Contributors to This Issue

Roland M. Wagner

Roland M. Wagner has been a professor in the College of Social Work at San Jose State University, San Jose, California, since 1975. He teaches graduate school students and focuses on mental health issues, cross-cultural sensitivity, and research methods. He received the Ph.D. degree from the University of Oregon in 1974 in cultural anthropology. A specialist in North American Indian ethnology, he has also published articles on religious movements, the Native American Church, and more currently on Mexican Americans. Nurtured by the dramatic stories of pioneering in North Dakota and Montana recounted by his mother, Anne Marie Landeis, he has a deep interest in his family's ethnic heritage. Both his paternal and maternal ancestors were ethnic Germans from the Ukraine who settled in North Dakota in the late 1800s. He has established a direct lineage between his mother's family and Hans Landis, the Swiss Anabaptist martyr of Canton Zurich. He may be reached at 1198 Brack Avenue, San Jose, CA 95125.

Robert W. Good

Robert W. Good grew up on a dairy farm in southern Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. After graduating from Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia with a B.A. degree in History, he moved to Philadelphia as a volunteer carpenter with Mennonite Voluntary Service. He lived in Philadelphia for ten years while teaching Social Studies and Bible at Christopher Dock Mennonite High School. After graduate studies in history at Temple University in Philadelphia, he received a J.D. degree from Gonzaga University School of Law, Spokane, Washington, in 1992. He practices law near Medford and lives with his family at 820 South Oregon Street, P.O. Box 1871, Jacksonville, OR 97550.

Joanne Hess Seigrist

Joanne Hess Seigrist, a tenth generation Pennsylvanian, grew up on her family's farm in Lancaster County. She graduated in 1969 from Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia, with a B.S. in Home Economics. She has been employed in social services and secondary school teaching. In recent years she has participated in educational efforts such as publications and presentations which relate to church, family life, and community. She served as historian for the Stumptown Mennonite Church from 1986 to 1992, and as photographic editor for Through the Years with Fanny; Passing on the Faith, the Story of a Mennonite School; Locust Grove Mennonite School, 1939-1989; and Bomberger, Lancaster County Roots, 1722-1886. In 1991 and 1993 she helped direct the Antique Quilt and Photography Exhibit for Lancaster Mennonite High School. Since 1993 she has been photography harvest coordinator for Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society. A parent of three sons, she and her husband live at 457 Beechdale Road, Bird in Hand, PA 17505; (717) 656-6429.

Christian Earl Eaby

Christian Earl Eaby works as an attorney and resides with his family in Earl Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. They live in the Eby House, thought to have been built about 1727 by Theodorus Eby, his direct ancestor. He is the president of the Eby Family Association and has been active in restoring the family graveyard. The association is now turning to the restoration of the Eby Family Bible, which is the oldest Bible in the collection of the Lancaster County Historical Society. He has written articles relating to family history, including those on the restoration of the Eby House in Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage, on Jacob Eby clocks, published by the National Association of the Watch and Clock Collectors, and on numismatics, clock making, and genealogy. His address is P.O. Box 126, New Holland, PA 17557.

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THE COVER

The Philadelphia Mennonite mission became what is now Diamond Street Mennonite Church at 1814 West Diamond Street. An important program of this mission effort in this urban African American area was the Summer Bible School. Leaders in this program in the 1930s were Alsie Thornton (left), Emma H. Rudy (center) and Mary Ann Farmer (right). Sponsored by the Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference, Emma Rudy served in Philadelphia from 1926 to 1961. The second article describes the origins of this congregation.

Documents in the Zurich cantonal archives shed light on the identity and subsequent fate of four members of the Landis family who emigrated from Switzerland in the seventeenth century.

The Exodus of Anabaptists from Canton Zurich to Alsace: A Case Study of the Landis Family

by Roland M. Wagner

The story of Hans Landis, the “last Anabaptist martyr” who was executed in Canton Zurich in the year 1614, is well known in Mennonite historiography. Less well known is what befell the grandchildren and later descendants of the martyr. This article attempts to clarify the sequence of events that took place when the Landis family emigrated from Canton Zurich in the mid-seventeenth century and settled in Alsace. The diversification of the family in this new locale reflects broader events that were impacting the Anabaptists, such as the French occupation, the Dutch War, the rapprochement with other religious denominations, and the so-called “Amish Division.” The Alsatian chapter is a crucial link for better understanding the later immigration of the Anabaptists to the Palatinate and eventually to North America.

This article builds upon genealogical research that was conducted by earlier members of the family, especially the so-called “Hirzel Chart” assembled around the turn of the century by the director of the archives of Canton Zurich. More recently, Jane Evans Best and Michael Wilcox have supplemented the Hirzel Chart through their study of the records of Horgen and Hirzel in Switzerland. The churchbooks of the Reformed congregations in the Alsatian villages of Jebenheim, Grussenheim, Durrenentzen, and Markirch are available on microfilm. Numerous censuses also exist for Hirzel conducted between 1633 and 1656, as well as later into the eighteenth century. Other useful sources are the ledgers for those Anabaptist families whose farms and estates were confiscated by the authorities around 1640. These include the estates of Hans Landis II (LS12) and Felix Landis (LS17), both sons of Hans the martyr (LS1), Oswald Landis (LS34), and his son Hans Jacob (“Jagli”) Landis (LS341). The author gathered this data from the Zurich archives during the summer of 1994.


2 This chart was first published in the Thirty-first Report of the Landis Family Reunion Committee, privately published, 1950, pp. 25-27.


5 All microfilms utilized in this article are available through the Genealogical Society of Utah, under the auspices of the LDS church. Hirzel was affiliated with the parish of Horgen until 1617. Births, bap­tisms, and deaths are available on microfilm 099692 and 0996924. The Reformed churchbook of Jebenheim is available on microfilm 1667674, Durrenentzen on 764324, and Grussenheim on 735808. Numerous microfilms are available on Markirch. The major ones utilized for this article were 747600, 747602 and 747603.

6 All the censuses are available at the Archives of Canton Zurich, Zurich, Switzerland. Most are also available on microfilm, nos. 1185140 through 1185149.

7 Ledgers exist in the Archives of Canton Zurich for over 40 Anabaptist families who suffered the loss of their estates. Most ledgers contain annual summary sheets of income and expenditures from 1640 to about 1678 (“anzamische Rechnung umb das Annemen und Ausgeben”). None of these records are available through the LDS archives. They are indexed in the Archives of Canton Zurich as “Taufe­ramt, Wiedertäuferen Gut,” DIII series. The estate of Hans Landis II and Elizabeth Erzinger is the first in the series (DIII, 36b.1). The others are Felix Landis and Adele Egli (36b.18), Oswald Landis and Anna Schäppi (36b.6), and Hans Jacob (“Jagli”) Landis and Verena Pfister (36b.11). Estate records for other Anabaptist families include Jakob Rusterholz (DIII, 36b.2), Conrad Strickler (b.3), Hans Rudolf Baumann (b.4), Uli Furrer and Barbel Hofmann (b.5), Hans Huber (b.7), Jagli Asper (b.8), Elisabeth Hofstetter (b.9), Barbara Bruppacher (b.10), Michael Bruppacher (b.11a), the Hallauer Gülti (b.11b), Jakob Schneider of Richterswilerberg (b.12), Uli Schneider of Richterswilerberg (b.13), Rudolf Bachmann of Richterswilerberg (b.14), Barbara Frey of Richterswilerberg (b.15), Werner Pfister of Wädenswil (b.16), Peter Bruppacher of Wädenswil (b.17), Ulrich Hasler of...
Events Preceding the Emigration

The farmers on the isolated hillsides along the western shore of Lake Zurich, from Hirzel down to Wädenswil, had long been a thorn in the side of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Many had resisted Zwingli’s Reformed Church, and after 1570 the references to “Wiedertäufer” in this region began to appear in greater frequency. Members of the Landis family, who resided mainly on the hillside above the city of Horgen (“Horgerberg”), played prominent roles in the Anabaptist congregation. After the execution of Hans Landis in 1614, the attempt by the authorities to enforce religious conformity in the area abated temporarily. However, the issue came to a head once again during the Thirty Years War. Although Switzerland managed to avoid the conflagration raging north of their border, the Zurich authorities strengthened their military reserves and kept a watchful eye on any sign of discontent. In 1637 they renewed their pressure on the remaining members of the Anabaptist congregation on the Horgerberg.

The harsh actions of the authorities at this time were probably triggered by their concern for internal security. This concern peaked in 1646 when a rebellion flared briefly in neighboring Wädenswil, which drew a sympathetic response throughout the canton. The townspeople refused to pay a new one-percent property tax that was levied to strengthen the military forces in the canton. Protests were also heard in Knonau, west of Hirzel, and in other places as well, including Horgen. The authorities responded with a massive display of military might. A dual-pronged sea and land force swept the entire west bank of Lake Zurich. Although the residents in Horgen and its hillside were not major instigators of the rebellion, soldiers occupied the area and they thoroughly combed the neighboring villages for dissidents.8

The Anabaptists were the chief scapegoats who suffered from this renewed policy of suppressing dissent in the canton in the 1640s. During the ensuing fifteen years they were systematically deprived of their means of livelihood. Other villagers were forbidden to engage in economic transactions with them. They were fined and imprisoned at various points. The charity fund (the “Hallauer Gütl”) that had been developed by the congregation on the Horgerberg was confiscated.

The state also confiscated many of their farms, which were then sold or leased to others in the community. The revenue was held in trust to pay the cost of their trials, their imprisonment, as well as the education, clothing, board, and room of their children. After deducting for these expenses, plus taxes, the remaining proceeds were set aside for the heirs of each family when they reached marriageable age, if they were willing to join the state church. By mid-century most of the resources of the Anabaptists, both private and collective, had been seized. Their leaders were either dead or imprisoned. Emigration was the only recourse, and it soon began on a massive scale. It has been estimated that at least 1,661 Anabaptists fled Zurich after 1649, and most were gone by 1660. They made up almost half of the known emigrants from the canton in this time period.9

As far as can be determined, none of the children of Hans Landis and Margaret Hochstrasser were able to leave Switzerland. As is recounted in the Martyrs Mirror and the “Wahrhaftiger Bericht” of the Ausbund, their son

Männedorf (b.20), Uli Oettler of Männedorf (b.20), Burkart Ammann and wife Eva Rüdlinger of Männedorf (b.21), Heinrich Meyer of Männedorf and Bühenkung (b.22), Hans Müller of Uitikon (b.23), Rudolf Egl der Wannenmacher and wife Martha Pfänger of Zürich (b.24), Hans Kuntz, a butcher, residing on the Kuttelgasse in Zürich (b.25), Katarina Frey, and Thoman Schnebeli, millers from Affoltern “a. A. selig Witwe” (b.26), Adelheid Gut of Zwillikon (b.27), Jakob Isler of Stallikertal (b.28), Felix Urmli of Baregg (b.29), Pans Merli of Dägerst (b.30), Müller of Maschwanden (b.31), Heinrich Frick of Buch bei Knonau (b.32), Anna Schnewlin of Aengst (b.32a), Joggeli Gachnauer, a. d. Fischental and Margaret Peter (b.33), Jacob Baumgartner of Ettenhausen (b.34), Joggeli Egl of Bäretswil and Lisabeth Leutenegger (b.35), Hans Spöri hind der Burg Greifenberg, and Anna Kägi (b.36), Jorg Weber on the Mühlkram in Bäretswil (b.37), Hans Müller of Edikon (b.38), Jagli Müller im Bretacker, Bäretswil (b.38a), Jörg Peter of Strahlegg (b.39), Joggeli Hess and Elebeth Bachmann of Bäretswil (b.40), Anna Frei of Schlachen, parish of Wildberg (b.41), Uli Müller d. A., parish of Zell (b.42), and Anna Thumysen (b.36b).


Felix (LS17) died of starvation in prison and their daughter Verena (LS14) died from shock shortly after her arrest in 1643. Their other son, Hans II (LS12), was incarcerated in 1637 and held for at least sixty weeks, as was his daughter Margaret (LS123). Hans’ wife, Elizabeth Erzinger, was also imprisoned. After their release they continued to be harassed by the authorities. By 1657, perhaps even earlier, both Hans and Elizabeth were deceased.

Fate of the Grandchildren of Hans Landis, the Martyr

Most of the grandchildren of Hans Landis were placed with various families in the Horgerberg and Wädenswil area while their parents were imprisoned. The ledger for the confiscated estate of Hans Landis II contains annual entries for the board and care (“Tischgeld”) of his children. Their names appear at various points from 1640 through the following five years. The daughters that are mentioned include Barbali (LS120, initially placed with Heinrich Herster, then with Johann and Regula Schärer, and later with Hans and Catherine Syfrig in Wädenswil), Margaretti (LS12c, placed with Ludi and Barbara Staubli in Horgen), Verenli (LS129, apprenticed to Regula Egli to learn the weaving trade), and “Marie” (LS12x). Several entries also refer to his sons, Caspar, Heinrich, and Rudolf, who will be discussed in detail below. Similar information is also recorded for the children of Oswald Landis, Hans Jagli Landis, and Felix Landis. The Martyrs Mirror confirms that Felix’s children were given to “strangers,” and their eventual fate remains unknown at this time. Documentary evidence shows that several of the martyr’s grandchildren — the children of Hans II — managed to emigrate from Switzerland.

In 1651 the pastor of the Reformed Church in Hirzel, Rev. Hans Jacob Heitz, filed an emigration report1 with the authorities in Zurich which listed those persons who had left the community between 1649 and 1651 to the Alsatian Breisgau: “Ried” (the plains of Alsace by the Vosges mountains about fifteen miles to the west), “Heidelberg” (“Jepsen” or “Jepsenheim” in old records) is twelve kilometers northeast of Colmar. “Durenzten” (“Duren Enzigen,” or “Dürentzehn”) is about four kilometers below Jebenheim. The 1651 report states that Heidelsheim (“Heidelzen,” sometimes also “Heitoldzheim”) is “two hours from Colmar,” whereas the 1657 reports specify that it is “two hours from Selestat.” This is not a contradiction since Heidelsheim is indeed located roughly equidistant between the two. In mid-seventeenth century reports by the Alsatian authorities, these same villages were shown as having Anabaptist congregations. Alsace had been attracting Anabaptist settlers for well over a century by that time. Strasbourg was the closest center of religious and cultural developments north of the Alps, and it had developed an active Anabaptist congregation by 1525. By 1530 some 300 Anabaptists were reported to be already residing in Colmar or its environs, holding clandestine religious services.

Who precisely were these four members of the Landis family? Their names were fairly common so there are several potential candidates. The emigration reports contain significant clues — such as that Hans Heinrich and Caspar were brothers, their professions are given, as well as the number and the ages of their children. As will be shown, the available evidence supports the conclusion that Caspar, Hans Heinrich, and Rudolf were the sons of Hans Landis II and Elizabeth Erzinger, and that Hans Jacob was the son of Oswald Landis and Anna Schäppi. We have seen that these men had ample motive to emigrate.

The comment made by the pastor in the 1651 report that they had “overwhelming debts,” and that there was not “much left for them to accomplish,” is a blatant example of evasion beneath a bureaucratic smokescreen of 10 See footnote 39 for the discussion of the identity of “Marie,” the daughter of Hans Landis and Elizabeth Erzinger.
11 Archives of Canton Zurich, A103, Nr. 30.
12 Archives of Canton Zurich, E 700.139, p. 112; available on microfilm 185179.
13 Philipp Granddidier, Oeuvres Inédites, six volumes published in Colmar, Alsace, 1865-1868 (extracts of his writings on Anabaptists were reprinted in Revue d’Alsace, 1867, available on microfilm 1069943, item 6; the villages with Anabaptist congregations are cited on p. 218).
This 1667 map of Hirzel shows names of the various farms where Anabaptists of the Landis families lived prior to the confiscation of their property and immigration to Alsace: Top to bottom - Buel/Mülibüel, Sprürmüll/Sprüermüli, Harzuthi/Hariität, der Syten/Siten, alt Kellen/Chelan, Im Bode/Boden, Bruderhus/Bruder Haus, Massacher/Moosacher. In 1633 Felix Landis (LS17) lived at Mülibüel with his wife Adelheit Egli. In 1649 Caspar Landis (LS121) and wife Susanna Pfister lived at Sprüermüli. In 1633 at Siten lived a son of Hans Landis (LS1), Hans (LS12), and wife Elsbeth Erzinger. In 1649 Rudolph Landis (LS126) and wife Christine Mettler lived at Chelan. In 1633 Margaretha Landis (LS19) and Hans Rudolph Bauman lived at Boden. In 1633 at Bruder Haus lived Anna Landis (LS36) and husband Conrad Strickler; by 1649 Conrad had died, but Anna then lived at Hariität. Oswald Landis (LS34) and wife Anna Schäppi lived at Moosacher in 1633; also there were Hans Heinrich Landis (LS348) and wife Margaret Poliar.

understatement. It is a tactful way of saying that they had to pay crippling fines, their possessions had been confiscated, and that they had no further means of earning a living. The evidence concerning each of these men and their eventual fates after emigration will be summarized below.

Hans Jagli Landis (LS341)
A variety of evidence identifies Hans Jacob in the 1651 emigration report as the son of Oswald Landis (i.e., the cousin to Rudolf, Caspar, Hans Heinrich). One indication is that the report mentions Caspar and Hans Heinrich together in the same paragraph as brothers (“Gebrüder”) but refers to Hans Jagli separately in the next paragraph. Stronger evidence is found in the stated ages of the three children. In 1651 the three youngest children of Hans Jacob Landis and Verena Pfister were Barbara (LS3419, age 6), Caspar (LS3418, age 8), and Hans Rudolf (LS3416, age 12). The fit is very close with the ages given in the 1651 report (which were, we recall, 5, 8, and 11 years).

Supporting evidence is also found in the Martyrs Mirror which states that “Jacob Landis, the son of Oswald [emphasis mine], as also his entire family, were exiled into misery.” Entries in the records for the confiscated estate of Oswald Landis report payments at various points (e.g. in 1640) for his son, Hans Jacob. Hans Jacob’s estate was also confiscated, and annual accounts were kept beginning in 1647. Stucki has summarized some of this information. On December 17, 1647, the prison keeper at the Oetenbach was paid £20 for boarding Hans Jagli’s daughter, Elizabeth (LS3412), for twenty-six weeks (born in 1632, she was 15 years old at the time). Details of

15 Their son, Georg (LS3417), died in 1642.
16 Van Braght, Martyrs Mirror, p. 1119.
financial transactions in the account diminish after 1651, which reinforce the conclusion that Hans Jagli and his immediate family emigrated at that point.

After Hans Jacob departed for Alsace with his cousins, he settled in Heidelshem. He remained there only four years. By 1655 he and his family joined other Anabaptists who had moved across the Rhine to the Kraichgau in Baden, in the villages of Weiler, Rohrbach, Hilsbach, and Steinsfurt near Sinsheim. This area was a patchwork of estates, some owned by the Kurfürst of the Palatinate, others by noble families such as the von Venningen. Confirming this, a report in the Zurich archives by the pastor at Hirzel states that "Jacob Landes and children are residing at Eichtersheim, Venningen, apparently a district in the Kraichgau." 18

We can date the approximate time of their arrival in the Kraichgau because several members of the family were arrested by the authorities at Steinsfurt in 1661 for attending an Anabaptist religious service. It was reported that "Rudolf Landes (sic), his mother and sister" were present. 19 This almost certainly refers to Rudolf (LS3416), the son of Hans Jacob, to Rudolf's sister Barbara (LS3419), and to his mother, Verena Pfister, who are known to have left Switzerland ten years before. During the interrogation they reported that "some five or six years ago they began to come into this land" (yielding an approximate date of 1655). Hans Jacob was not present at this church service because he had died earlier in Weiler not long after his arrival, and was buried on March 20, 1656, "ohne geläut" - that is, "without the tolling of the bells." 20 This may hint at problems in his relationship with the local pastor, perhaps an allusion to his Anabaptist beliefs, although it may also simply indicate that the extra fee was not paid for the bell-ringing at the funeral, as was customary. 21

The following year, September 26, 1657, Hans Jacob's son, Hans Caspar (LS3418), died in Weiler at the age of thirteen. His wife Verena died in Weiler on December 26, 1672, at the age of seventy. 22 At some point his oldest son, likewise named Hans Jacob (LS3413) also seems to have settled in the Kraichgau. His wife, Barbara, died in Weiler on July 16, 1672, after which he remarried to Anna Ruth, who also died in Weiler on January 10, 1684. Several of Hans Jacob's descendants appear in the Kraichgau 23 and this line of the family almost certainly was a source for the later emigrants to Pennsylvania.

Rudolf Landis (LS126)

An entry in the ledger for the confiscated estate of Hans Landis II, dated July 3, 1646, asserts that his son, Rudolf, was involved in an illicit relationship with Christine, the foster-daughter 24 of Hans Metler, a carpenter in Hirzel. Hans Metler was stated to be an honorable man, but Christine, who resided in his "house and home," had committed fornication ("Hürrethat"). A fee of £50 was paid from the family estate of Hans Landis to Pastor Heitz to cover ("bekleiden") this situation. Rudy was stated to be twenty-three years old at the time (which matches his known birth date). The Hirzel churchbook reports that their marriage took place two months later on September 1, 1646. It should be pointed out that pastors sometimes accused Anabaptists of such faults, despite the fact that they may have been previously married by their own minister. Only those ceremonies performed by the Reformed minister were regarded as "legitimate."

Another entry in the ledger states that in 1648 Rudy Landis took his younger sister, Margaretil (LS12c), away from the home of Ludwig and Barbara Staubli, with whom she was boarding. The reason for this action was not stated, but it was dutifully recorded that the Staubli's would receive only £17 that year instead of their normal £30 for her room and board. This is an intriguing entry. Does this incident indicate that Rudy and his brothers were already preparing for emigration? Finally, an entry dated November 18, 1650, states that Rudy, the son of Hans Landis, wanted to leave the canton and he was given £10 out of the family estate. The authorities gave him this money with some reluctance. They "requested that he should see if he could not support himself here" (in Canton Zurich).

The identity of Rudolf and Christine as the couple mentioned in the emigration reports can be established by referring to the censuses immediately prior to and after the emigration date. They are the only candidates who fit the facts stated in the reports. In the 1649 census of Hirzel Rudolf Landis and Christine Metler are shown as residing on the farmstead known as Kellen, with one small child, Hans Heinrich (LS1261), 1/2 years of age. The emigration report, we recall, stated that he left with "one child." This couple does not appear in later censuses of 1654 and 1656, which matches the conclusion that they emigrated.

18 The original source for this archival extract is unknown. It is cited in the notes of Heinz Schuchmann, a genealogist who has written extensively on the Swiss emigrants to the Kraichgau. A handwritten page from his notes dealing with the Landis family is on file in the Institut für Pfälzische Geschichte und Volkskunde at Kaiserslautern. The page contains the following extract: "Zür. Archiv: Jacob Landes Kinder wohnen zu Eichtersheim, Freiherr Venningen schau Gebiete am Kraichgau." Schuchmann probably made an error in transcribing the name of the village, which is almost certainly Eichtersheim, just west of Sinsheim. Members of the Landis family appear in the Reformed churchbook of Eichtersheim. It should not be confused with Eichelberg, a few kilometers south.

19 For the complete list of names and the transcript of the trial, see Noah Good and Hermann Guth, Translation of "Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe 77/4336 Pfalz Generalla," Mennonite Family History 2 (Jan. 1983): 9-10.

20 The original source for this archival extract is also unknown. The phrase "ohne geläut" is written after the death date of Jacob Landis in the notes of Heinz Schuchmann (see footnote 18). Schuchmann likely extracted it from the death entry in the churchbook of Weiler.

21 Personal communication from David Rempel Smucker, Nov. 1, 1994.

22 It should be pointed out that although the evidence for the identity of Hans Jagli Landis seems fairly clear, there is some ambiguity about his wife Verena in the Zurich records for their confiscated estate. The cover sheet for each annual report refers to her as Verena "Pfister" until 1667, after which the name changes to "Schäppi." There is no obvious annotation to explain this change. The annual records for this estate contain little detail. It is indexed in the archives as File III, 36b.11 "Hans Jagli Landis and both his wives, Verena Pfister and Verena Schäppi." It is possible that the archivist who indexed these records was mistaken in assuming that two different women were involved. Her surname may simply have been changed on the ledger in 1667.


24 The phrase used is "Zige Tochter." It also occurs in the Hirzel census records for various households. David Rempel Smucker has suggested that "Zige Tochter" may be derived from "in die Ziehe geben," which indicated that a child was placed with foster parents. "Zige Tochter" may also be derived from "Zeugen," the witness at a baptismal ceremony, thus indicating a "god-daughter."
Descendants of Hans Landis (LS12) and Elizabeth Erzinger

LS121 Caspar Landis, b. ca. 1614; m.(1) July 22, 1634, Hirzel, Susanna Pfister. Emigrated to Jesenik, Alsace, ca. 1651, a "surgeon," with Hans Heinrich and Rudolf, his brothers. m.(2) June 2, 1661, Catherine Dannherr in Dürrrenentzen, Alsace. Referred to as a surgeon in nearby Grussenheim in 1662 marriage entry for dau. Barbara in Jesenik. Moved to Markirch 1668-1674 with son, Rudolf. Catherine Dannherr d. in Dürrrenentzen, Feb. 15, 1687, "age 70," wife of deceased Caspar Landis. However, a "Caspar Landis from Horgerberg" was listed as a new communicant in the German Reformed congregation in Markirch, 1691.

LS1211 Barbara Landis, b. Nov. 1, 1635, Hirzel; m. Apr. 21, 1662, Jesenik, Heinrich Dreicher from Wädenswil. They possibly had a two-year-old son who died in 1664 in Jesenik.


LS12131 Rudolf Landis, b. Apr. 9, 1679, d. Apr. 24, 1690, "age 11."

LS12132 Johann Landis, b. Aug. 4, 1680; chief forest-keeper and game-warden for the Prince of Birkenfeld in Markirch; d. May 1, 1738. m.(1) May 11, 1722, Elisabeth Schenk (widow of Joseph Caugy).


LS12132 Elisabeth Landis, b. Dec. 21, 1730.

LS12133 Anne Marie Landis, b. Dec. 21, 1681; m. Jacob Haldimmann. 2 ch.

LS12134 Ulrich Landis, b. Jan. 20, 1683; d. May 4, 1688, "age 6."

LS12135 Elisabeth Landis, b. Oct. 19, 1684; m. Aug. 17, 1684, Jean Gosart, 2 ch.


LS121361 Johann Jacob Landis, b. May 14, 1719.

LS121362 Anne Marguerite Landis, b. Apr. 3, 1721.

LS121363 Marie Elisabeth, b. Aug. 25, 1722.

LS121364 Karl Landis, b. Nov. 30, 1724; requested citizenship in Markirch, Apr. 8, 1784.

LS121365 Marie Elisabeth Landis, b. Feb. 27, 1689; twin. One d. next day, Feb. 28, 1689. Another child d. Oct. 4, 1690, probably the other twin, although it may have been Barbara.

LS121366 Phillippe Landis, b. Feb. 27, 1689; twin.

Members of the Landis Family in Alsace, 1650-1730

LS1219 Barbara Landis, b. Feb. 5, 1690.


LS1214 Hans Landis, b. ca. 1646; "age 3" in 1649 census of Hirzel; presumably emigrated with parents to Alsace in 1651; m. Jan. 29, 1678, Rosina Catharina Bender in Neckarburken, Baden, stated to be the "son of Caspar Landis, surgeon from Horgen."

LS1215 Jacob Landis, b. Aug. 1, 1647, Hirzel; presumably emigrated with parents to Alsace; m. Nov. 26, 1678, Anne Barbara Lauer, Neckarburken, Baden.


LS1251 Hans Heinrich Landis, weaver in Strassbourg and Colmar.

LS1252 Barbara Landis, m. Sept. 28, 1670, Hans Jakob Stocker, Markirch. Converted to Reformed Church away from "faux" Reformation.

LS1253 Jacob Landis, linen-weaver in Froschwiler, Alsace.

LS125x Elisabeth Landis, in Selestat, Alsace. Returned to Zurich in 1675.

LS126 Rudolf Landis, b. Nov. 23, 1623; m. Sept. 1, 1646, Christine Metler. Emigrated ca. 1651 to Durrenentzen, Alsace, with bros. Caspar and Hans Heinrich; Rudolf d. by 1670; Christine alive in 1678.

LS1261 Hans Heinrich Landis, b. June 4, 1648; presumably taken as a ch. to Alsace.


LS12x Marie Landis, b. ca. 1632/33. Perhaps b. as "Margaret." 1649 entry in Zurich refers to her as dau. of Hans Landis and Eliz. Erzinger, "age 16 or 17." Converted to Reformed faith in Markirch, Aug. 25, 1658, an "Anabaptist from Zurich." 1661 entry in Zurich states she resided in Markirch and married in Markirch 1662 a "young woman from Zurich."

LS12c Margaret Landis, b. Dec. 16, 1683, Hirzel; m. June 23, 1664, Joseph Casson, Markirch.

Descendants of Hans Rudolf Landis (LS332) and Barbara Ritter

LS3329 Hans Landis, b. ca. 1641/42, Richterswil. In 1709 listed in Markirch as "a widower from Richterswil," with son Heinrich, both stated to be weapons-smiths, apparently Anabaptist. "Jean" Landis appears as witness in documents in Markirch, 1696-1716.

LS33291 Heinrich Landis, b. Feb. 26, 1683; 1709 weapons-smith in Markirch; Hirzel Chart shows Hans m. 1709 Elizabeth Hirt, Markirch. Possibly to Pa.

Descendants of Oswald Landis (LS34) and Anna Schappi


LS3418 Caspar Landis, b. Nov. 28, 1643; d. 1657 in Weiler, Baden.

The eventual fate of Rudolf Landis and his family after they departed for Durrenentzen in Alsace is unclear. It has been speculated that he relocated across the Rhine to the Kraichgau, with his cousin Hans Jacob. The name “Rudolf Landis” does appear on the list of Anabaptists arrested by the authorities at Steinsfurt in 1661, along with his unnamed mother and sister. However, as we have seen, the evidence best fits Rudolf, son of Hans Jacob. Rudolf and his wife Christine seem to have remained in Alsace. The Hirzel Chart reports that they had another son, Christian, born in Markirch in 1659. The location for his birth cannot yet be confirmed, but an entry in the Evangelical churchbook of Münzenheim reports that on October 31, 1670, Christian Landis, an “orphaned boy [Hlastener büb]” of about eleven or twelve years of age, of Anabaptist parentage at nearby Durrenzenzen, was instructed in the principles of the Christian faith, after which he was baptized. His stated age yields an approximate birth date of 1659, which matches that shown in the Hirzel Chart. It would seem that Rudolf died sometime before 1670, thus explaining the use of the term “orphaned” (hinterlassener) in the entry.28

Further details on the fate of Christian and his mother are found in the ledger of Hans Landis’ estate. In 1675 it was reported that Christian, the son of “Rudolf Landis the carpenter,” had been residing in Durrenzenzen with a legal guardian since the death of his father. That year Christian (a 16-year-old) appeared in Canton Zurich “naked and bare” (“nackend und bloss”), a refugee from the “sad events of the war” in Alsace. During the “Dutch War” (1672-1677) much of the Rhine valley was laid waste by military campaigns and bands of marauding soldiers. Many of the Swiss emigrants, including other members of the Landis family, fled from Alsace and returned to Zurich during this period. Christian was placed under the care of his cousin, Hans Landis, a cartwright, in Hirzel. In 1676 he was apprenticed to Rudolf Korrodi to learn the tailor-trade. However, the following year Christian was pensioned (“verpründet”) to a hospital in Zurich, at a cost of £1,416 to the family estate. The entry states that he was “completely simple” (lit. “simple,” “naive”), but recalling his ordeal of having arrived as a naked victim from the war, it might also mean physically or emotionally collapsed (“einfallen”).

Concerning Christian’s mother, Christine Metler, a ledger entry in 1678 credited the family estate with £50 as net proceeds from a payment clearing the remaining debts on the land and house (“Behussung”) of the “deceased Rudolf Landis the carpenter.” The property was owned at that time by Hans Heinrich Mathys, who seems to have held it jointly (“sambt”) with Rudolf’s widow, described as “Susanna” Metler.29 It is not clear from the context whether she had become remarried to Mathys, but it seems implied. This evidence shows that after Rudolf’s death, his wife placed Christian under the care of a guardian in Durrenzenzen. She returned to Zurich to press a claim to her husband’s share of the estate, and she likely also returned to the Reformed Church at some point during the intervening years. The statement of Rudolf’s profession forges yet another link with his identity as the “Zimmermann” (carpenter) in the 1657 emigration report.

Hans Heinrich Landis (LS125)

In 1637 Hans Landis II wrote a letter to his family from his prison cell in the Oetenbach in which he gave instructions to his son, Heinrich, about the proper care of the cattle.30 References to Heinrich also occur at various points in the ledger of Hans Landis’ confiscated estate. In 1647 and 1651 “Hans’ son, Heinrich the cow-herder” (“Kueher”) paid £5 for using the lands, probably as a grazing fee. He most likely married Barbara Buehler in 1643. Their first two sons, both named Jacob (LS1251, LS1252), died in childhood. The only other child who appears in the Hirzel churchbook is Catherine (LS1253). The Hirzel Chart does not show these children, but it lists three others, some of whom may have been born later in Alsace – Jacob31 (LS1254), Barbara (LS1255), and Hans Heinrich (LS1256). In 1649 a payment was made from the estate on behalf of the elder Hans Heinrich to Hans Burckhardt in Münchhoff. The entry also seems to refer to money owed in connection with childbirth,32 which implies that Heinrich’s wife gave birth at that time.

By 1651, when Hans Heinrich and his family emigrated, he was deeply impoverished. An entry in 1645 in the ledger states that a payment of £72 was made to Hans Hottinger on behalf of “Hans Landis’ sons, namely Caspar and Hans Heinrich,” and it adds that their “entire household is bankrupt” (“verkracht”). In 1646 £6 were paid because of the “disloyal piety” (“treungebiches Pieats”) of Hans Heinrich’s wife (unfortunately her name is not given in the report). The 1651 emigration report also comments that Hans Heinrich “could not keep himself out of debt.” He departed for Jelsheim that year with 28 The two letters written by Hans Landis in 1637 will be presented in a forthcoming issue of Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage.

26 A major problem with the notion that Rudolf (LS126) emigrated to the Kraichgau is raised by the fact that the 1657 emigration report stated that his mother, Elizabeth Erzinger, was deceased. She obviously could not have been present at the Steinsfurt church-service in 1661. It could be speculated that the report was in error, and that it was really Rudolf’s “mother-in-law” who was present. However, the alternative model proposed here, that Hans Jaggl’s son Rudolf, his sister Barbara, and his mother Verena Pfister were present at the Steinsfurt service, best fits the data without distorting it.

27 Microfilm 715515. I wish to acknowledge Michael Wilcox for finding this record.

Jacob was given money in 1678 because his wife had been plundered by the soldiers. For the next two years he wandered about the Reformed Church in Alsace, and additional funds to move to Bern. His whereabouts after this are unknown.

Hans Heinrich's son, Jacob, also fled Alsace at this time. In 1675 Jacob was sent £30, the entry noting that he was residing in "Fortschweier," in the district of Münstbéliad ("Mümpelgard") where his property was plundered by soldiers. In 1676 he was in Colmar with his brother, Hans Heinrich. Later that year he showed up in Zurich "with his pregnant wife and sick child, very miserably clothed and maltreated by the soldiers." He provided written testimony that they had been good members of the Reformed Church in Alsace, and additional funds were given to them. A final reference notes that Jacob was given money in 1678 because his wife had become seriously ill in Alsace. He had suffered an injury which required surgery, and he also had the misfortune of losing his linen-weaving mill. This was the illness that his brother-in-law, Hans Stocker, had purchased in Alsace eight years earlier.

Jacob's brother, Hans Heinrich, also fled to Zurich in 1675. He had been staying until that point in Obernai, "five hours from Strassburg," and he also was driven out by the soldiers. For the next two years he wandered about Switzerland, seeking a livelihood as a linen-weaver. In 1676 it was reported that he could not find work in Zurich, so he was planning to travel to "Württembergerland or to Kemplien." Later that year he was taken seriously ill in Allstetten, and had to send for money from the family estate to pay his room and keep. In 1677 he found little work in Basel, and sent for enough funds to move to Bern. His whereabouts after this are unknown.

They also had a sister, Elizabeth (previously unreported in the literature), who showed up in Zurich in 1675. She had been staying in Selestat in Alsace, but she arrived "sick, and her belongings were plundered." Later, in 1678, Elizabeth was again taken seriously ill and was given funds from the family estate. She supported herself afterward through service ("Dienst").

Speculation has focused on the elder Hans Heinrich Landis (LS125) as a link with members of the Landis family in Pennsylvania, perhaps as an ancestor to the Hans Landis (LS1258) who moved to Lancaster County, where he died in 1727. According to this model, after Hans Heinrich moved to Heidelsheim with his cousin, Hans Jacob, they relocated together to the Kraichgau. The fact that both men went to the same village in Alsace suggests that there was an association between them. The census of Hirzel in 1643 also shows that Hans Heinrich and Barbara Buehler had resided for a time at Kalbisau, with Hans Jacob's siblings. "Hans Heinrich Landis and son" later appears on the list of Anabaptists arrested in Steinsfurt in 1661. Both were reported to be residing at the time in Rohrbach, Baden. Later, on January 30, 1712, a person named Hans Jacob Landis, married to Verena Schneider, died in Rohrbach at the age of 64.

The best alternative would seem to be Hans Heinrich (LS348), the brother to Hans Jacob (LS341). Since Hans Jacob and his family emigrated to the Kraichgau, it is quite plausible that his brother did likewise. Although there is no direct evidence that Hans Heinrich Landis and his wife Magdalena Polar left Switzerland, there is a considerable amount of circumstantial evidence suggesting this possibility. Both were listed as Anabaptists, but Magdalena seems to have been the most committed of the two and she experienced much difficulty with the authorities.

Hans Jacob and his sister-in-law, Magdalena, appear on a list of Anabaptists in Hirzel compiled in 1639, where they were both noted to be "disobedient" ("ungehorsam"). An entry in Oswald Landis' estate ledger reports a payment in 1640 for Magdalena, which suggests that she may have been fined or imprisoned by the authorities. "Anab. in exilio" appears after Magdalena's name in the 1643 census, which again suggests exile or imprisonment. She had returned by 1646, but the notation "C" does not appear after her name, which indicates that she had not recited her catechism. Hans Heinrich and Magdalena do not appear in the censuses of 1649, 1654, and 1656.

The 1651 emigration report contains additional information that there were "three Landis brothers" who remained in Hirzel, named Marti (LS349), Rudi (LS340), and Osli (LS34b). The names of their older brothers, Hans Jacob and Hans Heinrich, are rather conspicuously absent. Finally, perhaps the most tantalizing evidence is that Hans Heinrich had a son named Hans Jacob (LS3489), baptized in Hirzel on January 31, 1647. He is the only person in the Landis genealogy who matches both parameters required for the identity of the son of Hans Heinrich at Rohrbach in 1661, and for the Hans Jacob Landis who later died in Rohrbach in January 30, 1712 at the stated age of sixty-four. He would in fact have been one day short of his sixty-fifth birthday at his death.

34 Jane E. Best originally proposed this interpretation in "Swiss Origins...," p. 22 where he is LS326.
Caspar Landis (LS121)

The identity of Caspar Landis the surgeon who emigrated with his brothers, Hans Heinrich and Rudolf, can be established by the census records of Hirzel. In the 1649 census Caspar Landis, the son of Hans II, was the only person listed with this name in the vicinity of Hirzel. Caspar and his wife, Susanna Pfister, were residing on the farmstead known as “Sprümmill” with three of their children – Barbali (LS1211, age 16), Hans (LS1214, age 3), and Jagli (LS1215, age 1½). This family does not appear in the following censuses of 1654 and 1656, which supports the conclusion that they emigrated. The 1657 report stated that they took three children, matching the number shown in the 1649 census. These almost certainly were his sons, Hans and Jagli, who were below the age of five at the time of departure and his daughter Barbara, who also later appears outside Switzerland. Documentary evidence for the presence of Hans and Jagli outside Switzerland occurs when they both married in 1678, in northern Baden, stated to be sons of Caspar Landis the “Wundartzt” from the district of Horgen. The 1651 report mentions four children, which is a minor inconsistency probably explained by the six-year gap between the reports. Caspar’s daughter, Anna (LS1216, born 1650) was too young to appear on the census of 1649, and it is likely that he took her with him as well.

Caspar and Susanna Pfister had been pressed very hard by the authorities. In September, 1640, Caspar was imprisoned in the Wellenberg tower in Zurich. By 1643, perhaps earlier, Caspar’s children were boarded with other families in the area. In 1646 and 1648 their daughter, Barbali, was placed with Jagli Rusterholz, and their son Rudy boarded with Heinrich Rusterholz, both in Wädenswil. A payment was made in 1645 from the estate of Hans Landis II to a person at the Oetenbach in Zurich for Caspar’s wife, Susanna, which suggests that she also was imprisoned at that time.

That same year a payment was made from the family estate to cover the debts of Caspar and his brother Hans Heinrich, who were described as “bankrupt.” The reference to Caspar’s “overwhelming debts” in the 1651 emigration report is graphic testimony to his dire straits at this juncture. The deductions for his children in the estate records cease after 1651, which again almost inexplicably leads us to conclude that he and his family left the canton.

The trail of Caspar Landis and his descendants in Alsace leads us in a different direction from his brothers and his cousin. Rather than remaining in the Alsatian plain or moving across the Rhine to the Kraichgau, Caspar settled in Markirch, an isolated village located in the Vosges mountains above Ribeauville. This village has

35 “Schäfer” is sometimes translated erroneously as “sheep-shearer.” It has also been translated as “barber,” but this is partially misleading as well. The archaic word “Schäfer” is related in linguistic etymology to the French loan-word “Chirurg” for surgeon (both terms are derived from “to cut”). An alternative term was “Wundartzt,” literally a “wound doctor.” In addition to barbering, the “Schäfer” treated wounds, applied poultices, bound broken bones, performed minor surgeries, including the periodic blood-letting that was believed essential to maintain proper health. These itinerant general practitioners wandered from town to town, without benefit of protection from a guild. Others were specialists and performed more serious surgeries – without anesthetic – as treatment for cancer (“Krebs”), stones and hernias (“Stein und Bruchschnecken”).

The surgeon trade evolved as a specialization from that of the barber, and in the seventeenth century their practices overlapped; the barber also often did blood-letting. Rather surprising by today’s standards, the profession of surgeon was relatively low in status since it involved contact with blood. See G. A. Wehrli, Die Bader, Barbiere, und Wundiirzte im alten Zürich (Zurich: Druck von Gebr. Lermann and Co, 1927).

36 Another candidate with this name, Caspar Landis (LS631), died in 1647. The 1646 census shows Caspar Landis and Margaret Ballmann as residing at Kalbisau. The following year the churchbook reports that “Caspar Landis at Kalbisau” died on March 16, 1647.

37 Paul Klaui, “Hans Landis of Zurich, the Last Swiss Anabaptist Martyr,” p. 211.
great significance to Mennonite history since it was the locus in which the drama known as the “Amish Division” was enacted late in the seventeenth century. The story of Caspar Landis and his descendants became entwined with the unfolding of these broader events.

The silver mining town of Markirch was a magnet for the Anabaptist emigrants from Zurich. They were drawn there not only by its isolated location, but also by its unique combination of great economic opportunities and a tolerant nobility. The Rappolstein or “Ribeaupierre” family had hereditary possession of Markirch, as well as of some thirty other villages in the Alsatian plain. They adhered to a Lutheran creed, with a strong bent toward Pietism, which likely predisposed them to sympathy for the Anabaptists. Over time the numbers of Anabaptists in and around Markirch became quite large. They pursued mining, weaving, cattle raising, and some farming in the area. Although the hilly country was not well-suited for agriculture, the valley where Markirch is located (the “Leber tal”) was made quite productive through their perseverance. Swiss farmers were highly adept at tilling marginally productive hillside lands, a skill which served them well in this new environment.

Members of the Landis family were drawn to Markirch quite soon after their emigration. In fact, the earliest record of their presence in Alsace is in this village. The Reformed churchbook of Markirch38 shows that on August 25, 1658, Marie Landis (LS12x),39 “native of Switzerland,” born of Anabaptist parents, renounced Anabaptism and accepted the Reformed Church. Marie appears again in 1662 in Markirch as a godmother in a baptismal entry. Fortunately, the ledger for the confiscated estate of Hans Landis II sheds light on her identity. A 1649 entry reports payment for her board and care, stating that she was one of his children, age “sixteen or seventeen years.” Later that same year, and again in 1650, payments for the board and care of “Marieli,” their daughter, were made to Annali Leisti in Richterswilerberg. In 1661 it was reported that “Marie Landis, their daughter, is in Markirch where she became married, and was given £200 out of their estate.” The entry adds that she and her husband “attended church diligently.” This was but one of several instances in which the Zurich authorities released payments when the heirs reached adulthood, if they returned to the Reformed Church.

Besides Marie, Caspar’s youngest sister Margaret (LS12x) also eventually settled in Markirch, where she wed a native resident, Joseph Casson (also “Cassant”), on June 23, 1664. That same year Joseph, stated to be a bailiff in Markirch, returned to Zurich and received £250 as his wife’s share of the Landis estate. In 1668 they received an additional £200, after providing testimony that they were attending church. In 1670 they received yet another £144, with the wry notation that this was done “in the final analysis out of respect” for the fact that Margaret was “the old Hans’ daughter.” This comment hints that they were over-drawing their rightful share of the estate. No further information is available on Margaret. It should be noted that Hans II had at least two daughters with this name, and their identities should not be confused. His oldest daughter Margaret (LS123) was imprisoned with him for sixty weeks in Zurich, and there is no evidence that she escaped Switzerland.

Caspar Landis remained in the lowlands of Alsace longer than his sisters. He was reported in various villages near Jebsheim, as might be expected of an itinerant surgeon. The Protestant churchbook at Münzenheim reports that on June 2, 1661, Caspar Landis from Hirzel, a non-citizen (“Hintersäss”), at nearby Durrenzenen, married Catharine Dannherr from Herzogenbuchs (Canton Bern). We may assume that Susanna Pfister died sometime in the interim after their emigration.

The following year his daughter, Barbara, married Heinrich Treichler (also “Treikler,” or “Dreikler,” of Wädenswil) in Jebsheim on April 21, 1662.40 In the marriage entry her father, Caspar, was referred to as a Schüler residing nearby at Grussenheim (only two kilometers away). The emigration report filed by the pastor of Hirzel in 1651 mentioned that Heinrich Dreichler had left for service (“Dienst”) to the Aargau, a Swiss region just below the border with Baden. He was stated to be eighteen years at the time, a glazier by profession, and that his father Jakob was an Amtsmann (public official, probably bailiff). There is a probable reference to Heinrich and Barbara in Jebsheim in 1664, when a two-year-old boy died and was buried, reported to be the son of Heinrich (last name difficult to decipher, appears to be Dreikler). The young couple was residing in Grussenheim with three children by 1670, when they applied for money from the estate of Hans Landis II in Zurich.

It was noted that the “Treichler” family had originally purchased the Landis farmstead, but it had fallen into disrepair by that point. Barbara made the interesting testimonial to the authorities that they should not dispense any more money to her brother, Rudolf, who had already on two occasions received a sizeable amount from the estate, because he and her father, Caspar, had lost money through speculation (“hause schlecht”). She also recommended that her father’s brother-in-law, Josef Casson, should not be given any further money from the estate.

Caspar’s son, Rudolf (LS1213), may have remained in Switzerland after his parents departed and he may have arrived in Alsace later as an adult. He had been apprenticed to Heinrich Rusterholz in Wädenswil in 1644. Payments to Heinrich Treikler in Wädenswilerberg for Rudolf’s schooling are recorded in the family ledger as late as October, 1650. Rudolf was a linen-weaver by profession. He settled in Markirch about 1668. Rudolf may

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38 Microfilm 747602.
39 Marie, the daughter of Hans Landis and Elizabeth, has not been previously reported in the literature. There is no baptismal entry for her in the Hirzel churchbook. She should not be confused with her sister, Barbara (LS120) since both are mentioned by name in the family estate records. Marie was stated to be “16 or 17” in 1649, so her birthdate was ca. 1633. It should be noted that Felix Landis and Adelheid Eglü had a daughter named Anna Maria (LS172) born that same year. It is possible that the minister made an error in recording the names of her parents, who may in fact have been Hans and Elizabeth. It is also possible that an error was made in the family’s estate ledger, but this seems less likely since Marie is listed as the daughter of Hans and Elizabeth in three separate entries, twice in 1649 and once in 1661. The 1661 entry states that she was baptized as “Margaret” and that she was married in Markirch. Hans and Elizabeth did have a daughter Margaret (LS12c), born in 1638, who married Josef Casson in Markirch in 1664. Neither her birthdate nor her marriage date match those of “Marie.” Since there is some ambiguity about her identity, she is assigned the number LS12x.
40 Microfilm 1676754.
have been drawn there by the presence of Caspar's sisters, Maria and Margaret. An additional factor was that the presence of the Anabaptists in the lowland villages had become less desirable by that point in history. When they first settled in the Alsatian plain, shortly after the Thirty Years War, many of the villages were still partially abandoned but by the 1660s they were becoming repopulated once again. Baecher notes that French soldiers stationed along the Rhine desired to claim some of the farmsteads for their own use after they had served their term in the military. They pressured the local Catholic priests, who in turn began to complain about the presence of this religious minority. Markirch, with its isolated location and its mining industry that was still struggling to recover from the war, became a haven for the resettlement of the Anabaptists. The French Reformed churchbook reports that on May 6, 1668, Rudolf, the son of Caspar Landis, "Chirurgui de Zurich," married Elizabeth Grandhomme. She was the daughter of Jean Grandhomme, whose family had deep roots in Markirch. In July, 1668, Rudolf received £300 as his share of the Landis estate in Zurich.

Rudolf Landis was but one of many emigrants who moved out of the lowlands to Markirch between 1667 and 1670, as is reflected in the growing number of entries referring to the Swiss in the Reformed churchbooks at that time. Besides the surname Landis, other families that arrived in Markirch who originated from Zurich included Egli, Hauser (Huser), Müller, Starcker (Stocker), Carodi, Bär, Pierre, Denlicher, Grussmann, Ritter, Zauer, Briat, Müller, and Wory. From Bern families arrived bearing the surnames of Eggreter, Siegfried, Ribie, Cauthsche, Meger, Stentz, Eicheberger, Valle, Gantschier, and Kingster. All these new marriages soon produced fruit in a surge of baptismal entries after 1667.

Another influx occurred a few years later when the interval of peace after the Thirty Years War was disrupted by the onset of the Dutch War in 1672, which brought great destruction to the communities in the Alsatian plain. Many families fled to Switzerland or to more remote mountainous areas. In 1680 the number of Swiss referred to in Markirch's churchbooks increased again, this time primarily from Bern. Between 1681 and 1683 at least fifteen marriages were recorded for emigrants from Bern. Some of the surnames that arrived at that time include Schweter (reported as Anabaptist), Mingen, Pfeller, Hüglin, Wadem, Suter, and Wider. There are few references to new emigrants from Switzerland in the French churchbooks after 1683.

Caspar seems to have moved to Markirch with Rudolf in 1668. The following year Caspar submitted a testimony to the Zurich authorities, written by the Reformed pastor in Markirch, with the request that funds be distributed from his father's estate so that he could purchase a house. The entry notes that both Caspar (the "Barbierer") and his son, Rudolf, were householders in Markirch. Both of them seem to have suffered property loss during the war. Rudolf was given £10 in 1672 due to his "conspicuous misfortune." Caspar was given funds from his father's estate in 1672, 1674, 1675 and 1676 – the final payment being for "bread," which suggests that he was in serious financial need.

The later decades of Caspar's life remain unclear. His second wife, Catherine Dannherr, died at Durrenenzen on February 15, 1687. She was stated to be seventy years old at the time, of the "Calvinist" faith, and the wife of the "deceased Caspar Landis." The statement that he was deceased by 1687 is puzzling. The German Reformed churchbook reports that "Caspar Landis from Horgerberg" received communion "for the first time" on Christmas day, 1691. Either there were two Caspar Landises, or one of the ministers was mistaken!

Rudolf Landis and his descendants appear repeatedly in the civil and church records of Markirch. His first wife, Elizabeth Grandhomme, died and he remarried to Anna Götz on April 21, 1678. From this second marriage Rudolf produced ten children, born between 1679 and 1692. Tragically, four of them died between 1688 and 1702. The churchbook reports many deaths of children in those years, which suggests that an epidemic struck the Markirch area. Of Rudolf's surviving children, his son Johann (LS12132) achieved some notoriety in Markirch as the Chief Forester and Hunter ("Hochschutz Forster und Jäger"), a game-warden for the Prince of Birkenfeld. He was widowed twice and married three times within five years, between 1722 and 1727, which was an extraordinary track-record of misfortune even for those times (so much so that it merited a special remark in the churchbook).

It is apparent that this branch of the Landis family in Markirch – Caspar's sisters and his descendants through his son Rudolf – assimilated to some extent with the
Swiss Anabaptist Persons from Canton Zurich Whose Estates were Confiscated by Civil Authorities from 1640 to 1678*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ammann, Burkhart, of Männendorf</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asper, Jaggli</td>
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<td>Bachmann, Elsbeth, wife of Joggli Hess</td>
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<td>Bachmann, Rudolf, of Richterswilerberg</td>
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<td>Gachnauer, Jaggeli, of Fischental</td>
<td>(b.33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gut, Adelheid, of Zwillingen</td>
<td>(b.27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gütli, Hallauer</td>
<td>(b.11b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasler, Ulrich, of Männendorf</td>
<td>(b.20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hess, Joggli, of Bäretswil</td>
<td>(b.40)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hofmann, Barbel, wife of Uli Furrer</td>
<td>(b.5)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hofstetter, Elisabeth</td>
<td>(b.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huber, Hans</td>
<td>(b.7)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Isler, Jakob, of Stallikertal</td>
<td>(b.28)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kägi, Anna, of Hans Spörri</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kuntz, Hans, of Zurich</td>
<td>(b.25)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Landis, Felix</td>
<td>(b.18)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Landis, Hans Jacob/Jagli</td>
<td>(b.11)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Landis, Oswald</td>
<td>(b.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leutenegger, Lisabeth, wife of Joggeli Egli</td>
<td>(b.35)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Merli, Hans, of Dägerst | (b.30) |
Meyer, Heinrich, of Männendorf and Bühlenkung | (b.22) |
Müller, ______, of Maschwanden | (b.31) |
Müller, Hans, of Edikon | (b.38) |
Müller, Hans, of Uitikon | (b.23) |
Müller, Jaggli, of Bäretswil | (b.38a) |
Müller, Uli, of Zell | (b.42) |
Oetiker, Uli, of Männendorf | (b.20) |
Peter, Jorg, of Strahlegg | (b.39) |
Peter, Margaret, wife of Jaggli Gachnauer | (b.33) |
Pfänninger, Martha, of Zurich | (b.24) |
Pfister, Verena, wife of Hans Jacob Landis | (b.11) |
Pfister, Werner, of Wädenswilerberg | (b.16) |
Rüdlinger, Eva, wife of Burkhart Amman | (b.21) |
Rusterholz, Jakob | (b.2) |
Schappi, Anna, wife of Oswald Landis | (b.6) |
Schappi, Verena, wife of Hans Jacob Landis | (b.11) |
Schneulin, Anna, of Aeugst | (b.32a) |
Schnebeli, Thomas, of Affoltern | (b.26) |
Schneider, Uli, of Richterswilerberg | (b.13) |
Schneider, Jakob, of Richterswilerberg | (b.12) |
Spörri, Hans, of Greifenberg | (b.36) |
Strickler, Conrad | (b.3) |
Thumysen, Anna | (b.36b) |
Ureni, Felix, of Baregg | (b.29) |
Weber, Jorg, of Bäretswil | (b.37) |

*All of the numerals within parentheses are the end portion of the archival series designated FIII 36, Archives of Canton Zurich, Zurich, Switzerland. See note 7 of this article. For other sources, see Arnold Snyder, “Research Note: Sources Documenting Anabaptism in Zurich, 1533-1660,” Mennonite Quarterly Review 69 (Jan. 1995): 93-99.

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“French” residents in Markirch, especially those of the Reformed Church. This is shown by the surnames of their spouses: Grandhomme, Jemil, Gosart, and Casson (these may have originally been German surnames, such as “Grossmann,” “Gamel,” “Gosser,” and “Kassen”). Such intermingling was common in the early years after the Swiss immigrants arrived in Markirch. This does not mean that they abandoned their German-Swiss identity. By 1687 a separate German Reformed congregation had emerged, which rather awkwardly continued to share use of the same church building with the French. They scheduled their ceremonies to avoid overlap, and inevitably factional disputes arose over trivial issues such as ownership of the church pews.

By 1698 the two Reformed congregations in Markirch were forced to negotiate elaborate contracts to resolve their frequent disagreements. Intermarriages such as those that occurred with the Landis family probably created some strain since the couples may have been divided in their loyalties. For at least two generations the Landis family seems to have maintained an awkward balancing act between the French and the German-Swiss elements in the local population. The baptismal entries for Rudolf’s first children are recorded in the French churchbook, but later, after the German congregation formed, the entries for his younger children are recorded only in the German churchbook. An unusual transition point occurred in 1689 when Rudolf had twins, Marie and Phillippe. The baptism of Marie is reported only in the German churchbook, but Phillippe’s baptism is reported on the same date only in the French churchbook! This suggests a very deliberate attempt by Rudolf and his French wife to maintain ties with both congregations. When Rudolf’s children reached maturity and married, some of them also preserved this pattern.

**Landis Family from Richterswil in Markirch**

There is evidence that toward the end of the seventeenth century yet another branch of the family came to reside in Markirch, other than that of Caspar and his siblings. An entry in the Ribeauville archives dated 1709 states that Hans Landis, a widower, and his married son, Heinrich, both armorers (“Waffenschmid”) by profession, 45 Micofilm 1069942.
from Richterswil in the district of Zurich, paid a fee in 1708 after coming to Markirch. This likely refers to the "recognition fee" that was required of Anabaptists in Markirch. Under French jurisdiction Anabaptism was not a legally recognized religious denomination and this fee had been negotiated as a compromise. Baecher also noted the presence of this Hans Landis from Richterswil, and he concluded that Hans was indeed an Anabaptist. The fact that he and his son were weapons-smithies by trade is striking, since this was a very unusual profession for a nonresistant Anabaptist! Hans appeared in the records of Markirch at various points under the name of "Jean" Landis.

Several lists of Anabaptist household heads have been preserved in the Ribeauville archives which are the best direct indicators of membership in the Anabaptist enclaves in the area around the turn of the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, the completeness of these lists is not clear. They seem to contain primarily the members of Jacob Ammann's congregation, which came to predominate in the valley after 1695, and which became directly targeted by the civil and religious authorities. The earliest list, dated 1696, contains fifty-five names of known Anabaptists. Only one member of the Landis family occurs on this 1696 list—"Jean" Landis. The surname Landis is absent from the other lists, which date as late as 1763.

The best candidate for the identity of Hans Landis from Richterswil is Johann Landis (LS3329), son of Hans Rudolf Landis (LS332) and his wife Barbara Ritter, who are known to have moved from Hirzel to Richterswil. Johann married Angelika Trümpler in Richterswil in 1677, and they had at least seven children, one of whom was named Hans Heinrich. According to the Hirzel Chart, Johann "moved to Markirch to the Baptists" with his son Hans Heinrich late in the century. By the time "Jean" Landis appeared on the Wiedertäufer list in Markirch in 1696, this Hans from Richterswil would have been about fifty-five years old, and he may well have been a widower by that point. The Hirzel Chart also states that his son Hans Heinrich married Elizabeth Hirt in Markirch in 1709 and that they emigrated to Pennsylvania sometime after 1719. They may well be the parents of the Heinrich Landis who arrived on the Pink Plaisance at Philadelphia on September 18, 1732, at the age of twenty.

Changes in Religious Denomination in Markirch and the "Amish Division"

Social contacts with other religious denominations were discouraged as a source of moral contamination during the early years of Anabaptism. However, in the isolated mining town of Markirch, these social boundaries became quite permeable over time. An extraordinarily high level of interchange seems to have occurred between the local Anabaptist congregation, under the leadership of Rudolf Hauser, and the Reformed congregation. Indeed, it might be speculated that a process of fusion was occurring between the two groups when Jacob Ammann arrived on the scene in 1695. Ammann described some of the practices he had observed in Markirch in an earlier letter written on November 22, 1693. Some Anabaptists, he states, were lax in observing dress codes, with "shaved beards, long hair, and haughty clothes."

Anabaptists were attending Reformed Church services, as well as more socially-oriented events such as weddings and funerals for "true-hearted" non-Anabaptist acquaintances ("Treuherzigen"). They reportedly were arranging to have their dead buried in church cemeteries, with a Reformed minister officiating at the ceremony. The name of Rudolf Hauser occurs several times as a godfather for baptisms performed in the Reformed Church. If this is the same person who headed the local Anabaptist congregation, it shows a remarkable willingness to participate in a ceremony which most Anabaptists believed had no religious validity. Some of the young people in Anabaptist families were supposedly loose in their morals and courtship behavior. This probably referred to the fact that inter-denominational marriages, as between the Landis family and the members of the Reformed congregation, were common and this led many Anabaptists to eventually leave Anabaptist churches.

Changes such as these were widespread at that time, not only in Alsace but also in Switzerland, the Palatinate, and even in Holland. When the separate German-Swiss Reformed congregation finally came into being around 1687 in Markirch, it attracted a large influx of new members, including some of the Anabaptists. The German churchbook records a total of 378 new Swiss communicants (men and women) from 1687 to 1694, most of whom are cited by name and place of origin. The majority (225 of them) originated in various towns of Canton Bern (including some from Erlenbach, the home village of Jacob Ammann). The second most common place of origin was Canton Zurich, for sixty of the new members (including Caspar Landis from "Horgerberg" and Elizabeth Baumann from Hirzel). This wave of conversions began shortly before the arrival of Jacob Ammann from Bern, and it may well shed light on his motivation for introducing a revival of a more fundamentalist form of Anabaptism in the Markirch area.

These earlier Swiss immigrants to Markirch (i.e., those who came before about 1680, such as Caspar Landis' children and his siblings) were becoming more integrated into the religiously pluralistic community. Some had also done quite well economically over time. They acquired houses and became relatively wealthy. A few apparently were even willing to serve in the "Heimburg," a citizen's governance committee. The

[48] The data from the Hirzel Chart dealing with this Richterswil branch of the family is included in Jane Evans Best, op. cit., under her numbers LS2145.1 through LS2145.6. It should be noted that Wilcox, "Landis Families of Canton Zurich," "p. 16, does not include the marriage of his Hans Heinrich (LS3329) with Angelika Trümpler, nor their son Hans who supposedly married Elizabeth Hirt. This should be a subject for future study and clarification.
A contemporary image of the farm called Untere Siten in the town of Hürliei illustrates the continuity of particular site names in Switzerland. In 1649, about 350 years ago, Ulrich Landis (LS1a1) and family lived there, listed as an Anabaptist. He was a grandson of Hans Landis (LS1), the martyr.

“Heimburg” oversaw the collection of taxes, and it also had responsibility for the village militia which patrolled the streets and preserved order. The prohibition of such civic functions, especially those pertaining to the carrying of arms, had been a central tenet of Anabaptism since its origin, and this was a significant departure from religious tradition.

Baecher aptly characterizes Rudolf Hauser’s congregation as the “Anabaptistes Bourgeois.” Contemporary chronicles from the early eighteenth century also refer to them as the “ancien Anabaptistes” to distinguish them from Jacob Ammann’s congregation, which arrived later in 1695 from Bern. Surely these circumstances help explain the intensity of Ammann’s reaction and the bitterness which came to characterize his dispute with Rudolf Hauser’s congregation in Markirch, as well as with congregations elsewhere in Switzerland and the Palatinate where a similar trend was taking place.

Ammann effectively reversed the trend of accommodation that had been gradually eroding the identity of the Anabaptist congregation in the pluralistic environment of Markirch. This was not an easy transition. Confrontations with the local burghers and the civil authorities increased after 1695 over issues such as participation in the Heimburg. Eventually this culminated in the expulsion of the Anabaptists from Alsace in 1713 and their diaspora to Pennsylvania, the Palatinate and to Pennsylvania.

The final chapter of the relationship between Caspar Landis and his descendants with Anabaptism came to a close in Alsace. The evidence points to a similar conclusion for his siblings, Hans Heinrich, Rudolf, Margaret, and Marie. The conditions prevalent in Markirch and nearby villages in those early years (between about 1650 and 1695) clearly fostered a change of religious denomination for many of the Swiss refugees. Those who arrived later, such as the Landis family from Richterswil, may have remained Anabaptist because the religious climate in Alsace had been dramatically altered by the revival sparked by Jacob Amman. This latter branch of the family may have taken Anabaptism with them to Pennsylvania. Those who stayed only briefly in Alsace and then crossed the Rhine to the Kraichgau, such as Hans Jacob Landis, may also have preserved their Anabaptist perspective, although the exact circumstances in the Kraichgau remain to be explored in detail.

A conclusion should not be hastily reached that one’s Anabaptist ancestor converted to the Reformed Church simply on the basis of a baptismal entry, or even that a reported abjuration of the faith was authentic. In some areas (as in Switzerland and the Palatinate) the Anabaptists were often forced to “legitimate” their children by submitting them for baptism by the pastor. Supplementary evidence should be sought to confirm changes in religious denomination. One clue is typically offered by the pastors themselves, who often recorded in the churchbooks if the parties involved were “Täufer.” In Markirch the ruling Ribeauvielle nobility were unusually tolerant and they did not mandate enforced baptisms. Baptismal entries in Markirch therefore carry more weight as credible evidence of a change in religious affiliation, especially when the birth occurred in the context of a marriage that was also performed in the Reformed Church.

Some knowledge of the family into which the person married also helps to determine whether or not the conversion was genuine. For example, Rudolf Landis’ second wife, Anna Götz, was the sister to Pierre Gotz, an active opponent to the Anabaptists in Markirch (his name appears as signator on petitions against them, and his son-in-law was a Reformed minister). This surely gives credence to the notion that Rudolf did indeed convert to the Reformed faith.

Baecher notes that some Anabaptists may have accommodated with the Reformed Church in order to reclaim their hereditary estates in Switzerland, which otherwise would not be released to them by the authorities. He suggests that this may well be an explanation for how the Anabaptists developed the resources to control approximately one-third of the economy of the Leber valley within the space of a few short years after their arrival. As this article has shown, there are in fact several entries in the Anabaptist ledgers in Canton Zurich showing that such claims were frequently filed by heirs late in the seventeenth century.

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What occurs when traditional rural Mennonites undertake an urban mission in Philadelphia among African Americans?


by Robert W. Good

In July 1899 a mission in Philadelphia led by members of the (Old) Mennonite Church began when Daniel Kauffman stepped to the pulpit at 1930 East York Street. This movement set a new precedent for that denomination. In a city where (Old) Mennonites had primarily shopped and marketed their goods, urban and rural mission was a new phenomenon to the (Old) Mennonites of Philadelphia's surrounding conferences—Lancaster and Franconia. These people had lived quietly in predominantly rural settings tilling the rich soil or operating small businesses. They entered the city to buy what they needed and to market the goods their farms and shops produced. By the end of the period from 1890 to 1910 organized mission activity had become institutionalized, and some looked to nearby urban areas for the religious harvest.1

Isaac L. Kulp (1849-1915) was a Mennonite from Danboro, Bucks County, who had moved to Philadelphia and opened a grocery store.2 He became concerned with converting persons to Christ and spoke with Joseph Bleam Bechtel (1856-1928), a Mennonite building contractor from Philadelphia, who shared the same burden. Bechtel was born in Greshville, Douglass Township, Berks County, joined the Mennonite Church in Bally, and lived as an adult in Philadelphia. He and his wife and family attended the Norristown mission outreach of the Franconia Conference.3 Bechtel and Kulp met with the leadership of Franconia Conference and found little interest for officially sponsoring a Philadelphia mission, although on May 4, 1899, the conference ruled that individuals were free to make "any contribution to the mission."4

Undaunted, they next turned to the Mennonites of the Lancaster Conference. Here they discovered support and an organized group called the Mennonite Sunday School Mission ready to act on their idea. The Lancaster group sent their chairman John H. Mellinger, plus Kulp and Bechtel, to Philadelphia in the spring of 1899 to search for a suitable location. They first looked in the northeast Kensington section, but finally settled on a property at 1930 East York Street. Services began in July of that same year.5

The work began under difficult circumstances. The Franconia and Lancaster bishop boards would neither sanction nor forbid the operation of the mission. This initial stance dashed any hopes of having an ordained minister.6

3 Helen (Bechtel) Yoder to David J. R. Smucker, Sept. 3, 1989, notes on rough draft of this article at Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society.
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Weighed so heavily on her that she could not remain for Church, Lancaster, had completely changed her life. As and knew that weighing on January 1, 1919, at East Chestnut Street Mennonite, she was born in Warwick Township, Lancaster County. A full-day meet­

heart regarding full-time Christian service was formed. Daughter of Martin B. Rudy and Mary H. Huber, she was born in Pennsylvania. An aU-day meet­

into the house next to the mission on October 17, 1922.11 Under Graybill’s leadership the tiny mission grew steadily. The major thrust of the mission program was the Sunday School. In 1927 Graybill helped organize a large Summer Bible School in Norris Square park oppo­

site the mission, the first of its kind among eastern (Old) Mennonites. It was an important precedent for future Mennonite Bible Schools.12

Emma Rudy

In September 1926, one year before Graybill opened the Summer Bible School, Emma H. Rudy (1890-1989) began working at the Philadelphia mission. Daughter of Martin B. Rudy and Mary H. Huber, she was born in Warwick Township, Lancaster County. An all-day meet­

ing on January 1, 1919, at East Chestnut Street Mennonite Church, Lancaster, had completely changed her life. As the messages were preached, Rudy felt a deep conviction and knew that “the Lord had spoken definitely to her heart regarding full-time Christian service.” The burden weighed so heavily on her that she could not remain for

the evening service. In the darkness of her home she knelt down and yielded to the call. She was ready to do whatever the Lord had planned for her.13

In 1923 she first worked at the Welsh Mountain mission in northeastern Lancaster County. John H. Mellinger, chairman of EMBMC, then asked her to serve in Philadelphia. She arrived in September 1926 and continued to carry out her call until she retired in 1961.

In the beginning, Rudy was uncertain that the Lord had led her to the right place, but, after a time, she felt at

Emma H. Rudy (left) from the Lancaster Mennonite Conference lived and served at the Philadelphia Mennonite mission from 1926 to 1961. She and Alma K. Ruth (right) from the Franconia Mennonite Conference, who began in 1939, provided the daily continuity which supported the more transient male leadership. Their efforts helped strengthen the Diamond Street Mennonite Church.

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home and enjoyed her work. A key to changing her attitude about the new assignment was the Bible School. In 1930 her health completely failed and she was unable to work. Doctors diagnosed her illness as tuberculosis and recommended that she leave the city. She hesitated. God had called her here. “Should she now listen to this advice?” She recalled the scripture in James 5 and asked to be anointed by the leaders of the church. She was graciously healed and soon resumed her full responsibility.14

Mennonite Mission to African Americans

Beginning in the 1930s and continuing into the 1950s, the United States experienced a mass migration from the south to the northern industrial cities. Black people eager to find new opportunities flocked north. Philadelphia, with its surrounding communities in the Delaware Valley, received an abundance of this new labor force.

In 1934 a few black people began attending the mission on Howard Street. The Mennonites there were unsure how to respond. Racial tension and conflict gripped the city. Even the little mission had encountered occasional scuffles in their Sunday school. At first white and black children worshiped and participated in the Sunday school together. But because of “various problems” that arose it was felt that a separate work should be opened for black people.15 Emma Rudy recalled that period.

With the opening of Summer Bible School and Week-day Bible School there came an increased attendance of the colored race to our schools. This was not without its problems, which added to the conviction of opening a work for them.

For one Winter Bible School term and the following Summer Bible School session they were taught in separate schools here at the Mission. Then again for one Winter Bible School session (because of lack of teachers) they were taught in the same school. By this time there was a wider conviction, and deeper than ever that there should be a work provided for that race.16

Separate Bible schools were held at Howard Street for blacks and whites during the summer and winter of 1934-1935. On March 10, 1935, the EMBMC approved J. Paul Graybill’s “request for opening mission work among the colored folks in the vicinity of the Philadelphia Mission; same to be entirely separate from the present mission and in rented quarters.”17 The Philadelphia mission was opened at 191 West Dauphin Street a few blocks from the first mission. Here Summer and Winter Bible School, and a Sunday evening service geared for children, were held for seven years.

For two years the EMBMC did not appoint anyone specifically to work at the Dauphin Street mission because it was seen as a project of the “mother” mission. Clearly, Emma Rudy took a leadership role in the work and, as the only person involved all seven years, provided considerable stability. Merle and Sara Eshleman assisted in the beginning but were called to the African mission field in December 1939. Alma Ruth served occasionally from 1936 to 1939. There was frequent shuffling of personnel. Missionaries on furlough, volunteers from Howard Street, and others came for a year or a few weeks to teach and preach.18

At the outset J. Paul Graybill held preaching and superintendent responsibility, providing the official link between the Lancaster Bishop Board and the mission. He was assisted in the pulpit for two years by Merle Eshleman and Noah K. Mack who left Graybill as the sole minister in Philadelphia in July 1939. Just before Christmas in 1939, Graybill resigned all his daily responsibilities in Philadelphia when he was ordained bishop of the Weaverland district.

For three years after Graybill’s departure uncertain leadership characterized the mission. In the first half of 1940 G. Irvin Leaman was superintendent and three pastors from Franconia Conference shared the preaching.19 At the end of 1940, Leaman moved to Virginia and Clarence Fretz took over as superintendent and preacher. Fretz remained in this capacity about one year. In the spring of 1942 three pastors were again taking turns preaching.

Despite the short terms of teachers and leadership, the work grew steadily and soon outgrew its small (13 feet by 26 feet) meeting room. After the first year, Summer Bible School enrollment was between seventy and eighty students with actual attendance varying from a low of twenty-six to a high of ninety-four. Winter Bible School also gained in popularity so that in 1939 registra-

Alma K. Ruth points out the biblical story of the three wise men used in the educational program of the Philadelphia Mennonite mission, probably in the 1940s. Lettering on the wall (visible) reads “O come, let us worship the Lord,” and also (on side wall not pictured) “Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and Thou Shalt Be Saved.”

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14 Ibid., Feb. 1930.
16 Papers of Emma Rudy, Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society.
17 Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities (hereafter EMMBC), Minutes of Quarterly Meeting, Apr. 12, 1935, Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society.
19 Names of the preachers from the Franconia Mennonite Conference are unknown.
tion rivaled the summer school. In that same year, due to inadequate facilities, the workers limited neighborhood canvassing. Rooms were used at Norris Square to accommodate as many as possible. By 1940 and 1941 the prospects for attendance were so numerous that no Summer or Winter Bible School was held.

Because of the unmanageable numbers of young people, the workers began concentrating on adult ministry. In 1935 no adults had attended the mission for Sunday evening service. In the following year one began to attend regularly, five by 1937, and sixteen by 1939. The number of young people attending decreased. This trend seemed to continue in 1940 and 1941.

With new demands placed on the mission, EMBMC decided to appoint Emma Rudy to a permanent position at Dauphin Street. On November 7, 1937, she moved into the mission building, fully supported as a worker. Two years later on August 11, 1939, Alma K. Ruth (1900-1975), who had worked at the mission in a limited way the four previous years, joined Rudy as a full-time missionary.

Daughter of Bishop Joseph G. Ruth and Mary Kratz, she grew up in the Line Lexington Mennonite Church, Line Lexington, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, in the Franconia Mennonite Conference. Ruth must have inspired his daughter because after his 1905 ordination he occasionally preached at the Philadelphia mission.

These two women worked side by side in Philadelphia’s Mennonite Mission for the next twenty-two years. Under their watchful scrutiny the mission reached out to more people. They began visitation in homes and hospitals. They organized cottage meetings, street meetings, evangelistic services, women’s sewing circles, and home Bible studies.

The sowing of seed on Dauphin Street was not without a harvest for church membership. In 1936 an elderly man, Charles Mills, began attending the mission. By the end of summer he was a regular in the Sunday evening service. On September 27, 1936, he stood during a testimony period and asked to become a member of the mission. He completed instruction for membership and was prepared to be accepted as the first African-American Mennonite of the mission. However, J. Paul Graybill, who planned to officiate his baptism, was unexpectedly called to Florida. While he was gone Charles Mills “took sick with the flu, suffered a stroke and died,” never receiving the right hand of fellowship. The funeral was held on January 19, 1937.

Later in 1937 Alleanor Jenkins and her two daughters, Edna and Grace, expressed interest in joining the mission. On March 14, 1938, Graybill began instruction for their membership. After a summer of instruction the women wore plain clothes to the evening service on September 11, 1938. Emma Rudy wrote that this “marks the happy experience of seeing our first applicants wearing the plain clothes, and more than that is seeing them come out victoriously for the Lord.” On November 27 at Norris Square Mennonite Church during the first communion service, Alleanor, Grace, and Edna Jenkins received full membership.

Search for a New Location

Because of the success of the Dauphin Street Mission the EMBMC decided to search for a larger more permanent location only six months after the mission began. On February 29, 1936, at Norris Square Mennonite Church, the EMBMC reviewed possible sites for erecting a building. After much discussion and meditation, the board abandoned the idea of building a structure and authorized EMBMC chairman Henry Garber to purchase 2137 East Howard Street, if the price did not exceed $3,750. The owners declined Garber’s offer and the search continued. Throughout 1936 various properties were proposed in the area of the two existing missions but none seemed suitable. From 1937 until the spring of 1940 the search faltered.

In attempting to purchase a building outside the mission area, the EMBMC authorized, pending approval of the Bishop Board, $2,200 for purchase of the German Lutheran Church parsonage at Nineteenth Street and Susquehanna Avenue in April 1940. The offer was apparently declined because the building was not purchased.

In June 1940, the mission workers became involved in the search. On June 26 and July 30 they drove around the city looking for available buildings and appropriate places. The mission workers met on September 13 and agreed to concentrate their efforts on a section four blocks by eleven blocks between Diamond Street and Columbia Avenue and from Eighteenth to Twenty-Ninth streets.

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20 DSMC, p. 32-41.
21 DSMC, p. 30.
23 Emma Rudy, Diary and “Work Among the Colored,” both Jan. 19, 1937.
25 EMBMC, Minutes of Executive Committee, Feb. 29, 1936.
26 DSMC, p. 34.
27 EMBMC, Minutes of Executive Committee, Apr. 2, 1940.
28 DSMC, p. 34.
During the next three months a careful search by Emma Rudy, Alma Ruth, and John Moseman showed seven large churches and a number of smaller ones in the designated section. They also did house-to-house canvassing of the area which "strengthened their conviction that a teaching ministry was needed there."32

In January 1941 Moseman moved to Virginia and leadership was turned over to Clarence Fretz. Henry Garber reported to the April meeting of the board "that there was no progress in finding another mission building in Philadelphia."33 However, on a leisurely Sunday afternoon drive in the city, some mission workers discovered a property for sale on the corner of Diamond and Gratz streets.34 Investigators found that the building used to be a "political club but was unoccupied for a number of years."35 Despite a need for $2,500 worth of repairs, the building seemed to fit the needs of the mission.

On May 8, 1941, a $2,500 offer was made to purchase the building, but the EMBMC eventually had to pay $3,000. On the day of final settlement—October 8, 1941—Emma Rudy recorded that 1814 West Diamond Street "which had been used for a club, has become the possession of the mission board to be used for a place of worship and service for the Master."36

The mission board appointed a property committee to take full responsibility for all building renovations.37 Finding a building contractor was difficult because most of the rural Mennonite men hesitated to manage a city project. A compromise was finally reached. Jacob Hershey from Lancaster agreed to provide oversight by securing permits from the city and supply materials. Claude Myers from Souderton, an occasional preacher at the mission, volunteered to give oversight to the daily renovation.38 Without Claude Myers' willingness to coordinate these volunteer workers, mostly from more distant Lancaster County, renovations might have languished.39

The building committee met with Jacob Hershey, Claude Myers, Clarence Fretz, Alma Ruth, and Emma Rudy to plan the renovations on January 5, 1942. They decided to construct a large meeting room on the first floor, an apartment for the pastor/superintendent on the second floor, another apartment on third floor for the Rudy and Ruth, and an exterior firescape in order to meet city regulation.40 The heating system was in good condition.

The first load of materials arrived on February 9 and renovation began the same day. New plumbing and electrical wiring replaced old systems and they replaced nearly all the floors. The walls were scraped and newly papered or painted. They built a kitchen and laundry into each apartment and bathrooms for church and Sunday school purposes. By the middle of April the renovation was essentially finished.

April 1942 marked a beginning for the mission on Diamond Street. Clinton and Maybelle Ferster, who could not serve as missionaries because World War II was raging in Africa, were appointed to lead the Philadelphia work. They moved into the second floor apartment on the thirteenth and Alma Ruth and Emma Rudy moved into the third floor one week later. The building inspector then gave final approval for meetings to be held in the building. Dedication services were planned for the following month.41

A farewell service was held at 191 West Dauphin Street on May 3. Regular attendees received letters reminding them that the mission was about to move after seven years, but only a few attended to bid farewell. Instead of the regular children's talk, everyone present shared concerning their experiences at Dauphin Street.42

Dedication services were held at 1814 West Diamond Street on Saturday, May 9 and Sunday, May 10, 1942. Mennonite preachers from the conferences of Lancaster, Franconia, and Virginia participated in five consecutive services. Bishop J. Paul Graybill emphasized that "we must do more than dedicate the building." He reminded the audience that the Bible and consecrated lives should make up the center of this new church institution. Others who followed stressed such themes as "Philadelphia's need of a Christian witness," "Lengthening the chords," and "Strengthening the stakes."43 Only white people attended these services. None of the Dauphin Street group accompanied the move immediately, but Alleanor

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29 Ibid., p. 35.
30 EMBMC, Minutes of Quarterly Meeting, Apr. 1, 1941.
31 Papers of Emma Rudy, Diary entry Apr. 7, 1941, Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society.
32 DSMC, p. 42.
33 DSMC, p. 41.
34 EMBMC, Minutes of Executive Committee, Sept. 30, 1941. The committee members were Henry Garber, Howard Kreider, John H. Mellinger, Samuel Eby, Christian Heistand, and Mr. Hess.
35 DSMC, p. 41.
36 Ibid., pp. 42-44. Names of 33 persons are listed on p. 43.
37 Ibid., p. 42.
38 Ibid., pp. 44-45.
39 Ibid., p. 45.
40 Ibid., pp. 46-47, where the program of the dedication service is pasted along with an unidentified piece from a published source.
The Philadelphia Mennonite mission at 2151 North Howard Street used a billboard sign to advertise its Summer Bible School, quote the Bible, and exhort persons passing by on the street. The main unchanging sign read: "MENNONITE MISSION/ DECLARING ALL THE COUNSEL OF GOD/ ENTRANCE TO PUBLIC ASSEMBLY ROOM." The other changing sign on three different occasions read: 1) A SEARCHING TRUTH/ ALL THINGS ARE NAKED AND OPENED UNTO THE EYES OF HIM (GOD) WITH WHOM WE HAVE TO DO/ BIBLE." 2) "CREATE IN ME A CLEAN HEART, O GOD, RENEW A RIGHT SPIRIT WITHIN ME/ PSALMS 51:10" 3) "KNOW THE BIBLE/ ATTEND SUMMER BIBLE SCHOOL/ JULY 9-25/ 9-11:30 A.M./ ALL GRADES/ FREE TO ALL."

Jenkins later worshipped at Diamond Street.

Clinton Ferster preached evangelistic services. Attendance varied with six as the highest number of adults and sixteen as the highest number of children in one service. After dedication the first Sunday School opened, and the next Wednesday a mid-week service began. In the summer a Bible School met with ten classes and an average attendance of sixty-seven. The program at the new location continued many elements, but added a Sunday morning service, Sunday School, and mid-week service. Summer and Winter Bible School, a visitation ministry, including home Bible studies, remained as before.

Significant growth in the mission's programs occurred in 1943. The Summer Bible School attendance jumped to ninety-six and thirty parents came to the closing program. The mission workers monthly distributed two thousand copies of a tract called: "The Way." In addition, large outdoor Bible classes were held on vacant lots at the corner of Montgomery Avenue and Beachwood Street and in an area called Lambert Place.

In September 1944 the Fersters left Philadelphia and returned to Africa. Ezra Nafziger, a student at Hanneman Hospital, became the superintendent. He resigned a year later and Clair Bomberger replaced him until June 1946. Both men acted in limited ways because they did not live in the Diamond Street community and had other involvements. Nafziger, in charge of Summer and Winter Bible School, was uninvolved in the other programs of the mission. Bomberger's only responsibility was obtaining preachers on Sundays. The "sister workers," Ruth and Rudy, regularly carried out the other functions of the mission. Home Bible studies increased and a Sunday afternoon service at the Devon Convalescent Home was added in 1945.

First Ordained Pastor

On June 19, 1946, J. Harold and Margaret Breneman, from Lancaster moved into the second floor apartment at 1814 West Diamond Street as the new superintendents. The apartment had been vacant for nearly two years and their arrival was heartily welcomed by the sister workers. Though not experiencing a specific call to Philadelphia, at Eastern Mennonite School, in Harrisonburg, Virginia, Breneman felt the Lord leading him into mission work. They found Philadelphia quite different from the overseas mission work they had envisioned. Though unfamiliar with large cities, they came to love and care deeply for their neighbors. It was a difficult life in the Diamond Street section. They wished they could help in the daily needs of neighbors.

Breneman was ordained as the first pastor of Diamond Street Mennonite Mission on November 24, 1946. Ordination services were held at his home congregation, Willow Street Mennonite Church, Willow Street, Pennsylvania, in the same way that other missionaries of the EMBMC were ordained at that time. He served as pastor of the mission until fall 1950. His family had moved from Diamond Street on May 17 to Tel Hai Camp in Honeybrook, Chester County, Pennsylvania, and he continued to drive into Philadelphia for Sunday services until November.

Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage 21 April 1995
Mission Becomes Church

August 29, 1951, was the beginning of another era in the history of the Diamond Street Mission when Luke and Miriam Stoltzfus moved into the second floor apartment. Emma Rudy and Alma Ruth had kept the mission functioning consistently and now the Stoltzfuses were determined, like the two women, to remain in Philadelphia. In the next years they seldom if ever considered leaving the city to which God had called them. They made Philadelphia their home—a place to raise six children and to actively serve the Mennonite Church. At Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia, they experienced a call to missions. Henry Garber, chairman of EMBMC, asked them to serve in Philadelphia. As their time at Eastern Mennonite College neared an end, they felt that God was calling them to Philadelphia.

Henry Garber told the Stoltzfuses about the two sister workers in Philadelphia. "They have been there for a long time," Garber said, "and they will have a lot to offer you—but always remember that you are the leaders." As a young man in a new role, Stoltzfus often turned to the wisdom and experience of Rudy and Ruth. Later he remarked that he "received his pastoral internship training from two sister workers," a rare occurrence in the male-dominated church of that time.

When Stoltzfus became pastor in 1951, the mission's check book label read: "African Mennonite Mission." There were three members and an average attendance at Sunday morning services of approximately twenty-five. In the following years, attendance and membership rose steadily. Summer and Winter Bible School for children became the most popular fixture of the church's programs. By 1965 membership increased to about forty and the check book now read: Diamond Street Mennonite Church.

In an attempt to broaden the children's programs, a camping and "children's visitation program" were started in the early 1950s. Children went to Men-O-Lan near Quakertown, Pennsylvania, a camp of the Eastern District of the General Conference Mennonite Church, and later to Tel Hai, Honeybrook, Pennsylvania, a camp of the Atlantic Coast Conference of the (Old) Mennonite Church. Eventually in the 1960s children from Diamond Street went to the Lancaster Mennonite Conference facility, Camp Hebron near Halifax, Pennsylvania. The visitation program gave city children an opportunity to spend a week or two weeks with a Mennonite family in the country.

The Breneman years continued the programs already established. A trend toward more emphasis in adult ministry began in 1949 and 1950. One year after the Brenemans' arrival, the first applicant, Marie Ballard, was accepted as a member. At the age of seventy, she had a vision of herself dressed in the plain clothes of the Mennonites and thought this meant she should join the church, despite the protests of her family. In spring 1950 two others, Doris Allen, age eleven, and Mrs. Murry were received by baptism as members.

When Brenemanns departed Philadelphia in 1950, no replacement was named until November when Frank and Katie Garman moved into the superintendent's apartment. They stayed only five months and again the leadership of the mission foundered in an uncertain future.

Between 1942 and 1946, a neon sign appeared on the front of 1814 West Diamond Street with an invitation: "Come to Jesus." Thus the mission became known in the community as the "come to Jesus church." The mission had proved many times that it could involve many people in its programs. With a foothold of only three church members, they still felt relatively confident. Yet they needed male leaders who would commit themselves to city mission on a long term basis. In a conference where only men could lead or preach, the mission faced an inescapable dilemma—if men could not be found, what did the future hold? Perhaps more signs were needed in Lancaster County admonishing the brethren to come to Philadelphia.
Change in the Congregation

In 1953 Stoltzfus invited the members to begin meeting four times annually to aid him in the decision-making process of the church. Before this, the staff and ministers had made all the decisions regarding the program direction of the mission. Now, as both workers and members shared leadership, the old concept of mission began to fade and the experience of mutual discernment began to grow.

Many of the new church members and other regular worshippers were in their retirement years. Some of these people needed regular care and the security of other nearby friends. The Philadelphia Mennonites, uncertain if African-Americans were welcome in rural Mennonite retirement homes, opened the “Bethany Home for the Aged” at 1910 West Diamond in 1954, about one block from the church. The home operated on a self-supporting basis with an all-volunteer staff, including a married couple who lived on the third floor. The first volunteers came through the federally operated 1-W classification program for conscientious objectors. Later, volunteers were assigned through the voluntary service program of the EMBMC.

In the mid-1950s Lancaster Mennonite Conference began changing at a faster pace. By the mid-1960s many members did not wear the traditional plain clothes. The Diamond Street congregation also changed but at a slower pace—often two or three years after the Lancaster congregations had accepted a new practice.52

The Diamond Street congregation clung to traditional Mennonite practice primarily because the bishop of the district to which they belonged, J. Paul Graybill, was conservative in the face of change during his forty years of involvement in Philadelphia. Divorce and remarriage and the purchase of life insurance provided difficult problems. Many who applied for membership from 1935 to 1965 were turned away because they had been divorced and/or remarried or because they owned life insurance. Although committed to the work of mission, Graybill would not budge on these points.53 Emma Rudy and Alma Ruth also firmly supported these conservative practices. They had some progressive ideas, but they wanted to avoid what was unacceptable to their religious authorities.

Another problematic issue was the woman’s prayer veiling—or head covering—a capstone of the plain clothing tradition which symbolized humility. When Stoltzfus arrived in 1951, Rudy and Ruth wore traditional strings on their coverings and new women members were expected to do the same. A young woman in instruction to become a member specifically asked for “ribbons” to be placed on her covering. She thought they were pretty and brightened the other wise drab covering. Stoltzfus realized that the covering strings had lost their intended “Mennonite” meaning to this young Philadelphian. As a result, the requirement to wear covering strings was discouraged.

Stoltzfus eased the church through this time of change. He did not encourage young men to wear the plain coat and also refused to wear the plain hat, preferring a more stylish, dented one. This brought an occasional comment from Rudy who thought the preacher should wear a plain hat. When confronted with change, Stoltzfus remembered the words of Henry Graber preceding his move to Diamond Street. Now was the time to exert leadership rather than be led, particularly as the congregation moved in a new direction.

Forming a Core Group

Conceived a decade earlier, most of the programs continued unchanged during the Stoltzfus pastorate. The foundation of these programs was the belief that teaching and preaching furnished the best way to bring lost souls into the Kingdom of God.

Three families joined and became pillars of the future church. Doris Allen, a young member of the congregation, often came to church activities along with her six brothers and sisters. They were fascinated by Bible School and street meetings. The Stoltzfus apartment became a

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53 The life insurance in many instances involved burial benefits to cover funeral and burial expenses. After 1965 Stoltzfus relaxed the prohibition of this type of insurance.
second home for the Allen children. Over a period of time they became members at Diamond Street and played significant roles in later developments of the congregation.

Easter Jackson, a young single parent, began attending Diamond Street in the early 1950s with her two sons, Raymond and William. These brothers vividly remember the trip every Sunday morning from Thirteenth and Norris streets. Their mother walked and the boys took turns “riding a large three-wheeled bike.” Mrs. Jackson joined the church and even though later she was excommunicated, she continued to encourage her sons to attend. Raymond became a member in 1960 and William in 1961. Later, their half sister Mattie Cooper also became an active member.

William Jackson attributes his early faithfulness to his mother and Alma Ruth. The Bible stories Ruth told made a lasting impression on his young mind. Although soft-spoken, she persisted with the message she taught. One Sunday morning in 1960 she pleaded with his Sunday school class to become Christians. No one said a word. She asked if they knew where they would be if the world ended today. Still no one responded. Jackson remembered that her eyes filled with tears at this point and she stepped out of the room for a few minutes. Touched by this genuine concern, he told Luke Stoltzfus that he wanted to become a Christian and became baptized on March 12, 1961. He firmly believed that without the influence of Alma Ruth, he would not have joined the Diamond Street Mennonite Church.

In the early 1960s Charles Baynard and his sister Florence Grimes, originally from the Andrews Bridge Mennonite Church, began attending Diamond Street. Charles met Barbara Allen, sister of Doris Allen, and they were married in 1961. Charles and Barbara Baynard provided stability for the congregation. Florence Grimes later transferred membership to Bethel Mennonite Church, but her children continued at Diamond Street. A congregation built on the shoulders of these people would endure the turbulent 1960s and reordering of the 1970s. Today remnants of these families still attend Diamond Street and form a core group of active members.

Transitions in Staff and Community

A chapter ended on October 5, 1961, when Emma Rudy, aged seventy-one and Alma Ruth, aged sixty, left their posts at the church and moved to a home for retired missionaries near Mellinger Mennonite Church in Lancaster. Rudy had given the congregation her ability to organize and determination to do what God had called her to do. Alma Ruth had imparted her special care and often-recited scripture passage, “Every weapon that is fashioned against you shall not prosper” (Isaiah 54:17).

Some persons complained that the services at Diamond Street were “too dull and draggy.” These typical Lancaster Mennonite worship services did not contain enough excitement for some people and many failed to return after one or two visits. The congregation gathered first for Sunday School, sang two hymns, listened to an introduction by the superintendent and were then dismissed to their classes. The order of the service was routine: Sunday School, hymn, devotions, announcements, hymn, sermon (ca. 30 minutes), hymn, benediction. This predictable order of events at Diamond Street continued until 1975.

During the 1950s and early 1960s the community around the church began to stir impatiently. Poor Philadelphians, like their counterparts in other North American cities, were restless. They had waited long enough for their degraded condition to improve. They insisted on being heard and could not wait any longer. During the summers of 1964 and 1965 fierce riots erupted with looting and burning often accompanying these outbreaks. Police cars with lights flashing and sirens blaring raced back and forth on Diamond Street. Small stores and businesses boarded up their windows and moved out of the area. Ravaged by pain and injustice, the community was never the same after those fearful summers.

Since the Diamond Street ministry of preaching and teaching had rarely dealt with the physical needs of the wider community, the congregation was unsure how to cope with this outburst. Although some church members were troubled by what they saw, no one responded...
Charles Baynard, ordained in 1977, is presently the pastor of Diamond Street Mennonite Church in Philadelphia.

immediately. They decided to wait until the disturbance subsided and then continue their normal routine.

Membership at Diamond Street rose steadily during the Stoltzfus pastorate. The teaching programs of the congregation swelled to near capacity size. In 1963 average Sunday School attendance was 105, a new high. There was some discussion of finding another building to accommodate the growth.

In 1964 Bishop J. Paul Graybill and the Lancaster Conference Bishop Board moved to set up a bishop district for the Philadelphia and surrounding area churches which had belonged to the Weaverland district. The Bishop Board decided to consolidate all the churches in the area and ordain a new bishop. On January 17, 1965, the congregations of the newly formed district voted to choose candidates for the lot. Jacob Frederick of Norris Square, Clarence Fretz of Maryland, Roy Newswenger of Chester, and Luke Stoltzfus of Diamond Street emerged in the class of candidates for the office of bishop. Ordination services were held two weeks later on January 31 at Norris Square. Stoltzfus was chosen in the process of the lot.

As an immediate implication of Stoltzfus’ ordination, Diamond Street had no pastor. The new bishop moved quickly to replace himself and maintain consistency in congregational leadership. With congregational approval a lay member of Diamond Street Church was ordained by lot. Prior to this time the EMBMC had made all previous appointments. The congregation was now mature enough to provide its own leadership. Homer Schrock was the only person to receive sufficient votes. On Sunday, May 16, 1965, he was ordained as the first pastor called from within the congregation. Schrock and his wife Ruth came to Diamond Street in 1957 as “house parents” of the Bethany Mennonite Home. After they completed their assignment, they remained in the city and started a family. They were regular and active members of the church.

Sometime in 1965, trouble came to Diamond Street that tested the new bishop and preacher. Clarence Allen brought a mixed blessing to the church. A charismatic young leader, Allen shaped a youth group of about twenty-five—a bright hope for the future congregation. He was very talented, a dedicated Christian and Mennonite who had once worn the plain coat. In 1965 young Allen began behavior that was both unlawful and in opposition to the discipline of the church. The church leaders approached him about his waywardness, but he did not change his ways and was excommunicated in the spring of 1966.

The ramifications of this event were far reaching. The youth meetings plummeted to a mere seven attendees by 1967. Many variables could have affected this decline, but it seems clear that Allen’s excommunication caused mistrust and a loss of faith. Some felt betrayed by Allen and others felt that their leaders had not sufficiently explained why Allen deserved excommunication. Raymond Jackson, a member of the youth group at that time, believed that “the kinds of things he was involved in were life-style issues, not the kind of things you can hush up if the person is in the limelight. Many were looking to this young black male with charisma and color in leadership.” The leadership believed that “everyone knew the particulars and excommunication came as no surprise.” The church reached a very low ebb during this period. Only time could heal the wounds.

End of an Era

In June 1967 the Stoltzfus family moved out of the church building. The Schrock family lived close by at 1908 Fontain Street, and decided not to move into the traditional pastor’s living quarters at the church. Two reasons prompted their decision. The church needed to expand its facilities and they believed that their ministry would be more effective if they lived in the community rather than in the shelter of the church building. The second and third floors were converted to classrooms that same year.

This decision of the pastor not to move into the church was a turning point in the congregation’s history. By living “among” the members, the pastor’s decision symbolized a departure from the traditional mission outlook. The Stoltzfus era of sixteen years from 1951 to 1967 shaped the little mission into a church recognized by Lancaster Conference. Membership had grown to more than forty persons and programs were revamped and expanded. It weathered the winds of change and crisis with leadership from within the congregation. A nucleus of members had formed who would continue the vision. After 1967 a more autonomous church would pursue these new directions.
When “breaking up the household” of one’s parents, the experience holds potential for positive bonding and building good memories, or for creating tension, deep pain, and distance. What is the meaning of family heirlooms and what are possible dispersal plans?

Earthly Treasures: Heavenly Peace with the Pieces
by Joanne Hess Siegrist*

A family heirloom is what holds family memories. Different family members have different memories. Different objects may be heirlooms to different people. Take time to remember the saying, “Beauty is in the eye of the beholder.” All of the following items could be considered heirlooms: the dowry wedding quilts made by relatives, an old egg basket used by great-grandfather, a dessert dish that always contained coffee cream, a living room picture of Jesus by lambs and children, the favorite story books, and grandma’s spinning wheel holding her flax in the spindle.

Family heirlooms are not what hold the highest financial value but rather what pulls the strongest on the emotional “heart strings” of memory.

When and How to Start Dividing Heirlooms
If possible, begin while at least one aging parent still lives. The event may become a rare opportunity for sharing special family stories and reminiscing for one last time while the total family is together at the “old homestead.” Parents often find great satisfaction upon seeing their children value family memories and heirlooms. Children may be less tempted to haggle over heirlooms in the presence of parents.

First, consider some basic concepts: 1) Good family feelings and relationships are always more important than owning a single family heirloom; 2) During transitional times extra care needs to be taken to preserve positive communication; 3) The family chemistry may change when the parents and/or the “old homestead” are gone.

Secondly, gather the family members and start to sort the household items into different categories. In a lifetime a family collects more objects than expected. Define what each family member considers family heirlooms. Next, decide what are the auction pieces, the junk, and the gifts to charities.

Take significant time when “breaking up the house-

For five generations the descendants of Andrew Garber Nissley (1853-1926) and Barbara (Bomberger) Nissley (1854-1928) have enjoyed heirlooms: kitchen dry sink, vase, china doll, and baby quilt.

hold.” Here in Lancaster County many persons hold family roots for eleven to twelve generations. Some enterprising folks are easily tempted to sell heirlooms for a high price, especially since Lancaster County is a prime tourist and antique site. Some spiritualizing persons have no time for heirlooms because they believe a godly heritage far outweighs all earthly heirlooms. Both groups should remember that tangible reminders of our forebears can help to give focus and stability within a mobile society. Heirlooms can even build some positive spiritual links in one’s life.

Five Dispersal Plans
Five dispersal plans will be considered: A) Public Auction Plan; B) Assessment Plan; C) Slip Plan; D) Gift Plan; E) Confidential Offer Plan.

*This article is based on the heirloom and peacemaking presentations that the author gives to adult groups throughout eastern Pennsylvania along with other family life topics. This article reflects new dispersal stories and plans which the author has learned from class participants.

Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage April 1995
A. Public Auction Plan
Some feel that this method is the only financially fair method. However, a public auction may not be the best plan for long term family relationships or for the very special family heirlooms. These questions need to be considered:
1. Who wants to outbid an extravagant antique dealer? Only the most wealthy relatives could afford to enter that bidding race. Competitive bidding could leave many raw relationships among family members.
2. On the sale day who would want the extra tension caused because family heirloom pieces could "escape" the family? Some heirlooms hold a more detailed story than any published book. If sold outside the family, a major family story would be lost forever! The bidding happens so quickly that one could easily miss some prize items.
3. Who wants to pay additional taxes on the income gained by selling heirlooms at a public auction?

One Family's Success Story
During the frigid winter of 1994 one retiring couple touched every item in their home. They sorted everything into five categories: 1) heirloom keepsakes for children; 2) charity gifts; 3) junk and trash; 4) public auction pieces; 5) retirement necessities.

In April 1994 this elderly couple personally gave heirloom keepsakes to their adult children by the gift plan. Next, they dispersed their charity gifts, eliminated the junk, and then held a public auction. Lastly, they truly began to enjoy their retirement years with the bare necessities. They were greatly satisfied knowing that they spared their children "breaking up the household." Best of all, they sensed family peace and harmony.

B. Assessment Plan
1. Meet as a total family.
2. Go through the homestead and list the family heirlooms. No debate is needed if all agree that "beauty is in the eye of the beholder." One sibling's list may be different than another list. That is acceptable. It is also fine if one list has many of the same items as another person's list. Just celebrate that so many things can stay in the family.
3. Place a sticker on each listed item.
4. Ask a qualified guest assessor, perhaps an auctioneer, to write an appropriate "family appraisal price" on each labeled item.
5. Meet as a total family again for the grand selection event. Perhaps the family will want to wait for a month so persons can learn the history of some pieces.
6. On selection day request all participants to sign a heirloom family pledge.

Heirloom Family Pledge
I will not sell any item selected today without first offering it at the price of today's dispersal to those who are part of this day's event.
Signature __________________________ Date ____________

In 1722 the family of Christian and Maria Bomberger immigrated to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, from Germany. The oral tradition is that this peasant hat was worn by a family member as they crossed the Atlantic Ocean.

A number of methods could be used in the selection process. Two will be described.

a. Process by Birth Order Sequence
   Round 1 - eldest to youngest (4th child)
   Round 2 - 2nd child first, 3rd child, 4th child, eldest child last
   Round 3 - 3rd child first, 4th child, eldest child, 2nd child last
   Round 4 - 4th child first, eldest child, 2nd child, 3rd child last

A secretary shall record each selected item, the assessed price, and the person to receive the item. Each family member needs to pay the parent or the estate after the selection process. Family members may wish to keep copies of the secretary's records. This may become a valuable historical record and a window into the personality of family members.

b. Process by Random Selection and the Hat
   This is a good method for larger groups which may include cousins.
   1. Assess all items marked as heirlooms.
   2. Print an advance listing for the participants to review and plan an open house if appropriate.
   3. Gather the direct relatives and request the signature of the heirloom family pledge.
   4. Give each participant a slip on which to write his or her name and place all participant names in a hat.
   5. Have a designated person as the executor draw a name from the hat.
   6. The person whose name is drawn may select any available item marked with a price tag. They shall be prepared to pay the marked price.
   7. The selection continues until all names have been drawn. Additional rounds may continue as items remain.
One Family’s Success Story

After one family of three children experienced the assessment plan, a brother announced, “Of the sixty things we divided today, I just received nineteen of my first preferences. That’s pretty good for having twenty choices.” Everyone laughed. All were amazed how often family members prized different things. During the times when some wished for the same item, the “fair turn” system took off the pressure. In the end this family held the best and most priceless of all heirlooms—harmony and peace.

8. Persons may “pass” on a given round and not select anything.
9. Each person’s bill is totaled and payment is made to the owner or the estate.

C. Slip Plan
For similar items such as equal number of quilts, the slip plan or “lot” plan could be a fair dividing method; however, the slip plan has handicaps for items that are not similar. One could pull slips for items that do not contain one’s own personal stories and memories. Maybe one does not want anything in an “arranged pile” and everything in the next pile. If one pulls a slip and suggests a trade with another person, perhaps uncomfortable feelings will surface for some personality types. A person may think, “I cannot enjoy this piece because I know someone else prefers it and I want it too.”

**Heirlooms should never be sold for a high price to antique collectors unless all family members agree to do so.**

Susan (Shenk) Herr (1792-1878) lived in Lancaster Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. About 1900 a descendant of Susan could appreciate this painting enough to label it with these words, “This picture is to always stay in the Rudolph L. Herr family.”

D. Gift Plan
A parent decides who is to receive specific heirlooms. This method requires much time and individual discernment. It may be too difficult for some aging parents; however, it could be a wonderful and affirming process for some families.

One Family’s Success Story

For ten years at Christmas an elderly grandmother gave each of her children some of her household items. She recalled favorite events surrounding the specific pieces she selected for each child. She considered the financial worth of each item, but that was not the primary theme. This grandmother accepted her aging process and these events were memorable family experiences.

E. Confidential Offer Plan
Some families announce that all interested family members may submit a confidential bid on heirloom items to a trusted financial counselor. Upon an announced deadline, that financial counselor tallies up the results and announces the names of highest bidders for the heirloom items. Although this system may be an acceptable method for public matters, it may not promote peaceful family relationships; the most wealthy family members could receive the majority of the heirlooms.

Conclusion
There are numerous ways to go about “breaking up the household.” Take time to seriously consider each family’s unique situation and time to work for peaceful relationships. Hopefully these examples describe helpful possibilities for you and your family.
What are some of the legal considerations for individuals and groups who desire to protect or restore an historic burial place?

Recent Laws Concerning Pennsylvania Cemeteries

by Christian Earl Eaby

According to family history, Theodorus Eby (d. 1727) was the first of that name to come to what is now Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He was buried on the family homestead in what is now Leacock Township, several hundred yards from the stone house which he built and which still stands in Earl Township. The first time I visited the graveyard, there was only an old apple tree with two memorial stones leaning against it in an alfalfa field. The Eby Family Association is restoring this graveyard, and I had the opportunity to research Pennsylvania law as it pertains to historic graveyards.

Existing Legislation

Since we began the project, the legislature passed two new laws. They were both introduced by State Representative Jere Schuler, who represents Leacock Township. The first act (9 P.S. Sec. 202) limits the liability of caretaker organizations which restore and maintain historic burial places. Passed by the legislature on November 24, 1992, it was effective immediately. It states that a caretaker organization owes no duty of care to keep historic burial places safe for entry or use by others, or to give any warning of a dangerous condition, use, structure or activity on the premises of the burial place. A “caretaker organization” is defined as a non-profit organization (under Section 501[c] of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954) which owns or otherwise assumes responsibility for the restoration and maintenance of an historic burial place. An “historic burial place” is defined as a tract of land that has been in existence as a burial ground for more than one hundred years, in which there have been no burials for at least fifty years, and in which there will be no future burials.

In my opinion, it is a violation of the law to remove a gravestone or plow over a gravesite without a court order.

The second act is known as the Historic Burial Places Preservation Act (9 P.S. Sec. 211). It was approved April 29, 1994, and took effect sixty days later. The act incorporates the definition of an historic burial place and also defines a “burial ground authority.” It limits the power of a municipality to condemn an historic burial place; any use other than that of a burial ground must be approved by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. It restricts the removal of a gravestone or a burial without Court approval.

It also creates new criminal offenses (second degree misdemeanors) for those who, without authority of the owner or a descendent of a deceased or an historic burial ground authority, intentionally destroy, mutilate, deface or remove any tomb, monument, gravestone or other structure or any portion or fragment thereof, including any fence or railing or other enclosure for the historic burial place. It is also a misdemeanor to possess or sell or offer for sale or attempt to sell any monument, gravestone, other structure, or any portion or fragment thereof, if one knows that it has been unlawfully removed from an historic burial place.

Representative Schuler introduced another bill in the legislature during the last session of 1994. It died when the legislature adjourned. Had it passed, it would have amended the act of November 24, 1992, and extended the limit on liability to land owners of historic burial places. A “landowner” is defined as a person other than a caretaker organization who owns the real property which compromises an historic burial place and who permits a caretaker organization to restore and maintain the historic burial place. Representative Schuler plans to reintroduce the bill in the 1995 legislative session.
In too many cases the historic burial place may have been forgotten and abandoned until a family member discovers the site and decides to restore its condition. Based on my experience, some landowners welcome and appreciate the effort to restore graveyards on their property. Others do not welcome such efforts. Unfortunately, some landowners have removed gravestones and plowed over the burial sites. They do not want it restored. In my opinion, it is a violation of the law to remove a grave-stone or plow over a grave site without a court order. Sometimes it is necessary to move ahead with the restoration without the support of the landowner.

There are other statutes dealing with grave sites in Pennsylvania. For example, one criminal statute (18 P.S., Sec. 5509) makes it a crime to desecrate any venerated object, which includes a place of worship or burial. It is a crime to deface or damage or otherwise physically mistreat a burial place in a way that the individual knows will outrage the sensibilities of persons likely to observe or discover the action. This is also a second degree misdemeanor. Other statutes deal with burial grounds, such as Title 9 of the Pennsylvania Code. There is also a section on cemeteries in the Borough Code, Title 53, and on cemetery companies in the section of law dealing with professions and occupations, Title 63.

Ownership

At times a question of ownership arises. It may be necessary to search the title of the property where the graveyard exists. It is possible that the landowner of the surrounding land does not actually own the graveyard. The burial place may be excepted out of the landowner’s deed. Someone else such as a descendant or association may own the graveyard, or they may have an easement giving them the right to enter and care for the grave sites. There may not be a specific deed dealing with the burial place or the easement. It may be impossible to identify anyone who owns the burial place or the easement. In the absence of another specific deed, I believe that, in some sense, the graveyard owns the graveyard! A descendant of someone buried there will have to right to demand that the property is maintained.

In the case of the Eby Cemetery, we hired an independent attorney to do a title search and give us an opinion letter on the status of the graveyard. A search of the title disclosed the following language that appeared in a deed in 1870: “Always excepting and reserving forever out of the present grant the small graveyard which is now on the herein granted premises with free and uninterrupted ingress and regress to and from the said graveyard at all times hereafter forever for the purpose of repairing and keeping in order.” The landowner did not own the land where the graveyard was located because it was “excepted out” in the original deed. This language reappeared in a 1907 deed, but was absent in the 1936 deed, and the following deed.

A cemetery is never considered abandoned as long as bodies remain interred there and the existence of graves is indicated in some way. However, the use of a portion of the land for the cemetery does not mean that the entire tract of land will continue as a cemetery. For example, if the original cemetery site was one acre but bodies are buried only on one-third of an acre, it is possible that the other two-thirds of the acre will become abandoned and will by adverse possession become the property of the landowner and not of the graveyard. (See Davis v. Rumford, 43 Del. 355, Pa. Com. Pl. 1956.)

It is also possible to have the municipality assume the maintenance of the graveyard and bill the cost to the landowner. (See 53 P.S. Sec. 65728.) This leads me to the conclusion that the landowner does have an obligation to maintain the grave site, even though the landowner may have no ancestors buried there.

In addition, any descendant of anyone buried there has the right to demand that the property be maintained. (See Barrick v. Hockensmith, 69 D&C 2d 475, 1975 Cumberland County.) A descendant may go either to the officials of the municipality or township, or to court if all else fails.

Finally, it may be difficult to identify burial sites. To solve that problem, we hired a firm that used ground-penetrating radar. They brought a machine out in the back of a station wagon and pulled it over the ground. Radar images were displayed on a television screen. It disclosed approximately ten to fifteen burial sites where we had evidence of only two or three stones from earlier photographs. I was on the site when the radar was used, and based on what I saw, it definitely works. Afterward we installed a metal fence to enclose the area shown by the radar. We also installed a memorial stone for Theodorus Eby and his son, Peter Eby. Persons interested in these subjects may read A Gravetard Preservation Primer by Lynette Strangstad which has information on organizing a caretaker group and restoring an old burial place.

Future Legislation

The one weakness in the new laws is that they grant protection from legal liability only to incorporated family associations. Many graveyards are being maintained by a few family members or other forms of unincorporated associations. These individuals or groups should have the same protection from liability as an incorporated group. At the present time, the farmer or landowner could be liable if someone were injured going to and from the historic burial place. The bill to be introduced in the legislature by Representative Schuler will, if passed, remove that risk to the farmers and other landowners.
Readers are invited to share new findings with *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage*, 2215 Millstream Road, Lancaster, PA 17602.

**GERMANY—RESEARCH GUIDE:** The Family History Library of Salt Lake City, Utah, has released a research guide (52 pp.) concerning genealogical research on Germany. It contains information on search strategies, archives and libraries, church records, civil registration, emigration and immigration, historical geography and maps, names and occupations, data bases, and history. Copies may be obtained at a very modest price from the Family History Library, 1999 West 1700 South, Salt Lake City, UT 84104-4233 or at branch centers throughout North America.

**KAUFFMAN:** The following information was abstracted from a photocopy at the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society of a Bible record. Bracketed data is from secondary sources at the Society.

2. Amos H. Kauffman, July 4, 1852-Apr. 11, 1858
3. Abraham H. Kauffman, b. Aug. 6, 1854
4. Fannie H. Kauffman, b. Mar. 8, 1858
5. Mary H. Kauffman, b. Oct. 12, 1859
6. Anna H. Kauffman, b. July 12, 1862
7. Jacob H. Kauffman, b. Dec. 8, 1865
8. Lizzie H. Kauffman, b. July 22, 1868

**MUSSER:** The following information was abstracted from a photocopy at the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society of a Bible record. Bracketed data is from secondary sources at the Society.

2. Martin M. Mussers, b. Sept. 20, 1869
3. Annie L. M. Mussers, b. July 22, 1871
4. John M. Mussers, b. July 29, 1878, twin
5. Christian M. Mussers, b. July 29, 1878, twin

**SHETTER:** The following information was abstracted from a photocopy at the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society of a Bible record. Bracketed data is from secondary sources at the Society.

Isaac L. Shetter, b. Mar. 5, 1844, Guilford Twp., Franklin Co., Pa. [son of Abraham Shetter and Elizabeth Lehman] 
2. Jacob Huber Shetter, Jan. 1, 1872, Guilford Twp.

3. Fannie Huber Shetter, b. Feb. 1, 1877
4. Benjamin Huber Shetter, b. July 10, 1880

**VIRGINIA MENNONITES:** Who would be interested in reading and commenting on the senior thesis which I am writing on the migration of Mennonites from Pennsylvania to Virginia from 1730 to 1800?

Paul Samoni  
103 Yorktown Drive  
Mount Laurel, NJ 08054

**WENGER/GOCKLEY:** The following information was abstracted from a photocopy of a Bible in the possession of Mrs. Paul (Mary Dunmoyer) Becker, 970 Rettew Mill Road, Ephrata, PA 17522. The photocopy is available at the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society. Bracketed information is taken from secondary sources at the Society. The marriage of Anna Wenger (C393) to Benjamin Gockley is the source of this link between Wengers and Gockleys, but at present the Gockley data found in this Bible is not understood with respect to generational links. Readers are urged to contact the Society if they understand this Gockley data.

The numbering is from *The Wenger Book* (pp. 169, 176-177, 204-205), edited by Samuel S. Wenger. Previously unknown to the Wenger Family Association, this Bible provides the month and day of death of Immigrant Christian Wenger. Also, the C3 family has some additions and a new birth order, thus correcting the numbering of this family in *The Wenger Book*.

[C] Christian Wenger, d. Feb. 9, 1772 [1727 immigrant to Philadelphia]  
[m. Eve Graybill]
[C3] Christian Wenger, Mar. 23, 1733-May 10, 1817  
[m. Maria Zimmerman]
[C31] Anna Wenger, b. Sept. 28, 1762 [m. Joseph Rohrer]  
[C32] Abraham Wenger, b. Feb. 19, 1764
[C33] Maria Wenger, b. Mar. 12, 1766 [m. Jacob Rupp]
[C34] Eve Wenger, b. Jan. 21, 1768 [m. Martin Martin]  
[C35] Elizabeth Wenger, b. Mar. 17, 1770
[C37] Christian Wenger, b. Nov. 4, 1774 [m. Esther Stoner]
[C38] Samuel Wenger, b. Aug. 25, 1777 [m. Barbara Groff]  
[C39] Abraham Wenger, b. May 5, 1780  
[m. Aug. 1805 [Anna Wenger]  
[C392] Moses Wenger, b. Sept. 8, 1809
[C393] Anna Wenger, b. Aug. 4, 1811 [m. Benjamin Gockley]  
[C395] Susanna Wenger, b. Feb. 22, 1817 [m. Henry Heiser]
[C396] Veronica Wenger, b. Sept. 4, 1820 [m. Peter K. Ressler]  
[C397] Abraham Wenger, b. Jan. 10, 1824 [m. Anna Myers]

David Gockley, b. Sept. 28, 1753; son of Dietrich Gockley and _nna Neff.

Emanuel Gockley, b. Sept. 5, 1795
Abraham Gockley, b. Feb. 18, 1820
Sara Gockley, b. Dec. 13, 1822
Hanna Gockley, b. Dec. 25, 1827
Mary Gockley, b. Mar. 10, 1832
Am Sunndaag woor's Nachtmoahl b'schtellt bei uns in de Gmee an Baumansville. Do henn mir nadierlich Samschaadag Nochmiddaags die Forbereitung g'hadde. Des worr alsfort so, Sunndaag marriyets woor's Nachtmoahl un Samschaadag Nochmiddaags daför henn die Leit sich fersammelt fa die Forbereitung.

Bei uns hott ma g'wisst dass fa die Forbereitung Fersammlung en fremmer Breddicher, oftmols en Bischof, die Reed mache dutt. So woor's aa desmol. Der Bischof Joseph Boll hott die Breddich g'macht. Den henn ma all gern g'hoert. Er hott oft deitsch gebreddicht, un bei uns worr sell recht aag'nehm. Fiel Leit henn so halb-Deitschhalb-English gebreddicht, awnner nett de Boll. Wann er deitsch gebreddicht hott woor's gut Deitsch. Se Englisch woor aa nett schlecht, awner wann er deitsch gebreddicht hott woor's foolschaennich Deitsch. Unser aeltre Leit henn sell gegliche.

Bei uns in Baumansville sinn fiel Leit nach Reading uff der Marrick gange. Die Marrickleit henn frieh aus'm Bett misse, oft so wie zwee Uhr. Wann sie owets hutt un lang g'schafft henn woor nimmie fiel Zeit iwwerich fa schloofe biss der Wecker geglingelt hott, un sie henn raus misse. Die Nacht woor fiel zu kät.

So schnell wie sie henn kenne henn sie sich uff da Heemweg g'macht fa rechtzeitlich an die Forbereitung kumme. Es woor iuscht genum Zeit fa ablaade un sich die Aage wennich auswesche, dann an die Fersammlung. Fa die Marrickleit woor'n lange, deitsche Breddicher iuscht wass es g'numme hott fa eischoofe.

Die Haelft fun de Leit, fieliecht noch mehner, worre Marrickleit un henn nett fiel g'schoofe weil sie lang schaft henn misse fa's Sach rischte un fa's feraufke. Sie worre slaefrich, sie henn sich nett helle kenne. Es woor aa g'woehnlich warm, fa sie woor's en slaefricher Nochmittag, wann doch die Breddich noch so gut worr.

Der Boll woor kenn slaefricher Mann. Er hott schnell g'seinne dass hie un do ebber am Schloof worr. Eener hott sich so wennich g'schteibet, awner deel henn zich gorr nett helle kenne, sie worre so ganz in de Schloof ferlohre dass sie nimmie g'wisst wann sie um um iwwer enst. Eener hott so wennich ggeglicht meite de Aage ganz zu, un annner hott so wennich laut g'schnauft im Schloof, deel henn die Kepf g'wackelt weil sie doch wacker bleiwe henn welle.

Dem Breddicher woor's zu fiel. Er hott g'saat, "Ich haett's recht gern dier daedet mich all hoere. Ich breddich nett oft do. Ma schtehn uff un singe'n Liend. No is's Fers aus ma gut bekannte Liend g'sunwe warre. Die menschte Leit sinn wacker warre un henn mitg'sunwe. Ettliche warre so fescht eig'schoofe dass sie die ganz G'schicht ferfehlt henn. Sie henn weiter g'schoofe, sie henn alles fehlet.

Der Boll hott g'saat, "Ma singe noch'n Fers. Sing weiter."

Die wo neewich denne g'hockt henn wo noch g'schoofe henn, henn sich brauchbar g'macht. Sie henn die Schlaefrichre uff die Achsel geduppt oder wennich hinne am Haar ggezuppt biss sie aa uffg'schranne sinn. Wo mier all g'shanne henn un die menschte henn mitg'sunwe hott er uns g'hesee widder hie hoke. Er hott weiter gebreddicht.

So weit wie ich's g'seinne hab hott niemand nix g'saat zu de Leit wo so fescht am schloofe worr dass sie nett uffg'schanne sinn mit de annere. Ma hott doch gut g'wiss dass sie hatt g'schafft henn, dass sie fiel Schloof ferfehlt henn, un de Schloof henn sie gebraucht. Ma haett sie f'eicht schloofe losse selle. Doch hott der Boll recht g'hatt, sie haette nett schloofe selle wann er gebreddicht hott.

Die Leit sinn heem gange, henn's gut iwwerdenkten was der Boll gebreddicht hott. Es woor'n recht schoene Forbereitungsfersammlung.

Oft henn die Leit nix g'esse zum Nachtesse. Es woor'n Faschtzeit. Fa die Kiener hott ma doch wennich ebbis zu esse raus g'schtellt. Die worre noch nett bekehrt un henn nett mit dem Fascht mitg'macht.

Ruhig hutt ma g'molke un g'fietert, die Oyer g'scuht, un dann widder die Biwwel g'lese biss ma in's Bett gange ijss. Marriyets iss die Faschtzeit weiter gange, iuscht die Kiener herein ebbis g'esse. Die Kiener sinn so mit dem Gebrauch uffg wachse dass sie es so nooch un nooch ferschanne henn. Mit de Zeit henn sie sich aa bekehrt un sinn uffg numme warre.

Sundaaammariyets sinn sie all in die Gmee gange. Die Elder henn mit dem Nachtmoahl mitg'macht, die Kiener henn z'riek g'hoert, awner sie worre dabei.

Der Forsanger hott am nein Uhr'n Liednummer ausgewe. Ee Liend noch'm annere iss g'sunwe warre. Mit dem fierete Liend is die Dier am Neeweschtiwli uff gange un die Diener sinn rei kumme. Unser Bischof, unser drei Breddicher un die deux Eldischte sinn langsam rei kumme un henn ihre Blaetz g'numme.

Ma henn's Liend wo ma am singe worre ganz biss ans End g'sunwe. Dann worr alles recht schtill. Endlich iss unser Breddicher wo's eltscht woor im Dienscht uffg'schanne un hutt ausgewe wie's b'schtellt iss fa die Nachtmoahl Fersammlung. Unser iungscher Eldischte lest den Text aus de Schrift, unser Bischof macht dann die Breddich, all die Diener gewewe dann ihre Zeigniss, no fiert unser Bischof uns im Brotbreche un im Weinschenke. Unser iungscher Breddichter lest dann aus dem dreizehten Kapitel Johannes die Forschrift zum Fuesswaesche. Unser Fersaenger kenne dann un wann en Lied ausgewe zum Singe wie's schickt zu Gottes Lob un Ehr.

Widder worr alles recht schtill. Endlich iss der Bischof uffg'schanne, "Meine liewe ... " Er hott lang un anschtlich aus dem Alte un dem Neue Testament forg'halte.

Die Breddich worr gut. Die Leit henn's gegliche. Alles worr anschtlich un deutlich. Die Leit henn sich g'freht iwwer so'n gute Breddich.

Es wor awwer eenen, eens fun de Marrickleit, dero hutt arrig mit Schloof zu fecthe g'hatt. Se Aege sinn so wennich slaefrich zu gange, sei Kopp iss links, dann rechts g'wackelt. Er hott g'meent er daet noch alles hoere, awner, es worr aus mit ihm. Hinnhim ich hott eener's g'seinne wie's ihm gange iss. Sachte hott er den Schlafchre uff die Achsel deduppt mit dem Finger. Sel hott's geduh. Der slaefrichre Marrickmann hott sich wennich uff g'hockt, mit de Hand den Kopp g'schtreichelt un worr wacher. Awwer gor nett lang.
Not Fall Asleep Again

On Sunday it was planned for communion service for our church at Bowmansville. Then, quite naturally, one had preparatory service on Saturday afternoon. That had always been so. Sunday morning was the communion and on Saturday afternoon before the people met for the preparatory service.

It was known among us that for preparatory service there would be a guest speaker, often a bishop, to preach the sermon. So it was this time again. Bishop Joseph Boll was to do the preaching. We all liked to hear him. He often preached in German, and among us that was very acceptable. Many persons preached such a half-German-half-English, but not Joseph Boll. When he preached German it was good German. His English was not bad either, but when he preached German it was really German. Our older people really liked that.

With us at Bowmansville there were many people who went to Reading to market. The market people had to get up out of bed early, often like two o'clock in the morning. If they worked long and hard in the evening there was not much time left for sleep till the alarm clock rang, and they had to be up and going. The night was far too short for them.

Just as soon after market as they could they got on the way to be there in time for preparatory service. There was just enough time to unload and wash out the eyes a little, and then off to preparatory service. For the market people a long German sermon was just the thing to put one to sleep.

The half of the people, perhaps more, were market people who did not have much sleep because of their long hours in preparing things for market and selling them at market. They were sleepy, they could not help themselves. Also it was hard and lost a lot of sleep, and that they really needed their sleep. Perhaps one should have let them sleep right on, but in one sense Boll was right. They should not have been sleeping when he was preaching.

The people went home, meditated on what Boll had preached. It was a nice preparatory service.

Often the people ate nothing for the evening meal. It was a time for fasting and meditation. But for the children one did set out a little something to eat. They were not yet converted and did not take part in the fasting.

Quietly the people went about their feeding, milking, gathering eggs, and then returned to continue with reading the Bible and meditating till it was time for bed. In the morning they continued with their fasting and prayer, just the children ate a little something. The children grew up with the custom so that they understood it as part of the communion service. The time came when they were converted and were received into the church fellowship.

On Sunday morning we all went to church, the parents took part in the communion service, the children sat back, but they were present.

At nine o'clock the song leader announced a song and led it. Then he led several more till they had sung four. With the singing of the fourth song the anteroom door opened and the ordained men walked in solemnly. There was our bishop, our three ministers and two deacons.

The song was sung to the end. The place was very still. Finally our minister who was oldest in service rose and announced the order of service for the communion service. Our youngest deacon in time of service would read the text, the bishop was going to preach the sermon, then all the ordained men would give testimony, after this the bishop would share the bread and the cup, then the most recently ordained minister would read the passage for John thirteen preparatory to the foot washing service. Our song leaders are to feel free to announce appropriate songs for the honor and praise of God.

Again everything was very quiet for a few moments. Finally the bishop stood to his feet and began, "My dear . . . " He spoke long and with deep feeling, out of the Old and New Testament.

The sermon was a good one. The people appreciated it. All he said was so earnest and plain. The members rejoiced about such a good message.

But there was one person, one of the market people, who had a real struggle with sleep. His eyes closed ever so drowsily, his head went first to the right, then to the left. He continued to think he was hearing it all. But with him it was all over. Behind him sat another person who saw all that was happening. Gently, ever so gently he tapped the sleepy one on the shoulder with just one finger. That did it, he was wide awake again. The market man sat up a little more erect. With his hand he stroked the back of his head. He was awake, but not for long.

When he began to seem sleepy again the friend behind him said in a whisper, "You must not fall asleep now, or else we may have to stand up again." Cheerfully he turned around and nodded, "Yes" and took in all of the good sermon right to the very end.

But it took all he had to do it.
Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage will publish members' historical and genealogical queries free of charge, as space permits. Genealogical queries normally include a name, a date, and a location. Send materials to Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage, 2215 Millstream Road, Lancaster, 17602.

BOLLINGER: Who were the parents of Samuel Bollinger (b. 1799, Pa.; d. 1879; bu. Bairs Mennonite Cem., York Co., Pa.)? In 1828 he m. Anna/Nancy Meekly (1805-1869). Were her parents George Meekly (1777-1855) Catherine Meekly (1783-1838)?

Ms. Ruth Acevedo
RR 4, Box 107
Laurel, DE 19956

BYLER: I want information on Joseph Byler (b. ca. 1773, Lancaster Co., Pa.; d. 1758, Cooper Co., Mo.), son of Jacob and Katie Byler. His siblings were Jacob Byler, Jr., David Byler (b. 1771), Abraham (b. 1775), Catherine (b. ca. 1780), and Elizabeth. His family moved to N. C. ca. 1780 and he was a powder maker. He was probably Baptist.

R. L. Byler
Route 1
Sweeney, TX 77480

CLOPPER: Who were the children of Jacob Clopper (b. Dec. 14, 1805, near Leistersburg, Washington Co., Md.) and Catharine (d. Jan. 14, 1890; bu. Clear Springs, St. Paul Lutheran Cem., Washington Co.)? Their son Martin Clopper m. Anna (b. ca. 1840, Blair’s Valley, Washington Co.). This couple went to Kansas ca. 1863. I have data on Martin’s siblings and two earlier generations to Henry Clopper (b. ca. 1740, Germany).

Jack Clopper
420 S. Fairfax Street
Alexandria, VA 22314

COUGHNOUR: I am looking for information on Henry Coughnour (b. 1828, Lancaster or Berks Co., Pa.; d. 1902) who m. 1851, Luessa Baker (b. 1832, Lancaster Co.; d. 1899, Dayton, Ohio). His father was Jacob and her parents were Jacob and Margaret. Luessa belonged to the Muddy Creek Lutheran Church, East Cocalico Twp., Lancaster Co. About 1860 they moved to Dayton, Ohio. They had 10 ch.

James E. Reger
PO Box 562
Millis, MA 02054

EPPEHIMER: Where are Henry Eppehimer (b. 1809) and wife Elizabeth Spotts (b. 1809) buried? They were m. May 21, 1833, probably at Bangor Episcopal Church, Churchtown, Caarnarvon Twp., Lancaster Co., Pa. In the 1870 census of that township his surname was “Upperhamer.” Other spellings were Heppenheimer, Eppenheimer, and Eppehimer.

Lewis N. Eppihimer
655 Redwood Court
North Wales, PA 19454-1183

FRANKFORT: I am looking for ancestors of Mary Frankfort (Jan. 27, 1745- Jan. 16, 1813), m.(2) of Bishop Henry Martin (June 8, 1741-Apr. 27, 1825). They lived in Lancaster Co., Pa.

David L. Miller
2945 Sheldon Road
Snover, MI 48472

FREY/VOLCK: I am seeking information on the descendants of Kasper Frey (ca. 1604-Sept. 4, 1688). His son Hans Frey m. Margarethe Volck, and their son Tobias Frey (b. June 1, 1684, Weiher, Baden, Germany; d. June 1754, Freysville, York, Pa.) m. July 17, 1709, Anna Maria Peters, of Eppingen, Germany (d. 1748, Freysville). I also seek data on this Volck family.

Deborah Lee Rothery
1915 N.E. 56th Avenue
Portland, OR 97213-3514

GERMAN/GARMAN: I wish to correspond with anyone researching German-German History.

Amy Sampson
PO Box 164
Turon, KS 67583

GRINER: Mary Griner (b. Ohio; 1842; d. 1916, Painesville, Lake Co., Ohio) d. at the home of dau. Alice King. She was bu. Forest Grove Cem., Middlebury Twp., Elkhart Co., Ind. She m.(1) 1862, Emanuel Frederick and had 5 ch.: Alice, Alzina, Elmer, Dolos and Samuel. She m.(2) after 1878, Abraham Hoover. Was she the dau. of Philip Griner (b. 1813, Dauphin Co., Pa.) and m.(1) 1836, Fannie Cochawaur who lived in Wayne Co., Ohio?

Mary F. Spolaric
33 Marian Drive
Tonawanda, NY 14150

HILDEBRAND: Who were the parents and siblings of William Hildebrand (b. 1818, Lancaster Co., Pa.; d. 1892, Mount Union, Huntingdon Co., Pa.)? He left Lancaster in 1836 to work on the canal. He m. 1844, Margaret Gilliland in McVeytown, Mifflin Co., Pa.

Mrs. Audrey Martin
78 Front Street
Addison, NY 14801-1126

HOLUBAR: Did Katherine Tschirhart Rabischung (1857-1929) m. ca. 1879 Peter Paul Thienes at Brainerd, Minnesota? Do Moravian, Lutheran or Catholic records show Anton Holubar (b. Aug. 1781) and wife Maria at Hradec-Kralove, or Dvur Kralove, Czechoslovakia? Is Anton related to Georg Holubar who m. Josefa Lyr on Mar. 17, 1745?

Richard Allan Morrissey
28656 Murrieta Road
Sun City, CA 92586


John M. Hostetter
20807 Millers Church Road
Hagerstown, MD 21742-1305
KELLY: William Kelly, Jr., m. Doras McCabe; their siblings, William McCabe, Jr., and Mary Kelly m. each other in 1799 in Frederick Co., Va. McCabe moved to Lancaster, Highland Co., Ohio in 1800 and in 1803 to Ross Co., Ohio. I think that William and Mary McCabe were parents of Sarah (b. 1803, Ohio) who m. 1822, John Evans in Fairfield Co., Ohio. William Kelly, Sr., and wife Sarah White, dau. of John and Isabella McCracken, also moved to Ross Co. Related names were Richard Barnhouse, Isaac Evans, Samuel Swearingen—all from Frederick Co., Va., to Ross Co., Ohio in the early 1800s.

C. X. McCalla III
PO Box 151
Paoli, IN 47454

KNIP: Who were the parents of Anna Knip, wife of Larkin Brown? Their son was Edmund/Edward K. Brown (b. 1830, Tenn). Were her ancestors from Pa.? 

Lillian Russell
PO Box 334
Caraway, AR 72419-0334

LANDIS: What was the date and location of the m. (betw. 1919 and 1930) of Clara Ford Landis (Jan. 9, 1875-Aug. 29, 1945) to Christian Kibler? She was a widow of m.(1) to Charles W. Bither (Jan. 14, 1870-Apr. 14, 1919). Her parents were Henry S. Landis (1840-1912) and Sarah Ford (1844-1902) of Lancaster Co., Pa.

William R. Long, Sr.
3110 Whitemarsh Circle
Farmers Branch, TX 75234

LANDIS: Before 1804 in Mifflin Co., Pa., or Dauphin Co., Pa., Jacob Landis m.(1) Mary Miller, dau. of Jacob Miller. After Mary died Jacob m.(2) "Franny." What was her surname? Was this the Jacob Landis (d. 1811) of Hardy Co., W.V., who had wife Fanny and 16 ch.

JoAnn Landis Pedersen
672 Luda St.
Elgin, IL 60120

LEATHERMAN: I am seeking information on my grandfather David Millard Leatherman (b. ca. Apr. 1844, Ohio; d. June 2, 1914, Mincy or Kirbyville, Mo.). David m.(5) Feb. 29, 1896, Mahala Beckett (b. 1875) in Kirbyville Mo. My father, Vernon Leatherman (b. Sept. 11, 1911), was the 21st ch. of David. Who were the parents, wives, and ch. of David who lived in Ohio, Mo., and Kans.?

Bob Leatherman
2600 N 74th Street W
Muskegon, OK 74401


William R. Long, Sr.
3110 Whitemarsh Circle
Farmers Branch, TX 75234

MANN: Who was the m.(1) of Louise Mann (b. Aug. 1837, Württemberg, Germany)? What was the date and location of her m.(2) to Clemens Kupka, my ancestor? She had 2 daus. from m.(1) and 2 sons in Philadelphia from Mr. Kupka.

Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage

MATHIAS: Who was the wife of Henry Mathias (d. 1806, Newbury Twp., York Co., Pa.)? Their ch. were Catharine (m. Peter Zeller), Sophia (m. Jacob Gottwald), Mary (m. John Brenneman), Henry (m. Anna Maria Bush), John (m. Catharina Bush), Peter (m. Sarah Shuman, Susannah Bush, Barbara Detwiler), and Elisabeth (m. Henry Bush).

Doris Rex Schutte
164 4th Street
Bonita Springs, FL 33923

MUMMERT/CARPENTER: Who were the parents of William Mummert (b. ca. 1778 to 1783, Lancaster Co., Pa.)? He m.(1) Miss Menapeaker and m.(2) in Washington Co., Md., Widow Elizabeth Carpenter (b. ca. 1773, Pa.). She had 3 ch. by her m.(1): Steven (b. ca. 1802), Charlotte, and Margaret—all Carpenter. Who was Elizabeth’s m.(1) and her maiden name? When and where did she die? William and Elizabeth had Nancy (b. 1810; m. Samuel Taylor), William L. (m. Rachel Cox), Elias (m. Mary Ann), Ezra (m. Susan Reifsnider), Eliza, and Mary (m. Joseph Gray).

Joan G.E. Wiese
5 Beverly Court
Waupun, WI 53963

NEFF: Who were the parents of Fanny Neff, the m.(1) Apr. 13, 1829, of Jacob Easterday of Washington Co., Md.? They had one dau., Elizabeth (Easterday) Acker Wissinger. Is Andrew Neff (d. Feb. 12, 1863; b. Benevola Cem., Washington Co.) a relative?

Mary Elizabeth Baker Butts
1010 East Brandon Drive
Chambersburg, PA 17201-2932

OLDS: I am seeking information on family of Cortez Olds (d. July 24, 1871, Newport, Herkimer Co., New York), wife of Catherine Jenkins.

Nancy S. Yeager
931 Ponkan Pines Drive
Apopka, FL 32712

PEFFLY/PEFFLEY: What was the death date of Jacob Peffly (b. 1724, Germany, d. Bethel Twp., Lancaster Co., Pa.), son of Nicholas? His will was dated July 6, 1778, in (now) Dauphin Co., Pa., and probated on Oct. 11, 1786. He and Esther had these ch.: David (b. 1761); Jacob (b. 1766) who m. Catherine Langenecker; Henry (b. 1770); Samuel (b. 1775); and Catherine (b. 1777).

Margaret Megill
4314 Valley Branch
Kingwood, TX 77339-1867

ROLAND/ROWLAND: Who were the parents and what was the birthplace of Casper Roland/Rowland (1721-1809) who immigrated to Philadelphia on Oct. 12, 1741? In 1742 he m. Mary (Meyer) Hunsaker, dau. of Hartman Hunsaker. From the mid-1750s Casper was in the ministry of the Germantown Brethren. He seems to have been a Brethren minister until his d. in Kent.

Gladys Roland Hughes
6645 SW Terri Court, #38
Portland, OR 97225

April 1995
ROTREN: I am searching for information on Joseph Rotten of “musleton” Township whose will was proved in Aug. 1774, in Northumberland Co., Pa.

Rex R. Rheten
2309 Windjammer Lane E
Jacksonville, FL 32224

STAUFFER/STRICKLER: Who were ancestors of Susanna Stauffer (d. Feb. 3, 1758) who m. Heinrich Strickler (b. Zurich, Switzerland; d. May 5, 1761); both d. Hempfield Twp., Lancaster Co., Pa. Their ch. were: John (1728-1777) who m. Magdalena Smith; Henry (1725-1792) who m. Anna Beidler; Jacob (1731-1805) who m.(1) Martha Shirk and m.(2) Catherine Forry.

Shirley D. Hamilton
12079 Tecumseth Trail
Conifer, CO 80433-6906

WALTERS: I am seeking information on Kasper Walters and Casper Walters. Kasper Walters (d. 1734) came to New York in 1709, perhaps from Crefeld, Germany, with a wife and 10 ch. What were their names? Casper Walters came from England in 1709 with a wife and 9 ch. Were they brothers? Is my ancestor Casper Walters (1715-1756) a descendant of this line? Casper was killed by Indians in Franklin Co., Pa., in 1756 and some of his ch. were captured. Casper m. Anna Barbara Baer, dau. of Michael Baer and Anna Elizabeth Ott, and their ch. were Rebecca (b. 1736), John (b. 1743), Ephraim (b. 1744), Mary (b. 1745). A baby (b. 1756) was killed by the Indians. Anna Barbara m.(2) Henry Haushold. Both died in 1766.

Lucile Jaeger
11886 Barranca Road
Camarillo, CA 93012

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Book Reviews


Historians and genealogists rejoice to see and use this long-awaited reference work published eight years after the untimely death of the author while he was completing the book. In this excellent resource, Rineer combined the skills and passions of his extensive training and employment in the field of library science with his role as a private genealogical researcher in Lancaster County. The librarian’s passion for finding aids and minute details has married the researcher’s practical need to find the primary source.

The major portion is an annotated checklist of church and cemetery records of Lancaster County arranged by township and town. In this section one finds a brief time line of the congregation’s key events, the research locations of congregational records by type and time periods, and also the locations of cemeteries and research location of gravestone transcriptions. Rineer restricted the geographical scope to present Lancaster County, but fortunately his historical instincts caused him to include numerous churches and cemeteries which no longer exist. We are fortunate that during the 1930s and 1940s Albert Gerberich and William Worner transcribed many gravestones which have now deteriorated from the natural elements or disappeared from the sad wake of destruction wrought by human beings in the form of air pollution, residential development, and agricultural disrespect. Microfilms of these transcriptions are available.

Ancillary introductory materials include brief narratives of the various denominations in Lancaster County and a fascinating compilation of statistics with respect to numbers of congregations in various time periods. Rineer also included statistics of membership for the various denominations in Lancaster County drawn from the U.S. Bureau of Census and other sources for the years 1906, 1916, 1926, 1936, 1952, 1971 and 1980. The bibliography provides complete data for the shortened references in the body of the checklist. An index makes access even more rapid than the town/township format.

Rineer, a native of Lancaster County, was sensitive to the researcher who wants to visit the actual site or former site of a congregation or cemetery. His text gives approximate locations using road names and directions. This is supplemented by an appendix of maps, prepared by Matthew Renkin after Rineer’s death, which use dots to show location. The maps represent additional help for finding the locations, but unfortunately many of the street/road names on these maps (especially the township ones) are too small or too poorly reproduced to be readable. In those instances the person who wants to consume a visit to the site will need to consult specially prepared maps at the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society and the Lancaster County Historical Society.

A volume of this scope with this many details usually has some errors. Some volume and page references for transcriptions in the Gerberich and Worner microfilms are in error for Carpenter Cemetery in Paradise Township, Good Mennonite Cemetery in West Donegal Township, Grebel Cemetery in West Earl Township, and Tschantz Cemetery in West Lampeter Township. Groffdale Old Order Mennonite Cemetery in West Earl Township is not transcribed in Gerberich, though the book (p. 438) provides a volume and page number. These errors, apparently few in number, would have probably been significantly lessened if the author had lived to shepherd the final product. I hope that its contents were saved electronically so that future editions could include corrections and the continuous additions of “new” cemetery transcriptions, published church records, and changes of research locations for various materials.

This excellent book is truly definitive for research on Lancaster County history and genealogy. Except for the legibility level of the maps, it should provide a model for organizations in other counties.

David J. Rempel Smucker, Akron, Pennsylvania

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April 1995

This New Testament in Pennsylvania German, the fruit of a project begun in 1974, has just been released by the Bible League. The translators used the Textus Receptus Greek which is closely related to the Luther translation (German) and the King James version (English). A Pennsylvania German (Deitsch) translation committee consisting of Amish persons and a member of the Wycliffe Bible Translators was formed for this project. The work was done by the exacting standards of the Wycliffe Translators, whose consultants checked it against the Greek text for exegetical accuracy. The text is in Pennsylvania German with the matching English of the King James version on each page in the margin. The size (5½ by 8 inches) and quality of paper are sensible.

The writer of this review was first a bit disturbed that this good translation was not done with German pronunciation style, since it is a book in German dialect. After reading the book of Matthew and portions of other books of the New Testament, this form clearly may have more value than a German pronunciation and spelling pattern. Certainly the publishing committee considered that this book would be used primarily among the Amish and a few related groups. For them this is evidently preferable.

The translators have tried to spell words just like the majority of contemporary readers who use Pennsylvania German speak the dialect. As linguists the translators do that rather than telling the reader how it should be said. Who has the authority to say which is correct? So it is written in a style that most people will find comfortable, even if the grammarian and scholar need to differ with it.

The translators do not use capital letters for nouns, only for names of persons, places, and names of divinity. They did not use a formal word for father, but duelt. The verb "to have been" in German would be warre, but using English sounds for the letters, this New Testament has war." So in Matthew 1:11 we read, "Dess voah die zeit wo die kinnah funn Israel kfangne gnumme sinn vadda un sinn noch Babylon gnumma vadda." The present day dialect uses many English words in Pennsylvania German, so they say Naah for now, govenah for governor, jafilia for fulfill, evolia for evil ones, meil for mile, di court for the court, somm for some, tax office for tax office, silvah for silver, en drink kald vossah for a drink of cold water, veahra for to wear, shuah for sure, and many more. The Amish have lost many of the dative expressions, so they will say, ich dank dich, rather than ich dank dir. Non-Amish Pennsylvania Germans such as this reviewer may say, "Was ist leichter zu saage?" The Amish, also Pennsylvania Germans, will say, "Vels is eislah fa sawwa?" We all understand each other, but it takes a little adjusting, and sometimes it is not entirely easy. It is a learning experience.

This New Testament is accompanied by a little pamphlet (18 pp.) entitled "Ich Kann Pennsylvania Deitsch Laysa: A Self Teaching Primer" to acquaint the reader with some rules for spelling. This is very helpful. Those of us who are used to spelling words as they sound in the German find this awkward at first, but even this is a good learning experience. This reviewer has come to like this book, and recommends it to any reader.

Noah G. Good, Lancaster, Pennsylvania


Immigrant servant contracts were legal agreements regulated by civil law which enabled immigrants to finance their ship passage costs. Approximately half of all European immigrants to colonial British North America entered such servitude for a specific period of time (p. iii). The practice continued after the Revolution until the early 1820s when it trickled to annual counts in the single digits. Pennsylvania laws stipulated that the master provide two complete suits of clothes (one new) or the equivalent at the end of the servant’s term. Other regulations were that husbands and wives in servitude could not be separated unless by mutual consent. Also, minors were entitled to six weeks of schooling for each year of service. An excellent bibliography of thirty-two entries provides ample opportunity for readers who want to learn more about indentured servitude. An impressive fifteen of the articles are by Grubb, the editor of this book who has published articles in at least six different periodicals.

These are the contract registers, not the actual contracts, few of which have survived. This book lists 1,035 new immigrant servants. The average contract for single adult males was 2.7 years and for married persons 2.9 years. Masters came from all over the country to purchase the labor of these persons. For example, 11 percent came from Alabama, 37 percent from Philadelphia County, 9 percent from Gloucester County, New Jersey, and 6 percent from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

Information provided in this volume includes the immigrant servant’s name; the buyer’s name, occupation, township, county, and state of residence; length of servitude and amount paid to shipper for the contract; special payments to the servant during or at the end of the contract. For example, an entry of September 1, 1818, may be of interest to Mennonite and Amish readers: "John Gerber to Christian Zug, farmer, East Whiteland Township, Chester County, for two years & six months, to have at the end of the term two suits of clothes, one to be new" (p. 57). Other entries provide helpful data on the master’s occupation and perhaps the servant’s future occupation: "Johann Georg Lammbach with his father’s consent to go to North Carolina to Alexander Graham, merchant of Charlotte, Mecklenburg County, for twelve years and six months, to be taught the art and mystery (sic) of a hatter, to have six weeks schooling for every year of his servitude." (p. 65).

The brief and very informative introduction along with the bibliography will make this a helpful book to own or consult even if the reader has no ancestors noted on its pages. We have here a welcome convergence of a scholar’s contextual knowledge and his attention to the details of a primary source. Coupled with the publishing and marketing clout of one of the major genealogical publishing firms, this volume will probably reach and satisfy a large audience. The register for the years 1817 to 1831 has an earlier companion in the series from 1785 to 1804 and we hope that Mr. Grubb will perform the same admirable duty toward it as he did in this example.

David J. Rempel Smucker, Akron, Pennsylvania

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Book List


Weiser, Frederick S. The Gift is Small, the Love is Great. York, Pa.: York Graphic Services, 1994. $25.00. (paper).


Orders filled on a first-come, first-served basis while supply lasts. Add $2.50 for the first volume and $.75 for each additional one for postage and handling. Pennsylvania residents add six percent sales tax. Address requests to Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, 2215 Millstream Road, Lancaster, PA 17602-1499.