, Ohio; grandson *Christian* to Washington County, Iowa, in 1856 (ME II:559; MC 135; MQR XLII [July 1968] 201).

1. Swiss form; *Grabere*; originated at Langenbruck, Ct. Basel; in Ct. Bern in districts of Thun, Aarwangen, Burgdorf, and Trachselwald; also in Ct. Luzern (HBLs III: 620).
2. A *Leobald Greber*, on the *Robert and Alice*, September 3, 1739 (PGP I:264).

57. GRABILL (Grabiel, Graybill, Grebel, Grebiel, Grebilt, Krabill, Krähenbühl, Kraybill, Krayenbühl, Krebill, Krehbiel, Krehbill, Kreybül, Krienbiel).

Origin Grosshöchstetten, district of Konolfingen, Ct. Bern; early Anabaptist family.

1671 *Jost Krähenbühl* to the Palatinate; 1770 members to Galicia (in 19th Century to New York, Ohio, then Iowa, Kansas).

1719 in Alsace; 1733 name Krähenbühl at Weaverland, Lancaster County; in Shenandoah Valley as Grabill.

In 1790's *John Graybill*, preacher in Juniata County (MQR XVIII [July 1944] 155).

1831 *Jacob Krehbiel* (1781-1860) from the Pfrimmerhof, Palatinate, to Clarence, N.Y., near Buffalo; bishop in 1839; wide dispersal of family; influential (ME II:559; III:235-237; MC 136-137).

Hans Erick Crable and *Michael Krebiel*, on the *Molly*, September 30, 1727; *Christian Crybile*, on the *Friendship of Bristoll*, October 16, 1727 (PGP I:13-14; 16).

58. GROFF (Graef, Gräf, Grove).

Hans Graf (1661-1746), founded 1717 Groffdale, Lancaster County; 7 sons and 3 daughters; family in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ontario, and Virginia (ME II: 587; MC 139).

1. Swiss forms: *Graf, Graff*; widely dispersed; also rural Bernese name (HBLs III:624-626).
2. *Sebastian Gräff*, with 3 other persons, on the *William and Sarah*, September 21, 1727; *Johann Christoph Groff* and *Gorg Graff*, on the *James Goodwill*, September 11, 1728 (PGP I:9; 22).

59. GROSS

Jacob Gross (c. 1743-1810), with 2 brothers, to Lancaster County; by 1775 preacher, later bishop; family name in Pennsylvania, Middle West, Canada (ME II:598-599; MC 140).

1. Swiss forms: *Gross, Gros*; widely dispersed

in Switzerland; also in rural Bernese areas like Grindelwald (HBLs III:756-758).

2. *Johannes Gross*, age 36, on the *Plaisance*, September 21, 1732; *Jacob, Johann Anderes, Johann Christian*, on the *Neptune*, October 4, 1752 (PGP I:79; 493-494).

60. HABEGGER (Habecker, Habeger, Hapeger, Hawbecker).

Frist Anabaptist record in 1564; at Trub, Ct. Bern (ME II:619).

In the Bishopric of Basel *Ulrich Habegger* active as minister in 1764 (BA 80).

Hans Jacob Habegger, with others, on the *Charming Nancy*, October 8, 1737 (ME II:619; MC 384; PGP I:188).

Family in Lancaster and Franklin Counties; Adams County, Indiana; and Niagara County, New York (ME II:619).

In 1865 *Peter Habegger*, minister, from the Jura to Münsterberg congregation, Berne, Indiana (BA 154).

61. HARNISH (Harnisch, Harnist).

Old family name of Schwarzenburg, Ct. Bern (HBLs IV:77).

Before 1718 a *Martin Harnist* in Lancaster County; two families in 1732 (MC 146; ME II:665).

Samuel Harnisch, age 28, and *Anna*, age 28, on the *Plaisance*, September 21, 1732 (PGP I:80, 83).

62. HAURY (Hauri).

17th Century Anabaptist name, in the Bernese Aargau (BA 47).

After 1648 to the Palatinate; in 1745 a *Jacob Haury* there; progeny to Bavaria, later to USA; 19th Century arrivals to Illinois; now mostly in Kansas (ME II: 679-680).

Swiss forms: *Hauri* (Hirschtal, Ct. Aargau), *Hauri* and *Houri* in Ct. Luzern (HBLs IV:90-91).

63. HEGE (Hage, Hagey, Hagy, Hegi, Hegy).

1616 *Hirzel Hägi* sentenced to galley service, in Zürich (MQR XXXIV [July 1960] 201).

Hans Hege, from Zweibrücken, Germany, on the *Goodwill*, September 27, 1727; to Lancaster County. Family in Pennsylvania, Ontario, Canada, Illinois, and Iowa (ME II:687-689; MC 151-152; PGP I:11).

Swiss form: *Hegi*; in Ct. Bern at Roggwil, in 17th Century; also in Ct. Luzern and especially Ct. Zürich (HBLs IV:110-111).

64. HELLER

Very old Swiss name, especially Ct. Zürich; in Ct. Bern at Kirchlindach (HBLs IV:135-136); two families in Lancaster County in 1749 (MC 152).

Rudolf Heeller, on the *Mortonhouse*, August 28, 1728 (PGP I:19).

65. HERR (Hare).

Early Anabaptist family, in Ct. Zürich and the Emmental, Ct. Bern (MQR XXII [July 1948] 188).

Hans Herr (1639-1725) and *Christian*, brothers, on the *Maria Hope*, September 1710; 1717, August 24, brothers *Abraham* and *Emmanuel*; settled in Lancaster County; *Christian*, minister; prominent family; especially in Pennsylvania; 1885 to Oregon (ME II:711-712; MC 154-156); 13,000 descendants estimated from early 18th Century immigrants (ME II:712).

66. HERSHBERGER (Harshbarger, Harshberger, Hersberg, Hersberger, Herscheberger, Hirschberger).

Originating in Ct. Basel, especially Thürneu and Läuelfingen; 1529 Anabaptist members recorded; 1678 to the Palatinate.

Jacob and *Casper Herschberger*, and *Christian Hirschberger*, on the *St. Andrew*, September 9, 1749; to Berks County, members of Amish congregation; widely dispersed in U.S. (ME II:714-715; MC 156; PGP I:396, 397).

67. HERSHEY (Hearsey, Hirschi, Hirsehy).

Origin in district of Schwarzenburg and Trub, Ct. Bern (HBSL IV:229).

Christian Hirschi (d. 1720) and 3 sons, 1717 to Lancaster County; *Christian Hirschi*, on the *Robert and Alice*, September 3, 1739 (ME II:715-716; MC 156-157; PGP I:270).

68. HERTZLER (Hartzler, Herzler).

Jacob Herzler, on the *St. Andrew*, September 9, 1749; first Amish minister and bishop in North America; 1750 settled in Berks County, west of Hamburg, with 3 sons, a daughter; 1749-1761 three other immigrants; prolific; 1952 family history lists 36,548 individuals in 11 generations; 8,757 families; 359 in the ministry (Mennonite and other) (ME II:716-717; MC 157-158; PGP I:396).

69. HESS

Widely dispersed Swiss family name; in Ct. Bern especially Trachselwald and Burgdorf (HBSL IV:207-210).

Hans Hess (d. 1733), early 18th Century, to Lancaster County; families in Pennsylvania, Kansas, California, Iowa, Illinois (ME II:718; MC 158).

Jeremias Hess and two others, on the *Thistle of Glasgow*, August 29, 1730 (PGP I:31, 34).

70. HIESTAND (Heistandt, Heystandt, Histant).

Abraham Hiestand (b. ca. 1703) to Montgomery County; family in Pennsylvania, Canada.

1. Family recorded in 1401 at Richterswil and Hütten, Ct. Zürich (HBSL IV:220; MC 160).
2. *Jacob* and *Johannes Hiestandt*, on the *Friendship of Bristoll*, October 16, 1727 (PGP I:17).

71. HIRSCHLER (Herschler).

Soon after 1700 in the Palatinate; Alsace; to Bavaria; a *Christian Hirschler* in U.S. in 1850's (ME II:746; MQR XXX [April 1956] 140); family in first Mennonite Iowa settlement (MQR XLII [July 1968] 199).

Johann Georg Herschler, on the *Brittania*, September 18, 1773 (PGP I:751).

72. HOFFMAN (Hofmann).

1670's in the Emmental, Anabaptist family *Hofmann* from Affoltern, Ct. Bern (BA 48); in early 18th Century at Groningen, Holland (BA 65); 5 families to Pennsylvania in 1727 (MC 160; ME II:277-278).

1. Swiss forms: *Hofmann*, *Hoffmann*; widely dispersed (HBSL IV:263-265).
2. *Burckhardt*, *Hans Lenord*, *Henerick Hoffmann*, on the *Molly*, September 30, 1727; *Johann Jörg Hoffmann*, on the *Friendship of Bristoll*, October 16, 1727 (PGP I:12, 13; 17).

73. HOFSTETTER (Hoffstetter).

From Langnau, Ct. Bern; 1821, *Peter*, 1824 brothers *Nicolas* and *Christian*, to Sonnenberg, Wayne County, Ohio settlement; today in Ohio, Missouri (MC 161; ME II:785-786).

Swiss forms: *Hofstetter*, *Hofstettler*; in Cts. Appenzell, Bern, Luzern, St. Gallen (HBSL IV:267-268).

74. HOLDEMAN (Haldeman, Haldenmann, Haldiman, Halteman, Halterman, Holdermann, Holdiman).

1538 first Anabaptist family at Eggwil, Ct. Bern.

Nicholas, *Hans*, and *Michael*, brothers, on the *Adventure*, October 2, 1727; to Montgomery County; *Hans* and *Michael* to Chester County; 1827 to Wayne County, Ohio; 1849 *Hans's* widow and 10 sons to Elkhart County, Indiana; 1873 *David S. Holdeman* to McPherson County, Kansas (ME II:788-789; MC 143, 161; PGP I:15).

Swiss forms: *Haldemann*, *Haldimann*, *Haldimand*; family name of Ct. Bern (especially Signau and Konolfingen districts), Cts. Neuenburg and Waadt (HBSL IV:56).

75. HOOVER (Hoover, Hover, Hubbert, Huber, Hubert, Hueber, Huvar).

Ulrich Huber, from Röthenbach, Signau district, Ct. Bern; executed at Bern 1538 (BA 23).

Hans Huber (ca. 1670-1750), between 1710 and 1715 to Pennsylvania, settled at Mill Creek, Lancaster County; *Hoovers* pioneered Haldimand County, Ontario, before 1080 (ME II:809; MC 163-164, 168); *Martin Huber* (ca. 1760-1849), bishop, from Lancaster County 1804 to Markham, Ontario; 1837 to Ohio; 1848 to Indiana (MQR XLVI [January 1972] 73).

1. Swiss form: *Huber*; name known all over Switzerland (HBSL IV:299-305); *Hubert* is listed as a separate name, known in the Cts. of

Freiburg and Wallis (*ibid.*, p. 305).

2. *Hans Jerg* and *Jacob Hüber*, on the *Molly*, September 30, 1727 (PGP I:13, 14); *Johann Heinrich Huber*, linen-weaver of Oberkulm, Ct. Aargau; 1665 to the Palatinate; returned 1674; son *Jonas* (b. 1723), owner of farm in Ellerstadt, Palatinate; 1738 to America with 10 children (HBLs Supplement 86).

76. HOSTETTLER (Hochstetler, Hochstettler, Hostetler, Hostetter).

Origin of Anabaptist family in Guggisberg, Ct. Bern (ME II:818).

1670's a *Hostettler* family in Schwarzenburg region, in 1759 in Montbéliard area (BA 49, 89).

Jacob Hochstettler (1704-1776), on the *Harle*, September 1, 1736; Amish; settled north of Reading, Pennsylvania; others in Lancaster County; also Wayne County, Ohio (ME II:818; MC 166-168; PGP I:155).

1. Swiss form: *Hostettler*, from small settlement Hostett near Schönentannen, Ct. Bern (HBLs Supplement 87).
2. *Oswald Hostetter*, age 30, with others, on the *Samuel*, August 11, 1732 (PGP I:59-61).

77. HUNSBERGER

Mennonite families in Eastern Pennsylvania and Ontario; *Henry Hunsberger* (1768-1854), bishop (ME II:844; MC 169).

78. HUNSICKER (Honsaker, Hunsecker, Hunsinger, Hunzinger, Hunziker, Unziker).

Of Aargau origin to the Palatinate, Alsace (BA 47).

Valentine Hunsicker (1700-1771), 1717 to Montgomery County, settled at Skippack; families in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio (ME II:844-845; MC 169-170).

1. Swiss form: *Hunziker*; in Cts. Aargau, Bern (Schwarzhausen, Wynau, Thun), and Luzern (HBLs IV:324).
2. *Elisabeth Hartman*, and six children, named *Huntseker*, on the *Pennsylvania Merchant*, September 10, 1731 (PGP I:43, 44).

79. KAEGE (Kaegi, Kaegy, Kägi, Kaiggy).

First mention 1616; Anabaptist at Wald, Ct. Zürich.

Hans Rudolf Kägy, 1715 to Lancaster County; families in Virginia; never prominent among Mennonite group (ME III:134).

1. Swiss form *Kägi*, in Ct. St. Gallen (Gommiswald) and Ct. Zürich (city, Fischenthal and Bauma) (HBLs IV:432).
2. *Rudolph Kägy*, on the *Hero*, October 27, 1764 (PGP I:698).

80. KANAGY (Genegy, Gnaeg, Gnaegi, Gnagey, Gnagy, Kenagi, Kenege).

1723 *Hans Gnagi* at Montbéliard; 1742 *Johanes Qnäg*, on the *Francis and Elizabeth*, September 21, 1742;

1749 *Barbara Kenege* directly from Switzerland; 1750's *Christian Gnaegi* from Switzerland to Somerset County; descendants in 1950's still there; 1754 *John Kenegy* to America; descendants in Ohio; brother *Joseph* with 5 sons to Berks County (ME III:143; MC 186, 189; PGP I:329).

Swiss form: *Gnaegi*; Bernese origin, in villages Nidau, Ipsach, Bellmund, Schwadernau, Täuffelen, and Hochstetten (HBLs III:575).

81. KAUFFMAN (Cauffman, Coffman, Kaufman, Kaufmann, Kauffmann).

Between 1671 and 1711 a Bernese family migrated to Alsace (BA 39); Amish; several to Galicia and Volhynia (1803), then to Kansas and South Dakota; *Andreas* and *Isaac Kauffman*, from Steffisburg in Ct. Bern, at Friesenheim, Palatinate, emigrated in 1717 to Pennsylvania; some later to Virginia, name *Coffman*; in 19th Century, others to Ontario.

Jacob Kauffman, 1754 to Berks County, from the Palatinate; Amish; prominent in that group, especially *Daniel Kauffman* (1865-1944) (ME III:156, 156-157; MC 63, 64, 187-188).

1. Swiss form: *Kaufmann*, in various regions; in Ct. Bern especially in Oberland (HBLs IV:462).
2. *Heinrich Kaufman*, on the *Molly*, September 30, 1727; *Hanes [Johannes] Kauffman*, on the *Mortonhouse*, August 23, 1728 (PGP I:14, 19).

82. KENDIG (Kindig, Kuendig, Kündig).

Martin Kündig, on the *Maria Hope*, September 1710; to Pequea, Lancaster County; by 1717 more immigrants of that name (MQR XLII [July 1968] 175-181; [October 1968] 289).

First Mennonite in Illinois: *Benjamin Kendig*, from Augusta County, Virginia, in 1833 (BA 170).

1. Swiss form: *Kündig*; name in Cts. Basel, Luzern, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Zürich (especially villages of Bäretswil and Bauma); earliest mention 1331, village of Kaltbrunn, Ct. St. Gallen (HBLs IV:554).
2. *Martine Kindige*, on the *Molly*, September 30, 1727 (PGP I:13).

83. KENNEL

Peter Kennel (d. 1896), in 1830 to Butler County, Ohio; families now in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Nebraska (ME III:165-166; MC 190-191).

1. Swiss forms: *Kaenel* (in Ct. Bern: Bargen, Kappelen, Schwarzhausen, HERNISWIL, Wangenried); *Kaenel*, from Kaenel, Ct. Freiburg; *von Kaenel* in Ct. Bern (Aeschi, Reichenbach, Winomis); *Kennel*, *Kaennel* in Ct. Schwyz (HBLs IV:434, 476).
2. *Niclaus Kunel*, age 42, and *Katherina Elizabeth Kenel*, age 50, on the *Britannia*, September 21, 1731 (PGP I:49, 53).

84. KIPFER (Küpfer).

Elsbeth Küpfer, from Sumiswald, Ct. Bern, executed at Bern in 1538 (BA 23).

Ulrich Kipfer, Anabaptist leader in the Emmental in 1810; a minister of the same name in 1852 to Adams County, Indiana (d. 1866) (BA 100, 135, 153, 154; ME III:178-179); *Jacob Kuepfer*, b. in Switzerland, May 30, 1798, with two brothers to Waterloo County, Ontario (MC 198).

1. Swiss forms: *Küpfer* (in city of Bern); *Küpfer* and *Kipfer* in Emmental Valley, in the district of Konolfingen, in Bärswil, Steffisburg, and Wangenried (HBLs IV:557-558).
2. *Rudolf Küpfer*, on the *Countess of Sussex*, October 7, 1765 (PGP I:708).

85. KIRCHHOFFER

David Kirchhofer emigrated 1819 from Sonnenberg in the *Jura*, to Sonnenberg, Wayne County, Ohio (BA 111, 132, 138; MQR XXI [April 1947] 73).

1. Swiss form: *Kirchhofer*; in Cts. St. Gallen, Schaffhausen, and Solothurn (HBLs IV: 498).
2. *Christoph Kirchhoff*, with family of 5, on the *James Goodwill*, September 27, 1727 (PGP I:12).

86. KOENIG

In 1730's Amish *König* family in Berks County. Ca. 1754 family *König* left Courtelary district, Bernese Jura, to Pennsylvania (BA 168, 85).

1. Swiss form: *Koenig*; in various cantons; in Ct. Bern also an old, widely dispersed rural family name (HBLs IV:522-524).
2. *Gabriel Konigh*, on the *Pennsylvania Merchant*, September 11, 1732 (PGP I:69).

87. KOLB (Culp, Kulp).

Early Anabaptist family; between 1671 and 1717 to Palatinate; 1707, *Heinrich, Jacob, Johannes, Dielman*, sons of *Dielman Kolb* (1648-1712), from Wolfsheim, Palatinate, to Germantown, Pennsylvania; 1709 *Martin Kolb*, one of the emigrants, ordained minister.

1717 *Dielman Kolb* (1691-1756), preacher at Salford, Montgomery County (ME III:213-214; MC 194-196, 199).

1. Swiss form: *Kolb*; in Ct. Bern (districts of Burgdorf, Interlaken, Konolfingen, Nidau, and Steffisburg); also in Ct. Thurgau (Güttingen and Lanzenneunform (HBLs IV:527).
2. *Dielman Colb*, and *Judith*, on the *Mortonhouse*, August 17, 1729; *Hans Kaspar Kolb*, on the *Allen*, September 11, 1729 (PGP I: 23, 26; 30).

88. KURTZ

Johannes and *Christian Kurtz*, sons of *Stephen*, from Switzerland to Pennsylvania in 1732, settled in Berks and Lancaster Counties.

- A. [*Abraham*] *Kurrztz*, on the *Robert and Alice*, December 3, 1740 (PGP I:289).

David Kurtz, from Germany, early 19th Century to Indiana (MC 199-200; ME III:262).

1. Swiss form: *Kurz*; family name in Cts. Aargau, Basel, Bern, and Luzern (HBLs IV:571).
2. *Johannes Kurtz*, on the *Adventure*, October 2, 1727 (PGP I:15).

89. LANDES (Landis).

Hans Landis, last Anabaptist executed in Ct. Zürich, 1614.

Jacob Landis (1687-1730), with *Benjamin, Felix, Johannes*, 1717 to Pennsylvania from Mannheim; brothers (ME III:280-282; MC 202-203).

Jacob's son *Benjamin* (1700-1781), minister in Lancaster County; progenitor of Lancaster County Landis line (ME III:281).

1. Old family name of *Horgen* and *Hirzel*, Ct. Zürich (HBLs IV:593).
2. *Rodolf Landish*, on the *Molly*, September 30, 1727 (PGP I:14).

90. LATSCHA (Lachet, Latschar, Latschaw, Leutscher, Lörsch, Lörtscher, Löscher, Lötscher).

Origin at Lafferbach, near Erlenbach in the Bernese Simmental.

1601 hymn by a *Hans Lötscher*; a *Hans Lörsch* (*Lötscher*) imprisoned 1667 (BA 20, 36); 1714 a *Hans Lötscher* from the Simmental to Alsace; spread to the Palatinate; son *Johannes Franz* to Berks County; other *Lötschers* to Holland, name *Leutscher* (ME III: 297, 329, 400; MC 206).

1. Swiss forms: *Lötscher, Lörtscher*; in Bernese region; spread to other cantons (HBLs IV:704).
2. *Frans Latshow*, on the *Mortonhouse*, August 23, 1728 (PGP I:18).

91. LEHMAN (Layman, Leaman, Leeman, Leemann, Lehmann, Leman).

Early Anabaptist family; 1727 *Hans Leaman* (*Lehmann*), on the *James Goodwill*, September 27, 1727; preceded by a *Peter Leman*, August 24, 1717; settled in Lancaster County (ME III:313-314; MC 208-210; MQR XLII [October 1968] 287; PGP I:10). Influential Mennonite family (BA 80-168, passim; MC 208-210).

1. Swiss forms: *Lehmann* and *Leemann*; the latter especially of Ct. Zürich origin; in various cantons (HBLs IV:641, 646-647).
2. *Johannes Lemahn*, on the *Adventure*, October 2, 1727; *Peter Leman*, on the *Friendship of Bristoll*, October 16, 1727 (PGP I:15, 16).

92. LICHTI (Leichti, Leichty, Leighty, Lichdi, Lichty, Liechti, Liechty).

Early Anabaptist family; after 1671 in Palatinate; also in Holland; 1750 first family to Lancaster County; later to Ohio, then Indiana (ME III: 335; MC 212).

1754 *Ulrich Liechti* and family, to Pennsylvania, "very poor Anabaptists" (F/BR 31).

In 1850 the *Jacob* and *John Liechty* families settled



View of Aarburg by Merian.

Madison Township, Polk County, Iowa (BA 158, 159).
After 1876, *John and Nicklaus Liechty* moved from Sonnenberg, Wayne County, Ohio, to Western Oregon (BA 165).

1. Swiss forms: *Liechti*; in Ct. Bern (especially districts of Burgdorf, Signau, and Trachselwald); *Lichti* and *Liechti* in Ct. Zürich (HBLs IV:679).
2. *Christian and Catrina Lichtie*, on the *Charming Nancy*, October 8, 1737 (PGP I:188, 190).

93. LITWILLER (Litmiller, Litwiler, Lütwyler).
17th Century Anabaptist family *Lütwyler*, in the Bernese Aargau (BA 47).

From there to Alsace; 1829 *Peter Litwiller* (1809-1878) to Ontario; family also in Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois (ME III:377; MC 213).

94. LONG (Lang).

In 1728 *John Long*, in Landis Valley, Lancaster County, since ca. 1718; more families in 1730's (MC 214; ME III:282).

1. Swiss form: *Lang*; family name widely dispersed (HBLs IV:599-600).
2. *Conrath Long*, age 38, and *Hannah Boble [Annababeli] Long*, age 28, on the *Adventure*, September 23, 1732; *Hans Adam Lang*, age 30, and family, on the *Samuel*, August 17, 1733; *Johans Lang*, age 45, and family on the *Charming Betty*, October 11, 1733 (PGP I:84, 87; 108, 109, 112; 135, 136).

95. LONGENECKER (Langanacker, Langenecker, Longacre, Longaker, Longinegger).

John Langenegger, ca. 1717 at Pequea, Lancaster County (MQR XLII [October 1968] 289); *Daniel Longenecker* in 1720 (ME III:389; MC 214-215).

1. Swiss form: *Langenegger*, Ct. Appenzell (HBLs IV:601).

2. *Christian and Anna Barbary Longenacre* on the *Mortonhouse*, August 17, 1729 (PGP I:24).

96. MAST (Maust, Mest, Moist, Moss).

Jacob Mast, with four persons, on the *William and Sarah*, September 18, 1727; to Skippack; *Jacob and Barbara Mast*, on the *Charming Nancy*, October 8, 1737; to Lancaster County; *Jacob Mast* (1738-1808), born in Switzerland, with brother, 4 sisters, to Pennsylvania; in 1764 in Berks County; 12 children, all married (ME III:536; PGP I:8, 188, 190).

After 1776; *Abraham Mast*, with brothers *Jacob* and *Christian*, to America (ME III:535; MC 224-225).

1809 Amish *Jacob* and *Joseph Mast* from Somerset County; to Holmes County, Ohio (BA 142).

97. MEILI (Mailen, Meyli, Meylin, Miley, Mylin).

Old Zürich Anabaptist family; *Martin and Hans Meili*, on the *Maria Hope*, September 1710; settled at Pequea (MQR XLV [January 1971] 85; ME III:666; MC 258).

Swiss forms: *Meile*, *Meili*; in Cts. St. Gallen, Thurgau, and Zürich; St. Gallen also *Maile*, *Mayle* (HBLs V:67).

98. METZLER

Jost Metzler, age 45, on the *Glasgow*, September 9, 1738; to Lancaster County; *Valentine Metzler* (1726-1783); arrived 1738 (ME III:659; MC 241-242; PGP I:208).

Swiss name of Cts. Graubünden and St. Gallen; in the latter also forms of *Maetzler*, *Mezler* (HBLs V:94).

99. MEYER (Maier, Mayer, Meier, Meyers, Moyer, Moyers, Myer, Myers).

Old Anabaptist name of Switzerland; 1759 also in Montbéliard (BA 15, 47, 89).

In 1719 *Christian Meyer* (d. 1751), settled in Lower

Salford, Montgomery County (ME III:763).

Ca. 1741 a widow *Meyer*, with daughter and four sons from Switzerland to Springfield, Lehigh County (MC 258).

1. Swiss forms: *Meyer, Meier, Mayer, Maier*; in all cantons (HBSL V:96-108).
2. In 1727, various immigrant families *Meyer*, but Swiss origin undetermined (cf. PGP I:7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 17).

100. MILLER (Müller).

1710 *Jacob Miller* to Lancaster County; few descendants.

Name strong in Amish Midwestern congregations (1956, 131 ordained men) (ME III:690-693; MC 244-246).

1. Swiss form: *Müller*; numerous (HBSL V:181-192).
2. Many arrivals, but Swiss origin undertermined (PGP I:8; 11-13; 15; 23; 26).

101. MOSER (Musser).

In 1754 a *Moser* family from Courtelary, Ct. Bern, to Pennsylvania; by 1800 others from there.

1821 *Jacob* and *Barbara Wahli Moser* from Am Stalden in the Jura, Switzerland, to Sonnenberg settlement in Wayne County, Ohio; son *John* (1826-1908), minister, bishop; families in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Oregon (ME III:756; MC 253, 258; BA 85, 133-156, passim).

1. Swiss form: *Moser*; widely dispersed name in Switzerland (HBSL V:169-171).
2. *Christane, Hans, and Jost Moser*, on the *Molly*, September 30, 1727 (PGP I:12, 14).

102. MOSIMANN (Moseman, Mosemann, Mosiman).

Origin in the Emmental, Ct. Bern; 1633-1670, 10 cases of *Mosimann* Anabaptists before city council of Bern.

Between 1671 and 1711 to Alsace; 1759 a *Mosimann* family from Sumiswald, Ct. Bern, in Montbéliard (BA 39, 89).

In 1831 *Michael Mosimann* (1820?-1898), from the Lorraine district, France, to United States; 1852, *Jacob* (1795-1876), from Germany to Bowmansville, Lancaster County; families in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois (ME III:757; MC 252-253).

1. Swiss form: *Mosimann*, in Ct. Bern, especially Emmental (HBSL V:171-172).
2. *Andreas Mosemann, Christian Mosiman*, on the *Pennsylvania Merchant*, September 18, 1733 (PGP I:125).

103. NAFZIGER (Naffsinger, Naffzer, Naffziger, Naffzir, Naftiger, Naftsinger, Naftziger, Nafzger, Nafzinger, Noffsinger, Nofsinger, Nofsker, Norfziger).

Ulrich Naffzer, on the *Marlborough*, September 23, 1741 (PGP I:295).

Matheias, Peter Nafsker and *Rudolf Nafzger*, on the *Phoenix*, September 15, 1749 (PGP I:407); others in 1750's "were associated with unmistakably Swiss-Amish Mennonite people" (MQR II [January 1928] 70); origin in Thun, Ct. Bern (*ibid.* [April 1928] 152; and [July 1928] 198; but not in BA!)

Peter Nafziger (1789-1885) from Bavaria.

Christian Nafziger (1819-1892) from France 1831 to Wayne County, Ohio; *Noffsinger* family in first Mennonite settlement in Iowa (MQR XLII [July 1968] 201); families in Ontario, Midwestern states (ME III:806-807; MC 259-260).

104. NEUENSCHWANDER (Neiswander, Neuenschwander, Neuschwanger, Newschwanger, Newswanger, Nicewander, Nisewander, Niswander).

Old rural Bernese name in Signau district, also in villages, Niederstocken, Höfen, and Lützelflüh, Ct. Bern (HBSL V:287).

1551 *Mathis Neuenschwander* fled from the Emmental, Ct. Bern.

1729 *Peter Neuenschwander* and family to Cortébert in the Jura; grandson *Michael* to Normanvillars, France, then to Wayne County, Ohio, in 1823; 1849 *Michael's* son, *John B.* to Polk County, Iowa.

1880's the *Christian Neuenschwander* Mennonite family to Oregon, settled near Silverton (BA 48-165, passim; ME III:847-848; MC 262).

1. Swiss form: *Neuenschwander* (HBSL V:287).
2. *Xtian [Christian] Newswange*, on the *Mortonhouse*, August 23, 1728 (PGP I:17).

105. NUSBAUM (Nussbaum, Nussbaumer).

16th Century Mennonite family recorded at Icherts-wil, Bucheggberg, Ct. Solothurn (BA 43); 1817 *Hans Nussbaum*, author of two emigrant letters from there to Wayne County, Ohio (by 1831 a Mennonite, whether before, uncertain; BA 130, note 8).

Families in Ohio, Indiana, Iowa (ME III:929; MC 270; BA 137-158, passim).

1. Swiss forms: *Nussbaum* from Cts. Bern and Freiburg; *Nussbaumer* from Cts. Zürich and Zug (HBSL V:315-316).
2. *Bendickt* and *Johannes Nusbaum*, on the *Phoenix*, September 30, 1743 (PGP I:346-347).

106. OBERHOLTZER (Oberholzer, Overholser, Overholt, Overholtzer).

1710 *Martin* and *Michael Oberholtzer* from Mannheim, Germany, to Pequea, Lancaster County; of Ct. Zürich origin; families in Pennsylvania (ME IV: 12-14; MC 271-272; MQR XLV [January 1971] 85-86).

1. Swiss form: *Oberholzer*; origin Ct. St. Gall, especially village of Goldingen; Ct. Zürich, village of Wald, in neighborhood of Goldingen (HBSL V:322-323).
2. *Jacob Oberholtzer*, age 28, with children *Elizabeth*, age 6, and *Sam[uel]*, age 3 on

the *Samuel*, August 11, 1732 (PGP I:61, 64).

107. PLANK (Blank).

Early 18th Century Bernese family *Blank* in Alsace (BA 87). 1751 a *Hans* and *Christian Blank* to Pennsylvania.

Melchior Plank (Johann Melchior Blankenberg), 1767, from Holland, of Swiss origin (?) (PGP I:718); to Berks County.

Family in Ohio, Indiana, and other Midwestern states; various bishops (ME IV:185; MC 30; 291-292).

1. Swiss form: *Blank*; Ct. Bern especially at Ins, Thun, Steffisburg, and Sigriswil; also in Cts. Schaffhausen and Uri (HBLS II:264).
2. *Hans, Jacob, and Nickolas Blanck*, on the *St. Andrew*, September 23, 1752 (PGP I:485).

108. PLETSCHER (Plätscher, Pletcher).

Ca. 1650 a *Pletscher* family from Schleithem, Ct. Schaffhausen, to Palatinate; 1757 a widow *Pletcher* and 2 sons in Lancaster County (MC 294).

1833 *Johannes Pletscher* (b. 1780) from Friedelsheim, to USA; wife *Elisabeth Leisi*, with 6 children (MQR XXX [April 1956] 142-151, Nos. 28, 38, 39-41, 50; ME IV:194).

1. Swiss forms: *Pletscher, Bletscher*; Ct. Schaffhausen, especially Schleithem (HBLS V:455).
2. *Michel Plätscher*, on the *Francis and Elizabeth*, September 21, 1742 (PGP I:328).

109. RABER (Räber, Reber).

Early Mennonite family; 1670 families in the Emmental, Ct. Bern.

1711 *Samuel Reber* deported, escaped at Mannheim (BA 61-62).

1837 *Jacob Raber* and 6 children to Ohio; large progeny; 99 ministers among Amish, other Mennonite groups.

1837 *Christian Raber*, probably brother, to Ohio; later to Lee County, Iowa.

Late 1830's *John Reber* (b. 1820), from Alsace to Elkhart County, Indiana; 1853 to Johnson County, Iowa (ME IV:240-241; MC 302).

1. Swiss forms: *Raeber, Reber*, in Cts. Aargau, Basel, Bern, Luzern (HBLS V:513, 546-547).
2. *Conrad Räber*, on the *Ann Galley*, September 27, 1746 (PGP I:361).

110. RAMSEIER (Ramsayer, Ramseyer).

Mennonite families especially from Eggiwil, Signau and Trub, Ct. Bern.

1710 *Hans Ramseier* among 57 deportees; escaped.

1762 *Peter Ramseier* in the Jura, visiting Palatinate (BA 81, 82).

19th Century, most *Ramseier* Mennonite immigrant families to Ohio; also in Ontario, Central Illinois, and Michigan (ME IV:250; MC 303).

1. Swiss forms: *Ramseyer, Ramseier*; widely dispersed in Ct. Bern (HBLS V:527-528).

2. *Heinrich Ramsauer*, age 30, and *Ann Ramsaurin*, age 32, and *John Ramsaur*, age 9, on the *Samuel*, August 11, 1732 (PGP I:61, 65).

111. REIST

1670 *Reist* Mennonite families at Hinterbrittern and Oberthal, Emmental Valley, Ct. Bern (BA 48).

Peter Reist (d. 1743), ca. 1724 in Lancaster County; families in Pennsylvania; Waterloo County, Ontario; Texas (ME IV:281; MC 307).

Hans Uli Reist, on the *Phoenix*, October 1, 1754 (PGP I:636).

112. RISSER (Reeser, Reesor, Resor, Reuser, Reusser, Rieser, Rüssor).

Bernese Anabaptist family name; between 1671 and 1711 *Reusser* family to Alsace; in 17th Century *Reusser* from Hilterfingen in Thun area (BA 38, 48).

1712 first members to America; 1737 *Peter Risser* (1713-1804) from Switzerland to Lancaster County; 8 children; son *Christian*, 1774 to Markham, Ontario; his son *Jacob* and *Mary*, born *Snyder*, ancestors of *Rissers, Reesors, Reeser* of Lancaster, Dauphin, and Lebanon Counties and Markham, Ontario (ME IV:340-341; MC 305, 314).

Johannes Risser and *Maria*, his wife, born *Strohm*, in 1832, from Friedelsheim in Palatinate, to Ohio (MQR XXX [January 1956] 45).

1. Swiss forms: *Two* names seem to be involved, perhaps fused:
 - a) *Reusser*, in various villages of the district Thun, Ct. Bern (HBLS V:591).
 - b) *Ryser*, in many districts of the Ct. of Bern; *Rieser* in Ct. Thurgau; and *Riser* in Ct. Luzern (HBLS V:777-778, 628).
2. *Ulrich Riser* on the *Adventure*, October 2, 1727; *Hans Reser* on the *Friendship of Bristol*, October 16, 1727; *Hans Jerg* and *Gorg Adam Riser*, on the *Loyal Judith*, September 25, 1732 (PGP I:15, 16; 91).

113. ROTH (Rot).

Early Anabaptist family name; family between 1671 and 1711 to Alsace from Ct. Bern; 1759 a *Roth* from Steffisburg in Montbéliard (BA 39, 89).

1740's a *Roth* had founded Hershey Mennonite Church, York County (ME II:715-716).

Jonas Roth and two brothers from Switzerland 1740 to Pennsylvania, later to Virginia.

Benjamin, Nicholas, and Joseph Roth, from Alsace-Lorraine ca. 1820 to Ontario; Benjamin later to Iowa; family name widely dispersed (ME IV:363-364; MC 318; BA 135, 169).

114. RUPP (Ropp).

Early Swiss Anabaptist family in Bernese region.

Early 18th Century family from Sigriswil, Ct. Bern, in Montbéliard (BA 87).

1736 *Peter Rupp*, on the *Harle* to Pennsylvania.

1751 *Jonas Rupp*, to Lebanon County, on the *Phoenix*, September 2, 1751 (ME IV:378-379; MC 319; PGP I:156; 471).

Swiss form: *Rupp*, in Ct. Uri and Bern, especially districts of Burgdorf, Signau, and Thun (HBSL V:758); name should not be fused with *Ruff*, *Ruf* (Ct. Bern); *Ruf*, *Ruof*, *Ruff* (Ct. Schaffhausen), *Ruff*, *Ruof* (Ct. Wallis), *Ruf*, *Ruof*, *Ruff* (Ct. Zürich) (HBSL V:752).

115. RYCHENER

Christian Rychener, b. 1813 in Ct. Bern, ca. 1831 with a Beck family to Wayne County, Ohio (MC 321).

Swiss forms: *Rychner*, *Richner*; earlier also: *Ryhines*, *Rychines*, *Richines*, *Richener*, *Reichnes*, from Ct. Aargau, especially Aarau, Grönichen, Rohr and Ruppenswil (HBSL V:775).

116. SAUDER (Sauter, Souder).

1730 in Weaverland, Lancaster County, a Sauder family (ME IV:905).

1746 two brothers Souder to Montgomery County (MC 324).

In Pennsylvania, Ohio (mostly Amish), Ontario (ME IV:434; MC 324).

1. Swiss forms: *Sauter*, *Sautter*, in Cts. St. Gallen, Thurgau, and Geneva (since 1696) (HBSL VI:93).
2. *Thomas*, *Margaretta*, and *Margaretta* (child) *Sauder*, on the *Johnson*, September 18, 1732; *Johann Filb [Philipp] Sauter* and *Pedter Saudter*, on the *Loyal Judith*, September 25, 1732 (PGP I:73, 74, 77; 92).

117. SCHELLENBERG (Schellenbarg, Schellenberger, Schellingbarg, Schöllbarg, Shallenberger, Shellenberger).

In 17th Century a Schallenberger family from Erlenbach in Bernese Oberland (BA 49).

Johannes Schellenberger, on the *Pennsylvania Merchant*, September 11, 1732, ancestor of American Mennonite Schellenbergers (ME IV:447-448; MC 338) [no reference to Schellenberger in PGP for that date].

Swiss form: *Schellenberg*, in Cts. Graubünden, Luzern, Zurich (HBSL VI:156-157). Name also widely native in Southern Germany (ME IV:447).

118. SCHERTZ

After 1664 in the Palatinate.

Johann Henrich Schertz, on the *Francis and Elizabeth*, September 21, 1742.

In 19th Century Amish families to Butler County, Ohio; also to Central Illinois (ME IV:450; MC 325-326; PGP I:329).

Swiss form: *Scherz*, from Köniz, Aeschi, Reichenbach, and Därligen, Ct. Bern; also in Ct. Aargau (HBSL VI:165).

119. SCHLABACH (Schlabaugh, Schlapbach, Schlapach, Schlaubach, Slaback, Slabaugh).

17th Century a Schlappach family in Thun area, from Oberdiessbach (BA 48).

Johannes Slabach and wife *Maria Elizabeth* and five children on the *Mary*, September 29, 1733 (PGP I:131, 132).

Johannes and *Christian Schlabach*, 1819, in Somerset County.



Daniel Schlabach, ca. 1834, in Fairfield County, Ohio; Pennsylvania; family in various states (ME IV:456-457; MC 328, 344).

Swiss form: *Schlabach* (cf. HBLS VI:191).

120. SCHMUTZ

Some of Swiss origin late 18th Century to America, before 1717 to Palatinate (ME IV:468).

1. Swiss form: *Schmutz*, in Cts. Basel, Bern, Freiburg, Thurgau, Zurich (HBLS VI:215).
2. *Abraham Schmutz*, on the *Francis and Elizabeth*, September 21, 1742 (PGP I:329).

121. SCHNEBELE (Schnebel, Schnebeli, Schnebly, Snavely).

Early Mennonite Schnevoli family, Ct. Zurich; 1692 *Christian* and *Daniel Schnebeli* in the Palatine.

1717 *George Snavely* in Lancaster County (MC 347).
Ca. 1718 *Johann Jakob Snavely* in Landis Valley, Lancaster County (ME III:282).

1. Swiss forms: *Schnewli*; Ct. Bern also *Schneuwlin*; Ct. Freiburg *Schneuwly*, *Snewly*; Ct. Glarus also *Schneeli*; Ct. Schaffhausen *Schnewlin*, *Snewli*; Ct. Zurich also *Snewli* (1280) (HBLS VI:221-224).
2. *Henrich Schnebli*, on the *Friendship of Bristol*, October 16, 1727 (PGP I:17).

122. SCHRAG (Schraag, Schrack, Schragg, Schrock, Shrock).

After 1664 in the Palatinate.

1763 *Christen* and *Benedicht Schrag*, from Laumberg near Wymigen, Ct. Bern, living near Court in Münstertal (BA 77).

Jacob, son of *Bendicht Schrag* (b. 1776), 1816 to Pennsylvania; 1817 followed by father; to Wayne County, Ohio.

Family now in many states (ME IV:480; MC 330-331).

1. Swiss form: *Schrag*; native of city of Bern and Wynigen, Ct. Bern (HBLS VI:243).
2. *Hanes Schrag*, on the *Polly*, October 18, 1766 (PGP I:712).

123. SCHUMACHER (Schomacher, Schomecher, Schuhmacher, Shoemaker).

Early Anabaptist family of Safenwyl, Ct. Aargau.

1682 *Jacob Schumacher* with *Pastorius* to Pennsylvania; 1685 followed by brother *Peter*; both from Kriegsheim, Palatinate (BA 41; ME IV:501; MC 334).

1. Swiss forms: *Schumacher*, *Schuhmacher*; widely dispersed in various cantons (HBLS VI:257-258).
2. *Jerich [Jörg] Schuhmacher* and *Hans Martain Shoomak*, on the *William and Sarah*, September 18, 1727 (PGP I:7, 9).

124. SHANK (Schenck, Schenk, Shenck, Shenk).

Early Anabaptist family; in 1670's a Schänck family

in Mühlebach, Emmental Valley (BA 4) 8; others to the Palatinate.

Michael Schenk, on the *Molly*, September 30, 1727; to Lancaster County; 1729 naturalized; died 1744; son's family 1757 at Millersville, Lancaster County (ME III:963).

Swiss form: *Schenk*; in Cts. Bern (especially Signau district), Luzern, St. Gallen, Schaffhausen, Waadt, and Zürich (HBLS VI:158).

125. SHANTZ (Jansen, Jantz, Johns, Schantz, Schanz, Shanz, Tschantz, Yantz, Yantzi).

Early Mennonite family; *Hans Tschantz* of Kiesen, Ct. Bern, imprisoned

1737 *Jacob Schantz*, immigrant, in Montgomery County.

1742 *Hans Tschantz* bishop in Lancaster County.

Ca. 1768 *Joseph Schantz* (1749-1810), name changed to *Johns*; 1793 to Somerset County; 1810 city of Johnstown founded on his land; descendants to Elkhart County, Indiana; Amish.

1824 *Johannes Tschantz* and son *Abraham* to Sonnenberg, Wayne County, Ohio (ME IV:510-512; MC 181, 325, 375, 336-337).

1. Swiss forms: *Tschanz*; widely known in districts of Konolfingen, Signau and Thun, Ct. Bern (HBLS VII:69).
2. *Jacob Schantz* and family, on the *Charming Nancy*, October 8, 1737; *Jacob*, on the *Townsend*, October 5, 1737; *Johannes*, on the *William*, October 31, 1737 (PGP I:187; 190, 193; 196).

126. SHOWALTER (Schowalter).

From Switzerland to Palatinate; in 19th Century many families there on record (MQR XXX [April 1956], 137, 140, 143).

Jacob Showalter, on the *Brotherhood*, November 3, 1750; to Lancaster County; eight sons: *Christian* (in Lancaster County), *Peter* and *Jacob* (in Bucks County), *John* and *Joseph* (in Chester County), *Daniel*, *Valentine*, and *Ulrich* (in Rockingham County, Virginia).

1850 *Christian Showalter* (1828-1907) to Hayesville Ohio, then Donnellson, Iowa (ME IV:516-517; MC 330, 342; PGP I:448).

John Showalter, on the *Muscliffe*, December 22, 1744 (PGP I:359).

127. SHUPE (Shoop).

1718 *John Shoop* to Lancaster County; in Pennsylvania, Middle West (MC 343).

1. Swiss forms: *Schoop*, *Schop*, in Cts. Schaffhausen and Thurgau (HBLS VI:238-239).
2. *Veronica Shoepin*, on the *St. Andrew*, September 12, 1734, *Johan Jerick* and *Christophal Shope*, on the *Loyal Judith*, September 3, 1739 (PGP I:139; 266).

128. SMUCKER (Schmucker, Smoker, Smooker, Smucker).

18th Century in Switzerland; 1759 a *Schmucker* family from Grindelwald in Montbéliard (BA 98). *Christian Schmucker*, on the *St. Andrew*, September 23, 1752; to Berks County; grandson to Wayne County, Ohio, ca. 1819; 1950's some 8000 descendants in Mennonite communities, especially in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois (ME IV:553-554; MC 329, 330; 347; PGP I:485).

1. Swiss forms: *Schmucker*, *Smuker*, a family from Stein am Rhein (HBSL VI:214).
2. *Johanes Jerg Schmucker*, on the *Elliot*, August 24, 1749 (PGP I:391).

129. SNYDER (Schneider, Schnyder, Snider).

Early Bernese Anabaptist family, *Ulrich Schneider* from Lützelflüh, Ct. Bern, executed in March, 1535 (BA 21); in Alsace after 1671 (BA 39), in 1670's a Schnyder family from Eriz in Thun area, Ct. Bern (BA 4) 8.

Heinrich Schneider (1272-172), in Lancaster County; perhaps the *Heinrich Schneyder*, on the *Vewrnon*, October 25, 1747; *Hermanus* and *Johannes Schneider* in Juniata County; perhaps *Hermanus Schneider*, on the *Patience*, September 19, 1479; and *Johannes Schneider*, on the *Ranier*, September 26, 1749 (PGP I:363; 408; 411). Families mainly in Lancaster County; Illinois, Virginia; Nebraska, Ontario (ME IV:556-557; MC330, 348-349).

1. Swiss forms: *Schneider*, *Schnider*, *Schnyder*; widely dispersed name in Switzerland (HBSL VI:216-219).
2. *Christian Snyder*, to Germantown, on the *William and Sarah*, September 1, 8 127; 7 *Johannes Snider*, on the *Molly*, September 30, 1727 (PGP I:8, 12).

130. SOMMER (Sommers, Summer, Summers).

Bernese Anabaptist family; after 1671 also in Alsace (BA 39).

Isaac Sommer, from the Jura to Sonnenberg, Wayne County, Ohio, in 1819; same year *Christian* (1811-1891); families in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, (ME IV:575-576; MC 349-350; BA 132, 133, 138, 144, 155).

1. Swiss forms: *Sommer*; in Ct. Bern also *Summer*, family from Sumiswald; also native of Ct. Zürich (HBSL VI:444).
2. *Adam Sommer*, on the *James Goodwill*, September 11, 127; 8 *Christian* and *Johns Sumer*, on the *Phoenix*, September 15, 1749 (PGP I:22; 407).

131. SPRUNGER

18th Century Mennonite families, native of Sarmenstorf, Ct. Aargau and Oberwangen, Ct. Thurgau.

1741 *Jacob Sprunger* to the Jura; 1852 some 70 from Jura to Adams County, Indiana, nucleus of

Berne, Indiana, congregation (ME IV:605-606; BA 154-156; MQR III [April 1929] 235).

132. STAEHLI (Stahley, Stähli, Stahly, Staley, Stehli, Steli).

Early Swiss Anabaptist family; 1670's some to Palatinate.

1711 *Jacob Stähli* (b. ca. 1676), of Hilterfingen, Ct. Bern, to Holland.

1829 first emigrants to America; *Johann* and *Jacob Stähli*, to Ohio; 1839 to Elkhart, Indiana; followed by mother, other children, 1832; families in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Canada (ME IV:609; MC 354; BA 44, 49, 68, 126).

1. Widely dispersed Swiss family; Bernese form mainly *Staehtli* (in districts of Interlaken, Oberhasle, Schwarzenburg, and Thun); in Basel, *Staechelin*, and *Stehelin*; name also in Cts. Freiburg, Glarus, Schwyz, and Zürich (HBSL VI:489-490, 493, 516-519).
2. *Ulrich*, age 32, and *Anna*, age 27, *Stelley* or *Stalley* with children *Hans Peter Steley* and *Anna Barbra Stelin*, on the *Plaisance*, September 21, 1732 (PGP I:79-81).

133. STAUFFER (Staufer, Stover).

Old Bernese Anabaptist family; 1670's a Stauffer family from Eggwil in the Emmental (BA 48); also in Alsace (BA 38).

1710 *Hans Stauffer*, expelled from Ct. Bern 1685; to the Palatinate; to Pennsylvania; settled with wife and 5 children in Berks County.

1720's 1730's Stover family in Shenandoah Valley, Virginia.

1727 *Ulrich* and (probably) son *Ulrich* to Pennsylvania; September 27, 1727; from Grosshöchstetten, Ct. Bern; wife, *Lucia*, born *Ramseyer*; 6 children; March 4, 1727, petitioned to emigrate with 1900 pds. property to Pennsylvania; granted (F/BR 72-73).

Families in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Ontario, Iowa (ME IV:619-622; MC 355-356; PGP I:11).

Swiss form: *Stauffer*, in Cts. Bern and Luzern (HBSL VI:510-511).

134. STEINER (Stoner [?]).

Old Bernese Anabaptist name; 1670's family Steiner from Diessbach in Thun area and in Ely near Langnau (BA 48, 49).

1711 *Christian Steiner* to Holland; other to the Jura and the Palatinate.

1770 *Hans Steiner* with others to Palatinate (from Switzerland), to settle a dispute (BA 82).

Between 1825 and 1835, brothers of Hans, cousins and grandchildren to Kitchener, Ontario, and Wayne County, Ohio.

1824 *Peter Steiner*, single, from Normanvillars, France, to Virginia. Families in Pennsylvania, Ohio,

Iowa, Virginia, Oregon (ME IV:626-627; MC 357-358; BA 134-178, passim).

1. Swiss form: *Steiner*; name in various cantons, very frequent in all Bernese districts (HBL VI:533-536).
2. *Ullwrick Styner*, on the *Thistle of Glasgow*, August 29, 1730 (PGP I:31).

135. STROHM (Strahm).

1671 *Ulrich Strohm* to the Palatinate.

1711 *Martin Strahm* in Bernese prison; expelled.

1845 *John Strohm* to Elkhart County, Indiana (MQR XLVI [January 1972]).

1852 *Matthias Strahm*, minister, from Emmental Valley to Adams County, Indiana (BA 135, 153).

Johannes Strohm (1781-1852) to Ohio.

(ME IV:646; MQR XXX [April 1956] 144, 149; XLII [July 1968] 199).

Benedice Strome, on the *William and Sarah*, September 18, 1727 (PGP I:17).

136. STUCKEY (Stucki, Stucky).

Old Bernese family; in 1670's a Stucki family from Diemtigen in Bernese Oberland (BA 49).

1830 *Joseph Stuckey* (1825-1902) from Alsace with parents to Butler County, Ohio; 1851 to McLean County, Illinois.

1874 *Jacob Stucky* (1824-1893) from Volhynia to

USA (1740, family from Ct. Bern to Volhynia; in 1950's over 1200 descendants in USA (ME IV:647-648; MC 361).

1. Swiss forms: Bernese, *Stucki*; in other cantons, also *Stucky*, *Stuncky* (HBL VI:580-581).
3. *Hans Jerg Stucki*, on the *Robert and Alice*, September 30, 1743 (PGP I:347).

137. STUTZMAN (Stutsman, Stutzmann).

In 17th Century a Stutzmann family from Spiez in Bernese Oberland (BA 49).

In 1711 a *Christian Stutzman* to Pennsylvania.

Johann Jacob Stutzman, on the *Adventure*, October 2, 1727; grandson *Christian*, married *Barbara Hochstetler*; over 15,000 descendants (in 1950's); families in Ohio, Indiana, Nebraska (ME VI:650-651; MC 362; PGP I:15).

138. SUTER (Suder, Sutter, Suttor).

Early Anabaptist family, of Volliken, Ct. Aargau; also in Alsace, Palatinate.

18th Century settlers of that name in Rockingham County, Virginia.

Ca. 1834 *Christian Suter* from Wayne County to Putnam County, Ohio.

In 1848: *Christian Sutter* to neighborhood of Morton, Illinois; also other family members; 1945 over 1000 living descendants.

View of Thun, Canton Bern, by Merian.





View of Frauenfeld by Merian.

Sutter also in Virginia, Ohio, Nebraska, Iowa, and Michigan (ME IV:664; MC 365; BA 148, 158).

1. Swiss forms: *Suter*, *Sutter*; Cts. Appenzell, Thurgau, and Zürich; also *Sauter*, Ct. Genf; also *Soutter* (HBLs VI:615-620).
2. *Christian Sooter* and *Nicholas Sauter*, on the *Mary*, September 29, 1733 (PGP I:130).

139. SWARTZ (Schwartz).

Early Anabaptist family, 1527 in Ct. Zürich; 1670's a Schwartz family at Mos in the Emmental, Ct. Bern (BA 48).

18th Century in Alsace.

Abraham Schwartz (Swartz), on the *Friendship*, October 16, 1727; later bishop in Bucks County.

Families in Virginia, Ohio, Ontario (ME IV:666-667; MC 366; PGP I:17).

1. Swiss forms: *Schwarz*, *Schwartz*, in many cantons; in Bern especially in districts of Konolfingen and Signau (HBLs VI:266-267).
2. *Andreas Schwartz*, on the *Friendship*, October 16, 1727 (PGP I:17).

140. THUT

Aargau Mennonite family name.

1824 from Normanvillars, France, *Peter Thut* and family; to Holmes County, Ohio.

John Thut (1801-1867) from Holmes County to Putnam County, Ohio (MC 371; BA 47, 134, 148,

150, 160, 161).

Swiss name in Cts. Aargau, Glarus, Luzern, and St. Gallen (HBLs VI:786).

141. TROYER (Dreier, Treier, Treyer).

Old Anabaptist family in Ct. Bern; *Hans Dreier* executed in Ct. Bern July 8, 1529.

Ca. 1733 Amish *Treyer* families, now *Troyer*, to Berks County; now in all states with Mennonite congregations (ME IV:750-751; MC 374-375; BA 8, 16, 20, 168).

1. Swiss form: *Treyer*, in Cts. Freiburg and Solothurn (HBLs VII:47).
2. *Frederick Treyer*, age 26, on the *Nancy*, September 30, 1738 (PGP I:226).

142. UMMEL (Umble).

Old Bernese Anabaptist family; 1670's in the Emmental and in Alsace (BA 38; 48); *Christian Ummel*, with wife, five children, to there.

19th Century Amish Ummel families in congregation centered around Les Bressels, near Le Locle (BA 68).

1767, October 5, *Christian Ummel*, to Lancaster County, (ME IV:772 [no Ummel reference in PGP for that date]).

Swiss form: *Hummel* (same family?); Cts. Aargau, Basel, Bern, Schaffhausen, and Unterwalden (HBLs IV:319-320).



View of Mellingen, now Canton Aargau, by Merian.

143. WEAVER (Weber).

Bernese Anabaptist family Weber in Palatinate, later (ca. 1730) to Pennsylvania, and the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia (BA 168, 169).

Ca. 1733 *Jacob, Henry, George, and John Weber* in Weaverland congregation, Lancaster County.

Families in Pennsylvania, Ontario, Kansas, and Iowa (ME IV:903-905; MC 389-391).

1. Swiss forms: *Waeber, Webber*; widely dispersed (HBL VII:437-444).
2. *Christian Weber*, on the *James Goodwill*, September 27, 1727; *Michael Weber* and *Phillis Wever*, on the *Mortonhouse*, August 17, 1729 (PGP I:11; 24, 26).

144. WELTY (Wälti, Weldy, Welti).

Early Bernese Anabaptist family (BA 22), from Ruderswil by Lauperswil; 1670's in the Palatinate; 1738 in the Jura.

1824 *Ulrich Welty* (1750-1834), of Ruderswil, and *Christian* (b. 1767), to Wayne County, Ohio.

1850's *John Walti*, son of *Niklaus Wälti* (1764-1834) of Lauperswil, in Putnam County, Ohio.

19th Century a Wälti family in Westmoreland County; descendants to Indiana; name now Weldy (ME IV:916; MC 391-392).

1. Swiss forms: *Wallti* in Ct. Luzern; *Welti* in Ct. Aargau, Luzern, Solothurn, Uri, and

Zürich (HBL VII:347; 469-471).

2. *Johannes Welte*, on the *Neptune*, September 24, 1751 (PGP I:469).

145. WENGER (Wanger, Winger).

In 17th Century a Bernese Anabaptist family from Thierachern in Bernese Oberland, after 1671 in Alsace (BA 39, 49).

Christian Wenger, on the *Molly*, September 30, 1727; to Lancaster County, with wife *Eva Gräbill*; sons settled in Shenandoah Valley, Virginia; family widespread in Mennonite groups (ME IV:916-917; MC 392-394; PGP I:14; MQR XII [April 1938] 85-97).

Swiss form: *Wenger*, in Cts. Bern (especially Thun district), Genf, Waadt, and Wallis (HBL VII:481).

146. WISLER (Whisler, Whistler, Wissler).

1670's Wisler family in Eyschachen, in the Emmental, Ct. Bern (BA 48).

Before 1830 in Deep Run region, Bucks County.

Christian Wissler, service in the Revolutionary War; died 1830; *Susan Holderman*, wife; 11 children, 3 moved to Columbiana County, Ohio (ME IV:965; MC 397).

1. Swiss forms: *Wissler, Wisler, Wiesler, Wyslser*; old family native to Sumiswald, Ct. Bern (HBL VII:575).
2. *Henrich Wisler*, on the *St. Andrew*, September

26, 1737 (PGP I:183).

147. WYSE (Weis, Weiss, Weisse, Weisz, Weyss, Wise, Wyss).

Swiss Anabaptist families of that name to Alsace and the Palatinate; *Hans Weiss* there; 3 sons; son *Christian*, ancestor of many Weiss families in the United States.

Jacob Weiss, on the *Albany*, September 4, 1728; perhaps same *Jacob Weisz*, settled in Upper Milford, Lehigh County; 1824 *Peter Wyss* (1800-1856), of Burgdorf, Ct. Bern; to Fulton County, Ohio; ancestor of many (ME IV:999; also IV:913-914; MC 401; PGP I:20).

1. Swiss forms: *Weiss*, *Wys*, *Wiss*; widely dispersed, in many cantons (HBL VII:462-464; 574; 607-613).
2. G. M. Weis, V.D.M., on the *William and Sarah*, September 21, 1727 (PGP I:19).

148. YODER (Ioder, Joder, Jodter, Jotter, Yoeder, Yother, Yothers, Yotter).

A 14th Century Bernese family of Steffisburg, near Thun; 1531 Anabaptist *Heini Joder* in prison at Bern; ca. 1671 family in Alsace; early 18th Century a Ioder family in Montbéliard (BA 39, 87).

1710 Yoder family of the Reformed faith in Berks County; *Barbara Yoder*, widow, with 9 children, settled in Berks County; later married *Christian Beiler*; Amish (BA 168).

1809 *Charles Yoder* family from Somerset County to Holmes County, Ohio (BA 142).

Vast family in U.S., in 1930's over 100,000 members estimated in United States (ME IV:1004-1007; MC 180, 401-405).

1. Swiss form: *Joder*, of Steffisburg, Ct. Bern (HBL IV:405).
2. *Catharina Jotherin*, age 38, on the *Harle*, September 1, 1736; *Christian Jotter* and *Jacob Yoder*, on the *Francis and Elizabeth*, September 21, 1742 (PGP I:157, 329).

149. ZIMMERLI (Zimmerly).

Anabaptist family of the Aargau region; to Alsace, the Palatinate, and North America.

1833 a family Zimmerli from Normanvillars, France, to Wayne County, Ohio.

1893 *Christian Zimmerly*, bishop, organized the Defenseless Swiss Church (BA 47, 148, 152).

1. Swiss forms: *Zimmerli*, *Zimmerlin*; in Ct. Aargau (old family of Zofingen) and Ct. Luzern (HBL VII:660-661).
2. *Hans Georg Zimerly*, on the *Snow Fox*, October 12, 1738 (PGP I:232).

150. ZIMMERMANN

1698 *Heinrich Zimmermann* from Wädenswil, Ct. Zürich, to Germantown, Pa.; returned; 1706 back

in Pennsylvania, settled at Lampeter, Lancaster County; naturalized 1709; Carpenter Mennonite Church named after him; 1717 *Hans Zimmermann* to Cocalico region, Lancaster County. Both ancestors of many Lancaster County Zimmermanns.

Early 19th Century a Zimmermann family in Black Creek Mennonite settlement, Welland County, Ontario (ME IV:521; 1029; MC 408-409).

1. Swiss form: *Zimmermann* in all regions; in Ct. Bern especially districts of Interlaken, Seftigen and Thun (HBL VII:661-664).
2. *Hans Michael Zimmermann* with 7 in party, on the *William and Sarah*, September 18, 1727 (PGP I:9).

151. ZOOK (Zaug, Zaugg, Zougg, Zowg, Zuck, Zug).

Native of Signau, Ct. Bern; 1664 an Anabaptist minister, *Uli Zougg*, recorded (BA 32); 1670's a Zaugg family from Signau in the Emmental (BA 48).

1730's Amish Zaug family in Pennsylvania (BA 168). *Christian*, *Moritz*, and *Johannes Zug*, brothers, on the *Francis and Elizabeth*, September 21, 1742 (PGP I:329); to Chester County.

1817 *John Zook* from Mifflin County, to Holmes County, Ohio (BA 142). (ME IV:1039; MC 410-411 + Addenda).

Peter and Ulrich Zug, on the *James Goodwill*, September 27, 1727 (PGP I:11).

152. ZUERCHER (Zercher, Zerger, Zürcher, Zurger, Zuricher).

Early Anabaptist family; 1649 *Joseph Zurcher* before Bernese court; 1670's Zürcher family from Frutigen (BA 49).

1711 *Hans Zürcher*, age 40, deported.

18th Century many to the Jura, Alsace, and the Palatinate.

1821 *Abraham* and *David Zürcher* from Sonnenberg in the Jura, to Wayne County, Ohio; widespread name there; 1833 *Peter Zürcher* family from the Emmental to region near Whitewater, Butler County, Kansas (BA 157).

1. Swiss forms: *Zürcher*, *Züricher*. in Cts. Appenzell, Bern (especially in districts of Burgdorf, Frutigen, Oberhasli, Signau, Oberrsimmental, Thun, and Trachselwald), Luzern, Uri, and Zug (HBL VII:690-691).
2. *Michael* and *Justina Zurchen*, on the *Charming Nancy*, October 8, 1737 (PGP I:188, 190).

153. ZURFLUEH

1852 *Abraham Zurflüh* from the Bernese Jura to Putman County, Ohio (ME IV:1042).

1. Swiss form: *Zurfluh*, old family native to Ct. Uri (HBL VII:766).
2. *Johannes Zurflie*, on the *Neptune*, October 4, 1752 (PGP I:494).

The Dogtrot House and its Pennsylvania Associations

RICHARD H. HULAN

In an earlier paper I showed that the double-pen house, often called the "dogtrot" house, was a well-established folk dwelling type in Middle Tennessee at the end of the 18th Century.¹ That area, with its transportation network,² was of major importance in the later settlement of the rest of the Upland South. Cultural phenomena observable in Middle Tennessee around 1800 were clearly on the way southward and westward, in a general "movement of ideas" from earlier settlements to places not yet opened for non-Indian occupancy.³

Examination of an intermediate stage in the diffusion of the dogtrot house idea revealed a consistent pattern in the identity of the builders of the earliest Middle Tennessee examples; they were all settlers from Southwest Virginia and adjacent East Tennessee.

Apart from the presentation of a body of data, that article was intended as an effort to nudge the definition of a dogtrot house in the direction of functional and behavioral characteristics.⁴ Insofar as it can be determined, the lifestyle of the occupants of a structure can tell us much about what "type" that structure is. The use of definitions determined strictly from form in material artifacts makes for tidy maps and internally consistent statements about cultural diffusion; carried to the field as part of the observer's equipment, such definitions can result in failure to see the woods for the trees (in this case, failure to see the dogtrot for the definition). Hence, I shall not limit the present discussion to one-story houses with exterior gable-end chimneys, floored passages, level roofs, etc. From the functional standpoint, as far as the life its occupants is affected by the frame, a dogtrot house is a dwelling

built of two side-by-side units, separated by a roofed passage from the front to the back of the house (with respect to the yards, road, river, or whatever external elements gave the structure its original orientation).⁵

It is primarily in the interest of functional interpretation of the dogtrot form that I have chosen to quote several of my sources at length, rather than simply citing these sometimes obscure old publications. In many cases, the full citation will include some contextual information. If a structure was a tavern, a fort, a ferryhouse, or "the first [anything] in the area", we are so informed. As often as not we are given an anecdotal glimpse of the activities of its residents (sewing, eating, shooting Indians, or committing arson in the passageway.) Collectively these quotations may give us some notion of the "original" functional aspects of a house type which I suggest has evolved much more in function than in form during the course of its march across the map (and the calendar) since the late 18th Century.⁶

My previous article began with the oldest documented dogtrot house I could identify within a very limited field, and work forward in time. I first examined the Cumberland settlement, which is sixteen years older than the Tennessee state government. Several dogtrot houses were noted. By way of showing the date and direction of movement of the dogtrot idea out of the Cumberland Valley, I included at the end of the paper one example from the edge of Duck River Ridge, over which lay the Tennessee Valley, which was occupied a quarter-century later. The present study takes a much wider area and works backward in time (generally eastward in direction), emphasizing the role of Western Pennsylvania as the former home of some western builders of the type; as

¹Richard H. Hulan, "Middle Tennessee and the Dogtrot House," *Pioneer America*, 7:2 (July, 1975), pp. 37-46.

²The Cumberland River was intersected by several major overland routes at Nashville; early in the 19th Century the Tennessee River also became a significant commercial route.

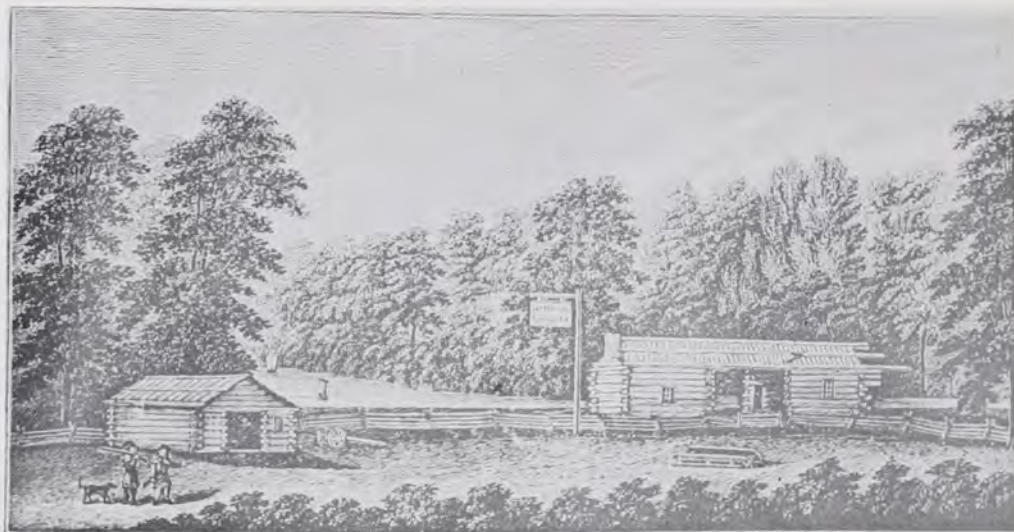
³Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), p. 38, is the source of this phrase and the map showing what he means by it. The map and the idea behind it are developed by Wilbur Zelinsky, *The Cultural Geography of the United States* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), p. 81, and pp. 67-108, *passim*.

⁴I specifically mentioned this problem of function only in the last paragraph (with its footnote) of that essay; but it is basic to my own interest in the study of house form.

⁵An interesting discussion of form, construction, and use is to be found in Glassie, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 ff. Formal criteria for the true dogtrot house are suggested in a footnote, *ibid.*, p. 98. In my judgment these criteria include some secondary characteristics, which are specific to the later and more southern manifestations of the basic form.

⁶I believe the records show that the functions of dogtrot houses have evolved continuously since the Revolutionary War; and I use the term "original" here only to refer to such structures during the first decade or two after they were built. I do not suggest that the dogtrot form originated around 1776; nor that it retained, at that date, all of its earlier functions.

Figure 1: Ohio dogtrot from Howe's "Historical Collections of Ohio".



the locus of some examples; and as a cultural funnel through which the idea passed, in some instances, borne by Virginians passing down the upper Ohio in their flatboats. Since I have for this essay reversed the chronology and the direction of investigation, the concluding portion will hint at a time and place of introduction of the dogtrot idea into the area of consideration, rather than diffusion away from it. Except for that conclusion, the geographical setting of this paper is the Ohio River watershed, above the mouth of the Cumberland.

For instances of this house type in Illinois and in Ohio (in addition to the several noted below), the reader is referred to the recent and readily available Weslager volume.⁷ An Indiana source which is not documented, but seems authentic to me, states that the double-pen was commonly used for taverns; one is described which had two stories, with a fireplace on each floor on both of its gable-end chimneys. There are those who would call this an I-house rather than a dogtrot.⁸ One example from Kentucky will be discussed below, although previously cited by Wright.⁹

One of the earliest pictorial representations of the dogtrot house, and one of the best, is a detailed sketch by Charles Lesueur of the passageway in what is believed to be the Albion, Illinois, tavern. A companion sketch of the entire building shows fifteen

or more adults interacting in various ways in the yard, on the porch, and in the dogtrot. The closeup sketch of the latter feature of the building is even complete with a reclining dog. Together these Lesueur drawings form an excellent supplement to the rather detailed description of a home in nearby Wanborough by its owner, John Woods, which is one of Weslager's best sources.¹⁰

Although the Albion and Wanborough communities were reported by cosmopolitan English and French nationals, they were not just islands of elite culture in a sea of barbarians; elsewhere in the Madden book one can see vividly the kind of interplay between new English and established American patterns on the landscape, to which Woods' account is a good key. That English gentleman was pleased with the low cost of his log dogtrot house, but seems to have enjoyed it in the American fashion for only a short while before converting it to a form with which he felt more comfortable.¹¹

My first illustration is a structure which was built around 1825, contemporary with the Illinois examples and like them fairly late for the type north of the Ohio. Henry Howe drew the picture in 1846; it was published the next year, and further documented in two subsequent editions of Howe's Ohio volume. Besides the artist himself we have, by the time of the third edition of this book two more witnesses giving evidence about the structure or its builder. One is a son of the man who had owned it at the time of Howe's visit and original sketch in 1846; he wrote to Howe in 1889, apparently after seeing the illustration (Figure 1) in the

⁷C. A. Weslager, *The Log Cabin in America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1969), pp. 72, 240-1, 345-8.

⁸Logan Esarey, *A History of Indiana from its Exploration to 1850* (Indianapolis: B. F. Bowen & Co., 1918), Vol. I, pp. 477, 485. The question whether this glorified log house represents an American frontierization of a more basic "type" (the Tidewater central-hall house), or an elitization of the American frontier "type" considered in this paper, is academic in the worst sense of the term. The view I do not hold is expressed, for example, by Glassie, *loc. cit.*: "the open central hall was borrowed for use in other types, such as... the I house."

⁹Martin Wright, "The Antecedents of the Double-Pen House Type," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 48:2 (June, 1958), pp. 109-117. The Kentucky house is noted on the last page of this article.

¹⁰Betty I. Madden, *Art, Crafts, and Architecture in Early Illinois* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974), p. 74. Compare these views with the account quoted by Weslager, *op. cit.*, pp. 345-8.

¹¹Weslager, *loc. cit.*; see also Madden, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-3, for Lesueur's pictures (and her discussion) of English and American fence types at Albion.

1888 second edition of the book. That edition had also included information about the builder in the "Pioneer Reminiscences" of George Skinner, an early resident of the neighborhood.¹²

Skinner tells us that "The first building [in Putnam County] that could be designated a house was erected by two men and a woman on Section 21, Perry Township, by Sebastian Sroufe." From other settlements mentioned in this set of reminiscences, the date must have been no earlier than 1824 and no later than 1827.

Howe dates his sketch to June, 1846, and locates the house "on the main route from Kalida to Charloe, about five miles northwest from the former." This is in the vicinity of the present town of Cloverdale, Ohio. The house was on the Auglaize River, which that road has to cross somewhere, but it is not stated whether the Sroufe-Holden house was at a ferry or ford.

The most important body of data comes from the pen of the United Brethren minister, Samuel S. Holden, who as a boy of fourteen had watched while Howe (one of the most widely traveled and encyclopedically informed American historians of his day) spread his papers and pens on the "old sled or mud boat, which lay in the yard," and drew the scene for an illustration in his Ohio volume. Holden gives some information on the descendants, but none on the background, of the builder, Sebastian Sroufe. He also remarks on the content of Howe's picture as follows:¹³

While you were making the sketch, my mother and a lady school teacher sat in the open space between the two rooms, sewing. Before you had completed it, my brother and a Mr. Whiting came through the yard . . . and with them was our dog "Tyler."

We are given no indication whether the unfinished look of the righthand pen dates from the cessation of Sroufe's activity some twenty years before, or whether that pen (and, therefore, the finished dogtrot form) was new in 1846. However, if it was new, then the left-hand pen was built with a very atypical gable-end entrance (opposite its poorly drawn, perhaps interior, chimney); or else it originally faced the river. The latter explanation is at least plausible.

One of the best-informed early accounts of the building of a log house is from the pen of an octogenarian Ohio lawyer, Henry B. Curtis, who describes the dogtrot form as one of the usual types found in the first settlement of Newark, Ohio. Curtis himself moved there as a ten-year-old boy, born in 1799 in upstate New York to Connecticut parents.

The period he discusses is from 1809 until he moved to the neighboring town of Mount Vernon, in 1817. I quote only the part descriptive of the dogtrot house, which follows a two-page explanation of log building techniques.¹⁴

The above is the primitive log cabin; but it was subject to many modifications and degrees of advanced pretensions. The cabin might be single, or double, with a gangway between, covered by a common roof . . .

The term "gangway," used here by Curtis, may have early specific reference to this part of this kind of house. More often one sees the terms "passage" and "hall" in 19th Century accounts; and "dogtrot" or its variants, associated with other critters (possum, turkey), so far as I know, is a 20th Century term.

From Curtis' home at Newark, some twenty-five miles down the Licking River (at its mouth of the larger Muskingum), is the important early town of Zanesville. Our friend Henry Howe has left us another sketch, this time not from observation but "from the description of one who knew it well," of a dogtrot house there. Here again we are able to give rather detailed information on the first owner, as he was the prominent (eventually, the wealthy) founder of the town, John McIntire. The house is Figure 2 (after Howe); biographical details are abstracted from an excellent history of Muskingum County, Ohio.¹⁵

John McIntire was born October 15, 1759, at Alexandria, Virginia. His early career is unrecorded. A cobbler, he came to Wheeling, (now West) Virginia, in 1787; two years later he married a teenaged daughter of Col. Ebenezer Zane. Zane was a Virginian of Danish ancestry who had moved to Wheeling from Brownsville, Pennsylvania. In 1796 Zane was commissioned by the United States Congress (at his own suggestion) to open a road across Ohio from Wheeling to a point opposite Limestone (Maysville), Kentucky. He was allowed to reserve 640 acres for himself where this road crossed each of the three principal rivers on its route (the Muskingum, Hockhocking, and Scioto). After title to his Muskingum tract was perfected in 1800, he deeded this land jointly to

¹²Henry B. Curtis, "Pioneer Days in Central Ohio," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, 1 (1887), pp. 243-54. The passage quoted is on p. 246. Biographical data about Curtis come from a notice of his death which appears in the same volume, pp. 47-54.

¹³Norris F. Schneider, *Y Bridge City* (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1950), pp. 35-49, *passim*, for the McIntire and Zane families. Location of the houses was established by correlating this text with maps of the Zane grant (p. 42) and of modern Zanesville (p. 352). Schneider has his own small cut of the McIntire house, but the one used here is from Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 327. It appears to be a view of the rear of the house, beyond which one sees the Muskingum River toward which the structure was oriented.

¹⁴Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio, in Two Volumes*. Ohio Centennial Edition (Cincinnati: C. J. Krehbiel & Co., 1902), Vol. II, pp. 465-73. The illustration is on p. 466.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 465.

his brother Jonathan and his son-in-law John McIntire, who had assisted him in opening the road and had managed the Zane interests at the Muskingum crossing since 1797. The ferry they were required to maintain at the crossing was operated by William McCulloch, son of Mrs. Ebenezer Zane's brother, who lived at the foot of Main Street where Zanesville's famous "Y-bridge" now stands.

The McIntire house pictured here was one block north of McCulloch's ferry. A few blocks east of the ferry on Main Street was another "story-and-a-half double log cabin." It belonged to John Green, who had accompanied the Zanes and McIntire from Wheeling in opening the original trace in 1796.¹⁶

About all we are told of McIntire's house is that he built it as a residence but opened it as a tavern for the accommodation of travelers until a regular tavern-keeper opened such a facility. McIntire's house was public from 1800-1803, during which time the exiled future King Louis Philippe of France happened to spend a night there; the incident was reported by a former Zanesville lawyer, Lewis Cass, who rose to national political prominence in Michigan and was told of the visit by His Majesty when Cass went on a diplomatic mission to the French Court.

The next structure may not have been in the dogtrot form at all; but since it has been bracketed both in time and place by better-described examples already cited, it will be included here. It was visited by the well-known frontier Methodist circuit-rider and folk character, Peter Cartwright, on several occasions beginning in 1806. This account, from his autobiography, is extracted from a lengthy anecdote explaining how Cartwright was able to cure the crotchety old owner of the house of his habit of conducting family devotions before the rest of the household was awake in the morning. Cartwright had just been assigned to this circuit after traveling the Scioto Circuit for several months with James Quinn, perhaps the most influential of the early Methodists in Ohio:¹⁷

Brother Quinn lived in a little cabin on his father-in-law's land. He had several children, and his cabin was small. When the preachers would come to see him, they would eat and converse with Brother Quinn and his family, but they would sleep at old Father Teel's, Brother Quinn's father-in-law. The first time I came round, I spent the afternoon with Brother Quinn. He made some apologies, and told me . . . "You will sleep, at Father Teel's, in one part of his double cabin; he and his family will sleep in the other . . . You must rise early, dress quickly, and go right into the other room if you want to be at morning prayer . . ."

¹⁶Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹⁷Peter Cartwright, *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1956), pp. 69-70.

Just as day broke I awoke, rose up, and began to dress, but had not nigh accomplished it when I distinctly heard Teel give out his hymn and commence singing, and about the time I had got dressed I heard him commence praying . . . I deliberately opened the door and walked out to the well, washed myself, and then walked back to my cabin. Just as I got to the door, the old brother opened his door, and seeing me, said: "Good morning sir . . ."

Edward Teal (1737-1822) had moved, during the last quarter of the 18th Century, from his native Baltimore to the "forks of the Yough," now McKeesport, Pennsylvania (a few miles down the Monongahela from Brownsville, already mentioned as a residence of Ebenezer Zane). "Between 1800 and 1803 he moved on west to the Hockhocking Valley in Ohio." Bishop Francis Asbury, who had known him in Maryland thirty years before, was a guest (probably in the same house) before Cartwright, as revealed in his *Journal* for Monday, September 19, 1803. Asbury wrote, "He is now settled in Fairfield [County, Ohio], near Rush Creek, and has twelve hundred acres of land under his feet, equal to any in the United States: what will not a little enterprise do for a man in this highly-favored country!"¹⁸ Teal's house was northwest of Lancaster, about where the present village of Carroll, Ohio, is located.

If that example was poorly described as a dogtrot but well documented as a real house, the next one suffers the opposite combination of ingredients: it is a pretty thorough description of a house which may not have existed, except in the mind of the writer or in a narrative of Mississippi River currency which may not be so firmly attached to place and persons as the writer would have us believe. A St. Louis newspaperman, Joseph M. Field, who had collected yarns about Mike Fink for years and was prominently involved in the growth of his legendary stature, begins a serialized story about Fink's life with the account of his ill-starred courtship of a Miss Benson, who was forced by her father to marry another while Mike was away on a trip. The date of the event is given by Field as "179-"; the house was on the Monongahela River near Brownsville, Pennsylvania. (Fink, who is thought to have been born about 1770, grew up in nearby Pittsburgh.) The disappointed Mike Fink and some companions went to besiege the house of Deacon Benson, who (Field says) was "an Englishman by birth, and had lived in New Orleans, and along the lower river."¹⁹

¹⁸Elmer T. Clark, ed., *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury*, Vol. II. The Journal, 1794-1816 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958), p. 406. The generally excellent notes by the editor make this set of books a mine of information on the movements of the early Methodists, both clergy and laity; some were very mobile, indeed.

A shout of hate and derision aroused the inmates of Benson's house. It was a substantial log tenement, of two large apartments divided by an ample passage way, and with low garrets above lighted by small gable windows . . .

Mike stepped onto the rough porch running along the front of the house; at the same instant a shot from one of the windows struck him in the neck . . .

Torches were already flashing about the house, and heaps of brush were thrown into the open passage way . . .

Field was certainly familiar with the type of house he described here; it would be more than rash to assume that such a house stood in Brownsville in the 1790's on the evidence of a St. Louis story from the 1840's, but for the fact that the area has already appeared in connection with two more trustworthy sources (both Zane and Teal had a Monogahela Valley background). The Brownsville connection likewise furnishes an opportunity to introduce my third illustration (the first in a Pennsylvania context), which is, regrettably, even more suspect than the Mike Fink story. Late 18th Century accounts of Brownsville and the country around it usually refer to it as "Redstone," after a creek which flows into the Monongahela just below the town.²⁰ In an early history of the Presbyterian Church in Western Pennsylvania, emphasizing its organizational pattern as the Presbytery of Redstone, from 1781 to 1793, we find this dogtrot house (Figure 3) captioned "The house of one of our first ministers."²¹

The reader, comparing Figures 1 and 3, may judge for himself whether this is to be considered literally as the home of one of the Presbyterian ministers of Redstone Presbytery, or more generically as the kind of home one (or some) of them occupied. I, for one, find it difficult to believe that the protruding weight-poles on the roof, the extra-long logs just under them, and the missing chimney, all of which characterize the right-hand pen of the houses in both illustrations, could have been coincidentally found in two real houses so far apart. If that weren't enough, we have also the testimony in the Preface to *Old Redstone* that its author made use of "Howe's

Historical Collections of Virginia," and also of "Ohio."²² The latter work, published only seven years before *Old Redstone*, contained Figure 1. This is not to say that an early Presbyterian minister did not live in a dogtrot house in the vicinity of Brownsville, Pennsylvania; only that Figure 3 isn't a picture of it.



Figure 2: Dogtrot house at Zanesville, Ohio (after Howe).

As was frequently the case, when the Presbyterians missed an opportunity, the Methodists seized it. One of their Bishops, Robert Richford Roberts, resided for several years (during his early ministry, 1805-1808, and later as a Bishop, 1816-1819) in a log double-pen house with an open passageway. This one had such an odd layout that even I hesitate to call it a dogtrot house; however, the methodical Methodists have left us not only a thorough description and a picture (Figure 4), but even a floor plan (Figure 5) of "Bishop Roberts' double Cabin."²³

The description of this house, which Roberts' biographer collected in an early oral history project of his own devising, must have been something of a committee effort. Involved were at least Bishop Roberts' widow in Indiana and some of his old neighbors, still living near the site of the double house (Shenango, Mercer County, Pennsylvania). Having lived in a dogtrot house myself during one especially rainy summer in Tennessee, I find it very hard to believe that there was no covered access from the west to the east room of Roberts' house. The standard practice was to have doors that faced each other across the passage; see, for instance, the New Jersey example at the end of this paper. Another common form in the South has doors opening from each of the rooms onto a front

¹⁹Joseph M. Field, "Mike Fink: The Last of the Boatmen," *St. Louis Reveille*, June 8-20, 1847. The quotation is from Episode #1, June 8, "Wherein Mike Plays the Deuce with Certain Family Arrangements." The entire serial is reprinted in Walter Blair and Franklin J. Meine, *Half Horse Half Alligator: The Growth of the Mike Fink Legend* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), pp. 98ff.

²⁰Joseph Smith, *Old Redstone, or, Historical Sketches of Western Presbyterianism* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1854), p. 311, note.

²¹*Ibid.*, facing p. 232. There is no description of the house in the text. The minister under discussion at the point of introduction of this picture is the Rev. James Power. He was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1746, and graduated from Princeton in 1766. After several years of itineracy in western Virginia and Pennsylvania, he moved with his family to Dunlap's Creek, Westmoreland County, in 1776. Power's congregation at Dunlap's Creek included those of his faith who resided at Redstone; *ibid.*, pp. 227-9.

²²*Ibid.*, p. v.

²³Charles Elliott, *The Life of the Rev. Robert R. Roberts* (Cincinnati: J. F. Wright and L. Swormstedt, for the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1844), pp. 142-7. The floor plan is on p. 146, and the view on p. 147.



Figure 3: Dogtrot house as pictured in "Old Redstone" (1854).

porch; but neither the drawing nor the plan shows a porch on Roberts' double cabin. My guess is that those who told Elliott about this house simply forgot about one of the doors, which opened from the west pen onto the passageway.

Only part of the five-page description of this building will be quoted as pertaining to the description of a double house, rather than to frontier methods of construction.

This was what was called a *double cabin*, having a cabin at each end, and a space between them in the form of a hall. It [the house] ran east and west. The whole length was thirty-four feet and the width sixteen, one end being sixteen feet long and the other twelve, and the space between six feet.

The east end was the smallest, or the one of twelve feet in length by sixteen in width. It had a stone chimney, very rudely built. A partition divided it into two rooms, one of which was designed for a study or preacher's room. The floors, above and below, were laid. There was a six-light window in each room, but no sash to raise. The door from the study, or the south-eastern room, opened into the porch or open space between the two buildings. A door communicated from the study into the other room, which was used as a bed-room. The study had barely space enough for a bed, table, and stool, which will bring to the mind very naturally its dimensions and appearance. There was a loft

over this end of the building, with a door or large hole opening into the porch, a loose ladder serving in the place of stairs.

The western, or larger end of the house, was sixteen feet long, and the same in width. It formed one room. It had a wooden chimney, topped off with cat and clay. The floor was of puncheons . . .

There follows a page-long explanation of the making of good or bad puncheon floors, plus two methods used in the lighter flooring of Roberts' loft; first, it had loose clapboards in two overlapping layers, and later "plough and groove," nailed-down flooring.

The porch hall, or space between the two ends, was about six feet wide, and was laid with puncheons. It answered many excellent purposes. One part of it was occupied with meal and flour bags or barrels, and another was used in summer as a sitting room: it was also the favorite area for the busy, yet necessary exercise of the great or small spinning wheel, during the summer and fall seasons.

The balance of the account deals with methods of building a roof and coping with its leaks; and with the relationship of the house to its "large spring of pure, soft water," and the springhouse built to maximize the useful cooling qualities of the "rapid purling stream issuing from the rock reservoir."²⁴

Robert R. Roberts was born in Frederick County,

Maryland, but resided after the age of seven in the Ligonier Valley, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. His father had moved to this location, just west of the Laurel Hill, in 1785; and in 1796 the young preacher-to-be was one of the first to explore the Shenango area with a view of possible settlement there. The family was active in Methodist affairs from the early 1790's, and their Westmoreland County home sometimes hosted the quarterly conferences of the Redstone Circuit. What little population there was around them when they first moved to Western Pennsylvania was predominantly Presbyterian; we have already noted the Redstone organization of that body.²⁵

It seems a bit odd that Redstone should keep cropping up in these accounts, while there is no important mention of Pittsburgh. However, Brownsville was indeed one of the principal points of departure for persons headed downstream to settle in Ohio or Kentucky. Virginia immigrants, especially, found it convenient to get flatboats made at Brownsville. It might be appropriate here to quote, from my previous article, this tentative conclusion: "It seems probable that the term, 'old fashioned Virginia double-house,' was in 1784 a valid description of the dogtrot type."²⁶

That article pointed, as far as Middle Tennessee examples of the form were concerned, to the New River/North Fork of Holston area in southwestern Virginia as the probable source. One additional Pennsylvania-Virginia link should be noted; it was located in Kentucky, but at a date (1776) when that state was still part of Virginia. All I have seen is the undocumented assertion that is herewith reproduced:²⁷

The first settler of Lawrenceburg was a Dutchman named Coffman, who arrived in 1776 with his family from western Pennsylvania. He built a double log house, which later served as a stopping point between Harrodsburg and Frankfort and became known as Coffman's Station.

The final group of Ohio Valley dogtrot houses would appear to have no relationship to Pennsylvania, except as the locus of scenery one might view on the way to them by some routes. They make their little bid for attention in court documents of the southwestern Virginia county of Fincastle. At the date

in question (1775), Fincastle County nominally included most of the present United States between the Blue Ridge and the Mississippi; the houses here described were across the Great Kanawha River from Point Pleasant, West Virginia. Their owner was the well-documented George Washington, whose early life is perhaps irrelevant here, since he never saw these improvements on his land at the mouth of the Great Kanawha. Here is what the records tell us:²⁸

Aug. 4, 1775. This day being called upon by James Cleveland for and in behalf of George Washington, Esqr., of Virginia and County of Fairfax, to praise and to value work and improvements made on a certain tract of land lying on the lower or south side of the Great Kanawha, in Fincastle County and known by the quantity it contains ten thousand nine hundred ninety acres as may be further made appear by the patent, and being first sworn as the law directs, we the subscribers do allow for as hereafter mentioned.

	£	s	d
No. 1 To dwelling house 40 by 16 ft., 3 rooms below, 2 above, with passage 8 ft. wide	375	0	0
No. 2 Is a dwelling house 42 by 16 ft., 2 rooms below & 2 rooms above, a passage 10 ft. wide	375	0	0
No. 3 Is a dwelling house 44 by 16 feet, 2 rooms below & 2 above, a passage 12 ft. wide	200	0	0

It is perhaps incautious to assume that these structures were dogtrot houses of one and a half or two stories, made of equilateral pens sixteen feet on a side, and differing in overall width only to the extent that

²⁸Lewis Preston Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia* (Abingdon, Virginia: Privately printed, 1929), pp. 670-1.

Figure 4: Bishop Roberts' "Double Cabin".



²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 145. This account closely parallels one from Tennessee I used previously; see Hulan, *op. cit.*, p. 41. Samuel McAdow's dogtrot house, like Bishop Roberts' home a vanished shrine of the pioneer church, receives very similar treatment — including sentimental references to the family spring nearby. It is described in Thaddeus C. Blake, *The Old Log House: A History and Defense of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church* (Nashville: Cumberland Presbyterian Publishing House, 1879), pp. 9-11.

²⁵Elliott, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-25, *et passim*.

²⁶Hulan, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

²⁷Federal Writers' Project, Works Projects Administration, *Kentucky: A Guide to the Bluegrass State* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939), p. 355.

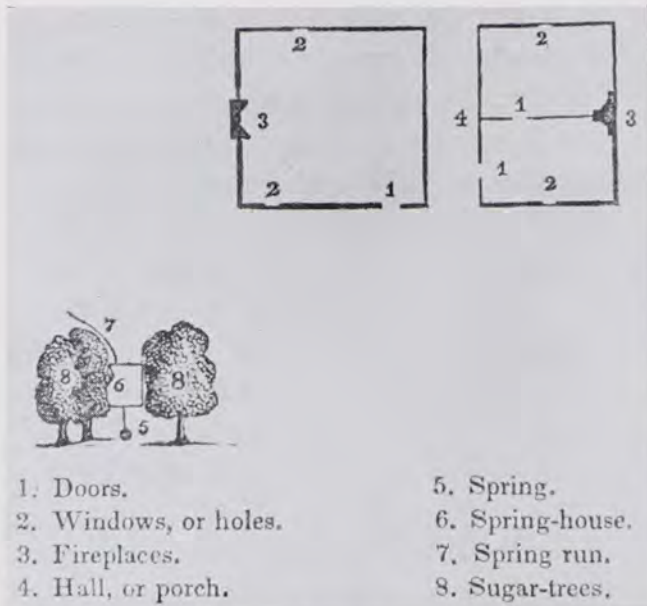


Figure 5: Plan of the Roberts dogtrot.

their open passageways differed. Nonetheless, I do so assume. Perhaps No. 1 had a kitchen ell, to account for its "3 rooms below;" and perhaps the lesser value of No. 3 was due to a less finished type of construction, a lower second story, an absence of porches which the others may have had, or the like. There were on the same tract two small houses, twelve by eight and sixteen by eight feet (worth only ten pounds apiece); seven "cabbins" measuring twelve by twelve feet (worth five pounds each); and a thirteen by fourteen foot "cabbin" valued at two pounds, fifteen shillings, seven and one-half pence.²⁹

The court record tells us nothing about the materials of these houses. However, Washington in a letter of March 6, 1775, gave instructions to William Stevens for the conduct of this Kanawha adventure. (Stevens was subsequently one of the three appraisers of the improvement who signed the Fincastle County document just cited.) Washington mentions "the two Horses which are sent for the purpose of drawing in your Logs, fetching in your Provisions, and tending your Corn when they can be spared from other business . . ." He alludes to a mixed labor crew of slaves and indentured servants, who may well have occupied the various small houses and cabins. The expedition was to be outfitted at Gilbert Simpson's (Washington's agent on the Youghiogheny), but Stevens was advised also to "drive two or three Cows

²⁹This source would seem to support those who have criticized me for using the term "cabin" loosely (e.g. Hulan, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40, in the captions). On the other hand, the above 19th Century accounts by Henry Curtis (p. 6), Peter Cartwright (p. 8), and Charles Elliott (p. 12) share my culpability for calling a pair of cabins a cabin.

out, if to be had from the Red Stone Settlement."³⁰ The stop at Redstone was to be a costly one for Washington, for a number of the slaves and servants ran away at that point, taking with them tools and equipment. What caused the lengthy delay was not a search for cows, but the outbreak of Dunmore's War.³¹ Considering the adversities, it is remarkable that the Kanawha tract was improved at all.

The final example of the double-pen house to be noted here is so far removed in time and space from the Deep South milieu of the better known 19th Century dogtrot structures, that the cultural geographers who recently brought its description to light have not used the term "dogtrot" to describe it. Speculating about what might have been meant in New Jersey newspaper advertisements of the early 18th Century by the phrase, "double log house," they offer as a possible explanation an account of the process by which early settlers of Sussex County enlarged their first one-room homes.

After a little time the capacity of their dwellings was doubled, by putting a second house close by, and near enough to have one roof cover both, leaving a passageway between. Sometimes this was wide enough for the storing of farm implements or even the running in of a wagon. The doors being opposite, the access was easy from one room to another. These were called double houses and saddle-bag houses. My grandmother described them as common in her youth.³²

Wacker and Trindell found the term "double log house" in the northwestern New Jersey counties of Hunterdon and Sussex; the date offered for the double houses described here is "the first half of the 18th Century." I do not believe the territory above the Falls of the Delaware was initially settled by hardy pioneers from southwestern Virginia; as a matter of fact, the general flow of culture was in the opposite direction. If we have not found the source of the dogtrot house in its march across the map (and we have not), perhaps we are, finally, on the right watershed. But that is a matter to be taken up in another paper.

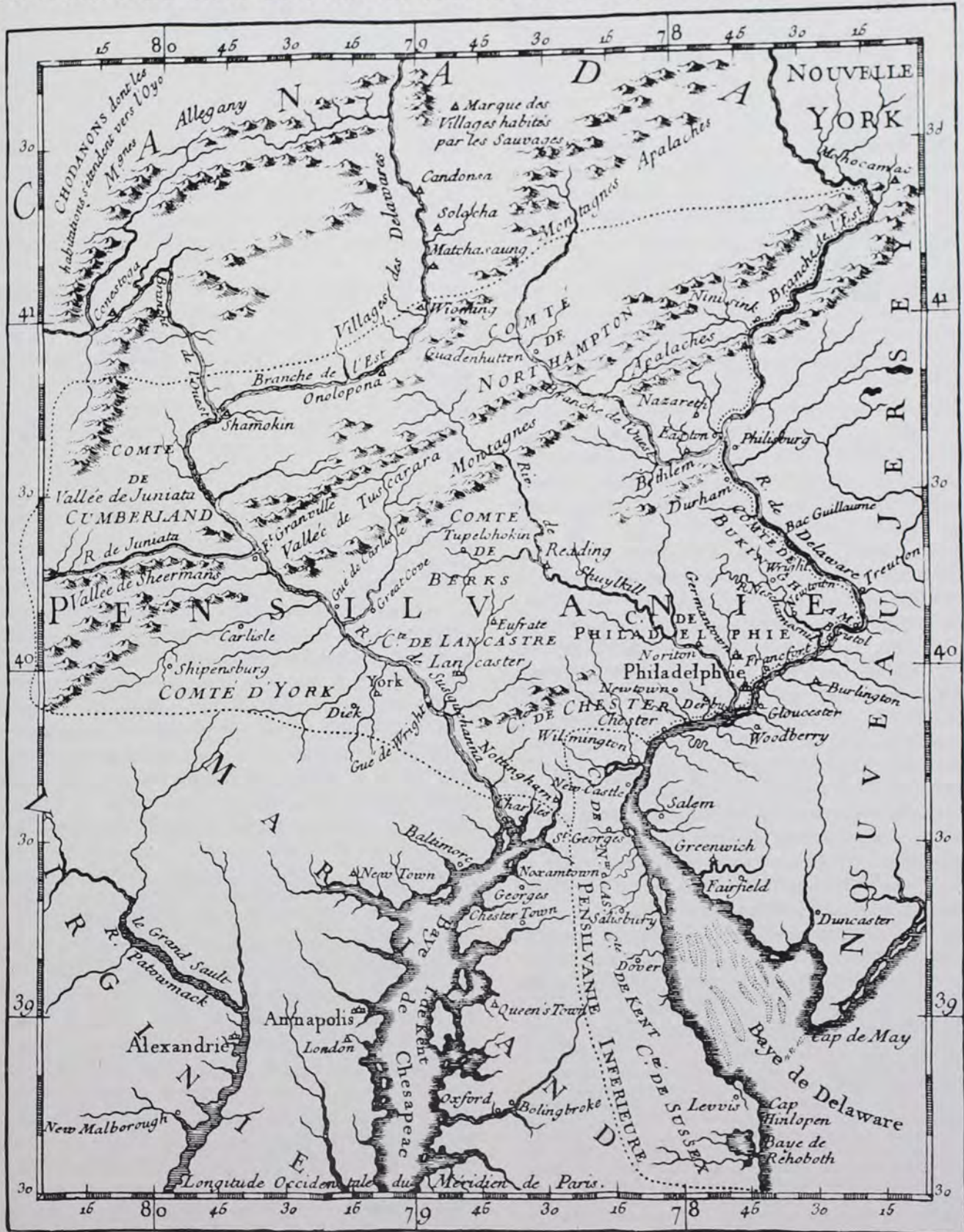
³⁰John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 3 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931), pp. 268-72.

³¹Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington*. Vol. 3, *Planter and Patriot* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), pp. 397-8.

³²Peter O. Wacker and Roger T. Trindell, "The Log House in New Jersey: Origins and Diffusion," *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, 13:4 (Winter, 1968), p. 259. Their source for the quotation is Alanson A. Haines, *Hardyston Memorial: A History of the Township and the North Presbyterian Church, Hardyston, Sussex County, New Jersey* (Newton, New Jersey: New Jersey Herald, 1888), p. 16.

A LETTER FROM PASTOR JOHANN FRIEDRICH ERNST

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY EDITH VON ZEMENSZKY



The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has among its collections a very interesting German manuscript: a Letter Book of Pastor Johann Friedrich Ernst,¹ written in very fine German script, but sometimes hardly legible. Unfortunately, the beginning pages are missing, and we do not know when Ernst started his copy book or whether there are still earlier ones which may yet be found in other repositories. The first letter draft was written on July 11 [1780], to his dear friend, the Reverend Wilhelm Lehman.

Also among these letters are three drafts of a letter to his mother. One, dated "Easton, January 18, 1781," is a rather short letter in which he explains that a Chevalier de la Corbiere was to take his letter to Rhode Island where it was to be sent with a French frigate to Europe. But when he came home from conducting a burial service, he was told that the Frenchman must leave the following morning, and therefore Ernst is not able to write his mother any details. The second draft is even shorter and without date.

But the third, we find, is a very fine letter, dated only "Jan: 1781," containing, almost literally, exactly what he had written in the first two versions; but this draft is complete. The Moravian Bishop Johann Friedrich Reichel returned to Europe in April, 1781, and took Ernst's letter with him.

In this letter, Ernst gives his mother an account of life in the New World, and describes why he wanted to change his profession of tailor; how he tried to become a catechist, so he "may work in the vineyard of the Lord." He gives us a rather fine insight into the difficulties peculiar to a schoolmaster during the struggle for liberty; and he complains bitterly about the hardships of a clergyman during this period when the people are only "fond of the things of this world" and like to neglect the laws of the church.

Although Ernst's prose is long-winded, adhering to the style of his time, yet his narrative gives us evidence of a realistic view of life and of a clear mind. Considering that he was by profession a tailor — because, as mentions in his letter, he never had finished schooling at home — he is quite accurate in his spelling and punctuation. Whenever possible,

¹Strassburger-Hinke, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers in the Port of Philadelphia from 1727 to 1808*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1966), I 707. Ernst signed the Ship's List 255 C, September 19th, 1765. Along with seventy-four other passengers, he was consigned as redemptioner to Sam. Howell. *Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States: Proceedings of the Annual Conventions from 1748 to 1821*. Compiled and translated from the Records in the Archives and from the written protocols (Philadelphia: Board of Publication of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1898), p. 168: Ernst is included in a list of pastors with the year 1805 given as his last; *Ibid.*, pp. 349-345. Minutes of the Fifty-Eighth Convention in 1805, in which Ernst is listed as an ordained Minister Present, from Manheim (in New York State). He must have died after this convention, held in June, 1805. No birthdate or place has yet been found.

Ernst introduces a fitting religious quotation in order to demonstrate his detailed knowledge of hymnals and other Lutheran writings of that period. His abbreviations are either underlinings of consonants (for he usually avoids writing a double consonant) or the use of single letters for whole words. For example, *t* equals *mit* (with); *m* equals *mit* when used with a verb (as *mitkommen*, to come with); *ns* equals *nichts* (nothing). Ernst also invents signs, as, for example, *ô* for *Gott* (God), and *ô* for Sunday, etc. In this translation, each abbreviation is replaced by its correct equivalent. Mutilated and hardly legible words and phrases with obvious meaning are enclosed in double parentheses. Ernst himself used parentheses; these are written here as simple brackets just as he used them.

Every effort has been made to reproduce the flow of the original German as much as possible, although idiomatic expressions have been paraphrased. On the whole, the goal was to create a reasonably true translation of the 18th-Century German by using correct contemporary English.

But why not allow Johann Friedrich Ernst to speak for himself.

Jan: 1781

*To my dear mother in Strasburg, Maria Barbara Ernst, affectionately,
Beloved Mother.*

Your desire to read something about me can hardly be stronger than my desire to inform you of my condition and the important changes (in my life). The only cause of my prolonged silence has been the six-year-old war in North America, resulting in nothing else but confusion and restlessness in the country and insecurity at sea. I still would not risk writing you if there had not been such important changes since my last letter and if there were not this favorable and promising opportunity to send a letter to Europe, and if I did not fear that a report postponed any longer might not reach you while you still live. I do not doubt that this letter, after you receive it and read it over—although it had to be written in condensed form—will at first take your breath away in disbelief. Then you may feel silent admiration for God's prudent and merciful guidance in my life. You will recognize the prophecy of the truth and fulfillment of his promises Jeremiah 32: 40-41 & 33: 8 which you had looked up for my sake when you opened the *Schatzkästle*² around June 10th or 11th. My only hope is that my letter may arrive safely, find you alive and well, and become a joy and comfort for your old days, as it was for Jacob when he received word of his son Joseph. But I must express myself briefly in order to save on seal, stationery, and expensive postage. ((Also because of the scarcity of stationery; and the letter being heavy, the postage

would make it expensive for you.) So I will try to remember all the important things which have come to pass since my last letter, sent to you on July 15th, 1775.

First, the essentials. Among the other things I wrote to you on July 15th, 1775: "I arrived here, guided miraculously by God's grace, and with some things still not accomplished; thus the One who has brought me to Philadelphia knows best — how to change opportunities and circumstances, place and ways and means, the time and hour of my profession and the rank I held until now."

I wrote that then, with complete faith and confidence, looking to God for guidance, as well as in complete submission to his will, very humble, without foreseeing or presuming anything. And he has certainly lent a favorable ear to my faith. For it has come to pass that God has called me away from the tailoring business like Peter from fishing, in order to preach the gospel to these half-neglected people in his still very neglected vineyard; to offer them salvation and justice which he earned for us with his bloody death, and to effect that salvation with the help of his spirit in the words of my sermons. The miraculous change happened in the following way. When, after a long illness, the Lord in his grace had restored me to life in 1772, my misery had dragged me down, (but) besides his eminent grace forgiving my sins, he had awakened in me the intention to be thankful by dedicating my soul and my body to his service. Particularly because I noticed that so many people, the old and the young alike, went on living in ignorance, I wanted to contribute something to the growth of his church and the glorification of his name, so that the perception of his word bestowed upon me might be received by others.³ (I formed) the firm resolution to work through his grace for his sake, to bear difficulties patiently, to suffer and to endure to the end. But as a young lad, I had neglected to study enough of the necessary humanistic

³Carl Heinrich von Bogatzky, *Gueldnes Schatz-Kaestlein der Kinder Gottes, bestehend in auserlesenen Spruechen der heiligen Schrift, samt beygefuegten erbaulichen Anmerkungen und Reimen*, Die 30ste durchgehende neu-vermehrte Auflage, Erster Teil. Cum privilegiis (Halle: in Verlegung des Waisenhauses, 1776) . . . A *Schatz-Kaestlein*, or as Ernst fondly calls it, *Schatzkästle*, is literally a "little treasure chest," or a collection of religious writings. Ernst's mother has used an edition published before 1765, while Ernst quotes from the edition of 1776 cited here. His citation is printed June 9th in the 1776 edition, while his letter mentions June 10th or 11th as his mother's citation. Because of limitations of space, all subsequent citations from this work are omitted from these explanatory notes. They can easily be found in the 1776 edition of Bogatzky's *Schatz-Kaestlein*.

⁴Hommel, Fr., ed., *Der Psalter verdeutscht von Dr. Martin Luther: Nach der letzten von Luther selbst besorgten Ausgabe wieder abgedruckt* (Stuttgart: Verlag von Samuel Gottlieb Liesching, 1853), p. 151 ff. and p. 154 ff. Buttenwieser, Moses, ed., *The Psalms: Chronologically treated with a new translation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), p. 382 ff. and p. 687 ff. All subsequent psalms which Ernst quotes in his letter are not specifically cited due to lack of space, but they can be found in both languages in these two publications.

sciences; or perhaps (it was) so to speak that God had arranged it that way, and that it was meant to happen. Thus might he demonstrate the boundlessness of his grace for me, the unworthy (man); and he also wanted to reveal that there is no need for vast literary scholarship and perception in order to be selected for his service and be sent into his vineyard. Thus, in the beginning, he made use of avenues unknown to me, magnificently demonstrating in the end the wealth of his grace. Sc. A. When, during the above-mentioned illness, I had pledged God to perform the most solemn and childlike obedience if he would restore my health, he granted my prayer Ps. 102, 125³ and afterwards he had me commence to sing with all my heart Ps. 103. 1-5. Immediately I felt like a newborn child, the urge of hunger and thirst for God's word being a sustenance for my soul. I missed no opportunity to satisfy it, in order that I might be strengthened and edified by God's word. The Reverend Minister Kunze,⁴ who at that time spared no pains to share his knowledge, held a biblical lecture hour in the schoolhouse in Philadelphia each evening. It was for young persons about to be or already confirmed. But others who felt inclined to listen and learn were permitted to attend. So, like Nicodemus, I felt the urge to listen to this teacher. And Oh, God! How often was my mind filled with excitement there! How ashamed I was to realize that I, who had been convinced that I had a sound perception of my religious dogma, I, who was able to propound it to everyone, did not even know the foundations for its reasonings. I would have to sit down among these children if my faith and beliefs were to be able to withstand challenge. The more I learned, the more I wished to learn, and the Lord gave me, like Lydia, the grace to pay strict attention to everything said by this servant of God. To this account must be added that of the strange circumstance which enabled me to benefit from my studies. After recovery from my sickness ((which manifested itself in inactivity)), I was still afflicted with lethargy; whenever I went someplace I had to sit down quietly, and, in less than a quarter of an hour, I became drowsy and fell asleep. Nowhere did it happen faster than in church; even while I stood singing, my head dropped onto my chest, and I looked very much as if I were drunk. This vexed me so, and irritated others so; in order to remedy this difficulty, and to

⁴Kunze: Dr. John Christopher Kunze (the correct spelling is Kuntze) studied in Leipzig. In 1770, accompanied by two sons of Muhlenberg, Kuntze came to America, where he married one of Muhlenberg's daughters; accepted a call as second pastor of St. Michael's Church of Philadelphia; and at the same time became professor of oriental languages at the newly founded University of Pennsylvania. In 1783, he accepted a call to New York as pastor and professor at Columbia College. He died in 1807. Note further along that Ernst also misspelled the inn-keeper's name: sometimes Meierle and sometimes Meyerle.

frustrate the devil's evident intention to hinder my listening to the word of God, it crossed my mind to use something I had learned during my youth — namely, to copy down the sermon. By this ruse I might keep myself alert. To be sure, it attracted much attention among my neighbors sitting next to me; but I didn't let that bother me. Meanwhile, I soon became aware of its splendid effectiveness. In this way I profited not only from the lectures of the Reverend Minister Kunze ((because of his scholarship and above all his sincerity and fervor in his presentation)), but also from the lectures of others. Even after I had been freed of my somnolence by a drug⁵ I continued this practice for further edification. It never occurred to me that what I was hearing and copying was a replacement for my studies. I did this for three long years, from 1772 to 1775. During this time I became a member of such groups as participated not only in public services but also in small assemblies, bowing down before God's presence to present their own and their brothers' needs. Together they found edification; the Reverend Kunze supported and led the group himself. I had some further good fortune which I did not deserve, (namely) to be honored with his special confidence, and to have free entrance to him. Because he discovered in me a real desire for learning and teaching, he found delight in deepening my knowledge. During these years, the Lord spared no humiliations, burdens, sufferings, temptations, adversities, or persecutions, so that I would be prepared to work in the proper manner in his house as well as outside of it. In the end, all had been appropriate and managed in the best possible way. My desire and preference to work in the vineyard of the Lord with the young plants became gradually stronger; at the same time, my aversion grew against the profession to which I had never been devoted, and which had exposed me to many temptations. I admit (indeed) that I had always had a secret presentiment of a change to come, but I was not able to perceive any progress in my attempts. The mere idea of becoming a schoolmaster was linked with so many other notions that it had always seemed to me to be impossible, like insurmountable mountains. It seemed to be a futile hope. It never could be achieved the way I wanted it. If only because of my lack of knowledge, etc. It is then that God came; and he really came and displayed his omnipotent, governing hand at that time. That was on August 1st, 1775, after the right honorable Lochner⁶ had left Philadelphia

⁵It is difficult to get an accurate history of epidemics before Dr. Benjamin Rush's reports, which themselves are only given from what he experienced as a young lad. It seems that Ernst's sickness was not contagious because he does not mention that he was in quarantine.

⁶Mr. Christoph Lochner, a bookseller who is mentioned in the Journals of H. M. Muhlenberg. He carries Muhlenberg's packets of letters to various places, traveling with ships' captains.

on July 22nd with my letter of July 15th. On that day, for the first time, I was asked — and after that several times again — by the school official who works with the right honorable Leutheuser⁷ in the German Lutheran Community school, whether I wouldn't like to substitute for him while he took a trip into the country. That is, to serve the community with singing, to play the organ, and to help in the school. I accepted for several reasons; first, because the business during this month hadn't been going well; and, my people at home were able to do the necessary work in spite of my comings and goings. I served from August 14th to September 9th. Upon his return, it turned out that he had been appointed as Catechist in Culpepper, Virginia, and had accepted; therefore, he would leave the school in Philadelphia. He presented me with this fact, and said that if I would like to take over the school in the place of my current profession, then this would be the best chance in the world. I answered, (1) that I would never change my profession without recognizing God's will in such an action, because until now God has given me food and clothing by it, and he could and would continue to do this in the future; and, (2) So many objections to my appointment would arise that nothing would come of it. He tried to dissuade me of this last reason.

The unexpected proposition troubled my mind greatly. Meanwhile, I turned with all my heart to the Lord, asking him to let me know his will and means. Among other things, I also asked him to give me courage, determination and an inclination to carry out his will, even if it should be unpleasant for the flesh. The Lord granted my manifold prayers and complied with my most secret wishes and the desire of my heart, which I have described above, but he didn't do it according to my thoughts and at my discretion; rather according to his own liking and the glorification of his name. However, in 1767, at the engagement of the last schoolmasters, Leutheuser and Frank, only the minister and the members of the consistory were responsible. After having submitted my petition, I assumed that the matter would take the same course. As my loyal friend, Mr. Kunze, assured me in the most cordial and confidential way of his assistance. Later, he explained to me several times that he had petitioned God for special grace

⁷Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, trans., *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, In Three Volumes* (Philadelphia: The Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States and The Muhlenberg Press, 1958), III, 200-203. In 1767, H. M. Muhlenberg engaged Mr. Leuthauser (Muhlenberg's correct spelling) as schoolmaster. Because he was still weak from an illness, Muhlenberg also hired a Mr. Frank to help him. Leuthauser later organized a group of parents against Frank, and two factions developed in the congregation. Thus, Mr. Frank went to Culpepper, Virginia, to look for another job, in August 1775. He is the school official who asked Ernst to fill in for him.

to let me become his co-worker in school (and that I would be) an encouragement and a comfort to him. He did all in his power to bring matters to such a pass. Mr. Muhlenberg, Sr. and Jr., also assured me of their favor. Yet, contrary to my expectations, things turned out differently, because the members of the church committee were of different opinion. (They accepted) several petitions from three other candidates, (something) which I had not expected. All that was aimed at a competition, in which each candidate should render proof of ability in singing, catechizing, and playing the organ. As soon as I was notified about all that, I wished I had never submitted a petition, because I could count the results on the fingers of my hands.

Mr. Kunze, who since September 9th had fairly well determined the opinions of the committee members, began himself to doubt the realization of his wishes. He foresaw and feared specific difficulties: (1) the hostility against the kingdom of God in general, throughout the world, but especially in America, a free country where the seed of a serpent fights that of the wife, even, unfortunately, among the preachers. (2) The vain arrogance of the church committee ((which consists almost entirely of artisans)), who don't want a tailor as schoolmaster. (3) Perhaps they were against me because of unfavorable views I have expressed on different occasions, in agreement with the Reverend Muhlenberg, Sr., which give evidence of a stronger bias for the larger party than the smaller one.⁸ Mr. Kunze was forced to comment on it considerably more often than once. (4) My reputation was already established as being too strict with the children. To all this should be added that the honorable Leutheuser did not fail to cast a stone in secret. Because he was neither minister nor friend, he spread the rumor among

⁸Tappert and Doberstein, op. cit., III, 121. H. M. Muhlenberg writes in his journal: (1778) "January 13, Tuesday" . . . "As far as possible I have stood between both parties and I could not have done otherwise, for I have had no vocation to meddle in political controversy. But in times and conditions like these, envious persons and enemies, who at other times would be secret, rise up as accusers and vent their pretty rage because they never had a chance to do it before. So be it . . ." In reality, H. M. Muhlenberg tried to remain neutral, tried not to show tendencies in either direction. It seems that Mr. Ernst did not comprehend Muhlenberg's problems. In addition, the history of the Lutheran church itself conceals a problem. That is that the Hanovers, who were Lutherans, brought German ministers to the English court. Under the four Georges, these German ministers held increasingly influential positions, and the Lutheran church as a whole received the benefit of whatever royal favor could bestow. For example, Queen Anne's provision for the thousands of Palatines who came to London en route to the New World. And many funds were sent from the German-English court ministers to build up American congregations. Consequently, during the Revolutionary War the Lutheran church in America was split between those pastors who stayed loyal and those who felt extremely sympathetic to the new freedom movement. Yet another problem was of a theological, moral nature: namely, whether the war was not actually a punishment from God. So writes Mr. Kuntze in a letter of July 18, 1775 published in *Nachrichten von den vereinigten Deutschen Evangelischen-Lutherischen Gemeinen in Nord-America* by Johann Ludwig Schulze (Halle: n. p., 1787). Also, new edition, Mann, Schmucker, ed., (Allentown, Pennsylvania: Verlag Brobst, Diehl & Co., 1886), II, 706 (1372, 1373).

the people that I would circulate among the ministers, bringing to their ears everything I might see and hear in the community.

In order not to slander Mr. Kunze, my friends and myself, or to seem cowardly, or perhaps to hinder and fail the ways of the Lord, and in order to give free play to this matter (certainly started by myself), I therefore complied with (the demand) to take a public test as schoolmaster. On September 24th, two candidates took the test, and on October 1st, the other two. I was one of them, and to tell the truth to the glory of God, against (all) expectations of any of my listeners, everything went well: the singing in Zions Church,⁹ which is without an organ, as well as the Catechism lesson of their children, and the playing of the organ in the St. Michael's Church.¹⁰ The results were that I received 25 votes from the more distinguished and reasonable community members. One of the other candidates could not even give a proof on the organ, but the mob blindly gave him 125 (votes), and he was given the position. Here, God's ruling hand becomes evident, revealing, for the best of his children, the truth of the passage Romans 28.¹¹

However, I was not able to recognize it immediately. Yet, even that same evening, the old Mr. Muhlenberg asked my brother-in-law Alberti, who was at that time a church elder, whether I would like to become a schoolmaster in the country. One of the best communities in the country being vacant, he had been requested to assign a schoolmaster. Alberti suggested to me that, if it were agreeable, I should go to see the Venerable Muhlenberg on the following day. He also advised me to get out to the countryside in order to escape many an evil and hardship which would befall the city and its inhabitants in the event of a visit from the English Army, for there was good reason to suspect that such might come. I had already felt many a secret worry on this subject, for I didn't know what would be the best action to attempt upon an enemy invasion. Also, at that time I had a complete aversion to all war operations, whether attacking or defending. Because of my neutrality, I was beset with anxious faces among my acquaintances, and had to listen to

⁹Zion Church was founded in 1766 and consecrated in 1769. It was situated at 4th Street (Germantown) across from the Lutheran school house.

¹⁰St. Michael's Church, the oldest Lutheran church in Philadelphia, consecrated in 1748, was located towards Fifth Street, south of Cherry Street.

¹¹*Die Bibel oder die ganze Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments, nach der deutschen Uebersetzung Dr. Martin Luthers. Im Auftrage der Deutschen evangelischen Kirchenkonferenz durchgesehene Ausgabe, 11. Abdruck. (Halle a.S.: Druck und Verlag der von Cansteinschen Bibelanstalt, 1912), pp. 189-191. Frank Charles Thompson, ed., The New Chain-Reference Bible, 2nd rev. ed (Indianapolis, Indiana: B. B. Kirkbride Bible Co., 1929), pp. 160-167. This is Ernst's first quotation from the Bible in his letter to his mother. All subsequent quotations can be found in German as well as in English in the works cited above.*

taunts. After I had obtained the opinions of a few friends, I quickly decided to get better information for myself, (direct) from Venerable Muhlenberg himself. Consequently, I went to him on the 10th. He told me then that Venerable Schulze¹² ((husband of his daughter)) had requested a school official for the community. There is an organ in the church, and he believes it would be advantageous for me. Should I care to accept, he would write me at the first opportunity. I reflected a short while and answered: if he would be so gracious as to write a registered letter, then that would be the best procedure. I would travel there myself. Perhaps there will be a public service on Sunday; then the whole matter could be settled immediately, in a proper manner. He consented to my request; and, after I had rented a horse, I began my journey immediately, on Friday 13th, with an inner conviction and affirmation that this is God's will and guidance. Inasmuch as, during my first years in this country, from 1767 to 1769,¹³ life was mighty troublesome to me, now I was convinced that something quite different was happening. In that black time, I was without God, but now I would throw out the net and I was confident in him. If I work for him, he will also give me bread.

Since Tulpehocken¹⁴ is 75 English miles, that is, 25 hours, away from Philadelphia I arrived well, and in good shape, on Saturday the 14th towards evening, although I was once thrown unexpectedly from my horse. To my great surprise, I found that, half an hour before my arrival, another man had made his appearance and inquired for the vacant job, having offered Venerable Schulze to serve as schoolmaster. As I had assumed in Philadelphia, the 15th was a Sunday with public church services; consequently both of us served alternately with singing and playing during the service. After we finished, I was given the position, partly because of the recommendation, and partly because I understood the English language; and I signed the contract and set the time when the wagons should come and pick me up, within four weeks. After this, I returned to Philadelphia. Between

¹²*Schulze*: The Reverend Christopher Emanuel Schulze, a native of Germany, pastor of the Tulpehocken Parish for 38 years. In 1776, he married Eva E., the daughter of Reverend Dr. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg.

¹³Richard B. Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946), p. 316. "The period of labor service for which the redemptioners bound themselves varied from two to seven years, with four years as the average length of service." Johann Friedrich Ernst had to serve seven years until he was free to start a new life. He entered through the port of Philadelphia in 1765, and reports in his letter that in 1772 he was restored to life by the grace of the Lord. Starting with this date, he reports one event after another, while he remains completely silent about his previous life in this country.

¹⁴*Tulpehocke*: The Tulpehocken settlement was founded in 1723 by thirty-three German families in Penn's Woods. By 1750, it probably had 10,000 inhabitants. It boasted the first forge in the area, built by John Georg Nikoll and Michael Miller. See *The Tulpehocken Bi-Centennial*. Tulpehocken, which has had several different spellings, was located near Reading, where the Mill Creek flows into the Tulpehocken.

October 20th and November 16th, I settled my affairs and prepared myself to leave.

On the 17th, I left Philadelphia — with many blessings and a four-hour-long escort by Mr. Kunze — for Tulpehocken, henceforth the place of my abode. In my heart, I had the same feeling as is said of a lamb: he went cheerfully along the road. I arrived safe and sound on the evening of the 18th; and on the 20th, I opened the school in the name of God. My housekeeper and my daughter Juliana were still in Philadelphia. They were not able to join me until the 9th of the following (month). It was important, comforting and heartening for me to be able to furnish my home alone, with a prayer before the Lord, using the passage Isaiah 55: 1-10, but especially verse 11 which I found as soon as I had opened the Bible. It gave me confidence and courage to start working with a good cheer.

After I had worked there for a while, however, I soon learned the truth of 2 Timothy 3: 12. (I recognized) the old, humdrum way, or perhaps it was only a superficially evident characteristic of religion. (I saw) the poor services in the churches and schools; young and old alike are caught in the rut of their old habits and justice, putting everything on a worldly level. They stick to the old ways; the Devil likes and tolerates that. But as soon as he sees someone getting serious, and that not only the souls he counts as his but also all the other souls might be saved through salvation, then either he himself or his delegate gets busy and prevents it. And there I was, always the sheep who made the water muddy for the wolf, standing and waiting up there at the brook.

The mistakes I made included, among others, the following: I admired discipline, and took strict care not to be tolerant of rich children's bad manners; I punished bad boys in church. I lived a secluded life, not mixing with the young men and their amusements. Nor did I give them any motive or opportunity, as previous schoolmasters had done; so they called me an arrogant fool. In the evening school, in which I taught English, I always opened and closed the lesson with a song and a prayer. But the community said: We don't send our children to school to pray, but to learn English. And who would believe that there are preachers now among us, having been given the title of preacher, yet do not apply themselves to remedy such situations, do not look after God's trust in order to defend it against his enemies. Unfortunately, there are many of them.

Because of limitations of time and space, I must stop short here. The only thing I want to add here is that, during the three-and-a-half years I was at Tulpehocken, I held school for fourteen and a half months. During this time, I had the honor to see my venerable minister in school only twice, even though he lived

only two stones' throws away. But all that didn't bother me. Rather I learned to know God better, and the Devil in me and in the world around me. I learned to understand Hosea 2: 14. God guarded me against intemperances, against turning to the flesh-pots of Egypt, etc. This place was like a bench-vice into which God had put me, in order to free me of some imperfections. But it was also a crucial test of my faith, love, patience and hope. When the time of inner and outer gloom, of temptation and darkness, had ended, the sun appeared in its splendor, signifying: "Now you can work, for you know night and winter well, etc."

Continuation: now, you will wonder, "What then did he do with the rest of his time, for thirty months, if he taught school hardly half of the time?" You will learn that right now: From November 20th, 1775, until June 11, 1776, I taught school. In June, the hay and fruit harvests start, and the people need their children to work in the fields. School is taught very little in the countryside. From June to October, I passed my time partly with reading, studying, working a little, or I visited my friends in Philadelphia or other places.¹⁵ From October 7th until May 16th, 1777, I was put to a severe test which I would love to report if it weren't so involved. But in order to show you the guiding hand of our Lord, I want only to touch the circumstances with a finger. (Be it done shortly.) Since April, 1775, our country had become the arena of a war. Most of the inhabitants were united, with weapons in hand, and disobeyed the laws of the English parliament. Whoever did not concur with them was without honor, was insulted. Whoever concurred had to drill every day. (Oh, God, how many of God's children, who had a fine beginning and showed progress, relapsed. The opportunity for sinning increased.) I had nothing to lose, so I had nothing to fight for. I found no courage, no aptitude, no pleasure in war — any notion of it was frightful. Philadelphia expected a hostile visit daily. Preachers and schoolmasters were free and exempt from obligation. In the country it was somewhat more quiet and safe. Therefore, it was not surprising that I wished to be a schoolmaster — and to stay in the country —. I saw the first opportunity as being the best, and considered it the realization of my fiercest secret wishes, and so I took it up. How happy I was, because I was in Tulpehocken, and I thought, "I am safe from the enemy." But how distressed I was when I had to tear myself away from all my brothers and sisters in Christ, from all spiritual connections. No child whose world is shattered

¹⁵Tappert and Doberstein, *Journals*, op. cit., II, 734. H. M. Muhlenberg writes about a "visit from Mr. Ernst, schoolmaster P(ro) t(empore) in Tulpehocken, who came from Philadelphia and brought with him a letter from my daughter, Margret Kuntze . . ." This verifies Ernst's position; yet, in his letter, he does not say anything about being schoolmaster only *pro tempore*!

feels more pain than I did. Yet, with determined cheerfulness, this grief passed in time. In July, 1776, a considerable hostile army landed on Staten Island. Every man there was summoned for resistance; only preachers and schoolmasters were rejected. Towards December of the same year, because of luck and with God's permission, the enemy pushed along through Jersey, always nearer Philadelphia. Thus, at Christmas they were only thirty miles away from Philadelphia, on the other side of the Delaware River. During the night of the 25th, they were driven away, leaving many casualties and with various Hessian regiments taken prisoner. To be sure, the city was safe again; but during this (encounter) many families fled, in an already cold month, into the back-country.

During this winter of 1776-1777, new legislation was prepared, a law concerning the regulation of the militia.¹⁶ According to it, preachers were exempt from service, but not schoolmasters. Only professors and teachers of high school were exempt. The country magistrate supposed to carry out this law was given the power to exempt the schoolmaster of a community if its people demanded it in proper fashion, so that a distinction might be made between one who teaches school for a regular community, and someone who follows this line of business for himself, rather than as a trade or craft. I never thought my community would be so infamous as not to take the slightest pain to obtain their schoolmaster's exemption from the militia. A schoolmaster who they were convinced exerted himself for their children. They could not miss him in church because of his ubiquitous services. It would not only have been to their own honor, but also for the benefit of their children, if (they had managed) to free him from the drill and from taking the field, etc. There were such cases for precedence in Philadelphia. But to my enormous surprise, and much larger distress and anxiety, I had to watch as not one single member of the church committee, much less my minister, Schulze, took the scantiest trouble to do it for my sake; even though he had been asked, once by me and once by another colleague of mine. He always declined, with the indication that he could do nothing in this affair ((and it would be very wrong to give one's consent to something and then afterwards want to back down. At that time, however, I had not given my consent to the independence of America nor to the militia law.)) It was quite well known that I had left Philadelphia

¹⁶William P. Clarke, *Official History of the Militia and the National Guard of the State of Pennsylvania: From the Earliest Period of Record to the Present Time*. 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Captain Charles J. Hendler, 1909), I, 19. *An Act to Regulate the Militia of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Printed by John Dunlop, in Market Street, 1777), p. 5. *Eine Acte zur Anordnung der Miliz der Republik Pennsylvania, Aus dem Englischen uebersetzt* (Philadelphia: Gedruet bey Steiner und Cist, In der Zweyten Strasse nahe bey der Arch-Strasse, 1777), pp. 4-5.

because of the war, the unrest, and that I had not a belligerent spirit or nature. Because I was a friend of Venerable Kunze, whom the people also disliked, the fervor of my enemies cooled, as they soon hoped to see Ernst with a rifle on his shoulder. Now I found myself entangled in the difficulties I had hoped to avoid. By this time, I had no other refuge but God, and I turned to him with all my heart. Yes, I must confess, at that time I wrestled with him continuously with all my strength, and I asked him to take away this chalice which appeared to me so bitter and so detestable. But that if it was his Godly wish that I empty it, he should give me courage and fearlessness, take away my timid heart, inspire me with consolation, and in all doings he should lead me in such a manner that my soul suffer no loss. And, Oh, God! How this God presented himself as the grantor of my prayers. It is impossible to describe in words the solace he poured into my soul. My disposition was completely turned around and no phantom of war was able to make me tremble anymore.

The promise Ps. 32: 6-8 and Exodus 33: 14 was always present in my heart. Yes, the Lord directed my outward life quite magnificently. In spite of the bitter hatred of my enemies, and it was none of my doing, I was named by the Colonel as assistant to his battalion on May 9th, and I received a commission from the executive council of the state.¹⁷ It was my skill in the English language — to tell the truth — that secured me this position. On the 16th of this same month, school was over. As the English army landed at the mouth of the Delaware River to march from there to Philadelphia during the summer, there was plenty to do in my new position.

When my enemies realized that this position brought in some profit for me, they envied me, but it didn't hurt me at all. Towards the end of September, the English took Philadelphia and kept it until June, 1778. While they were in possession, word reached me that I must serve my time of two months in the field, from November 1st, 1777 to January 1st, 1778. I marched there with good cheer and with an inner assurance that our Lord will save me and he will glorify the honor of his name. But there was no peace, neither day nor night. I had to rest upon my weapon, as I

expected an attack any minute. I fell from my horse, and I was wet and frozen all over. During these two months, I very seldom got the taste of a warm room. Regardless of all that, the Lord brought me, on January 2nd, 1778, healthy and well and content, back home to my child, etc. Once, when it seemed very dangerous, even before I had fallen into the water, I was quite depressed. In my despair, I asked the Lord for his protection. I had hardly finished sighing when I received the answer: Isaiah 43: 1-2, in my heart, confirming the truth of Isaiah 65: 24, and the Master fulfilled everything. Indeed, he led me along a miraculous path during my outward journey, into a home where I was a stranger; yet in even a short time, I became so well known that there I received a compensation for the loss of my wife.

At my arrival at Tulpehocken on January 4th, I immediately announced the opening of school. But no children came, for while the hostility against me had been great before, now it was even greater. These poor people really didn't really know how to hurt me. I tried to overcome it with silence, hoping the tide would soon turn. And so it happened. On January 15th, I received, through Mr. Friedrich Muhlenberg, an appointment letter from the congregation in New Hanover¹⁸ to accept the teaching position over there. This community is situated approximately in the middle between Tulpehocken and Philadelphia. It is one of the oldest congregations in Pennsylvania and, besides a proper schoolhouse, it also has 50 acres of land for the schoolmaster's use. Because I was asked in the appointment letter to give my answer either orally or in writing, I chose the first. I rented a horse and started the trip of 40 miles on February 3rd, 1778. After I had covered a distance of 28 miles, I reached, on the first evening, the same home in Oley where I had stayed overnight on January 1st. The little music I knew, and grace bestowed upon me, brought about an affection between the host and myself; he owned a small house-organ and was also full of grace. This mutual regard drew me to his home while I was on my journey. This time we became somewhat better acquainted. It was as it had been on January 1st. He was delighted with my humble self, my singing and playing, and he wished sincerely to get more instruction in the latter. His questions seemed to come from an honest mind. He was inquisitive, and I satisfied his curiosity in the way I thought proper and advantageous. The next morning, when I asked for my bill, his answer was, never mind the bill; I thought to myself that I certainly would take the same way home, and I agreed.

¹⁷William H. Egle, ed., *Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution, Associated Battalions and Militia 1775-1783*, 2 vols. (Harrisburg: K. K. Meyers, State Printer, 1892), II, 285. "Muster Rolls and Papers relating to the Associators and Militia of the County of Berks." p. 285. It says:

Sixth Battalion

Colonel: Henry Spijcker, May 17, 1777*

Lieut. Colonel: George Miller, May 17, 1777

Major: Michael Furry, May 17, 1777

Adjutant: Frederick Ernest, November 10, 1777

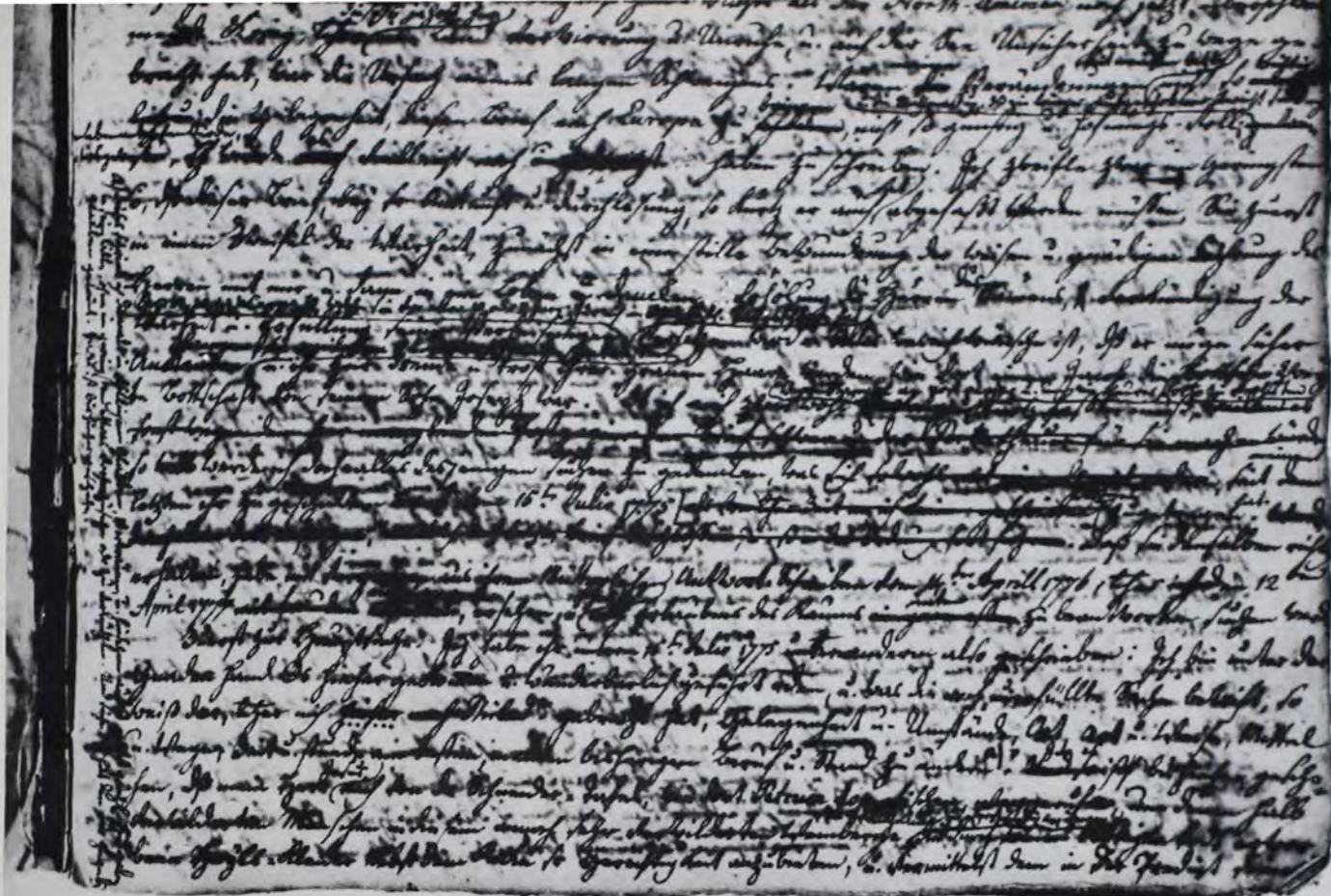
Quartermaster: George Lechner, November 10, 1777

Surgeon: Philip Finkel, November 10, 1777

*taking the oath of allegiance

The Sixth Battalion had eight Companies. The total number of enlisted men in 1778 was 728.

¹⁸N.H. is *Neuhannover* or *New Hanover*. Theodore F. Bean, *History of Montgomery County* (Philadelphia: Everts & Peck, 1884), pp. 992-994. New Hanover is now called Falckner's Swamp. In 1734, it was already a German settlement, and in 1750, a school was started by the Lutheran congregation.



Page from original text of Ernst letter, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

When I arrived at Mr. Friedrich Muhlenberg, I looked at the apartment and so forth. As soon as I had consented to accept the position, on condition that the congregation would transport my family and me free of charge, Heinrich Muhlenberg wished I could have arranged my trip at a time when the congregation could have seen me and heard my singing, because he could not take upon himself the responsibility of rendering a promise about the carriage bill. Therefore, we decided that I should come again, when the matter would be concluded. Because I had promised Mr. Meyerle to call on him on my way home, and because I was behind with my payment, I had to see him, for honor's sake, regardless that other business drew me in another direction, which was until now unknown to me, yet much closer to my home, I stayed again in Oley overnight with Mr. Friedrich Meyerle, for that was the name of the innkeeper. Other than the innkeeper's wife, I had noticed no one else in the house; nor did I imagine that I was being especially observed. The following morning, he expressed his desire to enjoy a little more music instruction for inexpensive payment. I promised to return in two weeks and begin then.

I could see in advance that it was all over with the school in Tulpehocken, and New Hanover would not be ready until April 1st. But this time, before I left, he asked me, with my permission, among other things, why I had remained a widower such a long time. I

answered him with the following verse: "If I don't get what charms me, then freedom is my pleasure. Whoever doesn't live a virtuous life never will conquer my heart. I only like what is respectable, and I am on guard against a fool who falls in love with me." To this he answered, do I really believe that there are other such people still in this world? Answer: "Yes." At that, he took me aside and gave me to understand that his wife's sister was of the same opinion. She had had several good suitors already, but until now no one had been able to capture her heart. She had already lived more than ten years in his house, assisting her sister who was always ailing. She also had a small fortune left by her father, besides the living she herself earned by her own diligence with her master dressmaking. To all that I listened quite composed. I regarded myself as much too inferior for this person, but I answered: I would never look for money, but for an honest mind and a tolerable personality. For the present, nothing more was said about it, and since he didn't want to take anything for my keep, for either the first or the second visit, I left, and arrived on the evening of the 6th in Tulpehocken. On the 7th, I gave notice of my planned change to the church council.

Because of unexpected business, I was only able to start my trip to Oley for Mr. Meyerle's lessons four weeks later. During that time, I had ample opportunity to inquire about the character of a person

described to hold such similar convictions as mine. Since I only heard good things about her, and because my household and the education of my Juliana didn't progress as well as I could wish, I left it to the Lord and asked him to direct me in everything according to his counsel. Prayer and supplication were my refuge in these days when everything was still dark around me. When Mr. Friedrich Muhlenberg visited Venerable Schulze, his brother-in-law, in Tulpehocken on March 8th, he informed me that I should come the following Sunday and take an examination ((Monday)) thru 9th, I set out on foot on my journey. The verse Zechariah 4: 6-7, 10 became exceedingly important and comforting on my route. This night I lodged in Reading, with the father of a pupil who sent me there. He is a benevolent, experienced old gentleman.

I arrived at noon on the 10th at the house of my friend. He had a bundle of children whom for love's sake I taught reading, etc., during my idle hours. At that time I observed more closely than previously the behavior of his sister-in-law. I had been approximately thirty hours with this family when I ventured to learn the mind of a person whose heart already felt impulses of a true cheer and a pure love for me during my visit of February 3rd, without my knowledge, and who wanted to discover the thoughts of my heart. She didn't hold back for long, although I was a stranger to her. I made it difficult for her: presented her with the need and necessary guardianship of an uneducated stepchild, revealed my temperamental faults, and asked her whether she wanted to walk with me hand in hand on the road of devotion through the blessings of God? In spite of all this, she soon gave her hearty consent: she wanted to be mine. Thus, after only thirty hours' acquaintance, a union was concluded in the name of God on March 18th, by a couple both in their thirties. So far, neither of us has been sorry about our union, to the glory of God. Here belongs the beautiful song: "Whoever only lets our dear Father court," etc. And especially the words: "What was strange, he makes known, how miraculously does his hand lead." If time and place permitted, I could quote various incidents. Thus far, I have written fully, out of love for you, dear Mother, in order that you may be able to recognize, admire, and praise God's ways.

Saturday, March 14th, I rode to New Hanover; and to my surprise I discovered that I must give proof of my ability with another candidate the following day. My thoughts were: God's will be done. Everything must pass through tribulations if God's will is to be revealed rightly. When, on Sunday the 15th, after the test, the votes were collected, I had received 24 and the other man 2. Thereafter, everything fell into place, and they promised to pay for two cartloads to move my goods.

Because New Hanover was only 12 miles away from Oley, I immediately rode there the same afternoon, with a relaxed mind, thankful and admiring of God's methods — to announce to my Elizabeth the developments of the day, which made us both bow down with thanks before God, and incited us to trust our future life to his loving, fatherly heart. From the 16th to the 24th, I taught Meyerle and his children. On March 24th, I rode to Tulpehocken to pick up my Julie and to announce to my housekeeper my changed circumstances, albeit this news didn't make her very happy.

April 7th, 1778, was the day when the Reverend Friedrich Muhlenberg united me with Elizabeth Jaeger in the name of the Lord, after four years of widowhood. He selected the text of the wedding sermon, upon my request, from the second part of the *Schatzkästle*, N. 99.D.9. April. Wonderful words! The Lord may write them in the hearts of us all. Meanwhile, I received the unexpected news that on the (same) day the cart was already on its way to Tulpehocken, a distance of 28 miles. So that the moving should not be impeded, I had to leave early on the morning of the 8th for Tulpehocken to pick up my belongings. With me, everything always had to happen suddenly and unexpectedly.

The carts arrived in New Hanover on the 10/11th and on the 13th I followed with my family.

But now I must mention an incident which was the beginning of many changes in my life.

On the 11th, when I was still in Oley in the house of my brother-in-law, a neighbor came whose mother had just died; he asked me to bury her the following morning because they could not get a preacher. I sent the man away, telling him something like that is not my trade. But he begged me very hard to do it. I knew very well that he expected a funeral sermon, for which I felt no inclination. But he was persistent; and suddenly it came to me that I would be able to spread some good in this drab region. I considered it a signal from the Most-Honorable and I promised the man I would do as he asked. You must know that in this country everyone is free to preach God's word publicly, except in the public churches and meeting houses, without permission from the party to which the church belongs. In this case, a barn had been transformed into a church, where, after the burial of the body, I exhorted the words of Ephesians 5: 15-16, referring to God's offered mercy to everyone present and mourning. Thus I gave my first public speech. Since these words were spoken in public, it could not be kept secret. Both my friends and my enemies became aware of it. Also, Mr. Muhlenberg. But no one was so bold as to find fault with it publicly.

After I had moved to New Hanover and had a fairly large school, it happened that the right honorable Friederich Muhlenberg, because of other business, was

prevented from officiating at a child's burial on August 10, 1778. He asked me, in writing, to perform that burial for him, which I did with pleasure. At this occasion, I spoke about the words of John: 14, 19, "I live," etc. Similarly, the following September 6th I had to serve at a burial, at which I selected the words Phillippians 2: 12. I gave these three funeral speeches entirely without prior instruction. Yet afterwards I submitted them to judgment. Mr. Friedrich Muhlenberg, who had more work than time, could not devise the means to be everywhere at once. At different times he expressed his worries to me about the headway of the congregation, and he wished to be able to devise means for those poor people to be reached.

Therefore, on December 6th, I ventured to tell him that, if he would be so kind as to take pains to teach me the important subjects in which I am still deficient, I wanted to serve his congregation while preaching for him.

In order to bring the whole affair into a better focus, two points have to be made: (1.) In this country, the harvest is indeed large and vast, but the workers are few, and, unfortunately! no wealth, no special honors, esteem, leisure time, etc., are to be earned by the workers, so workers are harder and harder to get every day. Particularly during this war, as one cannot get any labor from Europe. The congregation must suffer the lack of God's word or else leave (the harvest) to roving marauders. Therefore, one has to look out to provide help for the congregation in whatever ways possible. This point is therefore that God's word can be preached with more spirit and strength than with great erudition; and the preacher's own life should be lived according to the word; otherwise he may carry little weight among so many different opinions and gain few souls.

(2.) Mr. Kunze always liked to think favorably of my inner disposition and mentioned it often. He prized God's blessing in me as well as this gift and considered me qualified for the service in the house of God. He also yearned for me to serve with all his heart. Only, it was still a dark mystery to him as to in which manner he could make me useful. As hard as he tried to promote it, some other party tried just as hard to prevent it. His enemies were also my enemies, inside as well as outside the ministry. Into this state of affairs came what one has to consider God's guidance and will; whoever and whatever seemed, in human eyes, to be mountains and obstacles, became exactly the opposite, a promoter of his and my business. To our faces, people spoke sweetly, but it was quite different behind our backs. But, evidently because of his high standing in the ministry, several members began to support his wishes in all important decisions.

That was the point which Venerable Kunze saw

as the long-desired moment to make a move in my behalf. He seized the opportunity, but in such a way that no one was able to perceive his true intention; otherwise his hope would have dissolved into water. He acted slowly but surely.

December 20th, or the 4th Sunday in Advent, was the day when I gave my first Sunday sermon, in the above-mentioned branch church, 9 miles away, that is, three hours away from my house. I continued every other week until Pentecost 1779. Venerable Friedrich Muhlenberg came only occasionally, to baptize children and to serve Holy Communion. Mr. Muhlenberg gave me, I admit, some instruction in January and February. But it was not strictly correct, rather just pretense, so that each child might have a name. Had God not instructed me himself through his Spirit, further and better, before that and later, I would have had to keep my mouth closed right from the start. Yet, in order that everything proceed in an honest and proper way, this justification had to be fulfilled outwardly. Little by little, I remembered my Latin, driven into me with many slaps, because I studied diligently over it and learned to understand the most necessary phrases.

February 13th, 1779, a little son was born to me, whom I named at his holy baptism Johann Friedrich.

When, soon after that, in March 1779, Venerable Friedrich Muhlenberg changed the ministry by taking a position in the American Congress, and all congregations he had served became vacant, there was no prospect as to when and how they would be filled again. The congregations asked for my services to preach to them. So I received, as of March 18th, a written permission or license to preach in New Hanover, New Goshenhoppen,¹⁹ and the above branch and to baptize the children. It was signed by Venerable Muhlenberg, Sr., Friedrich Muhlenberg and Mr. Muhlenberg, Jr., besides Venerable Kunze. Until I received the approbation of the right reverend Pennsylvania Ministerium, I taught school during the week, but on Sundays I preached twice or sometimes only once a day. However, after Pentecost in 1779 there were some changes made in Philadelphia. The Reverend Heinrich Muhlenberg, also a son of the old one and a brother of Rev. Friedrich Muhlenberg, came back to New Hanover, and he served New Hanover and its branch, while I kept New Goshenhoppen²⁰ until the 1st of January 1780. On October 10th, 1779 the Ministerium met at Tulpehocken. (But) Mr. Kunze was (not there). (At this meeting) my appointment was embroiled in an argument, yet it was approved and renewed until the next meeting. I was encouraged by letter to continue with my

¹⁹Tappert and Doberstein, *Journals*, op. cit., III, 223-224.

²⁰*Neu Goschenhoppen*, also known as New Goshenhoppen and New Goshen. *Ibid*, III, 205, 266.

diligence, and finally, through a resolution expressed in the last paragraph, I was accepted as a Catechist in the Ministry. That first important step had been done without special help from Mr. Kunze, against the will of his enemies, and without help from my private tutors. Here one is able to see that whatever God intended and whatever he wishes must finally reach its aim and goal somehow.

Heinrich Muhlenberg stayed in New Hanover from Pentecost 1779 until March 1780, when he moved to Lancaster and left me alone again in New Hanover. In New Hanover I came to know the considerable truth in the phrase that no prophet hath honor in his own country.

The people were of the opinion that someone who had taught them (as a schoolmaster) and who even once followed a trade, could not and should not mount their pulpit to be their preacher.²¹ And because most of them were ungrateful and malicious towards God's word, and because they persecuted me in all sorts of ways, God ordained another way, and accomplished his work with me completely.

On July 26th, an elder from the congregation at Easton²² came to me, bringing an invitation to give a trial sermon in front of their congregation. I did so on August 5th, not only in Easton but also in Greenwich in Jersey. On the 8th, I preached in another church which was connected with Easton. The congregation wanted to settle the business immediately in a formal manner; but I told them to think over the whole matter before God. Then, if they were still agreed to have me as their preacher, they should send the notice with a superintendent.

On the 19th, a superintendent came and invited me to preach again, on September 3rd.²³ Therefore, I preached on September 3rd in the "Dry Land"²⁴ in the morning. In the afternoon I was supposed to preach in Easton. When I arrived there, I saw with no small astonishment, that another preacher had given a trial sermon in the morning. In spite of that, I preached and asked the Lord here too for revelation of his will. That was the third time I had auditioned in a church, with someone in competition with me, without having known something ahead of time. After the sermon, I declared to the assembled consistory my opinion: I as well as they were free people; they could select (whomever they wish); and since they have an election, they should make use of it. I wouldn't bring pressure to bear, neither beg for it nor insinuate. So they wouldn't be able to complain to me later.

²¹Tappert and Doberstein, *Journals*, III, 327, 331, 333-335.

²²*Ibid*, III, 336.

²³*Ibid*, III, 344-345.

²⁴"*Trockenn lande*," the Dry Lands". In Muhlenberg's *Journals*, it is also mentioned, but with a different spelling: "Trucken Land." It seems to have been a small settlement belonging to the United Congregations of Easton, Trucken Land, Greenwich and Moor Township.

After that, all declared they wanted me as their preacher if it were possible. The morning of the following day, after I had preached in Greenwich, the congregation met in the afternoon and signed a written petition to the reverend Ministerium, considering me as their preacher and asking for an examination of my proficiency and investiture into the ministry. In addition to this written petition, the congregation also sent a proper employment (contract) to the Ministerium.²⁵

My consecration should have been in October 1780²⁶ at Yorktown. But it was postponed by the Praesidium, and a committee of preachers was charged to execute this important job. Consequently, the Venerable Kunze, Smith, Voigt and Röller met at New Providence with Venerable Senior Muhlenberg. Besides other things concerning the Ministerium, they considered the above-mentioned petition, tested me and appointed me a preacher of God's word. At this hour the Lord gave me not only happiness, but also the wisdom to answer those who tested the motives of hope and perception that are within me.

But the weight of the duties imposed upon me presses extremely heavily now and then. In spite of it, it is a comfort, for the Lord helps to carry it. Venerable Kunze had strong influence at this last event. Also, Mr. Muhlenberg, Sr., proved his good will especially; and the others were not my enemies.

On November 7th, the carts arrived; we moved on the 8th. On the 9th we accomplished the trip 40 miles into the country, and we arrived happily at Easton.²⁷ On the 12th I gave my commencement sermon about Ezekiel 3: 17-19. Now I live here with God and serve four congregations, hoping I'm not just threshing empty straw but that there may be a few kernels gleaned in his honor, which is the most important matter. It requires wisdom and true kindness, courage, intrepidity, endurance and powerful prayers, vigilance, humility, and self-abnegation in order to bring souls to the very venerable Jesus and to be a spiritual educator. The ministry in this country cannot be compared with the one in Strassburg or in Alsace. Let's consider honor: A cowherd or swineherd over there may expect more honor than a preacher or schoolmaster over here. Nothing is certain in this material world; our eyes must rather look in faith to the Lord. The complete livelihood of a teacher here depends upon the livelihood of the common man. If the preacher doesn't please the farmer, then the latter gives him nothing. The authorities don't care. Consequently there are many belly-preachers in this country. They play the sycophant to the people and flatter them for the sake of their livelihood; and in

²⁵Tappert and Doberstein, *Journals*, op. cit., 347, 351, 352.

²⁶*Ibid*, III, 353-354, 357-361.

²⁷*Ibid*, III, 372, 373.

the end they will all go to Hell together. The world provides for itself but God for his servants. Thus far for me he has provided all the necessities of life and food even through these very troubled and expensive war-times. He won't leave his word (and) me in the lurch. There is also no comparison in the work of a teacher. Over there a preacher regularly gives two sermons a week, in the city barely one. To preach twice and to teach children twice, in addition to traveling 28 miles on a Sunday: here that is very common. Moreover, one must perform daily burials, sick visits, and the like.

I wish to see your face once more while I live. I want to tell you much more than I am now able to write. The Lord has called me into his vineyard at a special, remarkable time. People were bad before the war and often they depended on superficial divine services; now they are much worse and impious. They are concerned neither with God's word nor with the summons of his vassals and those who still believe; it is sufficient to honor God with lips only while the heart already has surrendered to the Devil and the world. When I bore witness at different times against the frantic, worldly fun of dancing, I brought upon me considerable enmity of the world. Several of my compatriots, who lived only one hour from Strassburg in the area of Eckolsheim and had Venerable Pastor Bursat as minister, who if I am not wrong came as a helper to Old St. Peter, cast it in my teeth and said that Venerable Pastor Bursat was honest and strict while preaching, but he never had forbade dancing, especially not at weddings. If only they wouldn't curse and swear! Youth must jump and be happy. That means I must guide the youth to use God's grace in a proper way, to remind them to act before God and to remember their creator. If on a day like that such excuses are made, how could such teachers resist? The stamp of disapproval has already been put upon me during the short time of my official position. People say I shouldn't take everything so seriously, to let them be as they are, to give them penance and at the end lift (them) to Heaven. I also found out in time that God has several children in my congregation who serve him secretly with the humbleness of their hearts. Thus, the kingdom of God is badly off. Should you ever have thought about me in your prayers, then I ask you now not to forget me. I have only myself to blame for that very thing.

We are, thank God, healthy and well off and we hope the same of you. My son Friedrich happily just recovered from the children's smallpox. It seems that my Elizabeth will overcome it easily, too.

If possible, I hope to read an answer from you soon, about how you are and how it has been with you until now; who of our friends and acquaintances are still alive and how they are. Perhaps the one who delivers this letter to you might be

helpful in sending an answer back. This letter is being sent to Europe with a man by name of Reichel.²⁸ He was ordered to come here to the Moravian Brethren or so-called Zinzendorfer of Herrnhut, to investigate the condition of their congregations. He promised to have this letter delivered to you through his acquaintance in Strassburg. I live here in the neighborhood of the Brethren and I believe I also enjoy their benevolence. Their congregations have been separated from ours until now; yet it does not keep me from an occasional visit to discuss words of salvation and words about grace in the blood of Jesus.

I have written you two letters with the same content, January 18th and July 15th, 1781,²⁹ briefly stating everything that is also included here. Whether (you received them, I don't know).

My address is as follows: To the Reverend Friedrich Ernst, Minister of the Gospel at Easton in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, or The Reverend Mr. John C. Kunze, Minister of the Gospel and German of Philology at Philadelphia in North America. I ask you also to deliver the letter yourself at a walk but first seal it, or carry it to the *Gartnerstube* at the *Waisenhausstrasz*.

(With the blessing) of God (I have) nothing special to write anymore, except to remind you to ask the Lord: Thy kingdom come: For all of us, I have opened the first part of the *Schatzkästle* No. 226 & 227. John 1:29. Revelation 7:14-15, John: 1,6.5.9. Ephesians 45:4. If you think about it now and then, in pious tranquility, you may admire God's guidance of a poor sinner, who tries daily to wash his raiment in the Blood of Lamb, etc., to serve his saviour faithfully and loyally.

As I began my letter, I promised to answer your letter of 1776 ((since then I have received none)). If Mr. Reichel gives me enough time I shall do it; otherwise I will do that at another opportunity.

Quickly, I must add the following, a few short abridgements from the last part of the summarized letter, as far as the word: Perhaps would, etc.

Perhaps we shall not see each other until we meet before the Throne of God. Oh, Lord Jesus, help! That it may happen there in peace, happiness, praise, thanks, and while singing hallelujah!

Since the spirit of my first wife has presented itself to you, we don't want — should God grant it — to pass by one another. Oh! Dear Mother! I ask you (to give) me your blessing for the job's responsibilities. The duty is difficult, especially in this country in these times.

²⁸Reichel: Having come to America to check the Moravian Church in America, Bishop Johann Friedrich Reichel reached Bethlehem, Pa., in April 1779. On August 5th, 1779 he held a conference of ministers in Lititz. He returned to Europe sometime in April, 1781, carrying our letter of "Jan: 1781."

²⁹See Introduction.

CIVIL WAR MEDICINE:

A Patient's Account

Edited by DAVID A. RAUSCH

Eli M. Tarbell was working in a cooper shop in Wilmore, Pennsylvania, when the Civil War began. He tried to resist the temptation to enlist because his girlfriend did not want him to go, but finally he "got the War fever." Many of his old friends had enlisted and, in his words, "the Pressure was to grate I couldnt Stay any longer." On October 10, 1861, he enlisted for three years with Captain Thomas E. Williams in Company C of the 19th United States Infantry. This company was composed of a majority of Pennsylvanians and fought its first battle at the Battle of Shiloh under the command of General Buell.

In May, 1864, Sergeant Tarbell and his company were twenty-five miles from Atlanta when he was injured in the right foot by a bursting Rebel shell. His account from this date forward is fascinating in that one can view the procedure, facilities, and treatment of the wounded in the Union Army. The awesome burden of massive casualties and the extreme suffering imposed on the wounded and dying are strikingly clear to the reader of these passages. The following excerpts are taken from Tarbell's 160-page diary and are preserved with his own characteristic grammar, spelling and punctuation.* Although these elements (especially his spelling) leave much to be desired, his daily account is meticulous. The diary is extremely legible and is written in pencil. It is currently in the possession of John J. Stevenson in Ashtabula, Ohio.

May 1864

Saturday 28

At the 1st Division field Hospital in the woods in Ga. We worked all night on the Brestworks, the Rebs Shelling us all the time, About 4 oclock this morning a Shell burst over our heads & wounded me in the right foot & John Howell in the Side, I went to the rear Sit-down behind a big tree an other Shell burst in the top of that tree & I got out of that, met the hospital Stewad he put me on his horse

*The diarist normally used two commas instead of one to mark ends of phrases and sentences. We have omitted one of these. This is the only change made in punctuation.—EDITOR.

& took me out of reach of the Rebel Shells, the Hospital Stewards name was W. R. Grubb, he took me to the Ambulance & Lieut Davis of my Co. (in charge of Ambulance) gave me a good drink of Rye & Some Breakfast, then Sent me to the Field Hospital whare I got my foot dressed, the wounded are coming back fast, the 23rd Corps. had a hard fight, they wer repulsed & Scaterd in Every direction, the Roar of Artillery & Musketrey is deafning, it looks a little Scaley for our Side just now, John Howell is here with me,

Sunday 29

At 1st Div Hospital of 14' A.C. in the woods near Dalas, Ga. Weather warm & pleasant, my foot is quite Sore other wayes I feel good, Sergt J. Howell, Geo. Emigh, & Joe Albough of my Co are hear, Emigh dressed my foot, the Boys are very Kind, our Grub is poor Stuff, the Cooks are awfull Cross, a grate many Straglers Still Comming back, Capt Wolley of Co F, 19 regulars left the Battel field without leave, our armey have got the Rebs agoing agane, but they had hard fighting to do it, the Johneys faught like Tigers, My Co is hunting up Straglers & taking them to the front agane, Genl Johnson went to the front in a Ambulance, he was wounded in the Side, thare is a lull in the front not many woundid comming in now, Sergt J. Howell was wounded in the Shoulder insted of Side, as I Stated,

Monday 30'

on the Road between Dulles & Kingston Ga, weather very warm, my wound paines me a good bit today We wer put into wagons at 4 oclock a m & Started for Kingston the worst woundid wer put in Ambulances, the Roads are very rough, & to hear the poor fellows hollar is awfull, the wagon train Stoped at 11 a m, Some got out & others couldent, I am Sitting under a big Oak tree writing this, the Rebs Charged our works 3 times last night & wer repulsed Each time with hevey loss on boath Sides, we are agoing to Stay here All night, we had no Breafast tharefore we are hungrey, we are waiting for a Guard to take us through to Kingston,

Tuesday 31

on the Road to Kingston, we Started this morning at 7 o'clock, weather very hot & Roads dusty, we halted 1 hour at Mr Thortons Plantation, one Soldier died in the wagon today I See a Soldier picking Maggots out of his wounds with a Stick, we have no care, our wounds havent been dressed for two days, we crossed the Ettawah River & arrived at Kingston at 5 P M, it was heart rendering to hear these poor wounded Soldiers grone & haller, we are away from the front & out of hearing of the Battle, but oh I would rather hear the roar of artillery than the grones of these poor Soldirs, this hospital is crowded full & poorely provided for, Sergt Kuenster of 24, Ill, gave me a good Supper, a lot of men died here after riding 2 days in a Army wagon, a big train load of woundid left here this Evening for Chatanooga, there is 3 wimen here taking Care of the wounded, I made my bed out Side on the Ground, After getting my foot dressed I lade down & Slept untill morning,

June 1st 1864

Wednesday 1st

At Kingston Ga. it is very hot to day, the wounded are Suffering dredfully, we had a good Breakfast, about 500 wounded got in & on top of a train of box cars at 9, am, & was kept thare in the hot Sun untill 11 a.m. then we Started for Chatanooga, Passed through Adairsvill at 12. m. passed Calhoon & arived at Ressacca at 1.30 PM, Sit here in the hot Sun for 2 hours, it is Enough to Kill us all, nothing but Cold Water on my foot, left Resacca at 3.30 PM past through, Tilton, Dalton, Buzzard Roost, Tunnel Hill, Chickamauga Station, & arrived in Chatanooga 11 at night, tired & hungrey, we Staid on the Cars all night, no Supper, it rained a little in the night & Cooled the Air, Adairsvill, Ga. is whare the wimen Spit on Colonil Strait while a prisoner in the Rebbel hand,

Thursday 2

In Hospital at Chatanooga Tenn, Cool & rainey, we left the cars this morning at 7 o'clock, the Hospital is at the foot of Lookout Mountain, Every thing about the place is neat & clean, it is over crowded with wounded Soldiers, we have good Grub & plenty of it, it rained very hard to day, there was 3 big train load of wounded Soldiers went through here going to Nashville, the army is fighting hard at the front, for dinner we had, Soft Bread, Meat, & potatoe Soup, Supper we had Bread & Coffee,

Friday 3

At Gen, 1 Field Hospital Chatanooga Tenn—Clowdey & Cooll My foot is very Sore this morning, for Breakfast, Meat Bread & Coffee & Milk, Dinner,



Civil War generation Pennsylvanian.

Krout Pork, Bread & Cold water, left Chatanooga for Nashville 3, P.M, in Box Cars. they Smelt So bad I couldnt Stand it, got to Bridgport at dark & I got on top of Cars, got Supper at Soldiers Home at Stevenson, Ala, My Supper was brought to me I cant walk, it is dark & we are Still going, will run all night, it is raining

Saturday 4''

Cumberland Hospital. Nashville Tenn, we arived here at 5 o'clock, P.M, was on the go all last night & all day to day — Passed through, Huntsvill, Ala, Brownsborough, Polaska, Columbia & Franklin, ariving here at 5 P.M., the Hospital is ½ mile from Station, I walked, they gave me a pair of Crutches at Chatanooga I Saw a grate many one hundred day men, we all got clean Cloths, Eat Supper & went to Bead in a nice Clean Sauft Bed, it Seames Strang to Strip off & get into a nice Bed, there is 12 wounded & Sick in this tent, My foot is bad to day,

Sunday 5

In Cumberland Hospital, Nashville Tenn, it is very warm the Grub here is very good, they tell me thare is 10,000 Sick & wounded Soldiers in this Hospital, they are Sending men to Lousville Every day & getting new ones from the front, My wound pains •me dredfull to day, the flyes are Something dredfull, We cant hear anything from the front,

Monday 6''

Cumberland Hospital, very warm, my wound is very Sore, a man named Philips of the 10," Ohio Cavelry died here to day, I think he was the poorist man I Ever See he was 60 years old, Dr. Peacot, has charge

of the 4th Division of this Hospital, he is a Tennesseean, Some of the Boys went to town to day on a pass, I wrote a letter to Mother,

Tuesday 7

Cumberland Hospital Nashville Tenn, rain last night Could the air & is quite pleasant to day if the plagy flies would let us alone, my wound is painful,

Wednesday 8

An other day in the Hospital, & it is awful lonesome, my wound is dressed twice a day at 0 a.m. & 6 p.m they use only Cold water & lint, I wrot to Mother for \$5—

Thursday 10th

[Tarbell evidently lost track of a day here. He catches it later.] in the Hospital, Weather cool & wet, there was a good many deaths here last night & to day, the Ambulances & Hurse wer going all day Carring away the dead, my foot dont get any better. McDermit is head Surgeon here, the Dr gave the Cooks fits to day for not giving us better Grub & more Sugar in our Coffee, wrote a letter to D. Edwards,

Friday 11

Cumberland Hospital Nashvill Ten, another day passed in this lonesom place, the Dr think my foot will have to be taken off, there is Gangreen in it, it is very painful there was a lot of wounded Sent to Louisvill to day, & a lot more deaths.

Sunday 12th

Cumberland Hospital, agane, oh I do hate the name. it is So lonesome here & I cant get off my bunk, there is grate Excitment here to day, John Morgan is in Ky, there was Inspection to day by all the Drs. they put Dr. Thomas under Arest for Sending men to the front before they wer able to go, Dr. Thomas is an old Raskel

Monday 13th

this day passed very well, onley I was in lots of Pane, the Nurse told me my foot would never heel untill it was cut off, his name is Bruster of the 24th Wis — there was no Deaths to day that I hurd of, my pane eased up So I got a good Sleep to day, [Eli Tarbell spent the next week in the same lonesome and painful state. A letter arrived from home on June 18th with the five dollars he had requested, and he sent word to his company (via Sergeant John Howell, whose shoulder had healed) that he was in Cumberland Hospital.]

Tuesday 21

in the Hospital, a litle Cooler, I havent Slept any

for two nights with pain in my foot, it is full of Gangreen & the Dr dont Seem to Know what to do for it, I am afraid I will have to have it taken off, the Dr Sais I will, but I shall fight a while longer, the Dr. name is Peocok — it aught to be (Slow poke) they are putting flaxceed poltice on my foot n ow, thare 400 Convelicens Sent to Murfreesboro, to day,

[On June 26, Tarbell was transferred to Browns U.S. General Hospital in Louisville, Kentucky. The trip by wagon was another agonizing ordeal for all the patients involved.]

Wednesday 29

Very warm, a young woman came to See her Sick Husband & when She got here he was dead & buried, I never Saw any on take on as She did, there was a lot of Ohio, Penn, & N.Y. men transferd from here to day, there was a horse Killed in Sight of my tent by lightning, it rained very hard,

Thursday 30th

At Browns U.S.G. Hospital Louisville Ky. Very warm & Sultrey My foot is very painful, the Dr. burnt the Gangreen out of it to day, I dont leave my bed, my meals are braught to me, all the Sick & Wounded wer musterd for Pay, I have 6 months Pay coming to me,

[Eli Tarbell spent the next four months in the hospital and finally won his battle against gangrene, just as the Union Army would ultimately win the Civil War. He returned to Wilmore, Pennsylvania, and married the woman who asked him not to go to war. Many soldiers were not as fortunate to return with all their limbs. Others, who could not survive the lack of treatment, the journeys by wagon, and the crude surgical operations, did not return at all. It is as one reflects on them that Tarbell's words in a latter excerpt of his diary convey special meaning. He wrote:]

None of us thought the War would last more than one year. Well I went to the Front & Served My Country as best I could as the contents of this Book will Show, but when you have Red the contents of this Book you Can form but a Small fraction of what the Soldier of our Civil War had to Indure, The Long tedious Marches, through All Kinds of Weather, Mud & Rain, Snow or Wind, we never Stopped for Anything, (Except a Rebel Bullet), & a good Share of the time on these Marches & in Battle we had Scant Enough to Eat, (we always had a plenty when in Camp,) But my term of Inlistment is up & I am at home with an Honorable Discharge & it wont be but a few years untill I will forget all about the hardship I passed through

Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 48:

Soups, Stews, Broths, and Porridges:



Our early Pennsylvania ancestors, whether farmers or city dwellers, cooked over open fireplaces. One of the commonest ways to prepare food over a hearth is in a cooking pot. Most of our Pennsylvania dishes from the pioneer era were prepared in iron pots — mush porridge, sauerkraut, schnitz un gnepp, and the whole range of soups, stews, broths, and porridges. This questionnaire is intended to elicit data from our readers on this widespread category in the world of food.

1. *Open Hearth Cookery.* If you recall details from older members of your family who may remember open hearth cookery, from the days before the cookstove invaded the Pennsylvania kitchen, describe the methods used. How were pot dishes prepared? How close to the fire were the pots hung on the crane? How long did it take to prepare such dishes?

2. *Soups.* Our forefathers ate more soups than most Americans of today. List the homemade soups that you remember from your own family background, listing names in English or the ethnic language that your family used.

3. *Soup Ingredients (A).* List and describe the homemade soups that used as base: (1) meat broth, (2) water, (3) milk, (4) other liquids.

4. *Soup Ingredients (B).* List and describe the ingredients that could be added to the basic liquids of a soup: (1) vegetables, (2) fruits, (3) herbs, (4) meats, (5) dough materials such as "rivvels," dumplings, or noodles.

5. *Soups and Mealtimes.* Which meals were more likely to involve the serving of soups? Was soup ever served for breakfast? Were soups ever served as the only dish, or the main dish, of a Pennsylvania meal?

6. *Soups and Seasons.* While most soups were served hot, a few soups were cold dishes, as for example, milk soup or bread and milk. Describe this and other cold soups eaten by Pennsylvanians. Were there soups that were only cold-weather dishes, and soups that were only hot-weather dishes? If so, describe them.

7. *Soups, Stews, and Broths.* What is the technical difference between the terms "soup," "stew," and "broth". If you speak a non-English language, what terms does that language use for "soup," "stew," and "broth"? Describe the main stews that Pennsylvanians made in past or present. What broths were eaten at Pennsylvania tables? How were soups, stews, and broths eaten? Were they always eaten from soup plates and with soup spoons? Were crackers, biscuits, or bread eaten along with these dishes?

8. *Metzelsupp.* The Pennsylvania Germans of older generations talked much of something they called "Metzelsupp". Will readers who know its meaning describe it for us? Was it a soup, at least originally? If so, describe it for us.

9. *Porridges.* Pennsylvanians, like most other Americans, had a range of porridges which were eaten on occasion. They were warm, filling, and easy to make — again in a pot over an open fireplace, or on a cookstove. Will readers describe the porridges they remember from Pennsylvania childhoods, beginning with the most popular of all American porridges, cornmeal mush. What special porridges were prepared for babies, and what were they called?

10. *Vocabulary and Lore.* Again, we urge readers who use an ethnic language, including Pennsylvania German, to share with us the dialect names of all the soups, stews, broths, and porridges which they remember. We will appreciate also any lore concerning these foods and their uses — rhymes, tales, jests and jokes. For example, the little rhyme which Pennsylvania German housewives are supposed to have said to their soups as the latter began to boil:

Feierli, Feierli, brenn!

Sippli, Sippli, koch!

(Little fire, little fire, burn! Little soup, little soup, boil!)

Send your replies to:

Dr. Don Yoder

Logan Hall Box 13

University of Pennsylvania

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19174



For The Folk Festival Brochure Write To:
PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE SOCIETY
 College Blvd. and Vine, Kutztown, Pennsylvania 19530

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