

Apart From the World

An Account of the
Origins and Destinies
of various

Swiss Mennonites

Who fled from their Homelands
In Remote Parts of the
Cantons Zürich, Aargau and Bern
as well as

Alsace, the Rurpflaz,
and later along the edges of the
American Frontier

in

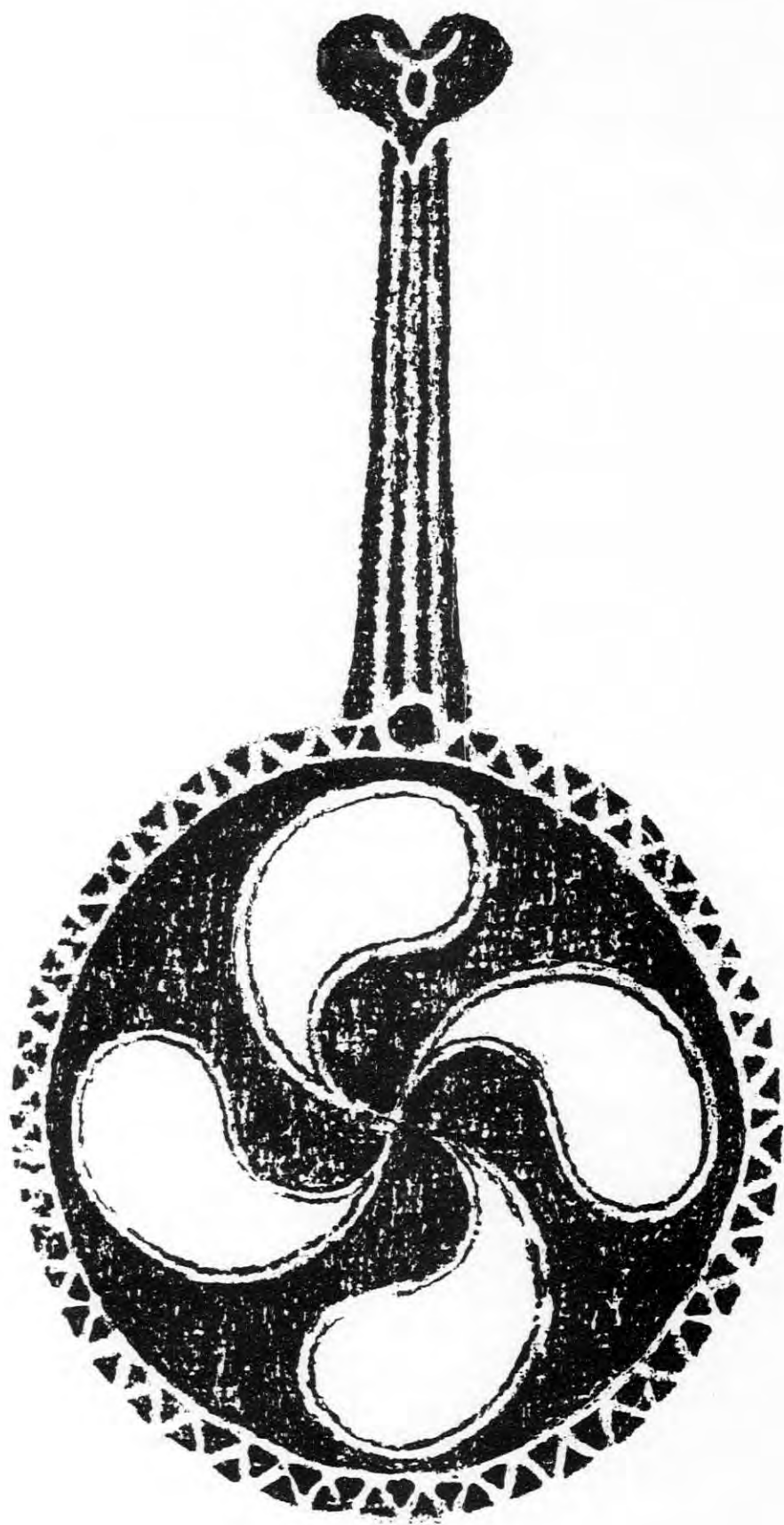
Pennsylvania and Virginia;

Namely the Families

Bachman, Bär, Bruppacher, Häuser, Hiestand,
Leaman, Ringger, Schmidt and Strickler

1458 - 1865





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“A few strong instincts and a few plain rules
Among the herdsmen of the Alps, have wrought
More for mankind at this unhappy day,
Than all the pride of intellect and thought.”

— William Wordsworth (1770-1855)
Writing of his 1790 walk across Switzerland

*In the hope that
All of my Great, Great-Grandparents
Wondered about me as often as I will about them.*

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Shenandoah Iron Trivet *frontis*

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LIBRARIES ARE ACTUALLY filled with mirrors, at least as far as the German author Johann Wolfgang Goethe saw it. When he had Wagner speak to Faust in his classic drama, they both took a moment to reflect on history:

"Forgive me! It is a great delight to place oneself in the spirit of the times... and then see how far we have advanced from that."

To which Faust replied:

"The past is a sealed book for us. What you call the spirit of the times is really your own spirit in which the times are reflected." ^{5:27}

While rereading files compiled by one of my predecessors in Baughman family research, Walsie Baughman Ruble, I came across a faded 34-year-old letter she wrote to Lancaster County historian M. Luther Heisey. It proves that many of the pieces of the puzzle were maddeningly close to fitting together for her. When I first looked over her notes ten years ago, I felt she had swamped herself with much that was unconnected. After reinventing her basic research during the last few years, I see much better now the lines and patterns she was following.

In this same letter, Walsie recalled part of the oral history that she had grown up hearing:

"The legend of the Baughman family, as I know it, was there was a father and seven sons, and the sons scattered to different places to learn the English language and to become a part of their new country. The oldest son was to look after the youngest son. Some of the Baughmans were clock makers in the old country.

"When I was a very young child [ca. 1905 in Harrison, Arkansas], my mother took me to visit an elderly great-aunt and uncle. His name was John Baughman, and they had an old grandfather clock that had been in the family for many generations. It was made by the first Baughmans in America, and I remember them talking about the clock keeping good time. I remember my great-uncle saying that — in each generation that had owned the clock — there had always been one in the family that had been clever enough to repair anything that had needed repair. His bachelor son that was living with them had put a new cord on one of the weights. It was a weight clock, but I am not sure what that is."

New material that was hard to ignore continued to arrive in during the Spring of 1997 just as the finishing

touches on this book should have been complete.

Archeologists in Germany announced that three different 400,000-year-old wooden spears proved that Stone Age people had not simply scavenged for food in that era, but rather had reached a defining degree of sophistication. These earliest ancestors understood how to make carefully balanced hunting tools, combining them with the exercise of foresight, social cooperation, planning and systematic hunting. Dr. Harmut Thieme of the Institute for Historic Site Preservation in Hanover announced his discovery in the issue of the journal *Nature* circulated in early March. Overnight, the age of thoughtful human ability had been pushed back 200,000 years beyond what leading scientists had previously believed. In effect, the story that yet needs to be written about our earliest times just doubled.

A no less profound story appeared in the popular media during first week of April. Researchers from Oxford University visited a classroom in Cheddar, England, to collect DNA swabs from 15 different students. Since some of the students' families had long histories in the area, the Oxford team wanted to see if a 90,000-year-old human skeleton found in a nearby cave (the oldest complete human remains ever found in Great Britain) could turn out to be an ancestor to one of them. On a whim, the students' history teacher, Adrian Targett, gave a scraping of his own mitochondrial DNA from inside his cheek. Unfortunately, none of the students matched up when compared to a pulpy residue beneath the skeleton's teeth. Their 42-year-old teacher, however, instantly gained the world's oldest genealogical pedigree.

Almost all of Baughman ancestral ground in America remains amazingly the same as it was even centuries ago. It is still possible to see the brooks and appreciate the lay of the land. Only the Paulus Dirckszen farmstead in Bedford, Long Island has been swallowed up in concrete, as part of the urban blight in Brooklyn's "Bed-Stuy" neighborhood.

It is interesting to visit little crossroad towns in Pennsylvania and Virginia and know that George, John, Jacob and Henry Baughman were the first to own a deed to them, to plow those acres and build on them. Try to visit Coopersburg, PA, in the Lehigh Valley and Saumsville or Hudson's Crossroads in the Shenandoah Valley. By all rights, each of these spots could have been named after the Baughmans, but modesty and fate chose otherwise. We just didn't make our mark clearly enough — or stick around long enough — to keep from being erased by time.

o o o

JESUS CAUTIONED HIS DISCIPLES ABOUT A VERY peculiar dilemma: He wanted them to know that they were *in* the world, but they were not *of* the world.^{313:44} Apartness is also at the core of every person who chooses mountain living, of each Swiss citizen when they think of Germany and Austria, of every taxpayer who resents an unjust government, of every stubborn-hearted soul made into an outcast by his neighbors, of all who chose to join the Protestant Reformation, of every Anabaptist who debated the state church, of every pacifist who thinks of war, of the struggle between the Amish and their brethren, between frontier folk and easterners in early America, between the Hardshell Baptists and the Missionary movement, between the South and the North in the United States. Our Baughman folks were all of these things.

This has led not only to a continuity of character and spirit, but even to an undying loyalty between families. In northwest Arkansas during the early 20th Century, some of the names from five centuries before were still together. The Strickler family and their descendants continued to marry with the Reiffs and Bushongs, and prominent also are the Laymans and the Moyers, those old neighbors from Lake Zürich and Conestoga Creek.

Why did I feel the need to make this book? Can my son possibly know the same pleasure as he picks up this finished volume that I found in discovering each sentence — one by one — that went into it?

How do I do it? What ghostly hand guides me to the next question before I even know what I'm about to find? Eight years ago, I chose sentences to include in *Some Ancestors of the Baughman Family* without any criterion other than instinct. The careful reader may look back and find mentions of Alsace and Saucon townships and be as amazed as I am by what became of those first thoughts.

SENDING BLIND INQUIRIES OFF TO EUROPE YIELDED amazing results. From Alsace came many answers from Robert Baecher at the Association Française d'Historique Anabaptist-Mennonite; and from Switzerland wrote Hanspeter Jecker, Heinrich Peter and Ida Pfunder Bachman from Richterswil and Peter Ziegler from Wädenswil.

Special thanks are due to David Rempel-Smucker and Carolyn Wenger at the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society; as well as Lois Bowman and Harold Huber from the Menno Simon Library at Eastern Mennonite University. Great help came in friendly letters from William A. Neff and Jane Evans Best. Although we have not met, I feel a strong affinity for John Heatwole's love of Shenandoah Valley Folklore.

The meaning of the words in this book are seriously rivaled in importance by the visual content of its many drawings and maps. The capital letters at the beginning of each chapter are courtesy of Christopher Froschauer

and were first seen in the forbidden Bibles he published for the Swiss Brethren. Joel Alderfer kindly provided high quality copies from the Froschauer Bible once owned by the Bachman family but now cared for by the Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania at the "MeetingHouse" in Harleysville.

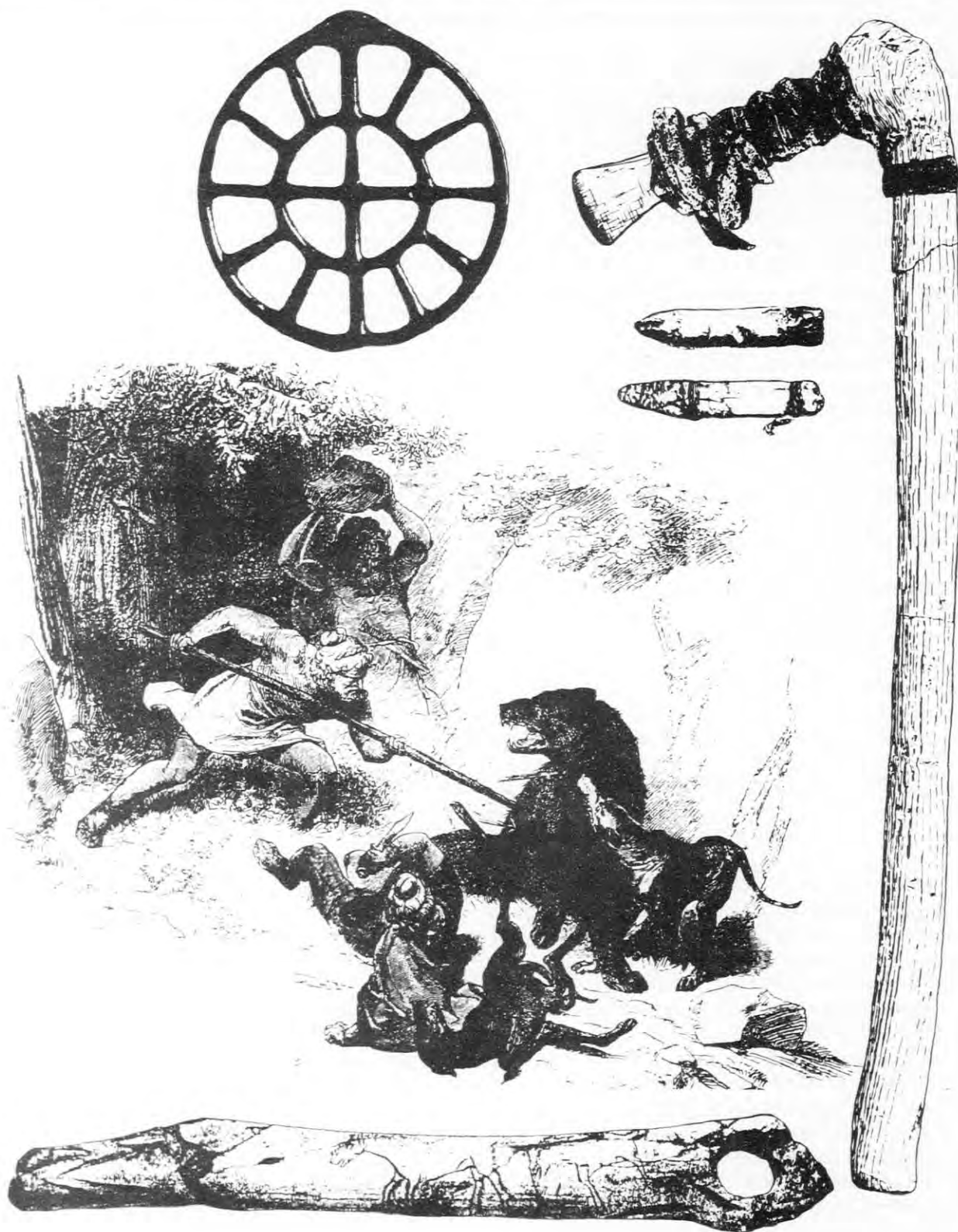
I probably would not have undertaken an illustrated book of history without the inspiration and example provided by Eric Sloane. Some of his pictures were so perfect that I could not resist "quoting" them in this book. Many other views of Baughman life would have been difficult for me to attempt without adopting Sloane's approach. Dick Burruss, Cecil O'Dell and Floyd Wine did all of the hard work assembling land survey boundaries that I pieced together for my section of maps.

For this book and the two that came before it, Klaus Wust has been like a father to me. He opened my eyes to the title page illustration for *Harvest Time* and also provided a rubbing for the *frontispiece* of *Apart From the World*. Printed here slightly smaller than life-size, it includes an image of the stubborn heart — marked by the zodiac's Taurus — set off from the swirling world. In this case, it had been made in the late 18th or early 19th century into an iron trivet where boiling pots could be safely set down. It came from a place not far from Klaus's home, where the first Mennonites found refuge in the Massanutten Settlement of Old Shenandoah County. Klaus also generously undertook the translation of the 49 verse *Zürich Lied* at the end of this book, and without his lifetime of studying this era, its meaning in English would remain unknown.

My mother gave me an oasis where I could concentrate for the last several months, without which it would have been difficult to complete this work. In this I have finished the book I wish one of my great, great grandparents had written while thinking of me.



THE FAMILIAR CRESCENT MOON
HERE AS INSIGNIA FOR VAN DORN'S ARMY OF THE WEST



PREHISTORIC LIVES IN THE ALPINE RANGE

MAGDALENIANS FIGHT WITH A CAVE-BEAR; SURROUNDED BY A CLOAK-FASTENING BROOCH;
ICE MAN'S AXE, SHARPENING TOOL AND KNIFE; THE EARLIEST KNOWN SWISS ART — WILD HORSES ETCHED UPON A BONE

prologue
THE EARLY DAYS BY LAKE ZÜRICH
10,000 B.C.-1450 A.D.



OUNTAINS SERVED AS anvil so their hearts could be hammered into shape. Otherwise, not even the Swiss could have lived alone up there — high above the rest of Europe. There they could remain aloof, defended by their mountains, with

their lakes turned into motes. There they could stay independent in their beliefs, and indifferent to every war and alliance of recent centuries. Still, they constantly interject their ingenuity into science, the global economy and add much to the conscience of the world — in the politics of autonomy, charity, democracy, privacy, rescue and negotiation in all things.

Between snowcapped peaks of the Jura on its north and the Alps proper to the south, the Swiss Plateau has ever been that remote but strategic corridor permitting exchange from Italy to Central Europe and from France to the Slavic East.

Some 1,332 feet above sea level, Lake Zürich has almost always been two miles wide by 18 miles long and in some spots up to 469 feet deep. In recent centuries, the climate has been the very definition of temperate, with an average warmth in July of 65 degrees Fahrenheit and 32 in January. Annual precipitation amounts to 45 inches.^{14:133}

The Stone Age

FOR 120,000 YEARS, THE LAST AGE OF GLACIERS encased much of central Europe, encroaching from either the Scandinavian north or the Alpine highlands. A Swiss river valley gave its name to the great Würm Glacier smothering the central plateau. The group of Cro-Magnon humans known today as the Magdalenians entered Switzerland from the east following the last retreat of the ice flows in 10,000 B.C. Up until then, a continuous thick layer of ice had made the mountains and valleys equally uninhabitable.^{24:22-24}

The earliest traces of humanity in Switzerland naturally rise up from the Swiss Plateau, a 125-mile-long corridor formed by the fertile Rhine and Aare River valleys running diagonally across the middle of the tiny nation. Two ranges of Alpine summit frame this crossroads of Europe: the Jura peaks on the north side and the Alps proper on the southern border.^{22:19}

After the last Ice Age, renewed vegetation amounted

to dwarf pines, birches and willows, along with thorn bushes common to the tundra. Reindeer foraged with little more competition than hare and snow partridges. As soon as the climate softened, wild horses, bears, bison, musk-oxen, polar foxes, lynxes and wolverines arrived.^{22:32}

In a cave at Schweizersbild, 25 miles north of Lake Zürich, a foot-long piece of reindeer antler suggests a Magdalenian love of art and perhaps a hunter's pride or superstition: a whole was drilled into one end that is large enough to grip a flint blade, and carved into the shaft are two wild horses with bristling manes.^{6:86}

On the edge of the Bernese highlands can be found some of the oldest Paleolithic sites in central Europe: at Rangiloch by Boltigen, and in the caves of Schnurenloch above Emmen Creek, some 4,045 feet above sea level near Oberwil. At Schnurenloch, stones chipped in the manner of a Levalloisian blade matched marks on the fossils of a musk-ox. Other sites, such as the shelters near Zweisimmen, show contact with large cave-bears.^{22:27} See maps on pages 168-171

Seven centers of denser population sprang up across the Alpine range during the early Stone Age, including the Swiss lakeshore dwellings and one culture as far afield as the Balkans. One of the older lakeshore communities in Switzerland was discovered in the bay off Wädenswil,^{19:8} and 36 other sites have been identified on the shore of Lake Zürich alone. The ruins of 150 distinct, prehistoric lakeshore villages have been tallied in northeastern Switzerland, although the actual number of communities at any single time may be more fairly put at 45.^{8:19} In the year 4000 B.C., the total population around Lake Zürich ranged somewhere between 500 — the minimum size that a viable population needs to field a robust marriageable generation — and 2,500 people.^{5:12}

When nomads became hunters and collectors, they began to populate the moist grounds of the treeless lakeshore. Lakes also made the only large open spaces in the middle of endless forest and so also allowed the easiest transportation across inland water routes. With boats made from dug-out trees, these families fished, as has been proven by the early hooks, barbed jigs and nets that they fashioned. They also tried their hands at livestock-breeding, tanning, weaving, and developed the technologies of stone cutting and ceramics.^{8:20}

The era of lake dwellings coincides with the first farming of a wild wheat called *Einkorn* around Lake Zürich.^{5:9} During the Stone Age, villages cultivated about 15 acres, and Swiss farmers were even known to

have rotated the crops in a single field from wheat to spelt to barley.^{5:36} At the beginning of the next era, the New Stone Age, Magdalenians gave way to a people known as the Cortaillod.^{24:90}

Each house sat atop its own platform supported beneath by long pilings screwed into the soft, chalky subsoil. Deliberate base plates prevented the posts from sinking farther into the mud.^{5:58} The framed design featured walls made of log and a thatched roof most often with two sloping sides. Averaging ten feet long by three to four feet wide, the windowless, one-room structure would have been able to sleep about five or six people.^{5:12} The walls were covered with tough-cast clay as was the fired clay hearth, which, due to the lakeshore dampness, was periodically replaced. Each village usually set aside a building or two to be their granary.

By studying the tools and growth rings of the timber used, it is known that the buildings were put together in the late autumn, when the farming season was done, and that one could be completed in about 60 working days. Layers of ash prove that settlements burned down but were rebuilt as many as eight times on a single site.^{5:54} The structures sometimes only lasted a few years, but occasionally remained standing for a century.^{5:45}

Settlements varied from just a few buildings to as many as 50. Houses were clustered very closely together into small villages and they were almost always surrounded by a palisaded circle of sharpened poles.^{22:48} These fences, which stood about as tall as grown man, sometimes formed into double rings, the better for keeping livestock in, predators out and improving the defensibility of the village in case of human attack.^{5:45}

The size of such lakeshore villages varied greatly. At Egozwil, the entire perimeter was only 148 x 50 feet, while another on the Swiss Plateau measured 1,968 x 500 feet. Since these town layouts represented so many centuries of overlay and staggered development, a simple count of the old pilings cannot afford a perfect census for any given century. During the same era, though, flatland towns north of the Rhine got to be four times as large.^{24:90}

Besides hunting and fishing, the people farmed several varieties of wheat, barley and millet and kept dogs for watching their sheep. Hunting for small game, wild honey and eggs also supplemented their diet. Stone Age families simply turned their livestock loose to forage in the woods; enough trees had not yet been cut down to create meadows for grazing. Ancient goat and sheep dung inside the houses suggest that livestock might have come indoors with a family during harsh weather. Poultry and cats were unknown on the Swiss Plateau for many more centuries.^{5:39}

A wide choice of pottery served their needs, finished with handle lugs and incised with geometric patterns. Since potter's wheels were not in use in Switzerland for

another 3,000 years, the elegance and symmetry of these prehistoric designs prove a considerable skill. Their tradition of imprinting a birch-bark texture beneath the rim gave beauty and a better grip to the vessels. The outside of one urn from northeast Switzerland was decorated with fully formed human breasts, evoking the nurturing Earth Mother. A particularly rich trove of these artifacts was recovered from the lakeshore at Pfäffikon.

The Cortaillod peoples also created an important series of early copper tools and ornaments. Within stone cists, they buried their dead in a seated position, and adorned them with wide pectoral necklaces made of boar tusks, along with shaped, polished and perforated Mediterranean shells. At Lenzburg in Canton Aargau, their largest and most complete cemetery was discovered. One immense stone covered a grouping of six children and another single tomb contained 14 individuals.^{22:49-59}

As it would continue to be throughout history, Lake Zürich became a border zone between two contesting cultures. Between 4100 and 3850 B.C., the westward-looking Cortaillod people met the Pfyn Culture hailing from the northeast. Pottery variations associated with the Pfyn began to appear frequently on the western lakeshore, perhaps resulting from peaceful trade or a simple evolution of preferences, but by 3800 B.C. the original Cortaillod style completely disappeared.^{5:58}

Archeologists have noticed that prehistoric skulls found on the Swiss Plateau, particularly those from near the lake dwellings, tend to fit an Alpine profile: a round shape overall, called brachycephalic, showing a broad face and low brow. By contrast, Mediterranean skulls from this era are dolichocephalic, meaning long and narrow, while Nordic facial bones are mesocephalic, even more drawn out by prominent thin noses.^{18:15}

Researcher Peter D'Adamo theorized in 1996 that a family's legacy can be matched to the blood type of their ancestors. Grain eaters from an agrarian lifestyle evolved the blood type A; mountain dwellers who subsisted on dairy products developed type B blood; hunters who preferred meat became type O.

A Witness from Out of the Ice

IN SEPTEMBER 1991, THE ALPS GAVE UP THE 5,300-year-old body of a man, the oldest preserved human ever found. Entombed beneath a glacier 10,500 feet up in the Ötztal mountain range, the freeze-dried corpse was still outfitted with small tools, rope, a copper axe, an unfinished long bow and arrows.

For warmth, he wore a cloak of woven grass, while tanned hides made up the rest of his clothing. Leggings were topped by a wide rectangular loin cover. For the

upper body, contrasting vertical stripes of leather made a knee-length jacket, with sleeves down to the elbow. The hat was shaped like a blunted cone with the fur-side pointed out, and was held in place by a knotted chin strap.^{25:132} Shepherds of this era certainly knew about early woven wool cloth, so the complete absence of it on the Iceman suggests that he was less likely a part of their world and more likely part of the hunter's culture.

Carbon-14 dates for the grass stuffed in his calfskin boots averaged out at 3300 B.C., coinciding precisely with dates of the rising Horgen Culture 90 miles northwest in Switzerland.^{25:198} Stag antler fragments he carried matched the kind used for carved arrowheads found at Swiss lake dwellings.^{25:128} Only 12 miles south of where the Iceman's body turned up, the Remedello Culture at the Val Venosta later appeared, but so much so as to make it an unlikely home for him.^{25:198}

Scientists were at first puzzled by a Stone Age man having a copper tool some 500 to 700 years earlier than had been earlier supposed, and in an area where they thought copper could not be readily mined. Carbon-14 tests also confirmed the date of the axe, and fluorescence readings of the metal blade showed traces of silver and arsenic and proved to be made from a local Alpine azurite.^{25:90}

The Iceman stood just over 5' 2" tall (160 cm.) and was between 25 to 40 years old when he died, most likely in the later range. Medicinal aids, such as birch fungi, sloe berries and bits of bone, appear among the items carried in his belt pouch and backpack pannier. Tattoos on his wrist, lower back and legs were perhaps part of a treatment he received for rheumatism and arthritis in the southern Eurasian tradition. X-rays revealed that the Iceman suffered from arthritis in the neck, lower back, right hip and one little frostbitten toe. He also had lungs blackened by campfire smoke and heart disease due to hardening of the arteries. Eight rib fractures that had occurred over several episodes were knitting back.^{25:159}

Microscopically shallow grooves on a fingernail

match the wear patterns on pre-industrial farmers and stone masons, and transverse furrows suggested episodes of stress, malnourishment or serious illness lasting several days or weeks each. Forensic examination of his flint knife and axe indicate they had been used to kill or at least butcher deer and ibex. Traces of a starchy grain, wheat or possibly barley, also appeared on his tools.

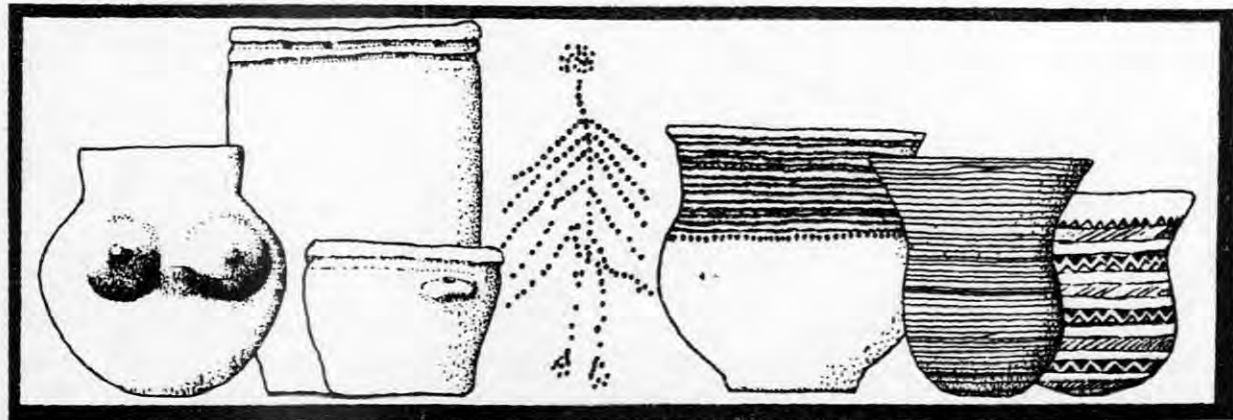
Although he was found just over the border in modern Italy, a check of his mitochondrial DNA proved the Iceman had a Germanic ethnicity. At the great genealogical distance of over 212 generations, he would be a direct ancestor of 75 percent of central European Caucasians living north of the Alps today, as well as their North American cousins.^{25:177&4}

The Bronze Age

BETWEEN 3400 AND 2900 B.C., TOWARDS THE END of the Stone Age, a new power known as the Horgen Culture replaced many of the trademarks of the indigenous Cortaillod people, although it did not completely disrupt their local economy. These newcomers, spreading out from Lake Zug northward across Lake Zürich and up to the Black Forest, may have been a proto-Celtic people from north of the Seine River. Their arrival colonized the whole base of the Alpine range which had still been largely empty of people until then.

The first and still biggest discovery of their culture came on the western shore of Lake Zürich at the town of Horgen, four miles north of Richterswil, but they also left evidence of their crafts at Schönenwerd Island and at Wädenswil.⁹ Schönenwerd — literally "Beautiful Isle" — sat 800 feet offshore southeast of Richterswil. The average rise and fall of the lake's water level exposes an island of 25,000 square feet.³

The graceful variety of Cortaillod ceramics



PREHISTORIC POTTERY FROM AROUND LAKE ZÜRICH

(LEFT TO RIGHT) CORTAILLOD, HORGEN, CORDED-WARE AND BELL-BEAKER DESIGNS FLANK THE EARLY HUMAN

persisted, but a simultaneous and more widespread culture began to produce a basic choice of coarse, thick and sparsely decorated pots and bowls. In purely practical terms, the Horgen potters lowered the center of gravity on their thick-based designs, making any of them virtually impossible to tip over.^{25:201} As a motif of dots pressed into clayware, simple pictures of people appeared for the first time in Switzerland.^{22:56} Their diets are implied by the kinds of bones discarded or saved and put to use at their villages: 90 percent were stag and wild boar. Sheep and goats were not slaughtered for their meat, but instead were milked and shorn.^{24:123}

The Horgen people raised megaliths across the Swiss plateau. A pierced stone slab known as Soul's Hole can still be seen at Pierre Percée at Courgenay in Canton Bern; and in southwest Germany, the *Heidenstein* — Heathen's Stone — still stands at Niederschwörstadt near Säckingen. These clues endorse an imperfect but intriguing circumstantial link to Celtic stones from the same era in northern France.^{22:60}

Especially around prehistoric Lake Zürich, many

personal objects were decorated with upturned or tilted horns of the crescent moon, perhaps as a religious motif. Engravings of spirals and suns decorated many sites across the Alps, along with primitive depictions of humans in postures of prayer. The Stone Age precursor of a wishing well turned up in Switzerland, where an ancient wooden framework once encased a mineral spring. Sacrificial gifts, such as brooches and swords, had been dropped into it. Amulets of animal teeth and bone also seemed popular, and hearths often had portions of or complete animals buried beneath them.^{5:55}

Eventually, the Battle-Axe or Corded-Ware Culture took over from the Horgen, arriving from Germany's Kraichgau and upper Neckar River Valley by 3000 to 2500 B.C.^{24:117} Its most specific calling card was a well-formed perforated hammer-axe, thought to be a weapon of war. They also brought domesticated horses into central Europe for the first time.^{24:123} Corded-Ware pottery returned to the refined style of the Cortaillod period, and often showed a decoration of rope



A LAKESHORE VILLAGE IN PREHISTORIC SWITZERLAND
WHERE FAMILIES KEPT DRY AND WARM PERCHED UPON PILINGS AND BOARDWALKS

patterns pressed into the dampened clay.^{22:61}

Even though they influenced wide parts of central Europe with their ceramics and tools of wood, bone and copper, their only permanent settlements identified so far are to be found at the rebuilt lakeshore villages around Zürich.^{24:119} Shards of their ceramic work made a thick layer of sediment at Wädenswil.^{8:38} Their dead were cremated and placed singly in the ground beneath round wooden barrows.^{22:62} Their favored burial mementoes included weaver's spindles.^{24:119}

Between 3000 and 1500 B.C., the next outsiders to make Switzerland their home were metalsmiths from the Bell-Beaker Culture.^{25:197} Along with their fellow hunters and cattle breeders, these pioneers traveled and explored in small groups, filtering through or lingering with many different cultures from the Atlantic to the Adriatic Sea. Their name derives from the shape of metal and ceramic vessels they created. The wide, flaring lip on their decorated cups resembled an inverted bell.

Their skill with copper, gold and silver quickly influenced the lakeside villages, but their quest was for the best deposits of easily gotten ore. Southern Germany, the Swiss Alps and the Iberian peninsula turned out to be their favorite sources, and at that time, the brooks and streams of the Swiss Plateau were particularly rich in gold.^{22:66}

In the Early Bronze Age, between 2000 to 1500 B.C., Bell-Beaker craftsmen largely replaced the intensive labor of hammering. They mastered sustained, higher smelting temperatures through the use of bellows and greatly improved methods of metal casting. Some scholars believe that Celtic metalsmiths from Portugal brought the secret of bronze along with them, since tin can only be found there, or else in Cornwall on the British Isles or among the Erz mountains of Russia. By mixing one part tin with nine parts copper, the alloy's melting point lowered, the casting properties improved, the finished metal became harder and held its sharpened edge far better.^{5:50}

A surplus of quality finished goods secured wealth for them and helped attract commerce and cultural exchange to the Swiss Plateau from all over Europe.^{6:95} Their settlement on the northern edge of Wädenswil called Vorder Au dates to 1604 B.C.⁹ An early settlement of metalworkers commanded the heights at Bürglen — present-day Untersiggenthal in Canton Aargau — where the Limmat and Aare Rivers intersect.^{22:90}

Bell-Beaker artisans made sickles and knives for harvesting grain, allowing larger community farms of up to 30 acres under cultivation.^{5:36} Every member still pitched in for the final threshing of grain, which was accomplished with wooden flails. Traces of ground grain mush have been found that were baked flat like a pita bread on circular clay plates. Pottery from this era often

showed black graphite paint accented with red and white designs. Traders carried the popular earthenware as far away as the Mediterranean.^{5:51}

Pollen analysis shows a dramatic decrease in the plateau's dominant elm tree forests and an equally marked increase in a variety of grass pollens. It is possible that the woods were being cleared to promote grazing for their cattle, a theory reinforced by the large numbers of axes and wedges turning up in the archeological evidence for the period.^{24:122}

A radically new burial style on the Swiss Plateau suggests that values and traditions at the lakeshore were in a state of stress. A body was placed alone in fetal position inside its own stone enclosure. Known as a funereal dolmen, this was among earliest styles of marked graves for ordinary people. It often had four or five erratic blocks set upright — resembling the walls of a stone coffin — that were topped by one or two large cover stones.^{18:32} Men were placed on their left side, their heads oriented toward the north, while women rested on their right side, headed south. People rarely reached the age of 60, and only ten percent of all known burials show ages over 40.^{5:62}

At the end of their era, human ashes were buried inside bell-shaped beakers. Without any further clue of a change in their climate or surroundings, the lake dwellings were abandoned again.^{24:120}

For the next two centuries — the Middle Bronze Age — Swiss farmers headed for hill tops, sometimes into the shelter of caves. Once again, burial tombs became rare, and the dead were cremated and placed beneath wooden barrows.^{22:93}

Along with the introduction of iron between 1250 and 750 B.C., the Late Bronze Age found dwellings rebuilt once more on the beautiful, wind-protected bays.^{22:99} New houses were built immediately on top of the older ruins. On Lake Zürich, five such villages were resurrected on the shore's edge beginning 200 feet north of the harbor in Wädenswil — designated as Meilibach, Nablikon, Hinter Au, Vorder Au and Scheller. Enough pieces have been recovered in recent years to restore at least eight of their Bronze Age artifacts. Although the pilings are now completely under water, they may have been originally planted on a peninsula.^{19:9} Some archaeologists argue that the connecting corridors and wooden flooring were not built to hover over the water, but only served as a kind of dry boardwalk along the shore.

At least some of the prehistoric Swiss, however, appreciated the added privacy, security and defensive advantage guaranteed by surrounding their homes with water. Several island villages on Lake Zürich were steadily reoccupied, such as Schönenwerd Island offshore from Richterswil, or northward where Saffa

and the Little and Big Hafner Islands sit beside the mouth of the Limmat River.^{8:20,38}

At Richterswil, the evidence includes a nicely tapered lance and two variations of a Bronze Age axe.^{19:9} The Late Bronze Age village of Haumesser should also be viewed as an island settlement, since it is not clear that a 1,500 foot stretch of dry ground could have ever connected it to the shore.^{8:20}

The highly refined metalwork from this era has turned up plentifully at Canton Zug, around the village of Sumpf, and at several sites around Zürich.^{22:103} At a lakeside village of Mörigen in Canton Bern, sophisticated metal workshops were found with fully-appointed hearths, molds and casting foundries. Bronze tools underwent innovation and diversification: formal anvils appeared for the first time, felling axes, goose-wing hewing axes, adzes, chisels, hammers, hooks, harpoons, knives, razors, saws and sickles. At first, iron was considered difficult to work with and was not exploited for its strength, but was more often used as a small contrasting inlay on decorated bronze. Of considerable historical importance though, Mörigen held the oldest

Swiss sword made completely of iron.^{22:105}

Their metalwork frequently showed designs that hint at their religious beliefs. The sun predominated — often expressed as wheels or spinning geometric discs — but the crescent moon was also favored on many personal ornaments. The most popular animal representations were horses and birds.^{22:110}

Their spiritual world shared many traits in common with theologies throughout the ages. Mother Earth, named Freya, represented goodness and rebirth, marking her cycles by the moon. Her role was much the same as the Egyptians' goddess Isis or the Romans' Venus. Most of the strength of Sky God was credited to Wodan, although he shared a trinity of power with Thor and Tiu. They very closely matched the archetypes of Zeus, Mercury and Vulcan, and represented destruction, the sun, fire, lightning and thunder.^{18:200}

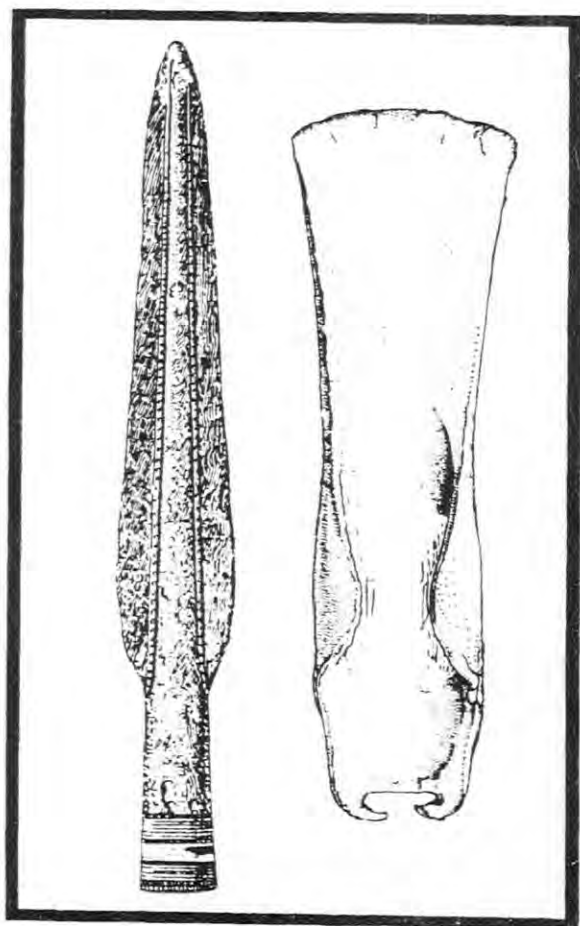
One of the oldest stories among these people was of a beloved god named Baldr. To ward off every danger on the face of the earth, an oath was forced upon water, fire, stones, beasts, birds, worms and plants that none of them should cause Baldr to be harmed. One little seedling was excused from the pledge because he was so young. Eventually, Baldr died anyway. The earth had kept its pledge and wept for him, but his soul went to live in the mighty oak — the Tree of Life — that had grown up from the seedling.^{11:647} Burial grounds have been found north and east of the Rhine where fallen Germans were entombed within hollow trees, honoring the memory of Baldr.

Up where the sky meets the earth, other gods chose different trees, veiling themselves high among the rustling leaves. Certain groves in the forest were especially sacred. When the hunter had her stag and the shepherd had his lamb, they laid it before a tree and spoke their thanks. With the greatest affection, skulls from every kind of creature were hung in its branches, along with the breastbones of each bird eaten, as a wish for good luck. Some offerings asked forgiveness of a sin or sought advice on the future.

For prayer, they would meet in the woods, link hands around a tree and make a circle dance. At the welcoming of spring, bonfires were made out of trees that had died during the winter, and flowers of the field were thrown into the flame.^{11:41-43}

If the ancient Germans found anyone who dared to peel the bark from a standing tree "the culprit's navel was to be cut out and nailed to the part of the tree which he had peeled, and he was to be driven round and round the tree till all his guts were wound about its trunk. The intention of the punishment clearly was to replace the dead bark by a living substitute taken from the violator; it was a life for a life, the life of a man for the life of a tree."²⁰

Whenever land changed hands, the last owner had



A BRONZE AGE SPEAR HEAD & AXE
RECOVERED FROM RICHTERSWIL

to be given a bough covered with fruit from that place. At harvest time, every individual showed their gratitude with small sacrifice. Down to the present day in German-speaking lands, five or six apples may be found left hanging on each tree so that the next crop will thrive.^{11:158}

The Iron Age

THE FRUIT OF THE FIRST IRON AGE, SUCH AS WAS first unearthed at Hallstatt, southeast of Salzburg, Austria, filled the next three centuries. In 800 B.C., a climatic crisis in Switzerland raised the water levels some 20 feet, enough to swamp the shore villages along Lake Zürich. The disaster even reached further down the Rhine River Valley, into the region of Alsace and the Black Forest.^{22:113}

When people began settling away from the lakeshore, they built their log houses in a row. The most important ones measured 16 x 20 feet, but the more common were designed as 8- or 10-foot squares. They were usually positioned on a slope, and made level with pilings just as had been used over the water.^{22:104}

Between 600 to 450 B.C., local chieftains who could control trade routes and mining centers rose to importance. The wealth, prestige and powers they amassed were proven by the size and quality of their funeral treasure troves, and included many shades of foreign trend and influence.^{22:119} Wine casks bearing the Black Greek image circulated around Lake Zürich between 560 to 500 B.C.^{7:345}

The dead were now less and less likely to be cremated. Both men and women were fond of personal ornaments, with most men wearing one or two bracelets, several fibulae and occasionally a ring. Fibulae were iron or bronze brooches — some looking more like fanciful safety pins — that were used for hooking all their clothes.

Men liked sheathed iron swords and spears to be buried beside them, although knives and battle axes seldom were.^{22:135} No warriors' graves have been found that contain helmets or shields made of metal. These items may have been made out of leather and wood which simply disintegrated over time or perhaps these weren't wanted in the afterlife.^{22:136} Even though it had fallen out of fashion in Germany by the 6th Century B.C., chieftains of the Swiss Plateau chose burial in large underground wooden vaults — complete with their wagons hooked up to a team of mannequin horses.^{24:236}

At around 200 B.C., samples of the ancient Germanic writing called Runes were made that have survived to this day. As far back as the Bronze Age, similar marks were intended as very abstract pictograms, each recalling

a different mystical icon from their oral tradition. In their traditional order, the figures translated as wealth, vitality, the demon, god, ride, torch, gift, joy, hail, need, ice, year, yew tree, dance, no, sun, Tiu, birch twig, horse, man, lake, fertility, day and possession.^{18:213}

The very name "Rune" came out of ancient Gothic and German words that mean a secret or a mystery. Phonetic values eventually made them into 24 characters called the Futhark Runic alphabet, named for their first six sounds. The trouble that Germans would long have distinguishing the letters D and T can be traced to a later version of the runes, which only have one character for both.^{18:210-211} The angular design came unavoidably from their method of writing: a sharp blade put to wood, stone or metal.

Scholars have argued inconclusively whether ancient Runes evolved into the Greek, Phoenician and Etruscan alphabets or if it was the other way around. One scenario pinpointed the Alps as cradle to every written languages among Celts, Germans and



THE TREE OF LIFE
SPARED FROM AN OATH FOR BALDR

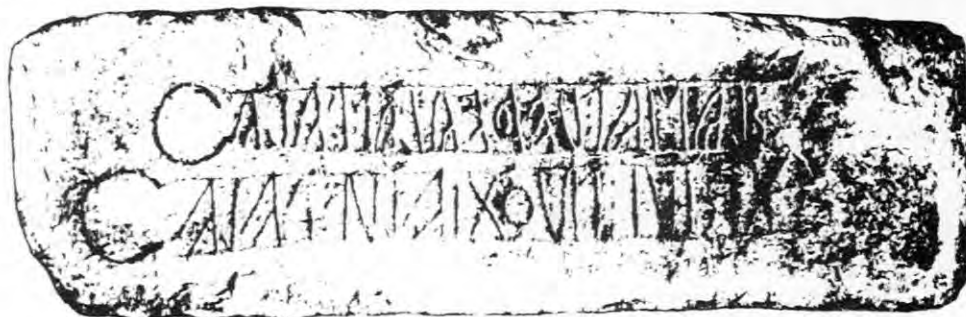
Norsemen.^{18, 216} Some of the earliest examples have been translated as genealogies, poems and requests made to the Old Germanic gods.²⁸

In his early account called *Germania*, the Roman historian Tacitus described written Teutonic runes and their spiritual use in reading the future:

"To the casting of lots they pay more attention than any other people. Their method... is a simple one: they cut a branch from a fruit-bearing tree and divide it into small pieces which they mark with certain distinctive signs and scatter at random onto a white cloth. Then the

priest of the community, if the lots are consulted publicly, or the father of the family, if it is done privately, after invoking the gods with eyes raised to heaven, picks up three pieces, one at a time, and interprets them according to the signs previously marked upon them."^{26, 19}

Mediterranean writing eventually overtook the runes, although German-speaking people widely continued to decorate their most solemn works this way, along with their crafts and jewelry charms for another 1,800 years.²⁸



EARLY GERMAN AND THEIR MOST SOLEMN WORKS

THE FUNERAL OF A WARRIOR; A SWISS RUIN STONE; A GOLDEN RING RECOVERED FROM AN IRON AGE BURIAL SITE

Swiss Chieftains made partnerships with the outside world, likely starting off with Etruscan traders. The Swiss probably wanted salt since none of their own mines, still hidden deep in the mountains, had yet been discovered. The trade also included metalwork, cattle, hides, cheese and the occasional slave.^{22:122}

Within just two generations of this cross-pollination, Swiss decorative arts made a giant leap into the Second Iron Age, or La Tène, named for a village on Lake Neuchâtel where such artifacts were first characterized. The northern Germanic and Celtic peoples also became permanently involved with Mediterranean culture.^{24:249}

The Iron Age peaked with the onset of the Historical Age and the arrival of the Roman armies. Further Celtic migrations were about to remake the ethnic map of Switzerland.^{22:131}

The Road to Rome

IN THE NECKAR VALLEY AND BLACK FOREST OF southwestern Germany lived a Celtic nation called the Helvetii. Two of their tribes, the Teutoni and the Tigurini, became infamous during expeditions into the French territories of Provence and Aquitaine in 109 B.C. The neighboring Cimbri nation soon joined them.

At each turn, Roman record keepers described the Helvetii willingness to stop fighting in exchange for farmland where they could settle. Negotiation began each time amid great expectations, but always deteriorated into Roman refusals and stalemate.^{24:341}

The new enemies to the north were further described by Tacitus:

"The peoples of Germany are not contaminated by intermarriage with other tribes, but have remained a race peculiar, pure-bred, and unique. This accounts for their physical type, which in spite of their numbers, is universally the same. They have fierce blue eyes, golden hair, and large frames, only capable of sudden effort..."

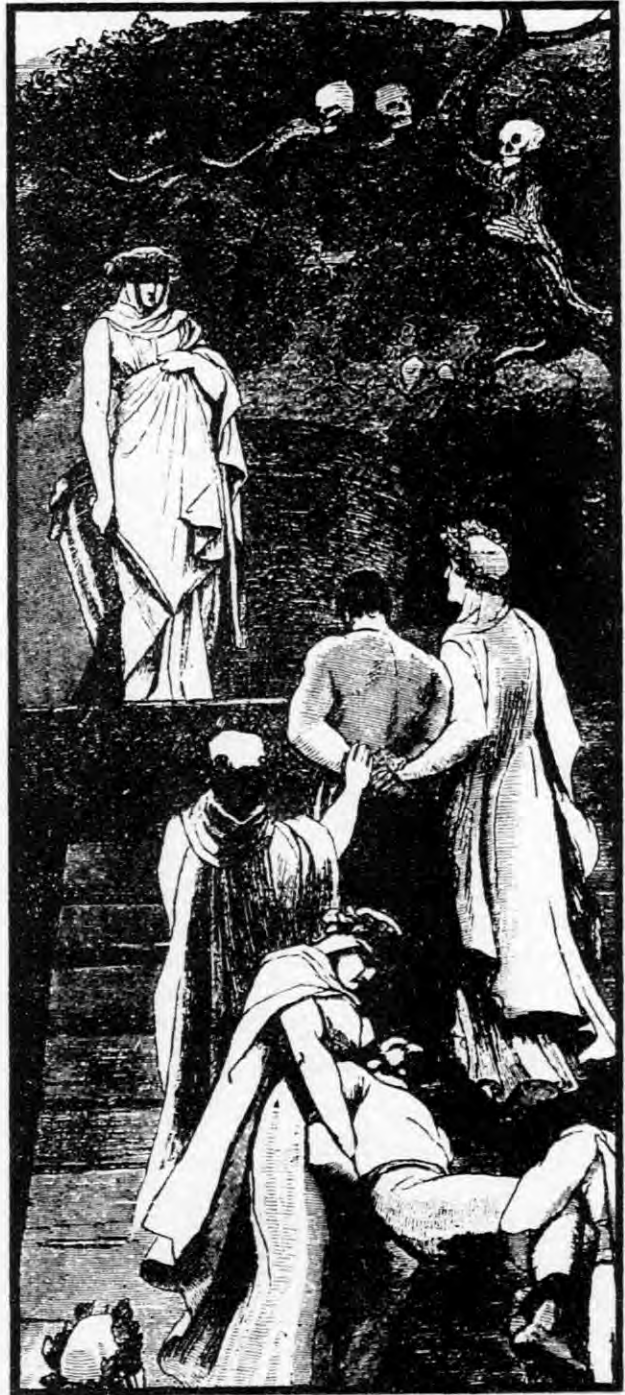
^{18:180} Every mother suckles her own children and does not deliver them into the hands of nurses... Hospitality and convivial pleasure are nowhere so liberally enjoyed."
^{21:48}

Two years later at Garonne, near Agen, they smashed a Roman army and killed its commander, the Roman consul Lucius Cassius Longinus. Two more Roman armies totaling 80,000 men fell before Ambrones, the Helvetic commander at Orange.

After the battle, Roman prisoners were brought for sacrifice before white-robed Helvetic priestesses. Forced to lean over a cauldron one by one, the legionnaires' throats were slashed so that the swirling streams of blood could be interpreted for omens. To celebrate their victory, the Helvetic forces would thank Mother Earth for the use of their bronze and iron weapons and promptly

return them all together into a huge pit.^{18:196} They made a similar dumping of spears, swords and armor in Lake Geneva. Whether or not the Helvetic priestesses foresaw and warned of the coming reversal in their fortunes, a Roman general named Marius beat them in a four-day battle at Aix-en-Provence in 102 B.C.

For one last stab at the Romans in northern Italy,



HELVETIC PRIESTESSES
READING THE BLOOD OF THEIR ROMAN PRISONERS

the front line of Helvetic fighters were chained together at the waist, making a fight-to-the-death for one and all the only possible outcome. Romans poured through the line at Vercelli, only to reach the Swiss camp where hundreds of women were killing the weak, the elderly, their own children and themselves in order to avoid imprisonment and slavery.

Despite these chilling attempts, Romans hauled away 60,000 Teutonic slaves from the battlefield. In Rome, the term "Germani" was first applied to prisoners from among the Helvetii after the great slave uprising led by Spartacus in 73-71 A.D.^{24:341-343}

For 50 years, the surviving Helvetii lived in relative peace across the Swiss Plateau, building some 12 towns and 400 villages, reestablishing commerce and turning the area around Zürich into a center for the minting of their own gold coins.^{22:144} Caesar estimated their population at 263,000, but he might have been trying to inflate the size and importance of his enemy.

Divico, one of the senior Helvetic leaders, persuaded his people to pack up for a mass migration to the Rhône Valley in Gallic France. So that no one, especially the Romans, could profit from their exodus, everything that the Helvetii couldn't move was burned to the ground. Even though their movements were slow, well-known and not war-like, Caesar stopped the Swiss from crossing out of the mountains at Geneva. The best Tigurini fighters were crushed along the right bank of the Rhône River at Saône, and the rest of the population was vanquished after they turned north at Bibracte near Autun. From then on, their country was occupied and the surviving Helvetii were called confederates of Rome.^{22:146} The formal name of Switzerland today remains The Confederation Helvetica, often designated by its initials "CH."

Caesar's most enduring mark on Europe was the arbitrary line he drew along the Rhine and the sober compromise of his ambition that it symbolized. He divided a single Celtic people into those in the west he thought Rome could control from those who would not

submit — the Barbarian Germani — in the east.^{24:344}

Civilizing the Pagans

ON TOP OF THE HELVETII WHO LINGERED NEAR Lake Zürich came another infusion of people from the Germanic north. An alliance of tribes known as the Alemanni had been gathering along the Rhine and first came to notice by 213 A.D. in battles around Mainz. The Alemanni further solidified the southern and western borders that have defined Germany ever since. In number, they were second only to the Franks, their principle rivals.^{2:58}

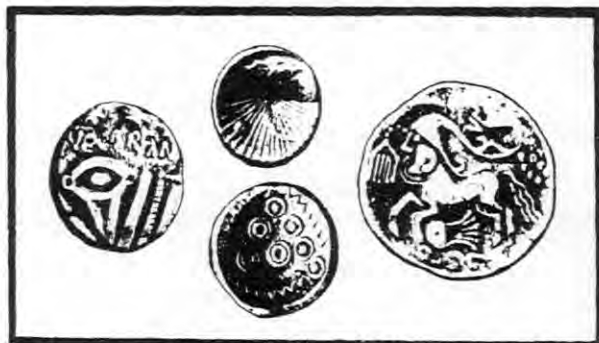
Because their military efforts always came from a loose alliance, Alemannic land could only be described as a confederation of individual domains. More than 280 years would pass before one king would develop a centralized power over them. Before King Clovis of the Franks began a crucial battle with the Alemanni in 496-497 A.D., he vowed that he would convert to Christianity if his prayers for victory were granted. When Clovis was baptized, thousands of Germanic chieftains followed his example.^{2:66}

As the Alemanni moved south and west into Switzerland they met yet another Germanic tribe, the Burgundians. These people had recently arrived from further east around Worms and Ibersheim.^{2:59}

As the whole Roman Empire turned to Christianity, more ways were sought for converting all remaining pagans. Since Scripture offered no clue as to exactly when the birth of Jesus should be observed each year, they chose to take over celebrations of the Winter Solstice already enjoyed by the Germans and other Celts. It had long been the pagans' End of the Year time: the harvest was over and the hard work was done, beer and wine were fully fermented and meat was fresh from slaughter. Rome announced that December 25th would mark the Savior's Nativity only to guarantee a massive observance. The split personality of Christmas was ensured ever after; and all of the extravagance, feasting, revelry and tree worship never changed.¹⁷

Richterswil seems to have been founded in the year 850. The oldest surviving writing from that region was "The Life of Saint Meinrad" begun in 861 A.D. just seven miles to the southeast at Einsiedeln. At that time, Switzerland was a province in the Holy Roman Empire under King Ludwig.

Meinrad had Alemannic parents who were born in southern Germany at the time of Charlemagne. Since they didn't have much money, Meinrad was sent to a cloister school at Reichenau where a monk turned the boy toward the priesthood. He joined the Benedictine Order, but eventually moved into the southern Lake



SWISS GOLD COINS
DURING THE ROMAN ERA

Zürich area for a life of solitude, poverty and prayer.

Two men decided that since Meinrad appeared to be holding secrets that he would not share with anyone, they would kill him. Meinrad asked those who had come to murder him to leave his corpse in a certain spot and put one candle at his feet and one at his head. The murderers started to fulfill his final request but were suddenly attacked by ravens who had once been fed by Meinrad. As the men ran away, they saw that the candles burst into flame on their own. The ruckus raised by the birds alerted nearby villagers, who came to look.

The candle by the head of Meinrad burned low enough to ignite the straw mat draped over him and the fire roared up. After seeing the body close up, the people realized that the hermit had been murdered, and so went after the two strangers. Promptly taken prisoner, they were sentenced by Count Adalbert and repaid with the same fate, both being burned at the stake.¹⁹⁻¹²

On the exact spot by Lake Sihl where Meinrad was murdered, a community of other monks gathered that was named Einsiedeln. By 934 it became a Benedictine monastery and turned into a significant political force when Otto I granted it imperial status.

Knights of God

CHRISTIAN EUROPE HAD LONG CRAVED A CLOSER union with land of Jesus. In 603, Pope Gregory sent an abbot to Jerusalem with orders to set up a hospital

for sick and exhausted Christian pilgrims.

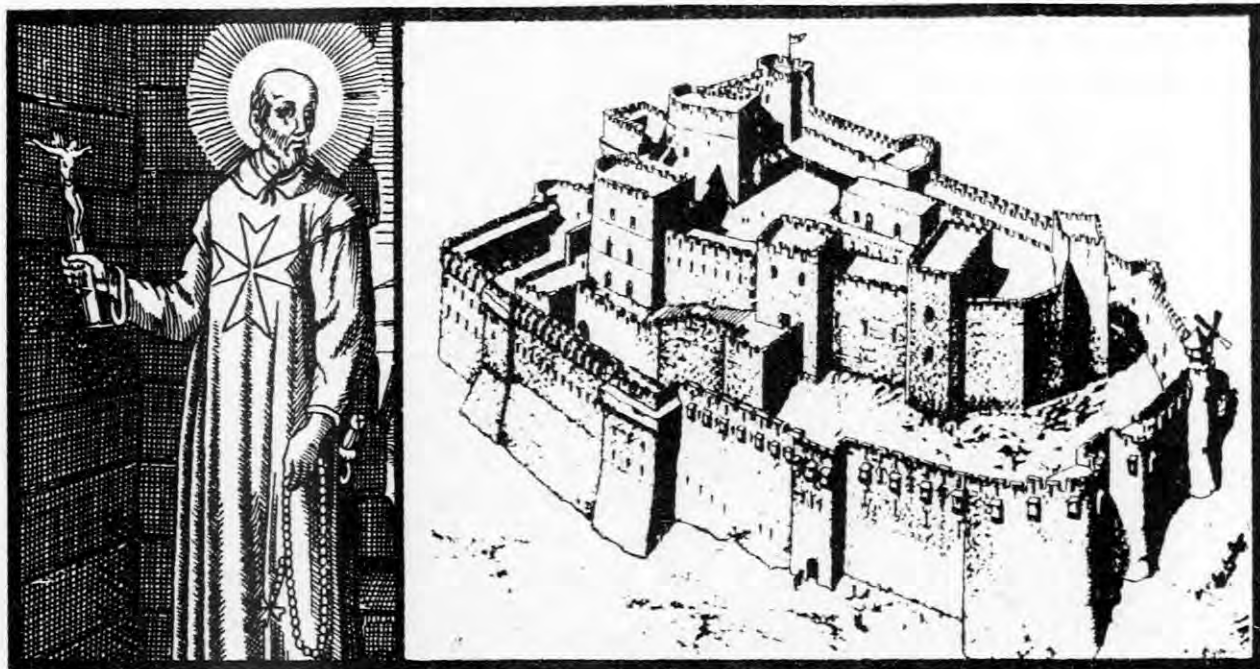
Charlemagne repeated this philanthropy in 870.

Merchants from the Italian port of Amalfi dedicated a traveler's inn and hospital in Jerusalem to St. John the Baptist during 1071. The mission was not only self-sustaining, but steadily expanding when Gerhard, its first formal director, died in 1120.

Over the next 40 years, Director Raymund du Puy succeeded at a delicate balancing act — making the hospital not only self-governing, but fully accredited with Rome, which authorized them exclusive rights to the red banner with a white cross on it. Over the next century, the Order of St. John first wore black tunics and mantles in concert with the Order of St. Augustine, emblazoned with a plain, white Christian cross. By 1259, their trademark turned into a red surcoat with the eight-pointed Maltese cross.

In the most novel roll for a hospital, Raymund du Puy also volunteered to take on military tasks for the church against Moslems in Jerusalem. Between 1136 and 1142, the order received several key fortresses as gifts, finally including the sprawling Krak de Chevaliers. With its garrison and staff of 2,000, Krak became the headquarters of the Hospitaller Knights during its 30 years of domination over Syria.²⁷⁻¹³

More and more the brothers were recruited out of European aristocracy. According to their native language, the knights were organized into eight "Tongues." German was one of the last to be added because the largest influx of German-speaking



THE HOSPITALER KNIGHTS OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN

FOUNDER RAYMUND DU PUY, WEARING THE MALTESE CROSS; THE KRAK DE CHEVALIERS, HEADQUARTERS, 1142-1272



SURMOUNTING THE FORTRESS WALL OF A MOSLEM STRONGHOLD AT ACRE DURING THE CRUSADES
GERMANIC KNIGHTS FROM THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN HELD THE TOWN FROM 1190-1291

crusaders did not come until 1146.^{29,27} Together with the Knights of the Templar, the Order of the Knights of St. John formed the military backbone of the Christian war against the Moslems. Eventually, the Hospitaller Knights built or took over more than 50 stout castles throughout the Middle East. Pope Eugen III gave his official blessing to the brotherhood in 1153.

In 1158, Christian forces took on the Egyptian Campaign following the Second Crusade. Five hundred mounted Knights of St. John led 1,000 squires and another 500 Turcopole foot soldiers into the invasion.^{27,12}

The first headquarters of the Order of St. John in present-day Switzerland was established in 1180 at Lake Buch near Bern.^{29,28} When Moslem armies under Sultan Saladin drove out the crusaders in 1187, the Hospital of the Order of St. John closed in Jerusalem.^{29,26} Five years later, a knight from Toggenburg named Diethelm managed to get back unharmed to Switzerland, and was so grateful that he made a gift of his yard and chapel at Bubikon to the Order. Erecting quarters there for the first commander, Master Burkhard, began in 1217.^{29,28}

Around 1172, a knight named Walter von Hüenenberg, who was loyal to the Freeman of Eschenbach, came to court the daughter of a freeman from Wädenswil. Through marriage, he inherited the tower on Reid Brook and became Walter I of Wädenswil. His son Rudolf II and grandson Rudolf III carried on the line for over a century.

The Castle at Wädenswil

AT THE NEXT WELCOMING SPOT ON THE SHORE OF Lake Zürich south of Horgen appeared a wooded ravine carved out by the Reidbach — pronounced by

Swiss Germans as "*Rīd'-bohkh*." On the western side of this brook, a gravel bank became the base for stone megaliths of monumental scale and unknown age. By 1130, they were built up with stone blocks of up to six cubic feet, making the five-sided western tower, the oldest part of Wädenswil Castle.^{29,87}

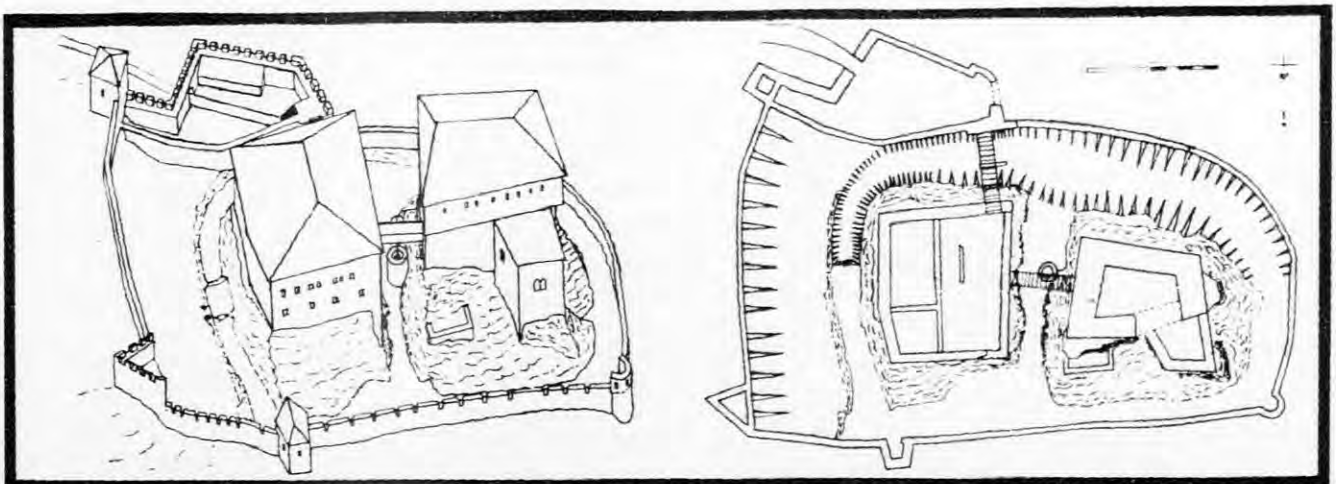
Many in Europe, especially those knights returning from the Crusades, felt castles should be prepared as a defense in case of an invasion by Moslem armies. At the base of the Wädenswil tower, the stone walls fluctuated between 10-12 feet in thickness. Within the rising walls, at least three distinct floors divided up the residential quarters, an armory and positions for military defense. To increase their security, a ditch measuring 35 feet across and nine feet deep was cut around the base of the gravel bank, and a wooden stairway was built across it to reach the second tower's main entrance.

A chapel was added onto the outside wall facing the lake, and was eventually filled with two altars — one to St. John the Baptist and the other to St. George. It was also appointed with a crystal cross, four tapestries, a silver reliquary in the shape of a foot, four relic-boxes of wood, ten books of various sizes, a missive on large parchment, a silver cup and a bronze bowl.

Walls of four to five feet in thickness formed the irregular four sides of the second tower, which was added considerably later. An enclosed wooden walkway formed a bridge between the two towers and crossed directly over the water well dug in the bottom of the ditch. It's bucket could be drawn directly up to the private quarters of the Baron and his wife.^{29,88}

In early writings, the castle often appeared as "*Wädischwyl*," even though the preferred pronunciation eventually became "*Vey'-denz-veel*."

In 1265, the signature "*Uolricus plebanus de*



TWO OVERHEAD VIEWS OF THE CASTLE AT WÄDENSWIL, AS IT APPEARED BETWEEN 1450-1557
THE TOWER AT RIGHT DATES TO THE REIGN OF WALTER I IN 1130

Richtliswil appeared, the Latin translation of Ulrich, priest of Richterswil. This is not only the oldest written example of the name Richterswil, but it also certifies the presence of a church.^{23:16} This little chapel dated back perhaps to 1230, and was certainly a seat of the Baron Rudolf of Wädenswil who also held the fief of neighboring Richterswil.

Rudolf's personal coat of arms, a silvery rectangular clasp, tilted as a diamond, set upon a shield of black or deepest midnight blue, appeared as the official designator for both villages, although later, Richterswil's leading noble families put forward a gold shield bisected by a wide red vertical stripe called a post.

No description of the Richterswil's first church has survived, but in the tradition of the times, it would have been small, simple and rustic. A short steeple would have served for the tower and a simple rectangular choir would have resembled something like the bow of a ship.

Presumably, Sir Rudolf III had the church built and then donated it to the townspeople, although he continued to exercise his Patron's Rights. Lady Anna von Bürglen, the first wife of Rudolf III, donated more than 30 valuable relics associated with Saint Martin to be safeguarded at the church.^{23:17}

With more value and power than any of the spices or gold brought back from the Crusades, relics purportedly came from the bodies of saints or had been saved from the life and death of Jesus and the Apostles. Instead of worrying about the commandment to not worship graven images, church leaders held that adoration of the saints was natural and that pictures and relics should be admired if it led to a worship of God.^{12:122}

When the faithful from Canton Zug found out that relics from Saint Oswald could be brought to them from England, they spent the next 33 years building a church just to showcase the items. Many thousands made the pilgrimage to the Benedictine cloister at Einsiedeln just to see the relics kept there. On 10 November 1348, thieves stole many of the precious items, but the outrage of the Swiss people was so strong that everything was quickly returned.^{12:121}

The canton of Schwyz fought over Einsiedeln with the Austrians in 1315, and took it over from Rome in 1424. Ulrich Zwingli became one of the more celebrated graduates of their seminary. The buildings burned down on many occasions before a lavish make over in the early 18th Century turned Einsiedeln into one of Europe's finest baroque buildings.^{10:128}

Rudolf III, without a male heir but with four princely dowries to provide for his daughters, ended the dynastic reign of his grandfather. Other powerful institutions in the area were not in a position to exploit his desperate circumstance. The cloister at Einsiedeln had spent a tenth of its resources between 1275 and 1280 paying for a

contingent of crusaders in the Holy Land. The Council of Zürich had made virtually no contact with Wädenswil since 1218 and was spending every extra mark it had on fortifying the city's stone walls. The Fraumünster Abbey was not about to buy Wädenswil Castle since their heavy renovation debts over the last 30 years had just forced them to sell their mill at nearby Horgen.

Although the knightly Order of St. John had no tradition of influence or jurisdiction at Wädenswil, they said yes and traveled from their headquarters at Bubikon to Rudolf's tree garden on 17 July 1287.^{29:30} Also in attendance were the Bishop of Constance; Brother Beringer, representing the Lord Colonels of the Order of St. John in the German Lands; Earl Ludwig von Homberg; local officials from Bubikon and Rudolf along with his daughters and sons-in-law.^{29:21}

An understanding of the price had originally amounted to 500 pounds of silver in five payments of varying size, equivalent to 965 silver marks. On the large vellum document, festooned by eight wax seals with red and yellow ribbons, the payment was corrected in Latin to 650 silver marks, of which Rudolf acknowledged receipt for the payment of his debts. Rudolf would be allowed to remain in the castle until his death, and both he and his wife would receive a scheduled allowance of food, drink and seed to support them.^{29:22}

On 1 December 1300, immediately upon the death of the Rudolf, the land around Reid Brook became known as the *Komturei* or the Wädenswil Estates of the Commandery, the Knights of the Order of St. John. Also known as the Hospitaller-Knights, and later as the Knights of Malta, they were the perfect embodiment of the warrior, the state and the church rolled into one institution.

During the Crusades, they had started off as a monastic order that erected hospitals on the frontiers of Christianity, especially in the Holy Land.^{29:25}

Beginning in 1310, their early roll call included a representative from Bubikon, Friedrich of Stoffeln, along with the Brothers Heinrich of Sulz, Heinrich of Marquart and Niklaus Brechter. It is not clear that a complete list of all the monks at Wädenswil were ever made, but in keeping with the size of similar communities, it probably fluctuated between six and a dozen. Besides those dedicated strictly to the priesthood, the order houses often kept knight-brothers in residence to enforce order and defend the community.

The monks of the Wädenswil Estate enjoyed a comfortable but rather quiet and secluded life. Each priest there received support through turns taken by the community. A loaf of bread had to be delivered to the castle for each monk or knight every day, and special black bread came twice a week.

In turn, the Order had responsibilities and services to perform. Any traveling official from the council at Zürich was entitled to show up at the castle and get full hospitality, free board and lodging. The monks were expected to serenade the area children at Easter, and supply them with sweet cakes. Another annual festival at the monastery commemorated in song the fathers and sons from Richterswil and Wädenswil killed in 1315 at the Battle of Morgarten. Besides the monastery, the Order at Wädenswil also maintained a hospital and welfare services for the poor.

Otherwise, the earthly service at Wädenswil seldom made it into the Order's records. The size of their monastery's surrounding farmland steadily increased every time they appeared in estate bequests of their God-fearing congregation — in 1316, 1332, 1347, 1366 and 1373. Many records and artifacts from the Order of St. John have been maintained down to the present day at their museum in Bubikon.^{29,34}

The Fight for Home Rule

DURING THE 13TH CENTURY, SWITZERLAND WOKE up again to a desire for political liberty. The rugged mountaineers started their rebellion with the

alliance of Waldstätten in 1291, the core of what eventually became the highly independent Swiss Confederation.

In 1315, the revolution against oppressive rule from the Austrian Hapsburg family first broke out at the Einsiedeln monastery. A force of ordinary citizens plundered the imperial outpost, drawing a response of 2,000 mounted Austrian knights under the command of Leopold I and the backup of 7,000 foot soldiers. A meager force of 1,300 Swiss, including the men from nearby Wädenswil and Richterswil, were cut off from any further support from the other cantons.

The Austrian column tried to attack through the Morgarten Pass, near the village of Schafstetten, but were halted by a stubborn guard of Schwyzer. The back of the Austrian army pressed forward into the bottleneck but soon the whole mass became disorderly and paralyzed. From the steep hills on either side, rocks began to pour down on the confined horsemen, followed by the Swiss with their halberds and battle axes. Some 2,000 Austrians, mainly knights, were slaughtered, while the Swiss losses were relatively minor.^{15,7}

In 1351, Zürich joined the Swiss Confederation started by the "forest cantons" of Schwyz, Uri and Unterwalden 60 years earlier. In the evolution of



SWISS FIGHTERS RUSH ACROSS THE BACK OF THEIR FALLEN COMRADE, ARNOLD VON WINKELRIED AFTER HE EMBRACED ENEMY SPEARS DURING A STALEMATE IN THE CRUCIAL BATTLE OF SEMPACH, JULY 1386

modern democracy, the power of the nobles had been balanced against the popular trade unions, known as guilds. The first Swiss constitution had enshrined these protections and already survived for 15 years. At first it was known as the "Everlasting League" but then settled on the name *Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft* — literally "The Switzerland Made of Sworn Comrades."

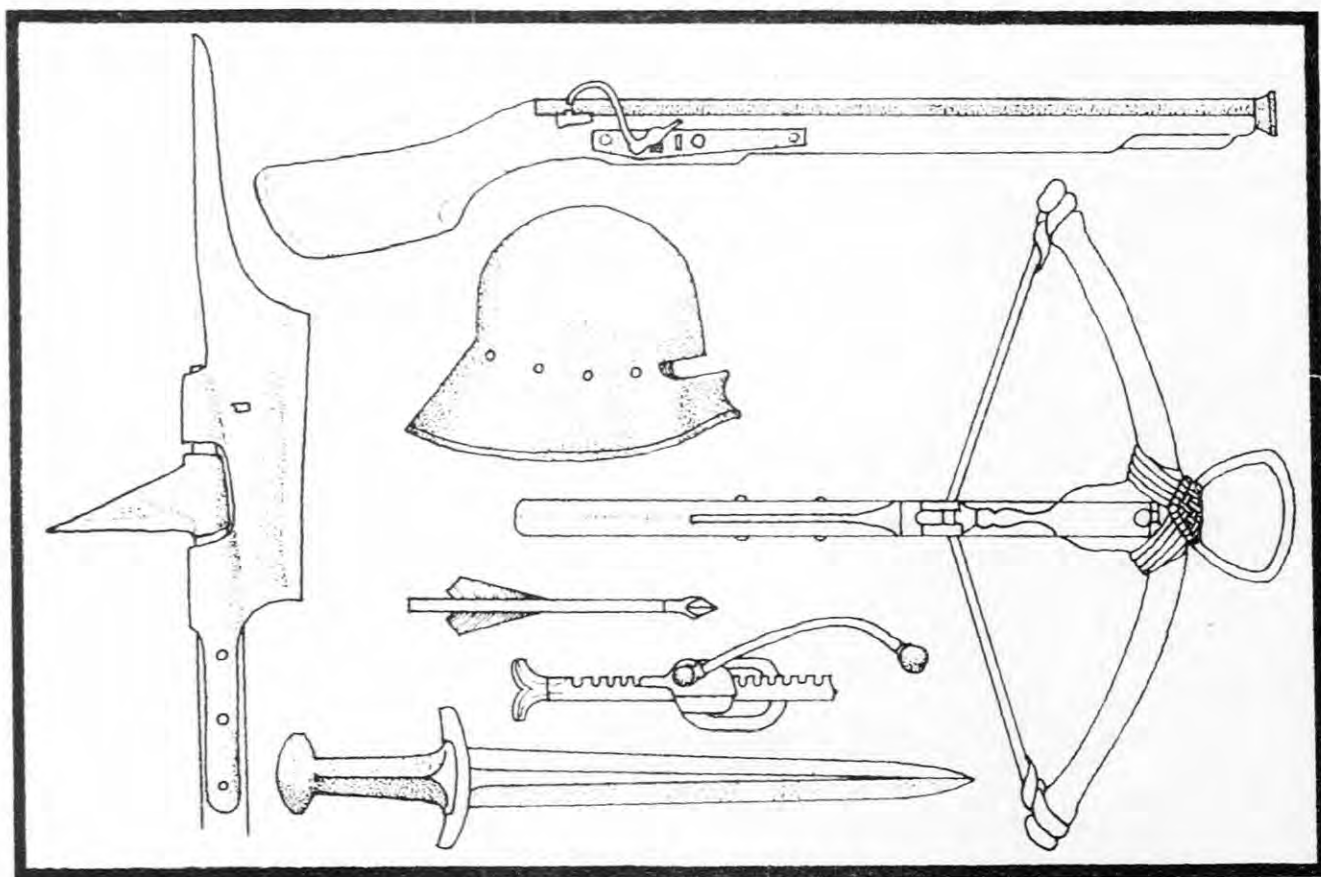
Canton Zug became a comrade in 1352, and Canton Bern followed the year after that. As soon as they joined, Zürich took a leadership role in the war against Austria. An early meeting at Dättwil mentioned 150 warriors from Wädenswil who joined in the fight for home rule. In 1358, a permanent bridge first spanned Lake Zürich at Raperswil southeast of Richterswil, further strengthening the Swiss alliance. As a city, Zürich signed a treaty with Austria in 1400 and made a lump-sum payment to "buy" its economic independence.

Crucial battles at Sempach (1386) and Arbedo (1422) announced major changes in Swiss military tactics. As the main battlefield weapon, the hacking power of the six-foot halberd finally gave way to the 16-foot-long, five-pound pike as a method of withstanding mounted attack.

The first five rows of pikemen each had a different job within the phalanx: the front men knelt down with their points very low; over their shoulders were the second rank stooped over, the butt held under their right foot; the third rank held their poles at chest level; the fourth up to the height of the enemies' heads; and every one behind them held their tips straight up, ready to fill in any gaps. The moving wedge of the Zürich army during these centuries made any enemy think of an unapproachable, bristling hedgehog.

In 1443, when Zürich threw 2,760 troops into battle formation, their exact placement was preserved in a diagram. The city of Zürich provided most of the gunners (45 out of the 61 total) who fired their rudimentary firearms in the manner of a small, over-the-shoulder cannon. Otherwise, blacksmiths from the outlying districts such as Horgen supplied the lion's share out of the total of all other weapons: 473 crossbows, 635 pikes, 1,591 halberds and battle axes.

A rank of cross bowmen and hand gunners made the forward advance, followed by swordsmen and halberdiers arrayed in a tight rectangle. The canton's battle flag was centered in the main body of troops, comprised of 16 companies from every town and guild



ARMAMENTS MADE BY SWISS BLACKSMITHS FOR THE OLD ZÜRICH WARS, 1300-1515

HALBERD-LANCE; GUN; HELMET; CROSSBOW; BOLT-ARROW; CROSSBOW CRANK; *SCHWEIZERGEGEN* SHORT-SWORD

that could command the loyalty of able-bodied men. Three ranks deep at the far left, in Company A, were 12 men from Knonau and 50 from Mettenbühl. To the right of the flag, in the middle by Company J, were clustered 30 members of the blacksmiths' guild and 15 from the carpenters' guild. Other organized craftsmen called into service included 10 haberdashers, 17 cobblers, 29 tailors and 16 weavers. On the far right wing, in Company O, were 30 men from the Horgen district, which would have included those from Richterswil and Wädenswil. A rear guard mirrored the front units, but without the presence of swordsmen.^{15:24}

Changes at Richterswil

ZÜRICH BEGAN TO EXTEND ITS INFLUENCE OVER THE lake's southern districts at the beginning of the 15th Century. The Order of St. John's commander, Hugo von Monfort closed an agreement with the city council on 24 February of 1415. The Order declared itself neutral in 1440, during the Old Zürich Wars, when the armies of Schwyz and Zürich were constantly at each others' throats. On 8 April 1450, the Contract of Kappel returned Wädenswil Castle to the northern sphere of influence.

In 1446, during the time of the Old Zürich Wars, the Estate at Wädenswil was deeply in debt and its active business affairs were mentioned for the last time. One cause might have been significant changes undertaken on the church at Richterswil, when the Order's commander, Johannes Lösel, replaced the old quadrilateral choir with a hexagonal tower in the Gothic style.

In 1454, just before the Bachman family rose to authority of the neighboring estate at Meierhof, Rudolf Keller led the brothers of the Order of St. John at Wädenswil. An inventory taken inside the castle in 1495 showed 31 beds and 54 plates, a good number of which must have been dedicated to the sick.

On 24 March 1524, during a meeting at Zürich of the church pastors from Richterswil and Wädenswil, delegates vouched that their parents had told of "12 brothers living by the castle in God's service, but that they no longer did so." When Zürich was arranging for the sale of the castle in 1550, an inventory described "29 beds in the back chamber of the hospital."^{29:52}

Not only was the church changing physically, but their manner of doing business also underwent transformation. When deciphering early church records, it becomes obvious that Swiss German peasants preferred their own lunar divisions to that of the Roman calendar. The German word *Januar* often turned into *Jenner*. The German word *Februar* was often switched to *Hornung*,

referring to the Horn Month, a euphemism for bastardy. In the 7th Century, little February and January had been added to the ten-month Roman calendar, leading Swiss



A FARMER'S CALENDAR FROM SWITZERLAND MARKING APRIL, MAY AND THE HAY MONTH

Germans to nickname them "the illegitimate months."

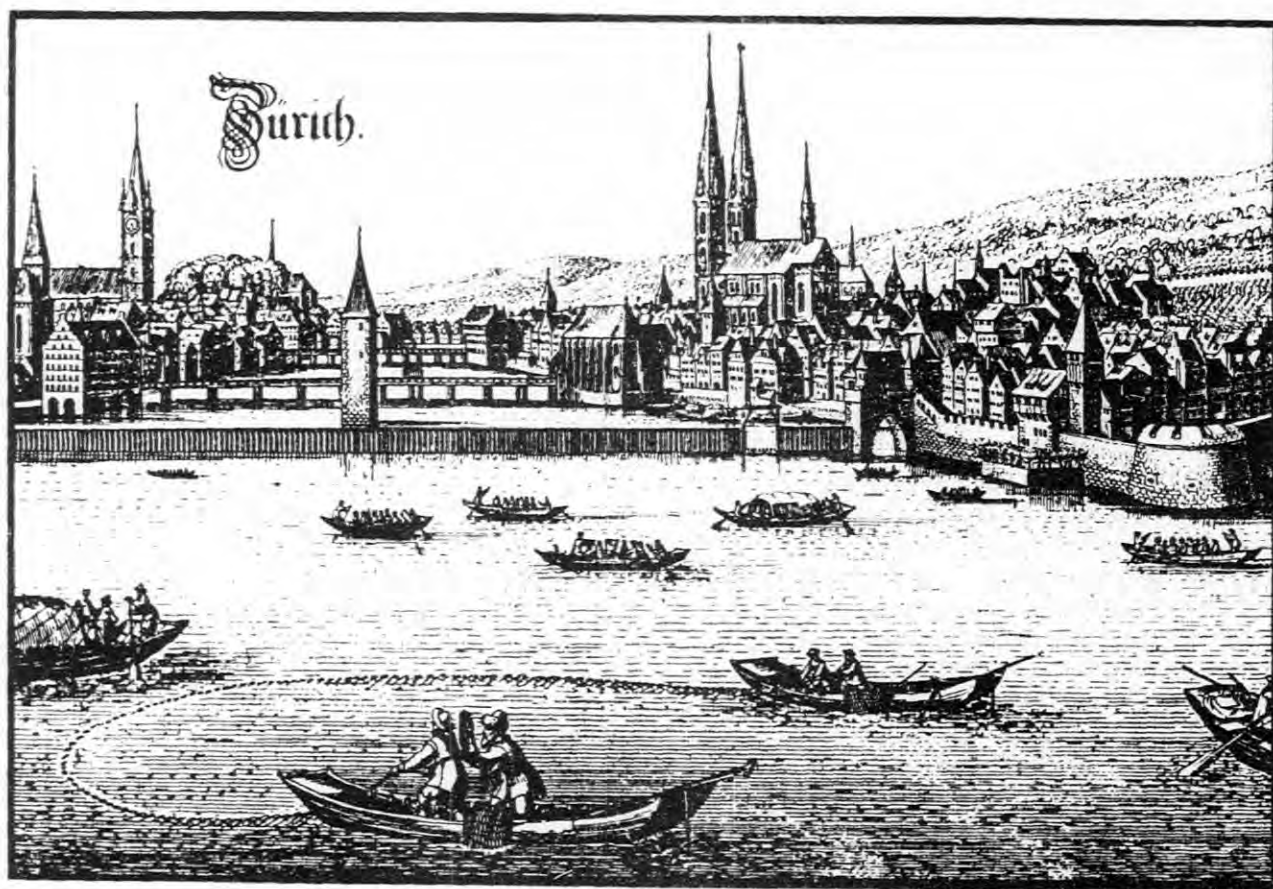
^{13:317} June became *Brachmond*, or the Fallow Moon, while July was called *Heumonde* or *Heumonat* (the Hay Moon or Hay Month). September, being the Harvest Month was *Herbstmonat*; October was named *Weinmonat* in honor of grapes and wine; November turned into *Wintermonat* because of its cold temperatures; and December became *Christmonat*.

In old church records, Roman numerals often showed up in place of the named months, but these could also become confusing depending on the habits of the scribe: VII might mean the seventh month (July) just as we know it, or else it might be a short-hand for the Latin word *septem* to indicate September, originally the seventh month of the old Roman calendar. Similarly, VIII might be for *octo* to mean October. IX might be for

novem as in November, and X would stand for *decem* to indicate December.

Some church officials disliked the way months and days of the week referred to pre-Christian gods like Janus, Mars, Wodan and Thor, and so instructed their priests to keep to plain numbering where December would always be the XIIth month.

One other change made Swiss records a bit peculiar for the modern reader. The pope in Rome, Gregory XIII, ordered that 4 October be followed by 15 October in 1582 so that the following Vernal Equinox could be restored to 21 March. His Protestant neighbors in Canton Zürich were slow to follow any Catholic order, and only rejoined the continental standard some 119 years later. The English kings stubbornly held on to the "old style" for a full 170 years.^{16:17} ■ ■ ■



A VIEW OF OLD ZÜRICH AT THE MOUTH OF THE LIMMAT RIVER
WITH FISHERMEN AND SHUTTLE BOATS PLAYING THEIR TRADE



DETAIL FROM A GERMANIC STONE MEMORIAL, 5TH CENTURY A.D.
ONE OF THE EARLIEST KNOWN DEPICTIONS OF THEIR MOST ENDURING FOLK ART MOTIFS



OUT OF THE EARTH BY WÄDENSWIL

GYGER'S 1667 MAP OF LAKE ZÜRICH, INSET WITH THE BACHMAN SHIELD; A 15TH CENTURY SWISS NATURAL SPA



SETTLERS IN AMERICA along the banks of the Conestoga and Shenandoah Rivers could trace their lives back up the Rhine into the heart of Europe. In particular, a pretty Swiss village called Richterswil was wellspring

to dozens of families who eventually saw no other choice but to leave it.

The most popular given names from 500 years ago persist among the Bachman descendants that stayed on in Richterswil. Jacob, Elizabetha, Anna, Heinrich and Conrad were chosen during the 20th Century as the names of the parents, grandparents and great-grandfather of one of the village's elder historians, Ida Pfrunder Bachman. One of the ancestral Bachman houses still stands at N°57 Burghaldenstrasse, and was yet owned and occupied by a direct descendant in the 1990s.

The Richterswil Bachmans knew that their ancestor's coat of arms was simple and very old: twin crescent moons separated by a flowing brook. Knighted warriors claimed the simplest designs as early as 1150, being a natural improvement of the colors and shapes they used to distinguish friend from foe on the battlefield. In the 13th Century, knights began using the same shield designs to decorate and identify their homes and personal papers.

Royalty began to confirm, improve or invent coats of arms for Swiss knights about 1330. Late arrivals, pretenders and other title holders were obliged to differentiate themselves with combinations of increasing detail. When the aristocracy began using them for businesses and institutions, they also took up the fashion of Latin mottoes and fanciful adornment.^{54:28-29}

In the highly ritualized world of heraldry, certain symbols and colors were to be used only when tied to the honors earned by the original wearer. The Bachman brook — or *bach* — was always to be the blue known as *Azure*, to honor the sovereign as well as high military honor and celestial purity, running *per bend* from the top left corner down diagonally, with *Or* the color of twin crescent moons, gold instead of the traditional silver, to be all the more precious, one on each side with their horned tips pointing at the brook. All this was to be on a shield of the blackest *Sable*, for veneration, grief and its avengement, a common Germanic heraldic motif. Many Christian crusaders adapted the Islamic crescent moon onto their battle dress to remind them of the enemies that

they had fought; but for Bachman, it had first and foremost the pictographic power of combining *Bach* or brook with the masculine German word *monde* for moon, rooted closely to their word *mann*. In many languages around the world, the moon is described as feminine, but the "Man in the Moon" came out of our German cultural heritage. The crescent moon adorned many prehistoric artifacts from Lake Zürich, leading archaeologists and anthropologists to the theory that an ancient religion there made it into an icon of their faith.^{47:55}

Ida Bachman cites a family tradition that most of the Bachmans arrived in the area of Richterswil from just across the border in Canton Zug. The authoritative *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz* supports this oral tradition by recording a matching coat of arms for the Bachmans in Zug. The arms had been "differenced" from the Zürich Bachmans in one small way, a common method for two members of the family to distinguish themselves while still using the sign of their forebearers: the brook traced *per bend sinister*, meaning on the opposite diagonal, from lower left to upper right.⁸⁶

From the middle of the 15th Century, when some of the very first civil records in that part of the world were begun, the Bachman family appeared as the prosperous holders of estate land. By 1458, Bachmans took over title to a fief of meadow and woodland from Heinrich Schmidt that was known as Upper Meierhof. For the previous 45 years, Schmidt had been overseer of this dairy farm estate across the creek from Wädenswil Castle, which itself sat overlooking Richterswil.^{89:60}

A source of Reid Brook came from the Bachman estate where thermal springs pooled up to form a natural spa. Every kind of illness — from a cough to lame legs to the plague — got treated in medieval Europe with mineral water to swim in or soak in, mud to wallow in, or homeopathic concoctions to drink up. In the name of health, many came just to linger in states of loosened dress and indulge their personal pleasures. Outdoor games were popular around Lake Zürich during the mid-1400s. One chronicler reported that "Tables stand under the lime trees, chess boards upon them... there is also a bowling alley and other games [of sporting competition]. Nobles and citizens go on the mountains and shoot with crossbows."^{56:75}

While visitors enjoyed the mineral baths at Bad Meierhof, the air was filled with the tinkling of bells worn by dairy and beef cattle wandering the rolling

meadowland. For the next century, Bachmans enjoyed possession of the Reid Brook estate and a reputation for good stewardship.^{89:60}

"The ordinary man finds the source of all his virtue, powers and effect coming from the water underground," wrote Philippus Paracelsus in his 1533 book, *Of the Bath Priests*. Paracelsus was born with the name Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim around 1493, just seven miles southeast from the Bachmans, at Einsiedeln. The route between his hometown and his later life in Basel certainly took him past the Bachman spa. His life as a doctor, iconoclast, traveler, author and compiler of folk remedies focused on discoveries in the earth beneath his feet. While studying the health of Alpine miners, he was among the first to analyze lung disease, note the health effects of iron and predict the dangers of lead poisoning. Besides the credit Paracelsus earned as the founder of chemotherapy, he was also among the first to debunk the ancient theory that body humors controlled all illness, instead proposing that most disease came from identifiable outside sources.^{65:133}

In 1477, the noble knights from the Order of St. John first decided to develop their lands three miles south at Laubegg. Heinrich Bachman received title and special timber rights to the virgin forest for 13 years, and had a prosperous trade making boards and shingles. Later on, the Danner family made it into a cattle farm.^{89:63}

Other Bachmans held the same kind of title at the Rütli monastery in Hinwil, far across Lake Zürich.^{89&86:514} Unfortunately, Swiss records at this early date do not afford a linking of the two groups. According to the

Landis family tradition, some of the brethren on the west side of the lake also had family in Hinwil, but were forced by difficult circumstance to leave. Heini Landös was living in Pfaffikon on 24 July 1424 but fled to Canton Zug, returning to the western shore of Lake Zürich at Hirzel by 1467.^{71:134} This account echoes the Bachman tradition, and hints at a special, prolonged bond between these families over the next three centuries.

The Bachmans at Wädenswil Castle would have had to give service, gold and loyalty to their feudal lords, specifically, the commander of the Knights of the Order of St. John. In exchange, they were most certainly promised military protection in addition to their fief. In a mirror of this relationship, the Bachmans must have supported their own peasant workers with protection and civil order; and, as lords to them, received labor and food from them.^{53:15}

Most often, a fief meant a section of land held by a person of noble family. Although they were said to "possess" the real estate, it was not owned by complete right, since a kind of rent was due to the Order of St. John in the form of military service, of sums of money in various emergencies and other kinds of moral and material assistance. Fiefs were also granted for a title to things other than land. For example, a vassal might pay homage just for the long-term rights to fish for a mile along the river, or another family might pay for the privilege of keeping the baronial mill in an outlying section of the district. In medieval Europe, nearly all of community life centered around the castle tower.^{58:147}

The Bachmans at Meierhof were entitled to display their own flag and use an insignia such as a heraldic coat of arms. All of their documents could be validated with a seal of their own design. Many fief holders also claimed the right to coin money, even when their lands were on a rather modest scale.

Each fief had to use its wealth to outfit at least one knight, his war horse and several armed footmen, named villeins. Such military service was obligatory, amounting to 40 days of service per year on an offensive war. He was expected to give much greater assistance in defense of his lord's castle. His attendance was also required if the suzerain wanted a great retinue to give prestige to his court. He also had to assist his lord in dispensing justice, bringing grave responsibility back upon himself as judge. The most grievous crimes against a noble lord would be the betrayal of his secrets, offering any aid to his enemies, or the breaking of any oaths made to him — all constituting the capital offense of treason.^{58:149}

When the lord of the manor married off his eldest daughter, bestowed knighthood on his eldest son, or needed ransom money to free a prisoner, the fief nobles



THE WOODWORKER
FROM A SWISS DAY BOOK OF THE LATE 15TH CENTURY

had to contribute. If the lord visited at their homes, the petty nobles also had to provide suitable hospitality.

Any whim, token of loyalty or symbolic gift might be demanded by the land's lord — anything from a basket of roses to a pair of the finest horses. As long as he fulfilled his feudal obligations, a seigneur could run his barony as he wished. By custom, the higher authority was not to interfere with a faithful vassal's hold on his own subjects.

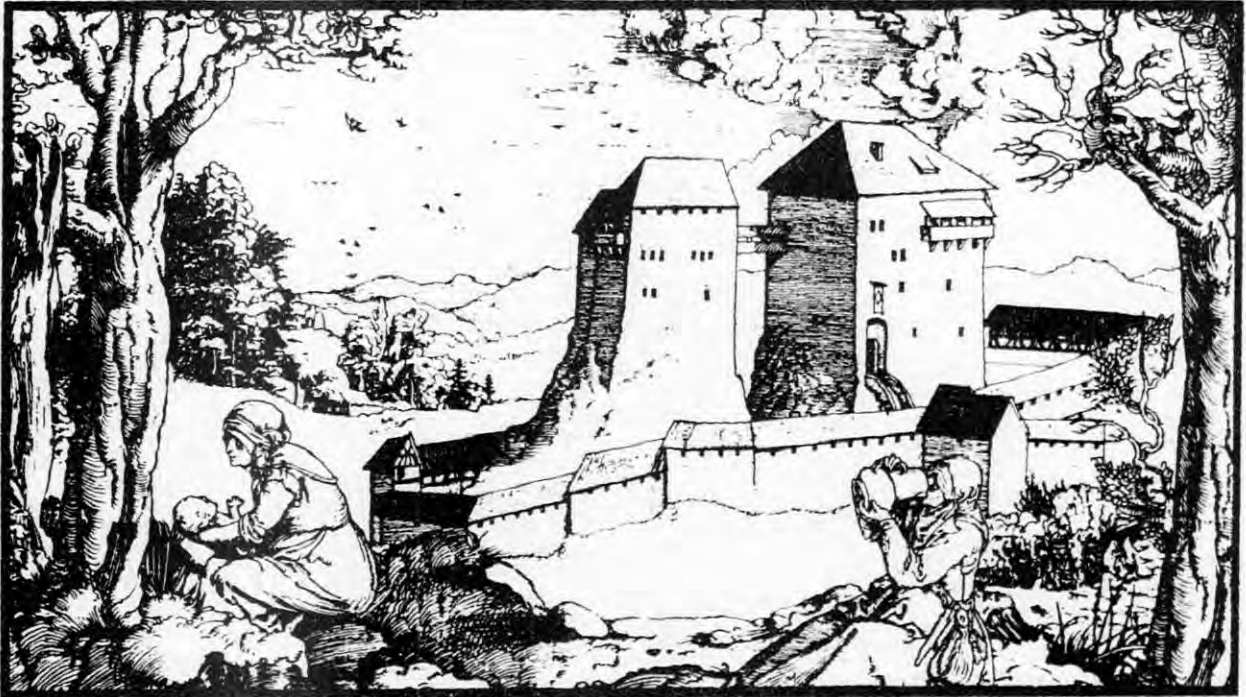
If all feudalism had been perfectly ordered, these petty nobles would have served as the first step in a staircase before the barons, then the earls, viscounts, dukes, viceroys, princes and at last the sovereign. In reality, the constant maneuvering for power made for many short-cuts in this scheme of loyalties. The church created a second, parallel ladder of power, blurring all practical distinctions between them. Relief from tyranny came only by intrigue, petition to the higher suzerain, or, in the final step, revolution.⁵⁸⁻¹⁵¹

During the generations while Bachmans held sway over Meierhof, war demanded their participation at least four times, being in 1468, 1474, 1499 and 1515. A complete profile of Wädenswil's company of fighters, under Captain Walter von Bussnang, the commander of the Order of St. John, brings late medieval military organization into focus. Each soldier supplied his own weapon and armor, but with the understanding that any damaged or lost equipment would be replaced by the

canton. Troops were expected to arrive for roll call carrying enough food to last themselves from four to six days. An expert from Zürich named Hans Conrad Lavater recommended that each soldier have appropriate clothing as well, including strong shoes and stockings, two thick shirts, outer clothing of leather, a thick cloak or coat of generous proportion and a felt hat for protection against the rain and cold. Thick seams and any kind of fur were to be avoided, since vermin could more easily gather there. Outbreaks of spotted fever, spread by insects, had been known to wipe out entire armies.⁷²⁻⁶⁴

The quality of each soldier landed him in one of three categories: men in the *Auszug* formed the élite corps, were usually unmarried and between the ages of 18-30; the *Landwehr* were usually older, but able to make the necessary arrangements to leave home; while the *Landsturm* accepted everyone left over, and only joined the fight under the most threatening circumstances.

Walter, as captain, was entitled to a command staff that included a scribe, a field surgeon, a cook, an executioner and a *weibel* or constable to enforce discipline. Most companies developed around community or guild membership, but there were also tactical sub-units based on weaponry. Sets of veteran gunners or cross bowmen frequently had their own captains and company flags. Within each company, short term objectives were assigned to the *Rotte*, being

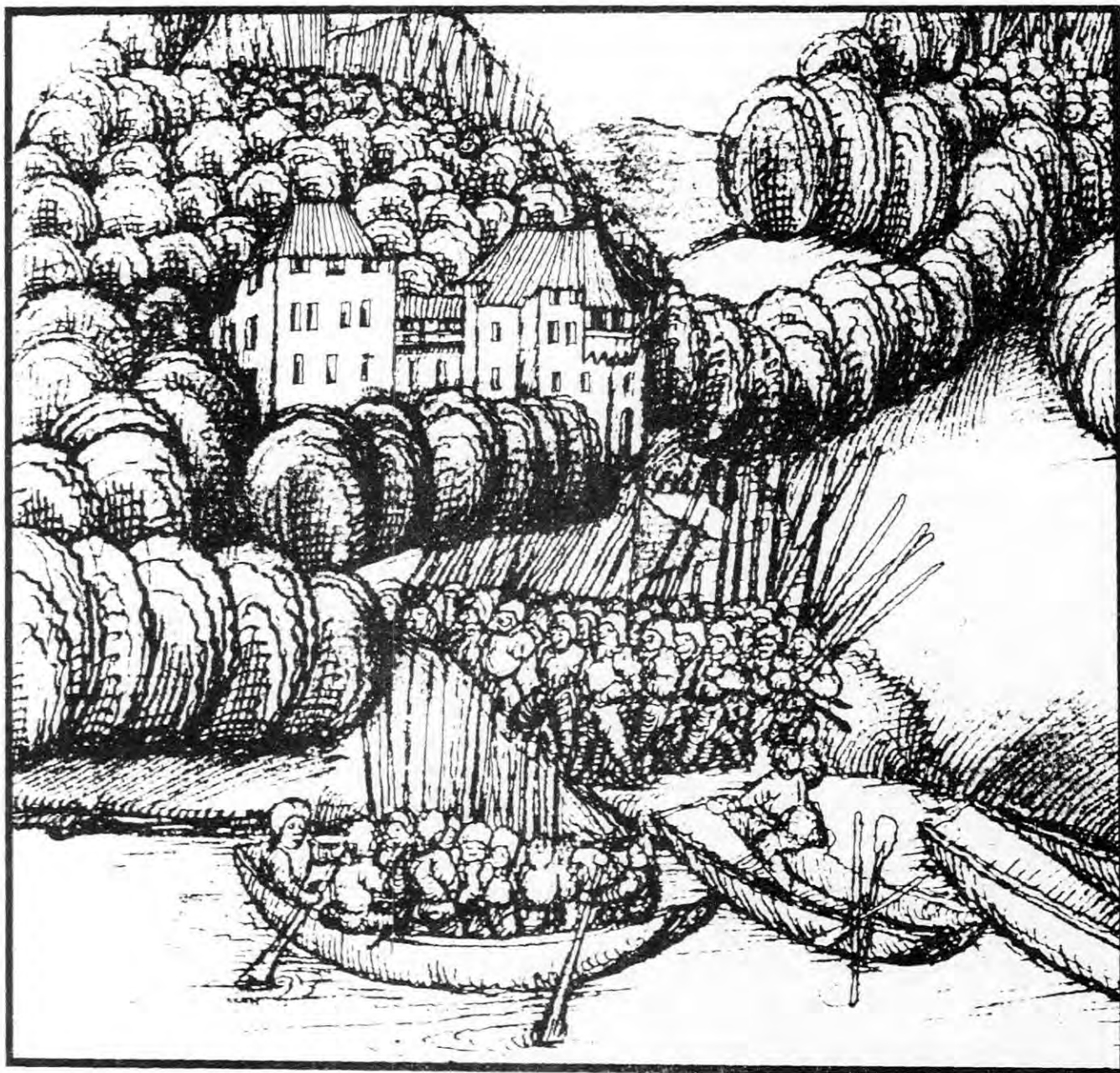


WÄDENSWIL CASTLE, AS IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN SEEN FROM THE SOUTH

squads of ten men.

Beneath the captain, the next most important rank was an ensign who bore the company flag during battle and kept it at his home during peacetime. The larger Zürich banner, or especially the Swiss Confederation flag, had its own detachment of 26 bodyguards drawn from the best men from each guild. The commander of Canton Zürich's army also had a fifer, a drummer and a bagpiper in his personal service. A special officer known as the *Ordnungsmacher* made sure that all of the ranks in the canton kept straight.

At their muster, each recruit was obliged to touch the banner, swear an oath on it and hear the Covenant of Sempach, which spelled out the code of discipline within and between the Confederation forces. At the same time, a community council of elders for Wädenswil cast their votes on who all of the officers would be. The numerous captains from across the canton would meet in a council of war and, in turn, elect the cantonal officers. Democratic consensus guided every Swiss battle, the result being that at some wars there was no supreme commander.^{74:4-6}



TROOPS FROM ZÜRICH SURROUND WÄDENSWIL CASTLE TO PUT DOWN THE TAX REVOLT OF 1468

To Take Up Arms

SWISS TAXATION IN THE MID-15TH CENTURY CAME in three forms: Everyone owed ten percent of their wealth to the church, also known as the tithing of "tenths;" feudalism required each tier of society to bump up another ten percent to their betters, either in the form of service, goods or hard currency; and finally, periodic one-time, special taxes had to be rendered.^{78,41} In 1455 and 1461, Zürich demanded special taxations to cover the expense of the Old Zurich Wars.

On 4 July 1466, Zürich was called upon to mediate a dispute between Walter von Bussnang and the people of Wädenswil, Richterswil and Ütikon. The main issues centered around interpretation of the Estate Rolls of 1409, wherein self-rule, free-trade, forest rights and festival customs were guaranteed to the people.

On 31 August 1467, Zürich sought to increase its independence and control over neighboring Winterthur by paying a lump-sum of 10,000 gulden to Duke Sigismund of Austria. The scheme could only be afforded if a 2.5 millage came from every household in the canton, as well as head-tax of five shillings on every person over 15 years old.^{89,83}

Zürich tried to force Richterswil and Wädenswil to contribute, but without realizing that the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship had never been extended so close to the southern border. The Richterswilers were well-aware of this distinction, and so refused to pay, encouraged in this stand by Canton Schwyz.

On 7 March, Zürich dispatched 1,500 troops to enforce the collection. They arrived by boat at midnight offshore of Wädenswil Castle. The towns' militias armed for the fight, but forewarned, fell back a couple of miles to join 400 reinforcements from Schwyz.^{89,84}

The mediation that began on 4 June 1468 included Wädenswil, Richterswil, Zürich, Schwyz, Uri and Unterwalden. Bloodshed was avoided, but Zürich proved its power over the Commandery and the whole countryside. The rebels would not be punished but they did end up paying Zürich's tax. Zürich developed monopoly control over every manner of conduct around Wädenswil, including hunting, fishing and all commerce among the trades.

Zürich sent an army to join in with Alsatian and Austrian troops for the defeat of Duke Charles the Bold in the Burgundian Wars of 1474-1477. For the crucial battle at Morat, Zürich's Hans Waldmann led 12,000 pikemen and hand gunners, in concert with 14,800 allies, to surround and devour 12,000 Burgundians. Utterly surrounded, enemy knights fled into a lake where their own armored weight drowned them. The Swiss Confederates inflicted a rate of 30 casualties on their enemy for each one of their own who was wounded.^{74,24-28}

The final blow was delivered at the Battle of Nancy. Despite the wintery snow and ice, 1,000 Swiss boys had tried to join in but were rejected at muster and sent home for being too young. Even without their help, the Swiss Confederates slaughtered 7,000 more Burgundians in one afternoon.^{74,29}

As mayor of Zürich, Hans Waldmann ordered all farm dogs to be butchered in March 1489. Another revolution around Wädenswil bubbled up, this time united with the people from Zollikon and Küsnacht under the leadership of Jacob of Mugerren. Concessions spelled out in a letter from Waldmann on 9 May 1489 reaffirmed the local economic authority of the people.^{89,85}

These were generally respected until the summer of 1497. Once again, Zürich was forced to reaffirm the Bussnang Letters of 1466 — meaning that any new ordinances in Wädenswil, Richterswil and Ütikon could only come with the consent of each parish congregation. Equal protection before the law for women was affirmed, as was protection from torture guaranteed. Zürich would not be allowed to regulate wages, but could devise controls on food and drink.

The Swiss victory during the Swabian War of 1499



A SWISS COUNCIL OF WAR
OFFICERS VOTE BEFORE THE BATTLE OF MARGINANO

scaled their independence from the Holy Roman Empire. All that Emperor Maximilian I had left to do was call them names. The Swiss are "crude, wicked, contemptible peasants, who have no virtue, no noble lineage and no moderation."^{85:31} Nonetheless, enemies in France, Austria and Italy were slowly learning how to fight with



battlefield formations and tactics that the Swiss alone had enjoyed.

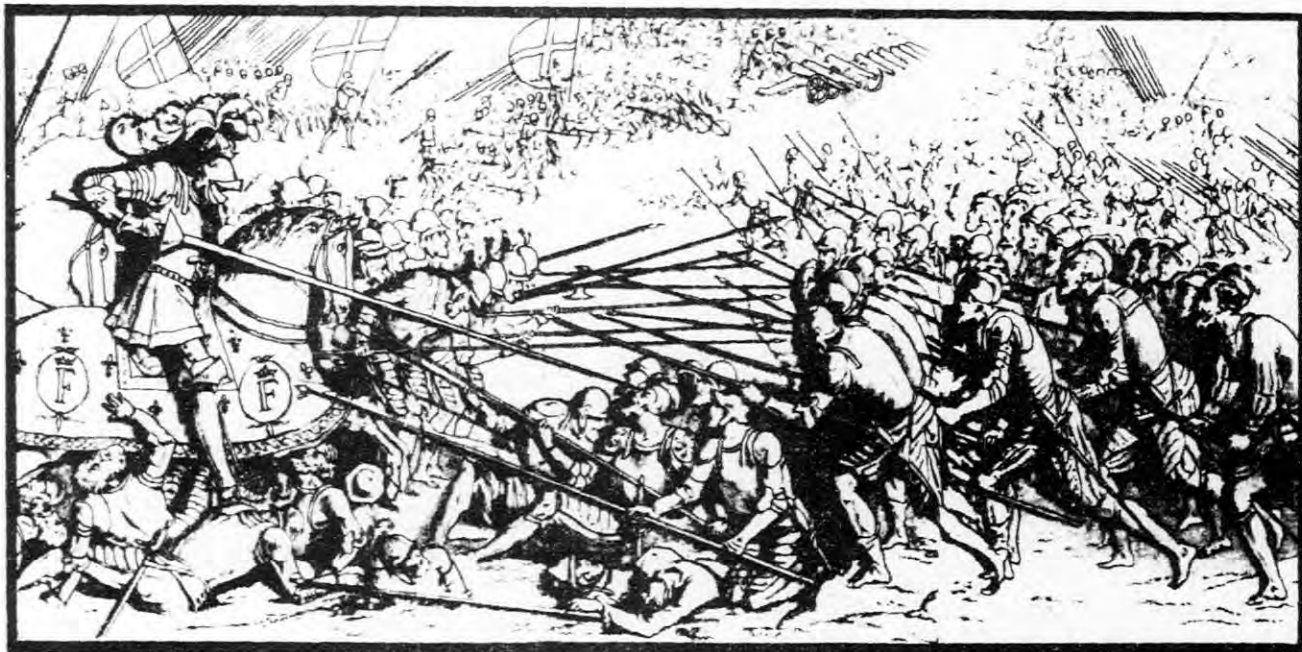
On 13 September 1515, 46 area men were commanded by the Order of St. John at Wädenswil to join in a large, fierce, two-day battle against the French army at Marignano, on the southern outskirts of Milan, Italy. Among those required to march with the Zürich army were a citizen named Bachman, one named Leaman, two Hiestands, three Äschmans and six Stricklers.^{78:1-35} A young Ulrich Zwingli served as their army's chaplain.^{55:112}

The Swiss repeated their classic battlefield moves, which, for the first day, worked. They fell victim on the second day to history's first mobile cannon barrage. They were able to retreat with their weapons, their wounded and their honor.

The defeat of the Richterswilers and the entire Swiss force cemented their doubts about obedience, the state and the infallibility of their rulers. From that day on, the Swiss nation never ventured beyond its borders for military ambition, becoming instead the most steadfastly neutral people in Europe. Their new troubles, though, were only beginning.^{37:19}

The World Exploding All Around

THE REFORM OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE Protestants was just one part of a much wider cultural, political, economic and military rebellion in



ULRICH ZWINGLI, ARMY CHAPLAIN & SWISS REFORMER; KING FRANCIS I DEFEATING THE SWISS AT MARIGNANO

Europe in the early 1500s. Both Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli, however, wanted to believe that their spiritual revolution had nothing to do with the world exploding all around them. See Appendix C, page 191

Many common folk resented having to support the wealthy Roman Catholic monasteries. "These idle, rich, fat beggars, who ride on great horses, who collect tithes from all the farms, who grasp and devour the best houses, fields, grasslands and meadows, who skin and steal from the whole world." The church tithe of ten percent was no longer voluntary. Any who refused payment were regularly threatened with excommunication, sometimes having their property liquidated and poured into church coffers.^{85:47}

By 1520, many Swiss dismissed the leadership of their local Catholic priests, who themselves often dishonored all vows of poverty and chastity. Speaking the very words "monk" and "priest" became a popular way to curse.^{63:40} As a result, many young people were

no longer bothering to be married in the state church — a worry to both the state authorities, village elders and their own parents.

Into this vacume of moral authority at Richterswil stepped Hans Bachman, who wanted both to temper his town folks' worldly appetites and to break their habit of supporting state religion.^{37:20-21}

In 1523, as the Protestant Reformation was getting under way, Catholic authorities were keeping special note of the "people's priests," the inordained spiritual leaders in the countryside. On 9 July 1523, the Knights of the Order of St. John filed a report on Hans Bachman from Richterswil based on a secret informant's testimony.

"As an aftermath to their clumsy sermons, several priests in the countryside did the following:

1. Hans Bachman, an agitator. I was told last Sunday that this people's priest preached. One heard that this fellow was riling up people. 'You boys and girls, if you fall in love, so that you can no longer stop nature, ask



GERMAN MONKS ENJOY GOOD DRINK, GOOD FOOD AND GOOD SONG

your fathers and your mothers to help provide you with a wife or a husband. You could ask them for [a traditional dowery present of] an undershirt or petticoat. So ask them for that too, so you will be ready in case you fall in love and can no longer resist nature.'

"Further, as far as the tithe is concerned, he is also supposed to have preached that 'the demand for the tithe is unfair and unfairly demanded'... claiming 'the tithes are alms and should be given to those that preach the word of God...'"⁶⁰

Bachman's sermon against the tithe was at the forefront of widespread refusals to support the Catholic clergy in Switzerland. The following year saw the Anabaptist Wilhelm Reublin of Witikon widen the protest throughout rural Canton Zürich, as well as the publication of Otto Brunfels's influential pamphlet "On Ecclesiastical Tithes." Brunfels made it clear that only the church should be starved of these funds. "I have not denied tithes to princes, lords and nobles, since, if they perform their duties properly, they have a much better right to them than do... monasteries." Church tithes, he argued, should only go to preachers, the aged and the poor,^{65:46} and secular powers should force the clergy back into the same poverty practiced by the Apostles.^{85:51}

Bachman's mention of undershirts and petticoats

may have been referring to another crisis in Old Switzerland — modesty in an era of public wantonness. The reform fever in Richterswil soon reduced the number of taverns there "to no more than eight," where toasting was soon banned, where last call was at 9 p.m., and no drinking at all was allowed on Sundays or other Holy Days until after the sermon. When the Reformation eventually allowed the state church pastor to take a wife, he ended up divorcing her within the year, convinced she had twice committed adultery during their brief marriage.⁷⁸

A Land of Masterless Men

THE COUNCIL AT ZÜRICH OFTEN MADE THE VILLAGE pastor an arm of their power, using the tithes for their own purposes and drawing profit from the area's natural resources. A priest in Wädenswil listed all of the areas of daily life where special added fees could be charged to the parish congregation: at the baptism of their infants, teaching the children, and again at their Confirmation exams, for the counseling of criminals and single mothers, for marriages, communion and funerals.^{65:130}



THREE YOUNG SWISS COUPLES MAKE PUBLIC DISPLAYS OF AFFECTION AT A DANCE IN THE EARLY 16TH CENTURY

Since early citizenship only protected adult, male property-holders, lords took ruthless advantage of women and youths, immigrants and the landless.^{85:30}

Anabaptism made wide overlap with the era's larger social upheaval. The Peasants' War resulted not only from anger in the countryside, but was born from an alliance of small-town burghers, craftsmen, miners and farmers. Sixty percent of the early Anabaptists came from this same social strata, and their leadership also tended to come from among craftsmen — always outnumbering those from intellectual professions. Two thirds of the verifiable Swiss Anabaptists of known residence lived in cities and towns.^{85:5}

In Richterswil, Bachmans plied the trades of blacksmith, butcher, carpenter, cobbler, cutler, miller and oil maker. Before the general exodus began, everyone's health in Richterswil came under the care of Johannes Bär, doctor and surgeon, or else they turned to the lesser trained skills of Johannes Wild, *medicus und Schnittarzt*, who specialized in bleeding the ill.

In addition to their profound Christian idealism, they believed in the medieval ideal of *Nahrung*. This referred to the virtue of modest self-sufficiency; and that, conversely, any pursuit of luxury was wrong. Through self-imposed habits of thrift and sacrifice, no more than life's necessities would ever be desired.^{85:10}

Religious images were to be destroyed, all of the church's gold chalices were to be melted down into coin, the mass was to be banned, books of Roman canon were to be burned. Monasteries were to be turned into hospitals, old age homes or orphanages.^{85:37} The Swiss Anabaptists would not allow rulers or landlords to associate with them.^{85:56}

In Zollikon, one of the first important strongholds of the Anabaptists, belief in the common ownership of all things became so widespread that locks were broken off all the doors, chests and cellars.^{85:95} Just west of Richterswil, the brethren at Hirzel gathered 15 bushels of grain in the house of Rudolf Staub, and shared it among the poor. Many years before, Staub's family had been supplied by his neighbors in the same way and so the latest generation had donated their harvest surplus back to the congregation. Otherwise, the brethren had no stores of wine, bread or money, since any extra was regularly given away, without any interest ever charged.

In late January 1525, the practice of adult baptism in Zürich became the first public challenge, coinciding exactly with the start of the Peasants' Revolt to the north around the Rhine. Virtually the whole adult population of Hallau near Schaffhausen became Anabaptists in the next two months.^{85:63} The newly aggressive council there sent an armed party to bring the leader Reublin "imprisoned, living or dead, into our hands." The

villagers kept the hunters at bay "with violence and weapons" long enough for Reublin and his brethren to flee and eventually make it to Moravia.^{85:64} At another flashpoint in Canton Zürich, the future Anabaptist Heinrich Aberli was sent an urgent call for reinforcements of "forty or fifty honest well-armed Christian fellows."^{85:72}

One of the earliest Anabaptists in Canton Zürich was Ulrich Seiler from Grüningen, the one-handed man known to the authorities as "Bad Uli," who walked around town with a gun. To disrupt one sermon during an official state church service, Uli began a pigeon shoot directed at the steeple tower. In February 1526, Seiler led a successful prison break-out for Anabaptists at the Grüningen jail.^{85:75} Another noteworthy brethren from Grüningen was Hans Maag, whose descendants became the Mauks of colonial Virginia.



THE LESSON OF *NAHRUNG*
THE ANGEL OF DEATH RESTRAINS WRETCHED EXCESS

The Anabaptists Melchior Rinck and Heinrich Fuchs, both former Lutheran pastors, were known as rebel leaders at the Battle of Frankenhausen during the Peasants' War.^{85:78} Fuchs gave his life in that cause, but Rinck survived and later became a brethren preacher in central Germany, known among those who "wielded the outer sword with the inner Word."^{85:82}

The early Anabaptist Balthasar Hubmaier personally carried weapons, encouraged resistance, and the fortification of brethren communities.^{85:66} A "Draft of a Constitution" attributed to Hubmaier is notable for its blueprint on how a democracy should shun aristocrats, elect just leaders and, when necessary, depose corrupt "tyrants."^{85:60} All this was to be accomplished "without



SOME OF THE 100,000 LIVES LOST DURING THE PEASANTS' WAR
DISMEMBERMENT OF REBELLIOUS FARMERS, FROM THE CHRONICLES OF JOHANNES STUMPF

fighting or bloodshed," but rather through boycotts called the "the worldly ban" that would halt "eating, drinking, bathing, baking, grinding meal, tilling the soil [or] mowing hay" of any who "refuse to enter the brotherly Union and promote the general Christian welfare."^{85:71}

Up until April 1525, the rebellion's violence focused against property, such as the dismantling of a castle or the stripping of wealth from a monastery. Swiss women frequently participated in the sacking of cloisters, and the intimidation of priests and nuns, but also in military actions, such as the defense of Gmund.^{85:33} In some cases, the protesters especially sought out and destroyed church records, court papers and tax rolls.^{85:84} In May of 1529, in the midst of the Reformation's

passion, graven images from the altar at Richterswil were thrown out and burned, likely on the graveyard where every burial cross was also uprooted. The only artwork spared was a beautiful group of carved-wood figures depicting the death of Mary, which were moved and still exist at the church in Wollerau.^{84:17}

Another early Swiss brethren was Heini Soder from Canton Basel, who played a militant if not military roll in the resistance to authority. In May 1525, Soder told a rally, "It is our object to present a friendly petition to our rulers. I can't say that this is not against our rulers, because whatever burdens they remit from us result in losses for them. But we do not at all want to combine against our rulers to compel them, overrun them, harm them, take what rightfully belongs to them or throw off their rule."

In October 1525, Conrad Grebel and Georg Blaurock began a tactic of blustering their way into ongoing state church services, commandeering the pulpit along with the attention of the congregation. They would report the latest news about the falling-out between Zwingli and Grebel, and discuss how Protestant churches should be organized. Grebel wanted a series of independent congregations to exercise complete home rule over the tithes collected, while Zwingli argued for centralized collection and authority.^{85:62}

Putting Theory into Practice

THE GERMAN PEASANTS' WAR INVOLVED 300,000 people at its peak and cost 100,000 lives. It only spanned 24 weeks, from late January through mid-July 1525, even though it was anticipated by an uprising in the Black Forest the previous summer.^{85:20}

The Twelve Articles of the Peasants' War mirrored the philosophy of the Anabaptists, such as Article 1., calling for the village appointment and dismissal of pastors, Article 2., demanding village control and allocation of tithes, and succeeding calls for

home rule over water, forests and common meadows for grazing of animals.^{85:29}

Impossible rates of rent were to be lowered so that a hard-working peasant would not face unbeatable slides into debt. Tenants could also dissolve leases by giving a three-month notice of impending departure. Other proposals of wide favor guaranteed that interest fees due on a loan could not grow larger over time than the original loan.^{85:54} The primary author of the Twelve Articles was Sebastian Lotzer, a journeyman furrier from Memmingen. In the pamphlet *To the Assembly of Common Peasantry*, the rulers' habit of claiming ownership rights over wild animals was refuted, and turned into an argument to justify military resistance.^{85:33}

"All city walls, as well as all fortresses... are to be broken down, so that there be no more cities but only villages, in order that there be no distinctions among men, and that no one consider himself more important or better than anyone else, for from this may flow dissension, arrogance and rebellion... There is to be absolute equality in the land."^{85:55} The only local official will be called 'parish provider,' and be responsible two or three times a year for collecting the surplus from particularly productive villages into storage for their later use or to fill the needs of others. The education of all young children beginning at the age of three or four was also advocated.^{85:59}



THE SWISS ANABAPTIST BALTHASAR HUBMAIER
PACIFIST & REVOLUTIONARY

Then came the rejection of "mine and thine," meaning all notions of private property.^{85:7} The eccentric Anabaptist Claus Fry made the political very personal and was executed in Strasburg for bigamy. Fry had also been prominent in the Rothenburg uprising.^{85:86}

Conrad Grebel later clarified this position under scrutiny from Zwingli, saying that he never "taught that one should have to give his property to anybody for nothing."^{85:99} Christians should be ready to give what they could to their neighbor in need, to lend without hope of return. [Luke 6:35] "Everyone should pay what he owes. A person should pay interest, but not receive it." Just as Christian baptism must be voluntary, so Christian mutual aid must come about as a voluntary decision from the property owner.^{85:105}

The Peasants' War came apart very quickly because of influence from Reformation pastors. They counseled the rebels to pull back from the fight just short of taking life; but this was a price in battle that the authorities readily paid and collected without hesitation.^{85:39}

In the cold of winter, on 5 January 1527, the Anabaptists of Zürich finally saw the degree of intolerance they were up against. At a fish market on the northeast corner of the Rathaus Brücke, sentences were passed against Georg Blaurock and Felix Manz. Blaurock, also known as Georg Jakobi, was a courageous but impulsive man who had tried to convert the whole town of Zollikon to the Brethren by invading the regular church service on 29 January 1525. Of course, this got him arrested again. Blaurock's new punishment was to get thrashed with rods along a gauntlet the length of Marktgasse and Munstergasse "until the blood flows." His sentence was that he pushed and northward out Niederdorfstrasse and expelled from the old city gate.^{77:8-9} Zwingli watched Blaurock's beating and later described a severity that brought the prisoner "near the door of Hades."^{67:63}

Because Felix Manz was a son of Zürich, the punishment for his disobedience and heresy was much higher: he was to become the first of the Swiss brethren to be killed for speaking his mind. At three o'clock in



MASS DESTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRYSIDE DURING THE PEASANTS' WAR

the afternoon, witnesses gathered around the Limmat riverbank in the center of town, opposite a little fishing hut in the middle of the stream.

"He was led by the executioner from the Wellenberg prison down to the lake," according to Heinrich Bullinger, referring to a stone tower also out in the river that no longer exists, "accompanied by two preachers who admonished him to recant and save his life. His mother and brother were also present and encouraged him to constancy and steadfastness to the end. He praised God for grace..."

The executioner was instructed to put Manz in the bottom of his boat and "tie his hands with his knees between the arms, a stick... between his arms and knees and, thus bound, throw him into the water and let him die and perish."^{67:62}

"When he was about to be thrust from the boat," Bullinger reported, "he sang with a loud voice, 'Into Thy hands, Father, I commit my spirit,' and forthwith was held under the water by the executioner and drowned." In the next four years, six more Anabaptists were executed at the same spot, with fully intentional, sadistic irony: death by water to those who believed Christ required adults to be reborn through water.^{67:62}

On 15 August 1527, the Protestant cantons of Switzerland attended a Zürich conference on how the "vice" of Anabaptism — this "un-Christian, malicious, offensive, and seditious weed" — could be destroyed once and for all.^{67:63} In 1528, King Ferdinand I of Bohemia and Hungary wrote that his officials knew of rebels from the Peasants' War that were resurfacing as Anabaptists.^{85:87}

Meanwhile, the struggling Protestant revolution was fighting for its life against the Catholic cantons in Switzerland. When a battle broke out at Kappel, 23 men from a few miles east in Richterswil helped save the day. The patriarch of the Neff family saved the Protestant army of Zürich from the disgrace of having their battle flag captured, but Zwingli was killed in the fight on 11 October 1531. Zwingli's successors thought that the pressures of internal dissent were equally dangerous. A Zürich report in 1535 observed that Anabaptists were increasing in numbers and preaching at "Wädenswil, and all along the lake."^{90:1043}

All We Do or Leave Undone

BRETHREN FELT THAT THE BAPTISM OF YOUNG children was an empty gesture. They believed that this special act of faith had to come from reasoned, voluntary choice, and was meant to express how a thinking individual felt ready to follow the example of Jesus.

The label Anabaptist means "Re-baptizer," because the early inventors of this movement wanted a second christening. When they became parents, their children were not considered members of the church until they reached the age of accountability and could well-understand the choices of life to come.

The brethren were not of the opinion that they alone would get to heaven, or that in order to be saved one had to join with their church.⁶⁶ Nonetheless, every quality of their faith that the Anabaptists saw as a virtue, their



THE MANNER OF PEASANT DRESS
OBSERVED BY THE GERMAN ARTIST ALBRECHT DÜRER

antagonists saw as a damnable fault. Where the brethren saw themselves as steadfast, Zwingli had seen them as stubborn. Were they merely adamant or self-consciously provocative; separate or eccentric; humble or conspicuous; clear-sighted or quick to judge; egalitarian or revolutionary; obedient or anarchistic; paternal or authoritarian; unafraid or unrepentant; ready to take necessary risks or simply incorrigible?

Menno Simons, who was born about 1496, served as an ordained Catholic priest between 1524-1536 in North Holland. Seven years into his calling, he was transferred back to his hometown of Witmarsum where he carried out his regular duties and also took up the habits of playing cards and drinking. Up until this time, Menno had feared to read the Bible because, as he had been taught, only the Catholic hierarchy could explain what it meant without error. He was also developing a fear that whenever he celebrated mass, the bread and wine were not actually and literally being transformed into the body and blood of Jesus, as the Church had also instructed him.

Simons own brother joined the radical Anabaptists who took over the German city of Münster and was among the 300 who paid for it with their lives on 7 April 1535.^{37,21} This culminated the long process of conversion that tore him away from Roman order. In

January 1536, he renounced the priesthood and charged that even Luther and Zwingli, in seeking political accommodation, had been too timid in their reforms. The Brethren had to make two appeals before he agreed to become an elder early in 1537.^{66:19-20}

Simons was persuaded to take up leadership of the scattered flock of Anabaptists throughout Germany and the Netherlands, until his death in 1561. At first, Menno's followers in Zürich and Bern called themselves simply Swiss Brethren and the early use of the label 'Mennists' or 'Menonists' was thought insulting. Within a few generations, inside and outside the movement, 'Mennonite' became the common name.^{81:10}

Another significant division amongst the early Anabaptists was over the use of force. Some of them accepted the sword, but the majority that denounced all revenge and use of weapons created the popular image of the peaceful Anabaptists. From an early conference held at Schleithem in northern Switzerland came more of the thinking made concrete. Forever more they would be "Sons and daughters who have been and shall be separated from the world in all that we do and leave undone, and uncontradicted by all the brothers, completely at peace." Among other things, they agreed on five keys of Anabaptism to hold dear: the Baptism of adult believers only, the Ban of sinners, the Supper celebrated by Christ, the Sword abandoned, and the Oath refused.

Bachmans in Rebellion

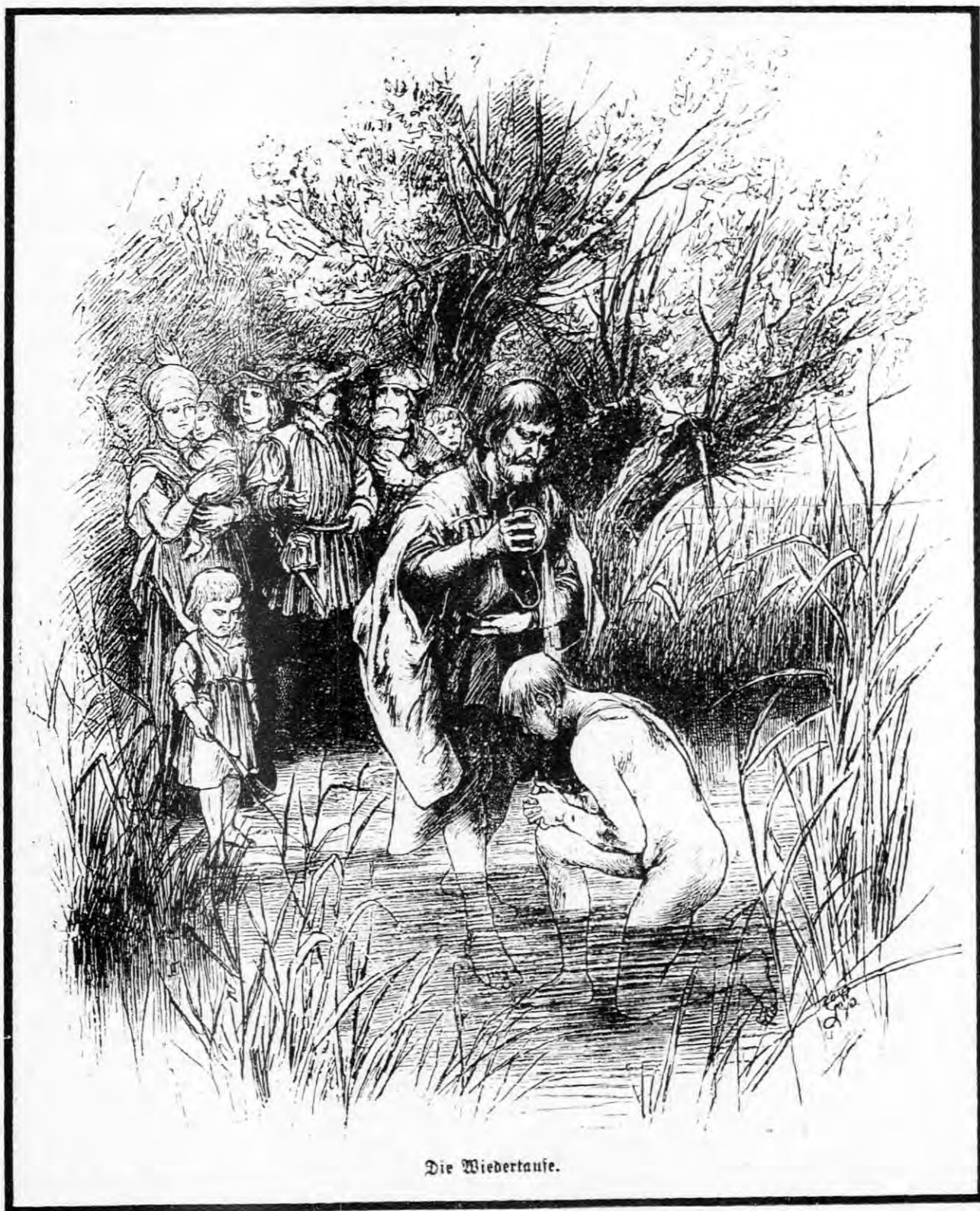
ON 16 AUGUST 1549, THE COMMANDER OF THE Order of St. John sold the Wädenswil Estate to Zürich's Council. In less than ten years, the chapel of Wädenswil Castle was demolished.^{89:88} The castle had become nothing but a ruin, and across the creek from it, Caspar, Heinrich, Görg and Jacob Bachman could also see the coming end of an era for the family's estate farm and mineral baths at Meierhof.^{89:60}

Baths throughout the Alps and the upper Rhineland had at first become synonymous with miraculous cures and earthy pleasures. In the early 1500s however, they also became the perfect home for outbreaks of syphilis, which gave an unforgettable chill to Spa Culture. As the writer Erasmus noted, the public baths had become empty and cold "because the new skin diseases have taught us to abstain from their use."^{65:133}

Paracelsus suffered his greatest disappointment by failing to find a cure for the bubonic plague, which had arrived from Asia into Italy's ports of commerce about the middle of the 14th Century. The deadly epidemic was spread by flea-infested rats carried aboard ships from one busy port to another. After anywhere between two to



MENNO SIMONS
SPIRITUAL FATHER OF THE MENNONITES



Die Wiedertaufe.

THE ANABAPTISTS

seven days following exposure to this Black Death, victims began to cough uncontrollably, spit up infectious blood, and their general difficulty in breathing turned the skin deep purple and finally black. In dense populations, its contagion spread like wild fire.

Made relatively remote by its mountains, Zürich was hit less than other Swiss districts — only three times in the early 17th Century — as compared to nine times in Geneva and six outbreaks in Basel; but not even the cloisters of Einsiedeln were spared.

Part of the credit for the light death toll in Zürich belongs to guards at the Gotthard Pass who halted all of the obviously ill that tried to escape overland from Italy. All merchandise entering the Confederation there had to be put into a quarantined smoke-house, which burned juniper-berries, dried rosemary, thyme, vermouth and

vine-wood. Cheese and furs were similarly clouded with incense. The possessions of infected people were confiscated, but unfortunately passed on to petty officials who unwittingly carried the contagion with them.^{65:133} Europe lost 25 million people before the plague was stifled by quarantines and improved sanitation.^{65:134}

The Baughman's earliest known kinsman in Canton Zug, a few miles south of Richterswil, was Adam Bachman. Nicknamed "Adam the Red," he was a retired abbot from the cloistered monastery at Einsiedeln, where Zwingli had also been a priest before becoming leader of the Swiss Reformation. It seemed that after serving one year as Scribe in the cantonal seat of Zug, Adam wanted to return to his hometown of Wahlbehörde and run for the same office in a local election in 1585. Bachman was



EARTHLY PLEASURES IN SWITZERLAND
JUST BEFORE A CHILL CAME TO SPA CULTURE IN ALL OF CENTRAL EUROPE

rejected by the town council's Board of Elections, without a reason offered, before he could even get on the ballot.

This contempt for the voters' right to choose their public officials stirred up emotions greatly. The ensuing "tumult" was dubbed the "Bachman Action" and required an arbitration from the Swiss federal authorities. They swiftly condemned this local injustice and reconsecrated the citizenry's rights of elective power. Adam was immediately elected town scribe and held the office until his death in 1588.^{86:514}

In the next century, when all injustices of Roman order had supposedly been fixed by the new Reformed Church in Switzerland, Bachmans were still urging change. The magistrate of Wädenswil reported on 8 October 1612 that the Anabaptists in his jurisdiction "have such a large following that no one wants to lay hands on them."^{90:1045} On 30 December, the Council of Zürich published a great Anabaptist edict, noting that "the erring Anabaptist sect in some places continues to increase" and that they would be "severely punished." At the same time, the edict warned state church clergy "who are guilty of the vice of drunkenness, avarice, debauchery" to stop immediately, since "it is these things that give the Anabaptists occasion to withdraw from our church."^{67:66}

On 2 January 1613, the church authorities in Zürich called for the first new debate with the Anabaptists in several generations "to win them from their erroneous ways."^{67:67} On 26 January, Rudolf Bachman the blacksmith joined Hans Landis, Gallus Fuchs and 12 others for a lengthy debate on Anabaptism at Wädenswil Castle.

A 28-page transcript recounts one of the last calm attempts by state church and civil authorities to tame religious dissent. Even though drastic punishments had been invoked against the Anabaptists for the last 88 years, with renewed expulsion orders in 1585, local officials tried a softer tactic: patient debate might dissuade some of them, and if not, self-incriminating testimony could be collected.^{37:53}

Fifteen Anabaptists accepted the invitation of Wädenswil's mayor, Rudolf Rohn, who hosted the debate at the ruins of the fortress castle. Representing Zürich was Hans Jacob Breiting, pastor of St. Peter's church, who was soon promoted to *Antistes*, leader of the faith for the entire canton. The parish pastors of Richterswil, Wädenswil and Horgen were also in attendance.

For the brethren, simply admitting their disobedience to the state church was a crime, but to insure a frank and open discussion, free speech became temporarily legal for that one day.

"Many things take place among them which one

cannot discover," summed up an adage whispered about the mysterious Anabaptists. Anti-authoritarian by nature, they took turns reading to each other from the Bible. Brother Jacob Isler had earlier been arrested as "treasurer." Hans Landis seemed to have the dynamic qualities of a leader, and was labeled "preacher," but during the Wädenswil debates he deferred for a number of important matters to Bachman, the blacksmith, and Fuchs.^{31:126}

Gallus, the schoolteacher, said, "I was a servant at Rapperswil, where I neither heard nor saw anything but 'eating and drinking, cursing and swearing and on every hand sin and lust,' and sought God to reveal the truth of His Word, when a brother from Hähren came, that declared with all earnestness of faith, if it does not change your life it cannot be the right faith; the works must follow."

Halfway into the proceedings, Bachman the smith



DER SCHMIDT

A BLACKSMITH OBSERVED BY JOST AMMAN, 1568

spoke up: "Thank you, gentlemen, for willingly listening to me and my brethren."

Mayor Rohn: "Yes. Now, Bachman, the Baptist."

Bachman: "When I was on my travels as a journeyman, and passed through Poland, Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, I saw and heard many a faith, but found none that suited me. I found out that what frightened them all, they denied by their deeds. So I had no choice but to go to church. The more I went to church, the less I did the right thing about this world, below and above. I wiled entire nights away, gobbling food and guzzling drink just like an animal. That pleased everyone, but I finally had to think: This way you shall not go to heaven. I pondered back and forth where I could find people who pleased God. So God led me to these brethren, who honored what God's word proclaimed and who tried to live accordingly. With them I shall remain as long as I breathe."

"So you can understand why I and my brethren believe that you [are erring] in respect to great sins and vices occurring in all classes of the people. Now, the Scriptures say he who goes with filthiness, carries it, and he who has both hands full of excrement, must not be touched."

Mayor Rohn: "Smith, you do not go much with the positive. And you are not behaving well."

Magistrate Grebel: "It is true, as you already recognize. You [Bachman] were godless. For in the entire district, there is no man with whom I have had more trouble than with you."

Bachman: "Yes, but I let go of it."

N.N. [An unnamed cleric]: "In church, no other things should be said but God's words."

Bachman: "We have heard the preaching from the pulpit. Scripture should be like rain and snow, without which no fruit will be borne. But this preaching will not bear any fruit, since it is only full of admonishment and punishment."

Breitinger: "It's nice to talk about rain and snow. Sometimes it refreshes the seeds."

Bachman: "It remains, nonetheless, that whoever dirties himself with excrement cannot touch or be touched."

Later, Bachman allowed that when he knew only the worldly life, his search for the true church had been as difficult as though made in the dark of night. The blacksmith quoted the scripture Sirach 13:1ef., drawing a warning from the mayor.

Mayor Rohn: "He shall not play with fire, or he will be burned."

Bachman: "Yes, I have learned thereof."

N.N.: "You can lead a pious life in the [Reformed] Church."

Bachman: "Even your preachers say, 'There is no true fruit from their preaching — not the correct faith.'" ^{71.131}

Breitinger kept pressing for a fuller explanation on why the brethren had separated from the state church. The response, over and over, was how sinful the church had become, and that sinners should not be taking communion with the godly. But if the brethren returned, another argument began, their holy living could be the best inspiration among the sinners — "the holier the better."

"We are ready to sacrifice life, body, property, and blood," answered the brethren. Gallus Fuchs went so far as to propose that the church at Horgen be loaned for awhile to the Anabaptists so that surrounding townsfolk could choose between them and the state church pastors. ^{70.206}

The brethren were repeatedly asked why they would not render obedience to the Council of Zürich. They replied that obedience was possible, but begged the Council to grant them liberty of conscience. ^{67.67}

The spirit of these discussions was described in the official transcript as "friendly," but the arguments of both sides, no matter how clearly expressed, failed to change the other. Landis was offered the chance to leave the canton but he refused, saying, "The earth is the Lord's and no one has the authority to expel [us]."

Two months later, another debate in Zürich was held, but with no better hope of peace. In these exchanges, Landis outraged the authorities by claiming Christ would not be a member of the government, and that Anabaptists would refuse to help defend Zürich if enemies invaded. ^{70.206}

Landis, Fuchs and Stephan Zehender were dispatched in chains for six years in slavery, all being sentenced to row a galley ship for the French navy. By a stroke of fortune in Solothurn, they managed to escape.

The blacksmith Bachman was mentioned again in a governor's report later that spring. He belonged to one of the 14 area families and eight single women still caught in "economic distress," the euphemistic code used by the government to indicate that fines were crippling the dissidents.

By the next year, the 70-year-old Landis could not keep himself away from his brethren and homeland, and so returned. The magistrate in Wädenswil failed to discover his hiding place for many weeks since "everybody sympathized with them and warned them, so that nobody could be trusted."

In 1614, Landis, Fuchs and Meili were finally arrested again, and Landis was beheaded at Zürich in September, the last Swiss Mennonite ordered to execution for the sake of his faith. One of Landis's

fellow brethren leaders recounted the day in a letter written 45 years later:

"...The Beheading of Hans Landis, which I also still remember well, having seen it myself in the Wolfsstadt, the whole transaction being as fresh in my recollection, as though it had happened but a few weeks ago...

"Hans Landis was a tall, stately person, with a long black and gray beard, and a manful voice.

"When he, cheerful and of good courage, was led out, by a rope, to the fish market on the Wolfsstadt (being the place made ready for his execution), the executioner, Paull Volmar dropped the rope, and lifting up both of his hands to heaven, spoke these words:

"O that God, to whom I make my complaint, might have compassion; that you, Hans, have come into my hands in this manner; forgive me, for God's sake, that which I must do to you."

"Hans Landis comforted the executioner, saying that he had already forgiven him; God would forgive him, too; he well knew that he had to execute the order of the authorities; he should not be afraid, and see that there was no hindrance in his way.

"Thereupon he was beheaded. After his head had been struck off, the executioner asked: 'Lord bailiff of the Empire, have I executed this man rightly according to imperial law and sentence?' Otherwise it was customary to say: 'This poor fellow,' etc..."

"The people were of the opinion, that the executioner by dropping the rope meant to indicate to Hans that he should run away, it was also generally said: that if he had run away, no one would have followed him, to stop him." 48:1104

The authorities had already confiscated the Landis farm, but were afraid that if his widow and children were allowed to remain in their house a "new nest and hiding-place of Anabaptist teaching would develop." The 60-year-old Margareta Hochstrasser Landis found herself enchained at a prison hospital where authorities hoped the daily preaching there to all patients might convert her. 70:210

The Crackdown in Richterswil

AS THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR RAGED ON TO THE north, the Swiss began to worry if their official neutrality would protect them. The very natures of war and Europe were changing. Nationalism and a hatred of foreigners and all foreign things emerged among the common public. Terrible firepower, in the form of handy shoulder guns, was for the first time common for just about every second foot soldier and cavalryman. The smoke and deafening confusion this created on the battlefield made the first standard uniforms necessary as

well. Also for the first time, English armies brought tobacco from their new colonies in America to the continent and soldiers on all sides quickly took up the habit.

Because of the rise of newer printing methods, it also became the first war covered in the modern sense by widely distributed newspapers.^{72:7} Seven thousand refugees from southern Germany tried to find safety in Canton Zürich one year, but the authorities insisted that the "beggars" be forcibly pushed back across the bridge at Eglisau.^{72:104} Nervous Switzerland began to fortify its own armies and search everywhere for dissent that might weaken the country from within.

Beginning in 1633, the state church in Canton Zürich revived a persecution of the brethren that lasted



TRIMMING THE TONGUE OF HERESY
THE STATE TRIED TO SILENCE CRITICISM WITH TORTURE

twelve years. A census of the entire population begun that year was intended to root out the heretics. The neighborhood priests in Canton Zürich assembled a list of 182 brethren over the age of 20. Richterswil accounted for 12, and Wädenswil another eight. The only village to have more was Hirzel, next door.

Another public debate was arranged in Knonau for 17 August 1635, with the brethren from Wädenswil and Grüningen also invited. By then, 71 Anabaptists in the Wädenswil area had been identified, but only 36 were willing to come to the debate. The argument that day proved fruitless, so the canton's tactics became even more blunt: Recant in writing or leave. Peter Bruppacher in Wädenswil wrote on behalf of eight others who signed, "and many others" who tried to remain anonymous, all rejecting the moral authority of the state to force the issue.^{90:1045}

The peak of persecution in Canton Zürich followed

in 1637, when most of Anabaptist families saw their elders arrested — perhaps 300 adults in all. Many of their children were taken away, and their custody was awarded to strangers.^{76:59}

Another state church census tallied every Richterswil household in 1637, for a total of 930 people. The pastor noted that Rudolf Bachman lived adjacent to the ruined castle at Wädenswil and was "an almost vehement Anabaptist." The community of Swiss brethren respected Rudolf as the *Ältester* — meaning Elder — at Old Castle. Sometimes this title referred to the office of Deacon.^{90:1046} Although he was quite sick in 1640, Rudolf was arrested on account of his faith, chained to a sled and dragged 16 miles to the Ötenbach Prison in Zürich, where he died still in custody in 1653.^{48:1118 & 304} Twenty more men and women perished in the same way, either as unwilling "patients" in the prison hospital, or as prisoners of conscience in the wintry cold, dampness



THE MASS ARREST OF ANABAPTISTS IN ZÜRICH, 1637

and hunger in the dungeons at Ötenbach monastery "so unhealthful that clothing turns gray with mould." ^{67:68} The *Zürich-Lied*, a hymn of 49 stanzas written by Hans Rycher, recalled the sacrifice of Rudolf Bachman and five other Anabaptists between 1639 and 1640 at the prison. ⁸² See Appendix B, pages 185-190

The chronicle of an anonymous Anabaptist from Zürich describes the difficult beginnings of a young couple who got married on 15 March 1641, a sorry tale repeated many times among the brethren. A little after this union, which was learned of and judged illegal by the authorities, the husband Hans Ringger from Rossau, near Mettmensstetten, was intercepted and taken away to Zürich. In the basement of the hospital at Ötenbach, authorities interrogated and beat Ringger in order to learn the identities of all those at the wedding ceremony. The bride immediately fled Switzerland; but following her groom's release from prison, they were able to be reunited when he was banished to Alsace. ^{36:53}

One night toward the end of 1642, all of the brethren from the area were gathered for their regular worship service. An account of that night is preserved through letters written by Jeremias Mangold and Martin Meili between 1635 and 1645, and published both in the *Ausbund* hymnal and the *Martyr's Mirror*.

"The enemy came with a cruel, noisy gang and fell on them at night while they had a meeting in a stable. They approached with a loud horrifying cry... so that even the cattle began to bawl and bellow because of the unmerciful, unkind and inhuman treatment.

"At this they bound some of the men as well as the women and led them to the castle in Wädenswil in wet frozen clothing and cast them in jail. Later they took them to Zürich in the Ötenbach jail.

"They did not stay long until they released the men. The women had to stay a little longer and for a time, two of them were deprived of their clothing each night and in the morning they would get them again." These women were also eventually released. ^{34:857}

The next year, Elizabeth Bachman of Grüningen, the wife of Jaggli Hess of Bartschwyl, along with her two sisters, Elssa, wife of Jacob Isselme of Knonau, and Sarah, wife of Hans Phister, were dragged off to Ötenbach for their Anabaptist beliefs. They were held in miserable conditions until all three perished. ^{48:1120}

These same letters also recorded the harsh treatment, torture and imprisonment of Peter Bruppacher of Wädenswil; Martin, Barbara, Elizabeth and Hans Meili, Sr., Pastor Heinrich Schnebeli, Heinrich Gut, Hans and Catharina Müller, Hans Ringg and his wife — all of Knonau; Jacob Gochner and Catherine Forrer of Grüningen; the preacher Rudolf Hägi, Hans Huber and Hans Rudolf Bauman of Horgerberg; Hans Jacob Hess, Conrad Strickler, Barbara Neff, the elderly Jacob

Baumgartner and most of Oswald Landis' family ^{48:1109-1215} Breitinger became enraged and offered them but two choices: "Either you attend the State Church or you go to jail and die there." ^{34:841}

In 1646, the citizens of Richterswil and Wädenswil rose up for the third time to fight taxation without representation. The council of Zürich wanted a new one percent tax on each citizen's capital wealth to pay for the military fortification of the canton's southern frontier.

Under a renewed sense of danger, the leaders in Zürich didn't bother to consult with citizens about how a tax might be levied fairly. This violated two historic pledges written by Zürich to guarantee democratic freedoms: the Waldman Letters of 1489 and the Kappel Letters of 1531. The Richterswilers knew these documents well because the original copies were lovingly preserved in the blanket chest of their hometown constable named Goldschmidt.

In late April of 1646, the town leaders were summoned to the old castle at Wädenswil and notified that the tax would be collected on 7 July. All present agreed that they owed the tax but wanted to criticize its design. They felt it should not rely on self-evaluation, as it did, but derive from some clear, objective schedule. They also insisted that it be a one-time-only assessment, not an annual habit. A follow-up meeting in June met even worse resistance from 30 leading citizens, who complained that the year had yielded only a poor crop, especially because of insect damage. Only three of the people attending agreed to the tax this time.

On 5 July, the Sunday before the tax deadline, the state church pastor in Wädenswil mounted his pulpit and found an anonymous poem waiting on it. Its two verses expressed contempt for the tax and warned the magistrate, Hans Conrad Grebel, that he would be shot if he did not give up collecting it. The poem implied that 40 farmers were behind this promise, and that their numbers would grow to 80 or more if bigger trouble came.

The people refused to assemble for the tax collector on 7 July, but instead gathered at their community meetinghouse. They demanded a postponement of 30 days so that a congress of the people could be held. The voters of Richterswil declared that they would only pay if they would first be recognized as fully entitled citizens of Zürich.

On 2 August, Grebel made fresh, persuasive arguments based on another cornerstone of local freedoms for the Swiss, being the *Burgrecht* or Town Rights of 1342. After these explanations, some of the town elders were ready to give in, but Constable Goldschmidt rallied their spirits, shouting, "Let us resist!"

More weeks of meetings followed, and the town elders became fully convinced about the justice of the rebellion. Each of these meetings started out in a prayer: "We want to be obedient with our bodies, property and blood," but every time they concluded that it was time to risk their very lives. Goldschmidt went to Lothen, a nearby town, telling the story and earning their sympathy and promises of support. Word spread to the district of Knonau, and the rebellion took hold there as well.

On 23 August 1646, the schoolmaster Rudi Danner was enlisted to compose and design a petition to the Zürich government that 150 Richterswilers immediately signed. Within three days, a delegation delivered the signatures in person.

The emissaries on 26 August 1646 signed as Constable Gattiker, Hans Friedrich Bachman, Little Uli Schnyder, Hans Bruppacher, Hans Heinrich Suter, Lieutenant Huber and Hans Heinrich Zollinger, all from Wädenswil village.^{64:115a} From the western side of the castle came Konrad Eschman, Jacob Eschman, Gallus Strickler, Ulrich Strickler, Claus Hauser, Jacob Hoffman the shoemaker, Hans Rudolf Stickli the miller, Conrad Hauser and Georg Staub.^{64:155b} The Richterswil delegation included Constable Goldschmidt, Cornel

Müller, Hans Heinrich Hauser, the elder, Conrad Goldschmidt, Friedrich Strickler and Peter Wild; and from the east side of the castle lands came Jacob Strickler from Fellmas, Rudolf Schärer, Hans Jacob Staub, Caspar Züricher, Conrad Bruppacher in Löchli and Andreas Strickler in Segell.^{64:116a}

Only a few local loyalists were against the rebellion, notably a quarry master named Schmidt and a Captain Ischman from Wädenswil, who was often threatened by his neighbors for doing so.

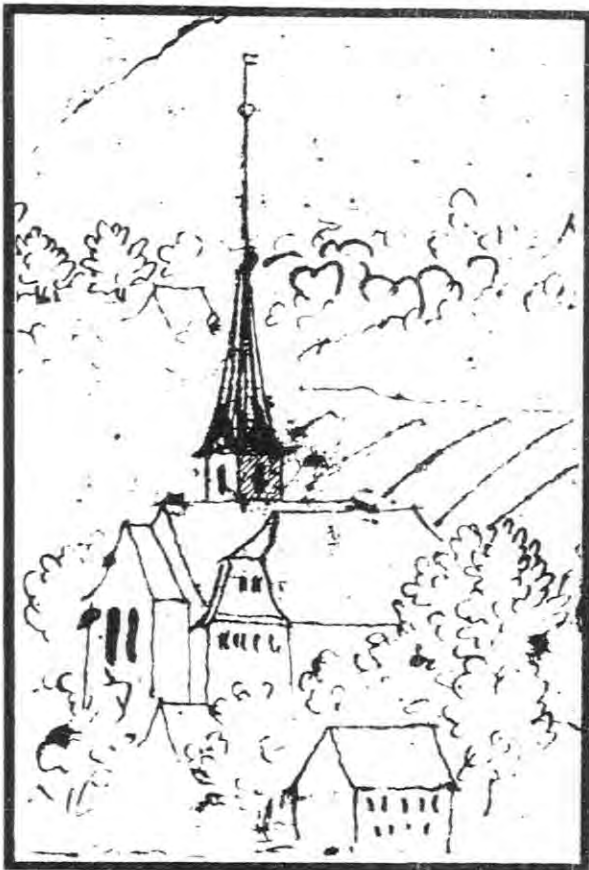
To retaliate, Zürich's authorities sealed off the whole area with a total military blockade of travel and commerce. Major-General Hans Rudolf Werdmüller was dispatched southbound on Lake Zürich to enforce the quarantine with 2,300 soldiers and four cannons aboard a flotilla of 100 boats. When the rebels tried to get at stores of gunpowder from the armory at Wädenswil Castle, but could not, courage began to fail them. Grebel announced that the resistance in neighboring Knonau had given up, and that help from the southern cantons could never arrive in time. The people's spirits were completely drowned as they gathered at the Zollinger Meadow in a sudden downpour of rain.

General Werdmüller's troops arrived offshore from Wädenswil on 18 September at five in the afternoon and found crowds of frightened people holding up white-painted sticks of surrender, their arms outstretched in appeals for mercy.

A delegation of 53 had already left for Zürich in an attempt to defuse the invasion. The emissaries on 19 September of 1646 from Wädenswil included Friedrich Bruppacher, Ulrich Wild, Seckelmeister Stroüwli, and from near the castle, Jos Bruppacher.^{64:239b-240a} From Richterswil came Mayor Hans Rudolff Schmidt, Heinrich Wildt, Jacob Tanner, Heinrich Widmer, and from their side of the castle lands, Peter Strickler and Lorenz Leeman.^{64:241b} Zürich's leaders refused to see these men since the original rebel organizers were not among them.

By Monday, 21 September, the heads of the rebellion had disappeared, and the blacksmith Hans Friedrich Bachman, the miller Hans Rudolf Stickli and Caspar Bruppacher were known to have escaped across the border into Canton Schwyz. Constables Gattiker and Goldschmidt, Hans Bruppacher and Lieutenant Huber were betrayed by an informant in town. Zürich troops ambushed and seized them at the lakeshore, and under strong guard took them by boat back to Ottenbach.^{69:81}

The next day, after hearing a long oration from the state church authorities on repentance, all of the men of the area were ordered to bring their weapons to the Zollinger Meadow. A crowd of 450 men, women and children submitted to the authorities from Zürich for a severe oath intended to first humiliate them and then



THE CHURCH AT WÄDENSWIL
WHERE THE PULPIT POEM WAS FOUND WAITING

pardon their offenses. No list of these names survives. Another leader of the occupying force, Stadtholder Leu, started off his speech by saying, "To the Rebellious perjurers and rambunctious people here, you forgot all about Honor, Loyalty, Oaths and God. You are worthy to be stripped of all your freedom and, without pity or grace, to be cut down. You raised your arms against a gentle authority, for which reason you are not even worth being used as a defense against other enemies."

Stadtholder Hirzel started to read the names of some of the rebels, and when he spoke Goldschmidt's name, the rebel's son stepped forward and said, "That is I." His attempt to say more was stopped short.

"You are a rogue, just like your father." Whereupon the boy was tied and dragged to the castle. When the soldiers ordered all rebel weapons turned in, a man from Richterswil named Wieman stepped forward, saying, "I've been loyal to authority, and cannot be accounted to the mass of humiliated rebels, but should be counted among the innocent. People should be allowed to keep weapons since our borders are always in danger." As answer to this appeal, each man was allowed to keep his short sword, but all of the axes, spears and firearms had to be given up. At the close, every person there was forced to swear an even more strongly worded oath of allegiance.

Soldiers broke into Goldschmidt's home and confiscated the sacred old documents, including the Waldmann and Kappel Letters of Freedom. By order of Grebel, the post of constable could no longer be an elected position. Among the 13 ultimately taken away as prisoners were Friederich Hans Bachman, Jacob Äschman, Ulrich Strickler, Caspar Schorrer, Peter Rusterholz, Hans Jacob Rusterholz, Conrad Goldschmidt and Jacob Stickli.^{64:268b} Although Grebel tried to intervene, Goldschmidt and three other leaders were executed on 5 October. Even the anonymous Pulpit Poem was investigated. The author's identity was finally uncovered by the authorities — although they kept it a secret — and he met his executioner on 5 November.

Just two months later, all weapons were returned to the Richterswilers. The townsman Wieman had been right about threats to Zürich's southern frontier. Within another decade, full-scale war broke out again. The First Villmerger War required the draft of three companies of Richterswil men to join with Zürich troops from Rapperswil. General Werdmüller led them into a sudden massacre that was recalled in the church book at Richterswil. On 1 Hornung 1656 (which would have been 12 February) a group of townsmen were buried together and a notation was saved by the state church pastor:

"These people were partially cut down and partially

murdered at the occasion of the unforeseen, regrettable, sudden January attack in Richterswil. A contingent of [soldiers from the cantons of] Schwyz, Zug and foreign mercenaries did it. With that, no doubt, the draftees [from Richterswil] were murdered in defense of women, old folks and children who were, in part, also brutally mutilated. It is a tragic day in the church register, and for twenty from this town who lost their lives in this way."

On the list were Jacob and Heinrich Strickler, Margaretha Hiestand, who was the widow of Ulrich Strickler, Hans Hiestand, Hans Jacob Staub, Hansenman Danner, Jagli Bodmer, Barbara Rusterholtz and 12 others.

Out From the Soil at Old Castle

ONE VILLAGE WITH SO MANY BACHMANS LIVING there — and leaving it — certainly invites a closer look: twenty separate Bachman households yielded 98 people, ranking them along with the Hausers, Hiestands and Stricklers as the largest families in Richterswil.

The earliest surviving roll of Richterswil's families dates to the 1634 census taken by state church pastors throughout the canton. Neighboring towns enjoy unbroken registries of marriage, baptism and death — some dating back to the early 1500s — and Richterswil had these as well until their first volume ended up missing after an 18th-century inventory.

Four years before his arrest, Rudolf Bachman, the blacksmith, appeared among the families living below the ruins of Wädenswil Castle. The account of Rudolf's arrest in the *Martyr's Mirror* takes special note of his advanced age, and this in a town where many others were well into their eighties and one distinguished citizen lived to 106. In this light, an estimated birth year of 1565, or even earlier, could be realistic. Rudolf and his wife Verena Ryff were living with the young family of Heinrich Bachman (born 1614), in keeping with the tradition of *ultimogeniture*, where the last of a man's sons took care of him through his final years and in turn received ownership of the old homestead. This Heinrich, also a blacksmith, may likely be the same man as the one who headed household N° 163 during the 1650 census. In 1653, when Rudolf died, the smithy business inherited by Heinrich was ordered to forfeit over 248 talers to pay for his father's time at the prison infirmary. Heinrich's brother, Hans Jaggli (1628) was named as secondarily responsible, although he had fled to Jepsen in Alsace.³⁰⁴ Sixteen years later, Heinrich had a different wife, but otherwise fit the description of the provost who left for Alsace with his sons in 1660. Document on page 211.

With them in the same apparent "generation" was Martin (ca. 1580), Hans Jacob (ca. 1592), another Heinrich (ca. 1595), Jacob (ca. 1602), Andreas (1607), Barbara (1607), Andreas (ca. 1608), Georg (ca. 1610), Verena (ca. 1612), Hansenman (1616) and Hans (1619).

The label "Anabaptist" was noted beside the elder Rudolf as well as by Verena Bachman, married to Andreas Wild, and both Barbal Bachman and her husband Hans Thaler. One young Hans Bachman was listed as a laborer, living with the household of Jodocus Bruppacher; another apprenticed with Conrad Äschman.

After comparing over a century of birth records, only one case exists where the Bachman families in Richterswil gave newborn cousins the same first names in the same year. In this review, a birth year following a name will suffice for the individualization of similar names. For his own clarity in record keeping, and perhaps adopting the same nicknames used in the community at large, the pastor of Richterswil used basic descriptors, such as Young Hans, or Hans, son of Hansenman, or Hans at the Old Castle. Even during a flurry of living Hans Bachmans in any given decade, this method afforded clear identification.

Surely, the arrest of their patriarch and his death in prison would have been a blow to the whole Bachman family. The genealogical cascade from the second generation shows clear patterns of grandchildren named in his honor. The focus of this study, however, will be more on those who identified with the brethren, married into other Anabaptist families or fled from Switzerland.

With baptismal records that begin in 1650, it is possible to see how the Bachman families fanned out within two miles from the roots at Old Castle. They seemed drawn to the highland frontier, in ready walking distance to a border nearby. They picked land far away from the authorities, but their homes were still in the middle of danger. Trouble arrived from the south, forcing every generation to endure another war. These same ingrained patterns — seemingly inherited — would haunt later generations of Bachmans no matter where they tried to start over.

The hamlets surrounding Richterswil were little more than crossroads — two or three homesteads huddled in the midst of their farming acreage. Hirtenstall was right outside of town, heading in the general direction of blacksmith Rudolf's place.

A mile from town and right on the western boundary of the parish district, the village of Old Castle sat immediately below the broken twin towers of the ancient fortress. The knights decided to give the castle to Zürich in 1549, but in the following year, as part of the redrawing of borders with Canton Schwyz, the Diet of Zürich decided against restoring and strengthening the old stone walls. When the two cantons finally hammered

out their common border, Schönenwerd Island remained with Richterswil and its southern tip defined the line. The closest property on shore belonged to the Leaman, Treichler, Widmer and Goldschmidt families.³³

By 1557, with its roof collapsing, the castle was left as an uninhabitable ruin.^{79:11:8} Nonetheless, the old stone walls continued to be a gathering spot and focal point for the community. This hilltop separated Richterswil from its neighbor Wädenswil, which was one more mile northwest along the lakeshore.

Heading inland, and close to the border with Cantons Schwyz, were Schwanden, Haslen, Löhli, Weberrüti and Hütten. In the following centuries, Bachmans became entrenched into these seven villages, even through the middle of wars raging around them. See map on page 170

Three Bachman family lines account for the Anabaptist activity under that name in Richterswil. From Hansenman Bachman (1616) came three sons that warrant attention in this study: Johannes (1637), Heinrich (1655) and Hans (1660). The first brother had a son Hansenman (1677) who in turn had a son Heinrich (1711), noted in better detail below. The second of the brothers lived in Löhli and had a son named Hans Heinrich (1683) who had a son Jacob (1718) who emigrated. The third brother lived in Weberrüti, and was himself an emigrant.

The second important line descends from Johannes Jacob Bachman (1628) of Old Castle and involves a correction to earlier research published in *Some Ancestors of the Baughman Family in America*. From among this father's children came a son Johannes Rudolf (1659). Confusion occurred, and a generation became collapsed and overlooked, because this son had a son also named Johannes Rudolf (1693), an emigrant, who was actually the young father of the second Heinrich (1711) and another emigrant discussed below, Rudolf (1715). Suggested by the syntax on a later list, the elder Martin Bachman and his brother Heinrich Bachman the provost, both emigrants, were also part of the family line from Old Castle.

The third significant line descends from another Johannes Jacob Bachman (1629), four of whose offspring fled Richterswil. The first born was Hans Heinrich (1656), bound for Markirch in Alsace by 1680. The second was Jos (1657) also known by the names Jodocus or Oswald or Osli, who had a son named Hans Georg (1686) who emigrated to Ibersheim. The third born was Martin (1659), who emigrated to Alsace in 1678; and the fourth son was Hans (1661) who went to Breisach in the same year.

A detailed chart of the known Bachman households at Richterswil and Wädenswil appears at the end of this book. See Appendix A, pages 181-184

Das he=stau= und
 odenbüch der
 Gemeinde Richten=schweil



THE MARRIAGE, BAPTISM AND DEATH BOOK OF THE PARISH RICHTERSWIL.
WITH AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE CHURCH AND PASTOR'S RESIDENCE BY FELIX VÖGLER

A Cruel Record

IN 1650, THE PARISH OF THE EVANGELICAL Reformed Church in Richterswil tallied "1,189 souls" spread among 800 separate households.⁴⁶ Fifty years later, there were 1,560 people. The entire parish could still be divided up among four dozen surnames. In the rolls of the 17th and 18th centuries may be counted these 36 families:

ÄPLI	HAUSER	RUSTERHOLTZ
ÄSCHMAN	HIESTAND	RYFF
BACHMAN	HERR	SCHÄLLENBERG
BÄR	HUBER	SCHÄRER
BAUMAN	KAUFFMAN	SCHAUB
BODMER	LANDIS	SCHMIDT
BRUPPACHER	LEAMAN	SCHNEIDER
DÄGEN	LICHTI	STÖCKLI
DANNER	MÜLLER	STRICKLER
DETWEILER	MOYER	TREICHLER
FRICK	OBERHOLTZER	WIDMER
GRÖFF	RINGGER	WILD

The 1662 list of emigrants from Richterswil showed three Bachmans, including the two brothers, Jacob and Caspar, heading north along the Rhine. Jacob went to Jepsen, also known as Jepsenheim or Jebheim, in the Germanic Alsace. Next to Caspar's name, military service was noted. Beside them was Hans Jacob Bachman, house builder.

Antagonism between the state pastor at Richterswil and those straying brethren outside his flock was made obvious in the official marriage and baptismal register kept at the church. In southwest Canton Zürich, many Anabaptist families reluctantly submitted to the expensive, theologically insulting and unwanted blessings that the state church could bestow on them. Occasionally, they plainly resisted, but that was a sure way to draw harsh attention and penalties down on their heads.

For example, Johannes Jacob Bachman (1629) and Regula Strickler never had their son Jos baptized in 1657. The Johannes Jacob Bachman (1628) married to Elisabetha Hauser had a son soon thereafter named Hans Rudolf (1659) who was, without notation or explanation, boldly crossed off the baptismal registry. The same censure happened to Jacob Strickler and Regula Gottinger, who were discovered to have rebaptized their son at a later age privately, dropping the name Hans Georg that the state church had registered for him and switching it to Peter. This disobedience was noted in the margin and the original listing was also boldly crossed out.

In the 50 years between 1665 and 1715, the state

church registry in Richterswil declared 23 children of families related to the Anabaptists to be illegitimate, inscribing the Latin term *Spuria* beside them in letters larger than their names. The list included four babies born to Bachmans: Hans Caspar (1684), son of Hans Bachman and Esther Schwartzbach; Susanna (1687), born to Susanna Bachman and Hans Jacob Düler; Susanna (1698), born to Heinrich Bachman and Barbara Goldschmidt; and Jacob (1703), born to Hansenman Bachman and Barbara Goldschmidt.

A notation in the Richterswil church book also singled out Rudi Bachman and Verena Schäpin: "She was brought before the marriage court in 1721 because she had committed 'an unfaithful act,' and they knew each other and soon thereafter she became pregnant. They were punished and soon thereafter they were married together.

"Elizabeth Bachman was also punished bodily and then was married to Rudi Ringger."⁵¹

The remaining combinations of young men and women revealed the names — and almost *only* those names — at odds with the state church: Äpli, Äschman, Bär, Danner, Hauser, Hiestand, Landis, Lichti, Ringger and Strickler. It may also be significant that a dozen of these "illegitimate" baptisms attracted two men to be the sponsor or godfather over and over, namely Johannes Reichardt and Hans Jacob Schärer.

Perhaps these young couples were merely unable "to resist nature" as the old People's Priest Hans Bachman had worried, or perhaps they had a chronic distaste for the sacraments offered through the state pastor. Because the state refused to recognize any marriage performed by the Anabaptists, such newlyweds often got labeled as "fornicators."

Across the generations, though, many members of these same families took turns supporting each other at the required church ceremonies. On 1 July 1677, there was a double christening service — for Annali Bachman's baby boy Hans Jacob, that she had with Jagali Bär, where her sponsors were Hans Jacob and Barbara Huber; and at the same time for baby Ulrich Strickler, named in honor of godfather Hans Ulrich Bachman. The parents were Conrad Strickler and Annali Danner, and the pastor couldn't keep from marking the event "*Gravida. Ante Nupt.*" to indicate that this grave event, the pregnancy, happened before he had been able to perform a proper marriage ceremony.

Because Zürich decreed that Anabaptist marriages were null and void, and all their children therefore illegitimate, any succeeding generations were legally incapable of inheriting property.^{76:58} Swiss brethren thrown into prison also forfeited their property — a tactic designed to pressure whole families and even towns with sudden poverty. Sometimes, as with the Huber

family, a confiscated farm was cruelly offered back to them at impossible rates of rent. After the convicted dissenters died in prison, or were simply expelled from Switzerland, officials decided to give back support money to their heirs in the form of "alms."

Despite this antagonism, the Bachmans did not withdraw from supporting their community. Susanna Bachman, wife of Hans Georg Strickler, wanted 60 talers of her personal wealth to go to Richterswil's school children upon her death. Few other townsfolk surpassed the generosity of her bequest. Unfortunately, because the state church administered the school's finances, the pastor took over Susanna Bachman's money.^{51:5}

No Word From Him Has Been Heard

DURING THE 1650s, AN ESTIMATED 1,661 Anabaptists fled from Canton Zürich. Unpublished "alms rolls" have survived in the cantonal archives, including the following list from Richterswil, dated 19 March 1679.^{30:4} Childhood nicknames turned Johannes into Hanseli or Hansi, Heinrich into Heini, Rudolf into Rudi, Jacob into Jakobli or Jaggli, Barbara into Barbal, and Georg into Jörgli.

"N° 30: Jakob Strickler's four sons. As of this date in the Kurpfalz and unknown whether dead or alive. Note Well: Nobody is on hand.

"N° 34: Hans [1630], also Rudolf [1641] and Heini [1645] and Konrad [1640], the Hiestands in Haslen, brethren. Note Well: Heini died unmarried. Konrad was an Anabaptist, is said to be in the Kurpfalz in Ybersheim, and had several male progeny. [*Kungold Hiestand (1658) from Richterswil married the Anabaptist Hans Stauffer from Eggwil in Canton Bern and moved in 1710 to Skippack Township in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania.*]

"N° 40: Heinrich Ringger [1654], the son of 'Theggers,' at this time is in foreign lands." [*The mother of Heinrich was Verena Bachman (1619).*]

The alms rolls on 4 April 1716 were later updated with additional commentary:

"N° 79: Hans Rudolf Bachmann [1659], in Hirtenstall. Note Well: Had two sons as heirs: Hans Jakob [1689] (carpenter) and Hans Rudi [1693] (for many years in foreign lands and no word of him is known, was a blacksmith making blades)

"Heinrich Bachmann [1683], son of Hansenman, in Löchli. Note Well: At this time he is the church superintendent [*wachter*] in Stern. ^{55:119} Had two sons: Andreas [1709] of Richterswil; Jakob [1718], in America in 1748 according to writings sent to his father Heinrich the administrator, died 4 April 1757.

"N° 80: Hans Bachmann [1660], known as Hänsi, son of Hansenman, in foreign lands. Note Well: Progeny accounted for, living in Richterswil (Weberütli). Reportedly out of the country temporarily!

"N° 81: Oswald Bachmann [1657, also called Jos or Jodocus], the son of Hans Jagli. Note Well: Lives at the Old Castle. Had four sons as heirs, Hans Jörgli [baptized 2 May 1686], Jörgli [8 March 1679], Hans Heinrich [14 February 1685] and Heinrich (nicknamed 'Oil Heinrich') [14 May 1682]. Hans Jörgli for many years in Kurpfalz, was an Anabaptist, moved to America in Pensilvania, living by a great swamp, according to various letters to his father, had sons. [*The above Hans Georg moved to Ibersheim and was eventually at Saucon Township in Pennsylvania. In 1735, he lived on the edge of the Mennonite community at Great Swamp Creek in Old Bucks County, the area of present-day Coopersburg in Lehigh County.*]

"N° 82: Johannes, Hans Jakob and Jakob Bachmann, Oswald's brothers. Note Well: Heinrich (not the one mentioned above) the old provost marshal [*Profos*], has been in Alsace for 56 years with no word about him. Had three sons that he took away with him: Hanseli, Jakobli and another, name not known, and not another word from them is known. Note Well: Martin Bachmann, the brother of Heinrich the provost, is in the Netherlands and no word from him has been heard."

Oswald's younger brothers, Martin Bachman [1659] and Hans [1661] headed up the Rhine in 1678. [*Likely the Hans Bachman of Heidolsheim.*] Hans Heinrich Bachman [1656], an Anabaptist, left for Markkirch in Alsace the year after the alms roll was reported.⁷⁹

Pastor Felix Vogler, the state church chamberlain in Richterswil, recalled a much more cursory list on 15 May 1744. Canton officials were alarmed by the avalanche of departing Swiss. A stiff exit tax, called the *Abzug*, tried to discourage those who might consider joining the exodus. At the very least, one last healthy tithe was taken from them. To measure the hemorrhage, and how many "midnight" departures had cheated the government out of its emigration tax, every local district was ordered to list those who had recently fled. Zürich lost at least 2,300 citizens during the ten years leading up to the tally Vogler helped compile. Secret departures added at least another 200 people, according to scholarly estimates.^{83:24}

Another state church pastor nearby claimed, "...As far as my parish is concerned, I do not know of a single person who has cherished a desire for this so-called *Schlaraffenland* [Promised Land], where, according to some people's fancy, roast pigeons fly into one's mouth, nor one who has departed thither... to such a 'fruitful land,' as many frivolous persons believe Carolina or Pennsylvania to be."^{61:49} Of course Pastor Vogler and all

other state church shepherds had a conflict of interest in these reports. Their first duty was to keep the flock from straying, but failing this, to at least monitor the adequate collection of the *Abzug*.

On List No.68, Vogler reported "Rodolph Bachman [1715], son of Rodolf [1693], is said to have gone to Carolina about five years ago [1739], but we know nothing of him... Still another Bachman is said to have gone to Pennsylvania before the war [1712], and to have died there." ^{61:75} It was beyond Vogler's orders to reach back 55 years for the disappearance of Ulrich Bachman and his entire family, sometime before 1689, or to make up for the omissions from his predecessor's emigration reports between 1657 and 1663.

Vogler also didn't raise the much more recent disappearance of two Bachman cousins. Both were named Heinrich, both were born in Richterswil, and both were born in the autumn of 1711 — the son of Hansenman Bachman on 7 September and the son of Hans Rudolf Bachman on 13 October. Hans Rudolf's boy had temporary permission to be traveling up the Rhine and was reported drowned on 12 March 1733. His body was never found. Hansenman's boy was working in the pond of a miller in Wädenswil on 31 July 1735 and simply vanished. It was assumed that he had drowned even though his body was also never recovered.

It bears repeating that Hans Rudolf (1693), father to Heinrich, also disappeared to the Kurpfalz, as did Heinrich's younger brother, Rudolf (1715). It is this first Heinrich who is thought to have boarded the *Jamaica Galley* in 1738 and arrived in Philadelphia. If the other Heinrich also went to America, perhaps aboard the *Lydia* in 1749, then the second Henry Baughman of the Shenandoah Valley, who died in Greenbrier County, Virginia, could also be neatly accounted for.

At least one of the Bär families was transplanted to Richterswil from a few miles off to the west, in the village of Bruder Albis. Appearing in the 1650 census for the first time, Hans Jakob settled at Kneüwis-Hof with his seven children. Perhaps because he was the son of two parents of notorious Anabaptist persuasion, the state church pastor at Richterswil noted the following beside his name:

"All of them came to us only a few weeks ago from the region of Knonau. This summer we shall see how it will be" [...if they can fit into and belong to this parish.]

^{40:17} Several more generations from this family did flourish in their new home, including several intermarriages with the Bachmans. Heinrich Bär from Richterswil fled north for Streichenberg in Germany and it was his son who became Henry Bare of Hempfield Township in Pennsylvania. ^{44:26}

Heinrich Hiestand also left Richterswil but ended up

in Friedrichstadt, on the North Sea in Schleswig-Holstein. It was his son Jacob that went on to Hempfield. ^{41:60} Rudolf Strickler, the son of Heinrich in Richterswil, was a mason and stonecutter who married in 1672 at Mühlbach in the Kraichgau to Maria Wust. ^{59:171} Jacob Widmer emigrated about the same time to Zimmerhof, but made it himself to Hempfield. ^{42:17}

While Richterswil's congregation endured these spiritual growing pains, the church building itself was also torn apart. It had become 450 years old, far too decrepit and small for the growing village. In 1700, Zürich pledged 400 gulder out of the estimated 2000 required for a new building. Only the beautiful Gothic choir and the tower, with its sun dial, remained standing. Behind the double windows, two bells hung safely: a big one dating from 1536 and a little one from 1592. A third one was in place by 1717. A stone mason from Rapperswil completed the baroque exterior while local craftsman completed the interior woodwork. ^{84:18}

A few other Bachmans are known to have left from the opposite side of the canton — from its northern edge and from across the eastern shore of the long Lake Zürich. Hans Bachman, a 64-year-old paper maker from Hinwil, with his 50-year-old wife Elsbeth Pfenniger, 7 children and 3 grandchildren left in 1661 for Sundhausen in Alsace. ^{73:38} Another departing Bachman from the Hinwil area was Hans Konrad from Langmatt, son of Georg, who married Elisabeth Harder at Bretten in the Kraichgau by 1689. ^{59:21} Hans Melchior Bachman, known only as being from Switzerland, worked at Eppingen in 1686, and following perhaps in his footsteps was Heinrich, an assistant mason from Eglisau, who moved to Eppingen by 1719. Another notable union came in 1631 at Raterschen by Elsau, when Margaretha Bachman married Jacob Mayer, but their descendants are not fully known.

Rorbas saw three of its Bachmans leave: In 1661, Hans Heinrich Bachman, a young apprentice tradesman from there left for Rottweil in southern Germany's Württemberg. ^{73:38} Jacob, son of Heinrich, arrived in Bretten by 1669 and was married there to Margaretha Hemmer. Ulrich, a miller, moved to Heidelberg in Germany and got married to Anna Maria Rawfelder. ^{59:21}

Horsemen of the Apocalypse

BESIDES RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION, THERE WERE certainly more reasons for leaving Richterswil. Waves of dysentery twice ravaged the people, with the first death recorded in late 1659. Young Caspar Züricher introduced the contagion from its outbreak in Wädenswil, and three days after Christmas, the next victim was

Hanseli, the son of Hansenman Bachman at Old Castle. On New Year's Day, his sister Barbali died, and so it continued for 12 months, peaking in the heat of August, eventually taking nine Bachmans and 70 others in Richterswil. Escaping this disease might well have been a motive for the old provost Heinrich Bachman and his brother Martin when they took their families away that year. During a second outbreak in 1690 and 1691, the toddlers Verena and Hans Bachman were among the 65 who died.

In his report on emigration, Pastor Vogler referred to "another Bachman" who left before the Toggenburger War of 1712. He may have been indicating the Hans Bachman (1660) of Weberrüti, known to have left around that time and who had good reason to flee: the backyard of his village was directly on the front lines with Canton Schwyz, and he was of an age to get drafted and forced into the fight. Sometime after the birth of his last child in 1695, this Bachman fled, leaving many of his family behind.

Also known as the Second Villmerger War, this turned out to be the last of the armed conflicts in Switzerland between Protestant and Catholic, following on the Second Kappeler War (1531) and the First Villmerger War (1656). In April 1712, the fight resumed between the southern, Catholic cantons and the solidified Protestant Reformation in Zürich and Bern.
^{78.11.29} Once again, the fighting fell upon the area around Richterswil, behind the Bachman's homesteads in Weberrüti, Löchli and right on top of the family of the blacksmith Rudolf Bachman at Hütten.

The Catholic Abbott of St. Gallen wanted to have an easier approach to his allies in the south, over the strategic Ricken Pass in the Toggenburg highlands. With such a road, Catholic troops from Canton Schwyz could quickly move to his aid. Local workers forced into building the road did not want outsider troops pouring through their homeland and so refused to complete the project. Zürich and Bern supported those Toggenburgers who resisted, causing Catholic villagers to jump on the other side.

On 22 April, a large force of Zürich troops, with detachments from Bern, entered eastern Switzerland at a place named Wil, next to the Thur region and the monastery at St. Gallen. There they took the bells from the church tower, a large number of books from its library, and quantities of wine as their war booty. Bernese troops, supported by the Zürichers, marched on to Mellingen, defeating 4,000 Luzern soldiers from Bremgarten. Another victory followed in Baden. Cease-fire negotiations led to the signing of a treaty in June at Aarau, and rights of passage were guaranteed anyway to the Catholics. On 18 July, the cantons of Uri and Luzern also signed the terms of peace.

War in the Backyard

TROOPS FROM RICHTERSWIL AND WÄDENSWIL HAD been quartered close to home to defend the canton's southwestern border. They had been helped by other parts of the canton during several small skirmishes, but concentrated all Spring on building several forts.

Between Lake Zürich and the village of Sternern, a series of deep, wooded ravines made a natural barrier to invasion. But at their leveling off, Fort Sternern was built, a plain rectangle of 210 by 180 feet, large enough for many defenders to occupy. They added around it a wooden barricade, crossable at only one large wooden gate. The earthworks built up around the fort were still visible nearly 300 years later. They also built Little Fort Oak, a smaller oval position some 200 feet north of Samstagern village.

Their biggest stronghold was Fort Bellen, immediately south of Weberrüti, where fortifications had existed since 1656. It was constructed in the form of a pentagon, and pointed east like a ship's bow toward the enemy. In front of these walls was a double firing line of trenches and a palisade fence of sharpened logs. Four cannons were mounted inside the fort and a storage hut was built for keeping the munitions dry.

The next and last defensive position, named Fort Hütten, sat on a hill beside the River Sihl, overlooking the town of Hütten from its southern edge. It was designed as a small rectangle of about 90 by 120 feet, and equipped with two cannons. Soldiers here could defend the village well, and also spy on any enemy movement towards the nearby bridge. Unfortunately, Fort Hütten was too far away from Fort Bellen to adequately protect all the ground between them.

Taking command of the area was Major-General Hans Konrad Werdmüller. From the same military family that had put down their grandparents' rebellion, another Werdmüller was sent by Zürich to save them. The Major-General's headquarter staff was split between the Old Castle at Wädenswil and the stone wall enclosing the Schönenberg cemetery.

The forts were completed by May, but the end of the war already seemed likely. Because peace negotiations had already begun and harvest time was near, the soldiers were eager to get back to their farms. Werdmüller agreed, and left nothing more than token guards to staff the forts. The neighbors from Richterswil and Zug returned to their old ways — helping each other, mowing hay and even transporting produce for each other to market. The borderland folks from Canton Zug even came over to help finish work on the forts.

But by mid-summer, the war began again. An army of 4,000 Catholic troops invaded the Reuss Valley on 20 July, which was defended by a Bernese outpost of 1,200

men. The invaders were repulsed, but Richterswil's frontier was in danger again.

During the night of 22 July, when the clock in the church tower at Schönenburg rang three o'clock, Zürich sentries were alerted to the sound of many men singing. They saw signs of campfires and were sure that this had dire meaning.

Just before sunrise at a settlement east of Hütten called Bergli, the first enemy contact came with an outpost of two dozen Zürich guardsmen. At the approach of 2,300 Schwyzer troops, the outpost let off a warning shot to signal the other forts. The invaders paused, and decided to take eight civilians from Bergli prisoner, torturing and killing them. The victims included Barbara Staub, the 63-year-old widow of Heinrich Hauser; the 71-year-old Hans Rudolf Blatman and his daughter Elisabetha, 29; Ursula Strickler, 50; Anna Hauser, 15; Anna Treichler and Elisabetha Äschman, 24, of Wädenswil.

The army from Canton Schwyz was hoping to be joined by an equal force of their Catholic allies from Canton Zug, and the previous night's signals by fire from Rossberg had been an effort to hurry their arrival. They were supposed to attack from the west, but the Zugers never arrived. The Schwyzers decided to go it alone.

The invaders managed to break the first line of defense at Fort Hütten, and rush past them through the wide gap between it and Fort Bellen, beyond the effective range of gunfire. They camped at Sägel, still hoping that

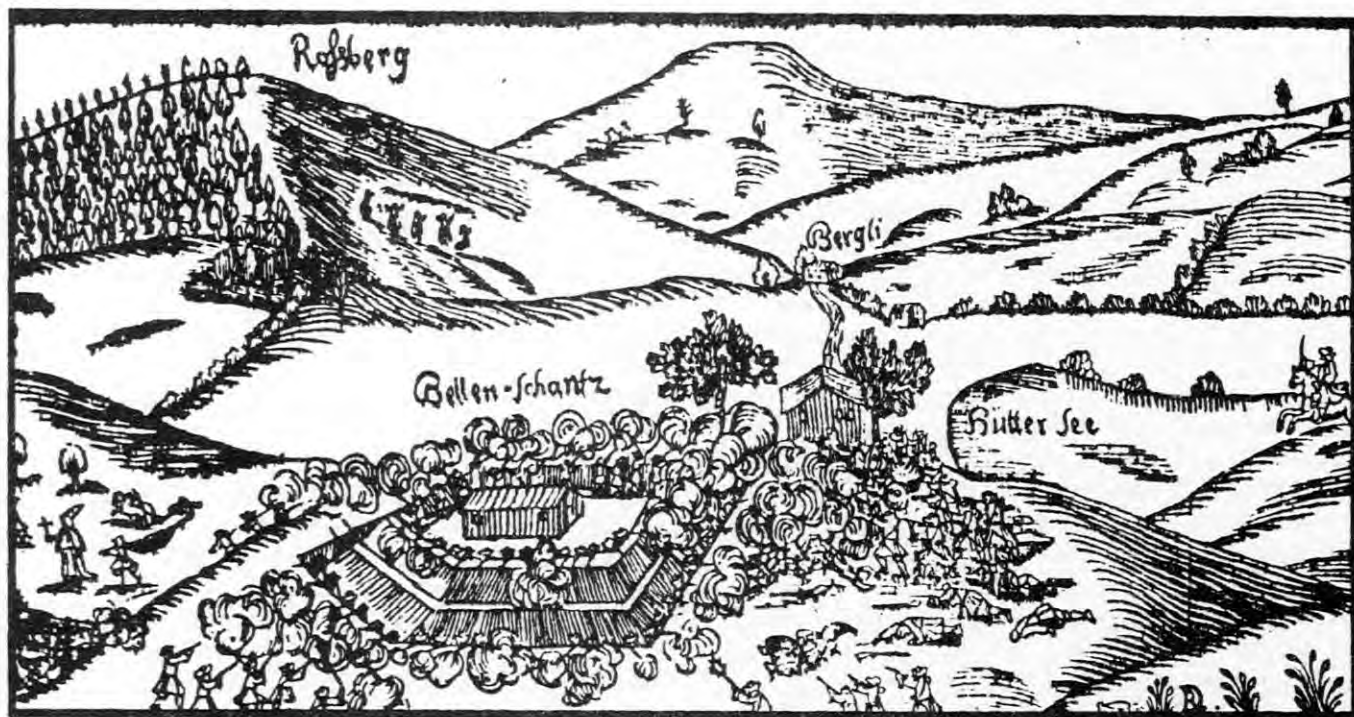
the troops from Canton Zug were on their way. The first response from Zürich was also tentative: only three companies of Protestant soldiers were dispatched to restrengthen Old Castle.

At Schönenberg cemetery, the military camp had only four men to defend it. With only 24 horsemen, the cavalry commander at Old Castle, named Eschmann, raced off for the front lines. Eschmann hoped to trick the enemy commanders by leaving two cavalymen behind on top of a hill. Just as the 22 came charging at the enemy camp, the other two waved their hats in pantomime, urging forward imaginary armies of reinforcement.

Luckily, the Schwyz commander took in the whole performance, assumed that hundreds more cavalry were on their way, and so ordered his entire force into a hasty retreat.

Eschmann was eventually joined by more cavalry under Commander Meyer along with 140 Richterswilers in an infantry force under Major Mattli. Combined, they sought to rescue the small unit defending Fort Bellen from a simultaneous attack on three sides. In heated battle, Eschmann had his horse shot out from under him and Mattli was wounded. All along their double line of trenches, the Richterswilers kept up a steady fire, but at times, due to difficulty reloading their old flintlocks, as much as three minutes separated each salvo.

The Catholic priest of Galgenen urged the Schwyzers into a third charge against Fort Bellen. At



THE ATTACK ON FORT BELLEN, WITH CAVALRY RIDING TO THE RESCUE (AT RIGHT) AND A PRIEST IN RETREAT

the head of the army, and with his crucifix held high, the priest finally got himself shot. The Richterswilers at Fort Bellen halted the third attack, but with no confidence that they could have fought off a fourth wave. The deciding factor arrived at 11 o'clock, when fresh Zürich cavalry from Kyburg, resplendent in their red uniforms, drove the Schwyzer force into full retreat. On the battlefield lay 29 enemy dead, while only 11 of the local men had paid with their lives.

The real end of the war came three days later and far away: 8,000 Protestant troops from Bern crushed the 10,000-strong main force of the Catholic allies.^{78:29-37}

From the Larger Community of Brethren

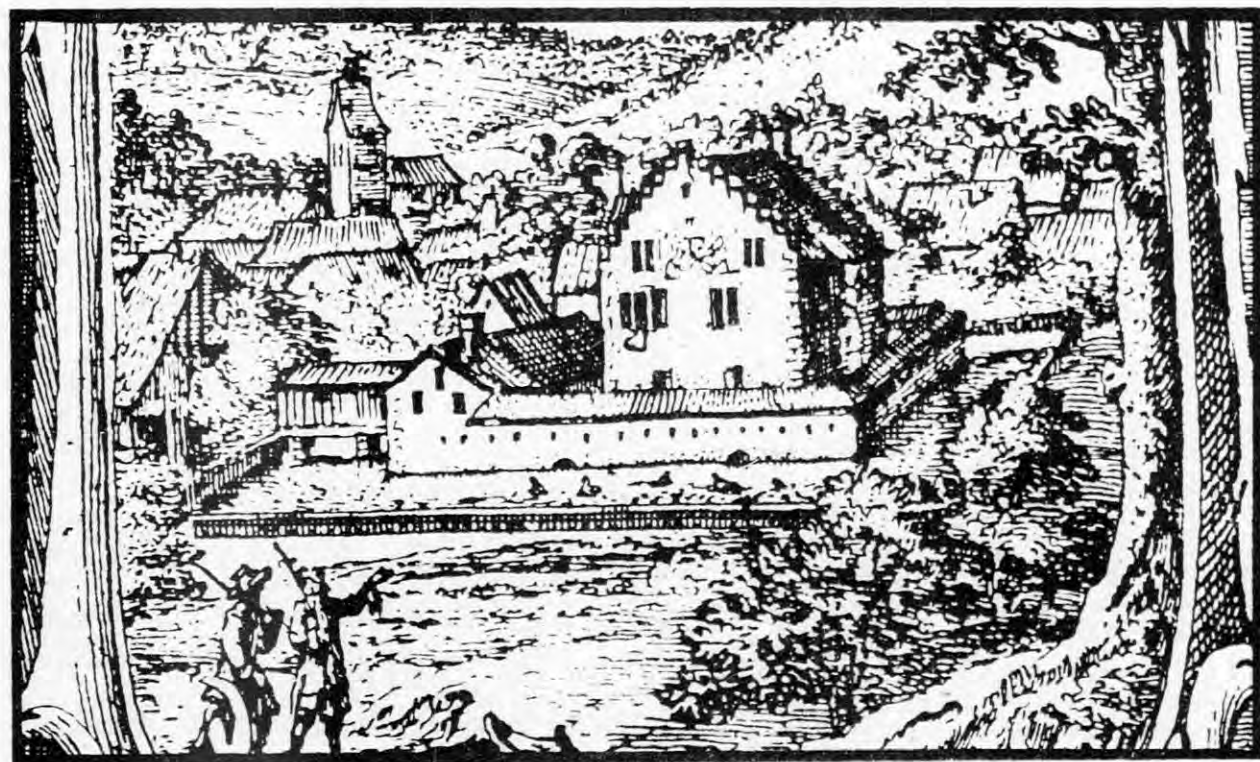
WHEN THE BACHMANS LOOKED WEST AND SOUTH from Lake Zürich, behind Richterswil, they could see the Albis Mountains rise up. Hopping from one town to the next, never more than a few miles apart, were the rest of the Anabaptist core in Canton Zürich. Much as the Bachmans dominated their hometown numerically, the other Anabaptist families tended to identify with and remain in certain villages, even though some of each name, through intermarriage, could be found sprinkled among them all.

A mile northwest of the Old Castle lived Peter

Bruppacher of Wädenswil. His son Hans Jacob married Kleiann Hiestand from Richterswil and together, with another son Hans, they moved to Ibersheim by 1661. The next generation — being Jacob, John and Peter Bruppacher — found themselves in Pennsylvania's Hempfield Township beside the Susquehanna River. Heinrich Zimmerman left Wädenswil in 1698 and arrived soon in Germantown north of Philadelphia as Henry Carpenter. He made one secret visit home and spread the word of a wonderful America. He encouraged many to make the trip and himself chose Lampeter and Paradise townships.^{71:134}

In Hirzel, during a 1633 headcount of known-Anabaptists, 46 were named,^{43:19} including the families of Hans Landis, the martyr, Hans Rudolf Bauman and Conrad Strickler. These Stricklers may have been the family recorded in Friedrichstadt in Germany in 1693.^{45:52}

Across the Sihl River at Hausen were the Huber and Bär families, and the son of Martin Meili, who lived at Dühren in the Kurpfalz in 1661. Jacob Bär from Hausen became a tavern-keeper in Rockingham County, Virginia, by 1740.^{40:26} The next town north was Knonau, with Schnebellis, Fricks, more Meilis and two of the few Bachmans living outside of Richterswil, being Johannes Jacob, born 1657, and Melchior Bachman, born 1644, from the hamlet of Maschwanden, who emigrated to the



THE CASTLE AT KNONAU IN 1667

Pfalz respectively in 1697 and 1702.^{50&79}

North of them was Mettmensstetten, where Johannes Heinrich Bachman and Jacob, son of Zacharias Bachman lived in the adjoining hamlet of Dachelsen. They also moved to the Pfalz during those same years. Beside them were the Funks of Mettmensstetten, including Heinrich's family who later moved to Dühren.^{49:90}

From Obfelden came Jacob and Peter Gut. The Näf family grew strong in Kappel, right beside Affoltern am Albis, where four households of Schnebelli thrived by 1633. The brothers Johan Jacob, Felix and Phillip Schnebelli all quit Affoltern before 1656, stopping first at Baldenheim in Alsace before they finally settled in Ibersheim. A grandson, Johan Georg, born 1684, found himself among the Conestoga settlers of Pennsylvania in 1728.^{88:24-27} Hans, Leonhardt, Heinrich and Caspar Schnebelli along with their families left straight from Affoltern to Pennsylvania in 1743. Also in the town's citizenship roll of 1695 can be found Hans Müller, born 18 November 1669, who eventually left for the Pfalz. He has since been identified as the uncle of a Johannes Müller, who emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1749.³⁸

In the spring of 1734, around the same time that the two Bachman cousins disappeared, Heinrich Näf led a group of 11 brethren from the neighboring village of Hausen am Albis in the Knonau district to America. Among them was the Provincial Governor's son, Heinrich Walder from Knonau. The Näf's hometown pastor wrote about the affair:

"Heinrich... and Hans Näf were brothers from Graben, close to Hausen am Albis, and served as leaders. They traveled in spite of the advice of the government. Heinrich was a badly disoriented fellow who belonged to a so-called 'Pietistic' group. Heinrich had been sentenced to the castle at Knonau and later escaped... Afterward there was an inquiry because they had not paid their *Abzug*."

The authorities summoned Näf to Knonau in hopes that their departure could be stopped, but he ignored the order and fled to the town of Cham across the border in Canton Zug. On 3 August, the rest of his little group joined him to walk out of Switzerland into France, reaching London by September. On the way, the 57-year-old Näf married a 19-year-old member of his group, Verena Müller. Her brother Jakob Müller also married a fellow fugitive, Barbara Frey. Tragically, both Näf brothers and Heinrich Walder died within two years of settling in Puryburg, South Carolina, probably from fever.^{75:9-10}

Later, and just north of Zürich, came other confirmed ancestors of the Swiss in Pennsylvania and Virginia. George Kindig, born 1678 in Pfaffikon, went to Ittlingen in the Kurpfalz and on to the Conestoga

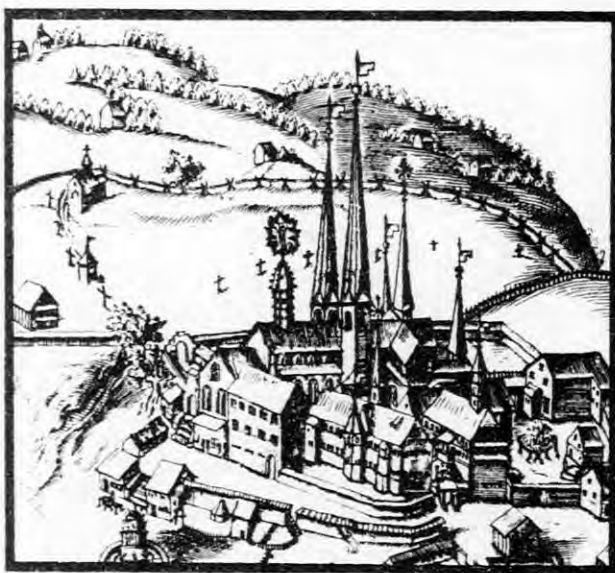
settlement in Pennsylvania by 1717. His brother, Hans Jacob Kindig, born 1671, eventually settled in Strasburg township, also in the part of Chester County that became Lancaster. They were both cousins of the Mennonite leader Martin Kindig.^{57:1-14}

One Ringger family resided in Oberwil, north of a village called Nürensdorf. Hans Jacob, the eldest boy at eight years of age, saw his mother die the day after Christmas in 1732, and his father remarry the following Spring to Susanna Bachman, daughter of Rudolf Bachman and Verena Leibacher, all from their same village. In an awful turn of events, the father Jacob died in 1734 shortly after the birth of his only child with Susanna, named Heinrich Ringger.

The state church pastor at neighboring Basserstorf wrote about them under the heading: "A List of those Pitiable Persons, who Contrary to Faithful Warnings and Admonitions Obstinate went away from the Parish Basserstorf, with the intention of seeking their fortunes in Carolina or Pennsylvania."

"Left Sunday, 5 May 1743... Susanna Bachman the deceased Jakob Ringger's widow from Nürenstorf. Born 20 August 1707, left with her son Heinrich, Baptized 13 March 1735 and three sons... born by Barbara Morff from Effretikon."

Susanna and her brood arrived in Philadelphia on 30 August 1743 aboard the *Francis & Elizabeth*. On the same ship was a 23-year-old Jacob Bachman, perhaps a cousin, although church books establish that he was definitely not her brother. Eventually, they all made it to the Shenandoah Valley.^{52:2-3} ■■■



THE MONASTERY AT EINSIEDELN
SEAT OF CATHOLIC POWER IN CANTON SCHWYZ



HATE LITERATURE OF THE REFORMATION: THE DEVIL INTRODUCES SEVERAL SORTS OF ANABAPTISTS IN ENGLAND ;
AND THEN HELPS A GERMAN MONK TO COOK CHRIST INTO COMMUNION BREAD



A BRETHREN FAMILY DRIVEN OUT OF CANTON ZÜRICH
THE SPIRE OF THEIR TOWN'S CHURCH AND THE ALBIS MOUNTAINS LOOMING BEHIND



FTER THE REFORMATION took hold in Switzerland and the persecution of the Anabaptists began, a man named Heinrich Bachman left from Zürich. Facing direct threats of punishment, many

Anabaptists traveled down the Rhine to the "low lands" where religious tolerance was more common. When the political mood back home seemed calmer, some tried to sneak back into Switzerland and resume a quiet life. On 19 December 1537, Bachman was described as being from Emmerich, perhaps some tiny Swiss village that has disappeared from modern maps, but more likely, the German town on the Rhine just before the Dutch border. Either way, his "customary attachment" to Zürich was noted.

On that day, Heinrich bought a farm at Böttenstein from Hans Jäggli situated near the Aare River in the Free District which later became Canton Aargau, five miles east of Zofingen and a half mile east of Bottenwil.¹³² In those days, Aargau was a buffer zone of sorts between the Cantons of Zürich and Basel, administered under their supervision by their third partner, Canton Bern. Because of this cumbersome governmental structure, Anabaptists that gathered there were comparatively unbothered.

Five years earlier, Zofingen had been the site of a great public debate on the principals of Anabaptism, and promises of safe-conduct drew out 23 brethren leaders. "Everyone may be satisfied and no one might claim," wrote the Bernese authorities, "that we attack them without a hearing."^{150:1035} The government printed a transcript of the debate in booklet form, hoping this might help suppress the movement, but it had the opposite effect in Sumiswald and the rest of the Emmenthal.^{107:289} For two centuries, many Bachmans clung to Böttenstein, despite harsh measures taken against them. See map on page 171

In 1578, citizens in Aargau were ordered not to purchase the estates of departing Anabaptists just so that these fortunes would be forfeited to the state. During 1580 in Balzenwyl, "the entire village with women and children, and man and maid-servants" all left. Also around that time fled Henry Stählin of Birrwyl, Ulrich Bär of Schöpfung, and Melchior Hunzicker and Uli Häggi of Leerau.^{92:5}

On 4 July 1585, the Councils of Bern and Zürich were hosted in Canton Aargau at Aarau and they unanimously agreed on a policy of mass arrests and

expulsion for all Anabaptists. In 1592, Ulrich Bachman became the first of that name officially expelled from Switzerland. After his arrest at Böttenstein, he was immediately banished to the Kurpfalz.

Moritz Bachman took up the Böttenstein farm in 1614. The Anabaptists Ulrich Bachman and his wife Margareta Widmer annoyed authorities at Zofingen often between 1617-1620. Peter Häggi of Seon was allowed to come home to Aargau in 1624. After he promised to "conduct himself obediently," his confiscated life savings of 400 talers was given back to him.^{92:5}

In the records of Bottenwil, a later Ulrich Bachman, nicknamed "Horn-Üli," came to the attention of authorities many times between 1694 to 1696 for his Anabaptist beliefs. Caspar Bachman left Böttenstein in 1696 bound for the "Low Lands." Twenty years later, he wrote to the local authorities at Zofingen trying to get some of his money back that they had confiscated.¹²⁷

Most of those who felt threatened in Bottwyl left in the great emigration in 1711, but those who stayed rallied around the Bachman family. As late as 1720, a Hans Bachman left from there to the Kurpfalz. Until death took him many years later, still far away from his homeland, he received financial support from his old Swiss neighbors.

Another of the Bachman lines in Canton Bern had its roots in Canton Zürich. Leaving there sometime around 1650, they also settled near Zofingen. By the end of the 17th Century, these Bachmans entered Canton Bern in the Anabaptist stronghold of the Emmenthal. See Appendix D, page 192

Across the 17th and 18th centuries, Bachmans showed up in 36 distinct communities in Canton Zürich, suggesting not only the largest numbers in all Switzerland, but also the oldest presence and longest period of dispersal. Moving westward, the family appeared in five communities in Canton Aargau, which became a bridge of sorts to the other large Protestant canton in northern Switzerland. Parts of the family showed up in 12 different towns in Canton Bern.⁹³

Further proof of the pattern of brethren migration comes in the saga of Heinrich Funk of Mettmensstetten in Canton Zürich. As a traveling preacher, he was on a missionary visit to the Emmenthal in 1671 when Bernese authorities arrested him for having passed "20 years in the canton of Bern without authorization." Once conducted to the Burgundian border, he was stripped in the cold weather and his flesh was branded with heated irons. Funk's bruised body was abandoned in the middle of a crowd of French. He wandered thus for three hours

"because he could not communicate with anyone." ^{104:46}
 Funk survived, and his nephew, Johannes, emigrated from Bonfeld in the Pfalz to Pennsylvania and onto the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia. ^{109:22}

From the archives at Bern, came the following notes about two Anabaptist Bachmans in 1657/58 from the district of Signau: "The Anabaptist Hans Bachman was taken prisoner and ordered to pay a fine of one kronen. Ulrich Bachman, an old Anabaptist preacher from the district of Signau was imprisoned at Trachselwald Castle. The three men who brought him in were paid a reward of three kronen. Because he is very poor, he could not raise bail for eight days. Costs were deducted from his meal allowance.

"After an imprisonment of four days and serious interrogation, Bachman recanted and declared himself ready for returning, and swore to his conversion." ¹³⁵

Also from Trachselwald came the family of Benedict Brachbühl that settled eventually in Strasburg Township with the early Pequea settlers of Pennsylvania. ^{114:1-12}

An emphatic repeat of the expulsion order came on 15 June 1660. An exodus of 700 Anabaptists left from Canton Bern for the Pfalz in 1671, the peak year, although some had left as early as 1655. Additional Bern mandates came in 1691, 1693, 1695 ("People too old to be expelled must be imprisoned for life"), 1707, 1708, 1722 and 1729.

In 1702, a great drive to find the Mennonites of the Emmenthal was announced. This Baptist Hunt had to make its way through contempt from the entire mountain

population, all blowing horns, shooting, shouting and making every other kind of warning signal to spoil the progress of the posse.

To avoid capture near Trub, the Anabaptist Christian Hörschi lived high in the mountains. His house, named the *Höhlenfluh*, was tucked beneath the ledge of a bluff so that neither rain nor snow ever fell on its roof. Three hundred years later, the cave-house still stands, used by the Fankhouser family as part of their goat farm. ^{123:44}

In the town of Sumiswald, the "hunters" who had already taken a small group of Mennonites prisoner were surrounded by an angry mob of 60 or 70 irate citizens who forcibly released the brethren. ^{107:295} Some of the most notorious hunters, when finally face-to-face with their prey, experienced such remorse that they forgot the awaiting blood-money, and released their prisoners. Some decided to unite with the meek Christians and shared the burdens of future punishment.

The *Halbtäufer*, or Half-Anabaptists, helped the persecuted brethren at every turn. Since they did not step forward to endure the fines, imprisonment, torture and execution, these people were not counted by the state church among the activists. But the Anabaptists could not have survived for two centuries in Switzerland without this broad web of "true-hearted people." In the many mandates against the brethren, *Halbtäufer* were also condemned for being influenced by the constancy and testimony of the brethren. ¹²⁵

On 19 March 1709 in Canton Bern, the Anabaptist pastor Jacob Bachman received shelter from Ulrich Wanger and his wife. When authorities found out what



AARAU, SEAT OF THE AARGAU

TEMPORARY REFUGE TO SOME BRETHREN; HOST TO BERN AND ZÜRICH DURING THE ANABAPTIST DEBATES

the couple had done, they were sentenced to three months rowing as slaves in a galley ship, although they did not have to spend their time manacled in chains.¹³⁵

The center of the peasants' political agitation in Bern were the same neighborhoods where Anabaptism was increasing. The church and state were so closely intertwined that revolt against one was automatically revolt against the other. This helps explain why the government felt an overwhelming reaction was necessary to the threat they perceived from the brethren.^{110:78-79}

To Send Out a Colony

WITH AN EXPULSION PLAN FOR THE SWISS Brethren in 1709, Bernese authorities put a whole sequence of events and personalities together. After many false starts, it finally led many to the faraway mountains of Virginia.

In the employ of that colony's royal governor just two years earlier, Franz Ludwig Michel was the first European to map the Shenandoah Valley.^{105:284} He had already taken several trips there, dating back to 1701. In 1703, Michel claimed that William Penn had made him Director General of all the mines in Penn's territory.

While in Philadelphia in 1704, Michel met the gunsmith Johann Rudolf Bundeli. They were both members of the burger class from Bern, and Bundeli told him all about his plan to settle a community of Swiss where a certain Pequea Creek fed the Susquehanna River. Michel, at the age of 34, took up the crusade of settling Anabaptists in the new land beyond the mountains in Pennsylvania.

"How praiseworthy and easy would it be," wrote the young Michel, "to send out a colony like other nations, which would be a greater glory and praise for our country than to send a large number, for the sake of money, to slaughter in battle... Who has more reason to look for expansion and places of retreat than our country?" It was to be a colony populated by the homeless, by Anabaptists and "for the removal of undesirable subjects."^{141:157}

On 28 February 1706, Secretary Hedges presented to the Council of Trades and Plantations the following letter written on behalf of Michel to Queen Anne in London:

"François Louys Michel, citizen of Berne, having settled in Pennsylvania, has... persuaded a colony of 4 or 500 Swiss Protestants to go and settle on some uninhabited lands in Pennsylvania or on the frontier of Virginia... Prays Her Majesty's consent and protection and that they should be regarded as H.M. subjects, that they should be settled on some navigable river, that each colonist have about 100 acres... [be] advanced seed corn for the first year, to be repaid in four years, that they

have freedom to trade... exemption from taxes for 10 years, freedom to choose ministers of the Gospel and officers of justice and police under the direction of the governor; that after public prayer for H.M. they should be allowed to pray for the Republic of Berne, which is allied to H.M., that similar privileges be granted to all who hereafter come from Switzerland to increase that colony, and that they be transported with their effects from Rotterdam at H.M. expense."

A repeat of the petition was given again to the Queen on 28 June 1709, but this time mentioning settlement on the southwest branch of the Potomac River — meaning the Shenandoah River — "near the settlement of François Louis Michel." This was followed up with a supplementary map of the frontier of Virginia.

The colonial authorities liked the idea, too, but they seemed unclear on the fact that Mennonites were being sent instead of the Vatican's Swiss Guard. "Nothing can be of more Security and Advantage to... Great Britain," wrote John Lawson in 1709, "than to have our Frontiers secured by a War-like People, and our Friends, as the Switzers are; especially when we have more Indians than we can civilize... and none are more fit than an industrious People, bred in mountainous country and inured to all the Fatigues of War and Travel."

Michel's father was David, Lord of Ralligen, a member of the Great Council of Bern and prefect of Gottstatt. Between father and son, enough enthusiasm, political and economic clout were mustered to get the plan rolling.

So Michel, the new emigration agent and Georg Ritter, another council member, were hired to round up and escort a first contingent of Mennonites — some of whom were already in prison — to America. If the first mission went well, Michel's contract would be continued. The target was for 100 Anabaptists, but by the time all of the other arrangements had fallen together, only 56 could be found, including the brethren elder Christian Fankhauser from Hinter Hutte, near Trub, in the Langenau district of Canton Bern.¹³² The first boat load of brethren came from a rugged region called the Emmenthal, part of where the Jura Mountains span the border of cantons Aargau and Bern. The name refers to the valley, or *thal*, surrounding Emmen Creek. Many from the Emmenthal Anabaptist congregations were those who were persecuted and driven out of the cities beginning in 1525.

The Bernese authorities had not planned on what would happen when their prison ship docked at Nimwegen in the Netherlands. The well-to-do Dutch Mennonites exerted considerable political influence over the government there, and in any case, slave ships were not allowed by Dutch law to pass through their territory. The brethren were promptly freed. With financial aid

from the Dutch Mennonite relief agency called *Fonds voor Buitlandsche Nooden* some returned to their families in the Kurpfalz.¹¹⁷⁻⁸ The Fankhousers may have reunited at Steinwenden, near Kaiserslautern, although the local records are inconclusive.¹³³

Bern issued an amnesty on 11 February 1711. "All efforts up to this time to cleanse the land of Anabaptists have proved fruitless, and the sect has increased." The latest tactic was to force the brethren to come out in the open or be released from prison, dispose of their property, then to exempt them from departure taxes, make them promise under pain of death never to return. This plan still had to be followed up with more public decrees against the brethren on 20 February, 17 April, 19 April, 11 May, 2 June, 22 June, 24 June, 30 September and 11 December. Ritter was reassigned to the task and paid 45 talers per person.

Michel and Bundeli did not give up, however, and with the help of their friend John Rudolph Ochs, recruited more Swiss to voluntarily make the trip. Bundeli obtained a warrant in Pennsylvania for 10,000 acres along the Pequea Creek. Michel returned to America and took to the frontier, living among the Indians until he died of a high fever around 1720.^{119,81}

According to official records at the state archives at Bern, the following names of interest appear:

- Äbi, Christian from Affoltern/Trachselwald went to the Pfalz on 26 September 1714.
- Bachman, Christian left for Hohenhardthof-Weisloch in the Pfalz by 1671
- Bachmann, Johannes & Christian, along with two sons, left from Heimberg-Steffisburg, Amt Thun on 7 June 1753, bound for Mümpelgard [*Montbéliard in Alsace*] and then to [*Pennsylvania in*] America.
- Bachman, Samuel, from Dössberg, son of Hans, took Communion at Mühlbach in 1672.
- Carle, Jakob from Boltigen to Annweiler, Zweibrücken on 11 January 1720; and Stephan & Johannes (his brothers) from Boltigen to Fischbach, Sembach on 4 November 1728
- Glück, Ulrich from Hunirgen to Pfalz on 5 September 1709
- Langenecker, Peter from Langnau to Pennsylvania on 14 October 1727
- Langenecker, Ulrich (family with 3 sons) to Pennsylvania on 8 April 1748
- Lehmann, Nicolaus, Michel, Peter (brothers) and Maria, married to Jakob Sonderregger, also with Catherine (daughter of Hans Lehman) all bound for Leinsweiler, the Pfalz on 19

April 1712 [*Peter Layman was aboard the Maria Hope with Kindig's group*]

Mosimann, Peter, wife & children to

Pennsylvania on 10 August 1716^{128:132-136}

Also departing from Canton Bern was Christian Fankhouser from Trub on 17 March 1710. Jacob Döllinger moved to Hilsbach in 1719. A considerable Tschantz family came from the parish of Oppligen. Ulrich and Joseph Schürch also came from the Emmenthal.¹⁴⁹

A Safe Haven in Alsace

PUSHED OUT OF SWITZERLAND, THE BACHMANS headed north and began to reassemble along either side of the Rhine. Right of the river lay the Black Forest belonging to Baden and Württemberg, and above it, where the Rhine turned sharply west, the Pfalz. To the left of the river was Alsace, almost 3,500 square miles of German land up until 1697, when France took command of it for the next two centuries. The Swiss brethren chose a 20-mile circle right in the middle of it for their new home. The Vosges Mountains bordered a snug valley known as the Leberthal running parallel to the Rhine.

From the earliest days of the Protestant Reformation, the brethren met secretly to pray in the Alsatian forests at Epfig, Eckholsheim, Lingolsheim, St. Oswald and Schnakenloch, and in a cave at Ingersheim. Up through the 1540s, mass jailing of Anabaptists preceded the execution of 600 at Ensisheim, south of Strasbourg.^{95:68}

Nonetheless, some of the brethren survived. Count Leopold Eberhard put Mennonites in charge of his estates in Mümpelgard — called Montbéliard by the French — and they thrived.^{120:39}

The Schmidt family landed at Ingersheim by 1624. In succeeding generations, they intermarried with the Houser family, built a successful tannery at Rappoltsvil (also known as Ribeauville), owned the manorial mill at Heidolsheim, and later an apothecary shop. Whenever they hired apprentices during the rest of the 17th Century, Schmidts showed strong loyalty to the Anabaptists from around the Bachman's land near Zofingen in Canton Aargau.^{104:30} Barbara Schmidt, the matriarch, made a loan of 694 francs to Christian Neff, born in 1637 at Kappel am Albis in Canton Zürich.^{104:43}

The village of Ohnenheim was another of the first places to absorb the fleeing Anabaptists. A Gochner came directly from Ottenbach Jail in 1639; Bär, Frick, Guth and Müller families came from the Knonau district in Canton Zürich; Forrer came from Gruningen; while Häggi, Landis, Bauman, Neff and Schnebelli from unspecified parts of Canton Zürich.^{102:26}

Scholarship in the 19th Century tried to simplify the

northward patterns of the Swiss dispersal, but careful review of the emigration in 1663 from Richterswil showed that just one town in Canton Zürich had 26 fleeing west of the Rhine into Alsace and 32 headed for the Pfalz, east of the river.

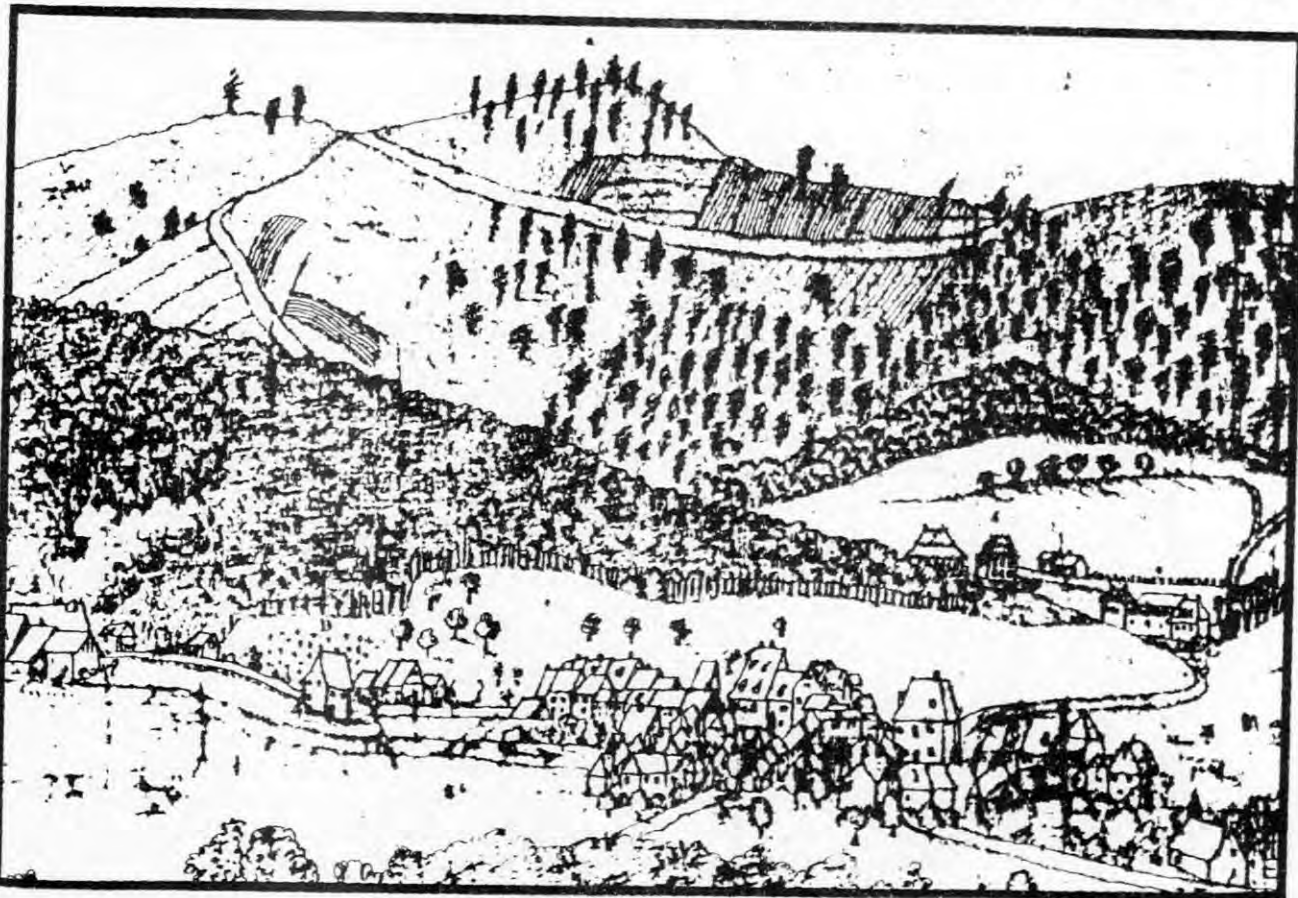
Bachmans from Richterswil reached Alsace in 1660: Martin, and his brother Heinrich, the old provost, with his family, including sons Hanseli and Jakobli.¹¹⁹

The 1663 list of Emigrants from Richterswil shows two Bachman brothers, Caspar and Jacob, heading north, as well as a Hans Jacob Bachman. Caspar was noted for his war service, perhaps as a conscript. They were bound for Jepsen, also known as Jepsenheim or Jebheim, 15 miles east of Markkirch.

The Bachmans joined a group of Richterswilers that included the Anabaptist couple Hans Äschman of Horgen, Elsbeth Hiestand and their four children, as well as Ulrich Äschman, Hansenman Danner, the carpenter Heinz Holz, Caspar Ringger, Heinrich Ringger, Hans Heinrich Schmid and Heinrich Strickler. A long list of Äpli, Bruppacher, Hiestand, Leaman, Ringger, Ryff, Schmid and Staub emigrants from Richterswil headed for Heidelberg, Stuttgart, Strasburg and unnamed points in

the Pfalz and Alsace. In Markkirch, Hans Jacob Strickler and other Richterswilers settled.¹¹⁹ The Bachmans that emigrated to Mümpelgard arrived directly from Bern although they had also originated in Zürich.^{102:61} At Mackenheim, documents from 1663 mentioned a "Hans Barman" without further detail. That this name could have been a mishearing or mistranscription of Bachman is suggested by the many brethren names also there. The Anabaptist Hans Rohrer of Richterswil was a bourgeois farmer from Mackenheim by 1661.^{104:37} The bishop and lordship of Rathsamhausen had already welcomed the Swiss brethren to Mackenheim and Kunheim in 1651. Making a call for his fellow believers to join him, an anonymous writer claimed "The Anabaptists in these villages pay nothing [in rent] because nobody else wants to live there." Four years later though, they had to leave the parish of Mackenheim or else suffer heavy fines.^{102:53}

The religious tolerance of Lord Hans Jacob von Rappolstein, a Lutheran of pietistic bent, proved most welcoming to the Swiss refugees at Markkirch. And the surrounding 30 villages his family possessed. Fast upon the border between Upper and Lower Alsace, his lands in



THE LEBER VALLEY AT A TOWN CALLED MARKKIRCH
FROM AN 18TH CENTURY DRAWING

the valley of Sainte-Marie around Markirch gave the Richterswilers a place to resettle. The brethren were usually occupied by weaving, farming and raising livestock, although the area was best known in the outside world for its silver mines. In Markirch, known to the French as Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines, the brethren quietly made a contract with the religious and secular authorities to pay 45 pounds per person and be excused from military service.



ONE MANNER OF MENNONITE DRESS
IN THE REGION OF ALSACE

A Catholic priest at Markirch described the resurgence of Anabaptists in his parish after 1648 and the end of the Thirty Years' War:

"The Anabaptists, who are still a dozen families, formerly held open worship in a woods between here and Schlettstadt [Sélestat], called la Bausse, but now they meet in the barn in a woods that belongs to one of them. They have no priests, but one of them reads the Scripture aloud in German, and then they sing psalms according to the translation by Lobwasser. Then anyone who wishes to do so or has anything to say stands up and says it. If someone wants to be married or baptized upon confession of his faith they have somebody come from Switzerland; he is a working man like them. I have seen one of them who was a winnow maker and was dressed in a chamois after the Swiss manner."^{143:4}

The Mennonite Valentine Hütwol made a census of his Alsatian brethren near Strasburg in January 1672. At the western edge of the city, he visited four familiar Switzers with their children in the village of Wolfsheim: Christian Nieuwkommet, aged 38, Hans Nieuwkommet, 27, Christian Stauffer, 35, and Ulrich Witmer, 53.¹⁵¹ The following families from Zürich came to Alsace: In 1652, Rudolf Meili arrived at Künheim from Augst, and five years later Jacob Häggi arrived from Ürzlikon near Affoltern; Lienhard Steinman left Rifferswil in 1655 for the town of Sundhausen; and Felix Schärer left from Wengi and reached Müttersholz in 1663.^{137:35} Adolf Schmidt established his leadership among the Swiss Brethren at Ohnenheim by the 1660s.^{104:37}

In 1675, French troops destroyed the village of Jebshiem, and returned three more times in a few short years. At first, they demanded all of the wine and grain, and then every bed, copper-kettle, spare sack and goat. To make their camp fires, they grabbed the remaining wooden furniture and hearth ware. The Reformed church pulpit and pews were turned into kindling, along with every door and window frame in the village.^{137:43}

At the Autumn communion in 1679 at Markirch, 446 Switzers appeared. Those born in Zürich totalled 82, along with 45 of their descendants born in Alsace; the Bernese amounted to 63 newcomers with 192 more of their's born in Alsace.^{137:58} Four families in Markirch were known to have come from Wädenswil, joining eight other Anabaptist households. Lutheran families outnumbered them with 40, the Reformed had 171 and Catholics filled 442 households. Three Richterswil families had moved to Eckkirch and another lived in St. Blasien. In the whole valley of Markirch, 24 families could be traced to Canton Zürich. The same could be said for another 36 throughout greater Alsace.^{137:60}

The condition of church records in Alsace is lamentable. For most of the Switzer settlements, ravages of war have left little upon which to build a genealogical

record. For Jepsenheim, there is a fragmentary glimpse of life in 1688 and then nothing more until 1706. Surviving fragments from the village's roll call are unmistakable: Bauman, Danner, Hauser, Huber, Moyer, Rusterholtz, Schäfer, Schmidt, Wittmer and Zimmerman.⁹⁶

Many brethren quit Alsace for the other side of the Rhine, but many more came out of Switzerland to replace them, especially during the peak years between 1671-1711. Out of Aargau and Bern in 1671 came more from the families Bachman, Bär, Gautschi, Gut, Häggi, Hunziker, Kauffmann, Lehmann, Mosimann, Müller, Rot, Stauffer and Wittmer.^{120:39}

Johan Jacob Schnebelli (1659-1743) of Baldenheim moved to nearby Bösenbisse by 1690 and remained there for the next 17 years during the births of his five children: Hans, Johan Jacob, Eva, Maria and Anna. In 1717, they moved to a part of Chester County that later became Manheim Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, as did a younger Johann Jacob Schnebelli, born 1686.^{114:1-16}

Hans Heinrich Huber lived in Jepsenheim by 1668, and on 30 September 1692, an infant son Heinrich was registered at the church. Felix Funk from Mettmensstetten arrived in Jepsenheim by 1684.^{137:44-45} Jacob Walder from Ottenbach arrived at Jepsenheim by 1689; Jos and Hans Jacob Müller from Ürzlikon arrived there by 1693.^{137:53}

Known Anabaptists at Ohnenheim included Hans Bachman (1681), Jacob Bachman (1693), Hans Jacob Bauman (1665), Ulrich Forrer (1646), Heinrich Gochner (1651), Georg and Jacob Gochner (1659), Ulrich Houser (1651), Hans Houser (1677), Felix Häggi (1674), Heinrich Karle (1672), Heinrich Müller (1659), Jacob Müller (1650) and Hans Rohrer (1689).

Associated closely with these people but of uncertain religious affiliation were Josef Funck (1680), Hans Hersberger (1681), Hans Meyer (1665), Laurentz Müller (1668), Jacob Schmid (1645), Conrad Walter (1665)^{102:23-62} and Christian Zimmerman.^{103:52-74} Caspar

Bachman followed closely the trail of Hans Urner at Ohnenheim in 1662.^{102:68} From among 16 villages southwest of Strasburg, the French author P.A. Grandidier made a conservative count of 496 people within 62 Anabaptist families. The most heavily populated communities were Baldenheim, with eight brethren households; Jepsenheim with seven; Markkirch with ten; and Ohnenheim with nine, which was next door and within the same Catholic parish, to Heidolsheim which started off with four families.^{95:69}

About 1673, the Catholic priest that served Ohnenheim and Heidolsheim complained that nobody was attending his church services, and denounced the secret worship meetings held by the Mennonites. Not

only did they ignore his ministry, but during the last decade, they dared to take over the mill at Ohnenheim to host a Mennonite conference on their Confessions of Faith. On that occasion, the hosts had been the ministers Ulrich Hauser and Jacob Gochner along with Johann Ringer, the Mennonite elder from Heidolsheim. Among the others joining them were the elders Jacob Schnebelli from Baldenheim, Adolf Schmidt from Markkirch; as well as the ministers John Rudolf Bauman from Jepsenheim, and Jacob Schmidt from Markkirch.^{140:171} This Catholic priest's abbot, Charles Marchand, recalled that the Anabaptists had been granted permission to settle only on the expressed condition that they should not practice their religion. Complaints such as this were not uncommon and were sometimes heard as far away as Vienna and Versailles, and edicts were issued and reissued.

Heidolsheim and Hans Bachman

DURING THIS ERA, A RISING NUMBER OF SWISS exiles gathered downstream from Ohnenheim, one mile northeast at a village called Heidolsheim. As early as 1651, Hans Jagli Landis arrived from Hirzel in Canton Zürich with his wife and three small children. It remained a small hamlet throughout, with eight families counted during the War of Holland in 1678. There was no change three years later, but it grew to 13 households by 1688.^{102:69}

By 1692, Hans Bachman served as their most prominent leader, and the minister Heinrich Karle was also there from Mussig.^{103:52-74}

Christian Döllinger, from Zweisimmen in Canton Bern, married at Heidolsheim in 1680.^{115:44} The minister Felix Häggi and Ulrich Schnebele possessed a farm there up until 1690, and Hans Jacob Schneider joined them by 1711.^{102:69} Also reported at Heidolsheim in 1718 was Johann Tschantz, of Sigriswil in Canton Bern.

Another accounting of the brethren in Alsace was preserved in the early 18th Century by Grandidier. This description was endorsed and in part provided by Mennonite preachers from Heidolsheim whom Grandidier called Jean Bachman and Phillippe Heggi:

"The Mennonites always live in the country, on the estates of large landowners, who like to take them as renters because they pay more than others... [as well as for] the industrious tilling of the soil and their good conduct. They are the most gentle and peace-loving of all people in their trade; they are energetic, alert, moderate, simple, benevolent. They wear beards, their shoes have no ties, their clothes no buttons. They seek to settle in the loneliest part of the mountains.

"When it is time for the harvest, mowing and threshing, the Swiss Brethren come and help, and when the work is finished they return to the places where they are tolerated or where they are not known. If a Mennonite needs hired help he employs only members of his faith.

"These Anabaptists don't have any temple, but assemble in one of their houses, each one in his sect... anyone whom wants may carry the word [as a preacher.]"
99:59

"In the villages where they live they pay the same fees to the [state] church for registering a marriage or burial just as the Catholics do, and are obliged to pay the same school fees... although they do not wish to have their children instructed by the schoolmasters.

"They do not accept infant baptism and assert that no church has the right to say that it is the only true one in contradistinction to the others. The government should be obeyed. Baptism should be imparted at a mature age; baptismal candidates must pass an examination to determine whether they are worthy of being received into the brotherhood. In baptism the elder takes water and pours it on the candidate with the words, 'I baptize you in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' Communion is observed twice a year, usually in the home of the elder, where services are also held... The elder gives each brother some ordinary bread; each one extends his hand and receives it... The preacher says, 'Take, eat'; then they all eat it together... With the cup, the preacher says, 'Drink in the name of Jesus, in commemoration of His death'."

The manorial mill of Heidolsheim dated back at least to the Thirty Years' War, when it was in the hands of a Hans Deitsch. "Uninhabited and in ruins during the past 50 years," the leader Hans Schmidt paid 50 florins for its restoration and hired Hans Löhner to serve as miller in 1681. Records suggest that Heinrich Karle of Mussig was his replacement in 1684, when four-year contracts to run the business became the norm.

In 1690, the farmers of Heidolsheim accused the miller of not "giving back his customers what their fruits should bring them." A fine of one florin was ordered but the court record does not reveal any solution or whether the accusations were founded. In 1695, the lordship still seemed to have confidence in Hans Schmidt, because the mill at Jepsheim was offered to him to run in partnership with Hans Guth.

To restore the community's confidence in the mill and the manorial farm, Hans Bachman personally oversaw the withholding of taxed grain beginning in 1697 and continued with this reassurance for 15 years, perhaps with the help of Jacob Kleiner of Jepsheim.

Bachman also drafted the manor's 18-year lease that

was approved in 1700. The number of livestock was protected at 24, transferable to the heirs of the brethren "in all liberty." The annual rent was set at 100 florins and two-and-a-half casks of wheat, five quarter-casks of barley and another five of oats. Pasture and meadowland were available for the livestock for an additional 50 florins.

The brethren also had to pay slightly over a cask of both wheat and oats each year for the rent on their church, and provide upkeep for all of the village's common buildings. In the agreement, the lordship promised to rebuild in case of the ravages of war. If the Anabaptists proved to be good tenants, they and their heirs would not "be hunted without major reason." This kind of involvement with the outside Catholic and Reformed community was especially galling to Jacob Amman, who felt that Bachman was leading the Swiss brethren into worldly entanglement.

In 1702, the mill was reassigned to Hans Georg Wöhrlin of the Margraviate of Baden, who was not an Anabaptist. Six years later though, it passed back into the hands of a brethren named Peter Augsburg of Markkirch. He served until a royal decree forced all of the Swiss brethren to leave.^{102:68}

Hans Bachman was a busy man in Heidolsheim, and a traveler as well, sharing responsibility for the community seven miles south at Jepsenheim. He was an elder and preacher for the whole congregation made up of the several surrounding towns.

Hans Bachman was also a humble man. Even when drafting important papers on behalf of his community's church, his handwriting was always small, leaving out all embellishment or even capital letters. His signature always crouched at the last possible corner of the page.

Bachman's hands were filled and tied by disharmony from within the brethren community as well as severe tests from the outside world.

Nor Even Talk to One Another

IN 1693, THE BRETHREN AROUND MARKKIRCH splintered over matters of doctrine, forcing loyalty to either the conservatives behind Jacob Amman, known as the Amish, or to the more adventurous elements. A French observer noted three distinct groups of Anabaptists in the valley that would not even talk to one another.

The Amish made up the largest group, wore long beards and dressed in coarse wools all year around. These clothes, which many could not otherwise afford, were produced in quantity through Amman's household as a kind of social security or pension and were not imposed as a restriction of choice. Keeping to their

austere style later was simply a matter of tradition. They were upset by all manner of prideful ostentation, and in an era when the ruling class flaunted huge, shiny metal buttons, they removed any fastenings from their clothes except hidden hooks and eyes.^{124:66}

Many Amish came from the remote *oberland*, meaning the higher elevations of isolated mountain life, and were very strict about discipline. Because of the remoteness of their society, the Amish felt most at ease being ultra-independent, and were more easily shocked by outside society. Quite naturally, they believed in a spiritual order separate from sinners and all temptations of the material world. From the New Testament, they focused on the second book of Corinthians, chapter 6: verses 14 through 17: "Do not be yoked together with unbelievers."

The several groups loyal to Hans Reist thought Amman's reading of Bible doctrine was too severe. They had already made friends and business allies out of sympathetic neighbors, nicknaming them "The True-Hearted." These were the same sorts of folks that had so often sheltered and saved the brethren back in Switzerland. The more moderate brethren believed that shunning all contact with such kind people was in itself un-Christian.

Another faction of the Mennonites, following Rudolf Houser, wore shorter beards and dressed in linen. These were the traditional, mainstream Anabaptists who had arrived from Canton Zürich a generation ago.^{102:66}

The third group, also originally from Zürich but growing fast with new arrivals from Canton Bern, dressed exactly like their ordinary neighbors.^{95:69} This last group was by far the most worldly, having established cordial relations with neighbors from the Reformed faith. They did not hesitate to attend social gatherings such as weddings and funerals that involved neighbors in the Reformed Church. They willingly served in local citizens' committees of governance called the Heimburg, even though these groups oversaw tax collection and police militias. Some of these Mennonites men amassed considerable wealth, owned large houses, shaved their faces smooth and their hair fashionably long. Within a few short years of their arrival, the wider community of brethren controlled about one-third of the Leber Valley's entire economy, far out of proportion to their small numbers.

This "Third Way" among Anabaptists had started to gravitate around Hans Bachman.^{99:59} Jacob Kleiner, a loyalist to Jacob Amman, was the manorial farmer at Jepsheim during the late 17th and early 18th centuries. His community presented an opposite stronghold to the manorial mill at Heidolsheim run by Hans Bachman.

From Amman's point of view, life was changing at a dangerous speed. The Anabaptist sense of security had

become destabilized and fragile since 1660 from the disappearance of three of its pillars: Jacob Schmidt had moved to Holland, Bertram Habich and Adolf Schmidt had died. In a blistering verbal attack, Amman doubted that "gray beards" such as Rudolf Houser and Peter Layman could shoulder the responsibility of the community, or that they had any goodwill remaining.^{102:46}

By Amman's account in 1694, 52 brethren families were settled in Alsace and ten of those were in the valley of Markirch. The splitting among them was very bitter, with the sides calling each other heretics and putting each other under the ban. Amman called Reist's people "false teachers, excommunicated liars and servants of the devil."^{139:282}

The followers of Jacob Amman lived mostly around the village of Reid, which also happened to be the name of the creek running into Lake Zürich by Wädenswil Castle. When the Amish left Reid and dropped out of the Alsace congregations, they defaulted leadership of the remaining Swiss at Baldenheim, Ohnenheim and Jepsheim to Hans Bachman and Rudolf Houser.^{95:69}

In 1696, the provincial judge of the valley had become "visibly intrigued" by the personality of the Patriarch Jagi, as the Amish entourage preferred to call their leader.^{101:75} His report concluded:

"The appointed Jacob Amman, chief of the new sect of the Anabaptists, coarsely called the Patriarch, is a man of whom we could make no complaint... being a most submissive and respectful man to the orders of King and local officials; this he also appears to have inspired among all those of his sect who are governed in the same way..."^{99:59}

The chancellor began to notice that many of the Swiss brethren had been arriving unofficially and were therefore never enrolled for taxation. Instead of clamping down with a cold hand, they decided to monitor "by sweetness" this wild growth of immigration.^{99:65} Nine new arrivals were rounded up for questioning by the authorities on 4 March 1710. Hans Wisler and his married son Heinrich, both weapon makers from Richterswil, had just arrived for the first time at Heidolsheim. Also included were Ulrich Steiner, a manager named Walter, and Peter Reinhard from Sumiswald, who lived at the mill of Adolf Schmidt, the younger.

They were first obliged to declare how long they intended to stay, and who was responsible for them. All nine unanimously denied affiliation with Jacob Amman, but hesitated to name another. Their experience of persecution in Switzerland made them suitably cautious about getting their fellow brethren in trouble. After two days, they finally admitted attachment to Hans Bachman

of Heidolsheim, and were relieved and delighted by smiles and belated welcome. The process was soon speeded by the intervention of Jacob Kleiner and Hans Bachman, who had also acquired the greatest confidence of the lordship from years of loyal service.^{99, 58}

Despite their stubborn refusal to talk with fallen brothers, the Mennonites often wrote to one another, as is demonstrated by correspondence to and from Peter Layman. On 23 December 1697, Layman and Rudi Hauser wrote from their adopted hometown of Mannheim back to fellow Reist Mennonites in the Emmenthal.^{124, 222-223} Multiple copies of a letter were sent two years later by Jacob Gut on behalf of all the congregations of the Upper Palatinate. On 19 October 1699, one copy was sent to a group that included Peter Layman, Christian Newcomer and Hans Meier, all Reist Mennonites in the Lower Palatinate, and another went to brethren back in Canton Bern.^{118, 129}

Ulrich Amman, thought to be the Patriarch's grandson, along with the more cool-headed Amish ministers, convinced Jacob Amman to take back the harshness of his criticisms. On 7 January 1700, a letter summarized the peace conference in Alsace held between the quarreling groups.^{99, 65}

"We are deservedly excommunicated," wrote the Amish delegation, "and therefore stand blameworthy outside the church and desire to be reconciled to God and fellow beings... [and] prefer to do penance for our sins while we are yet alive and healthy... Therefore have patience with us, and forgive as much as there is to forgive..."



"MEN, THOU ART DUST"

A WARNING ON PRIDE IN A 1720 MENNONITE PAMPHLET

To which was appended a reply from Hans Bachman, Felix Häggi and Hans Weir, the Reist leaders, and Jakob Kleiner for the Amish:

"we also confess that we should have come to you and made inquiry, and not given you up so quickly and lightly. we therefore request patience and forgiveness of you all. include us in your prayers to the lord. We are disposed to do likewise for you. may the lord extend help and grace to us all."^{124, 243-244}

Hans Reist also prayed, "Let no dissension or scattering come among us any more, but rather see, O Lord of Harvest, how great the harvest is, but how few Thy faithful workers are..." Despite the healing tone from both sides, Reist refused to alter his group's doctrine that had led to the break in the first place.

The Tests from Outside

BACHMAN AND THE REST OF THE BRETHREN BECAME painfully aware of inequality in the tax system devised by the Margraviate. While the Mennonites were willing to pay higher rents and special fees to be exempted from military service, they drew the line at taxes that were higher for them than for their Reformed and Catholic neighbors.

A letter Bachman wrote on 30 December 1694 to the Superintendent of the Chancellery of Rappolstein proved not only his fluency in dealing with nobility but also how bold he could be to insist on justice:

"monsieur de la grange, counselor to the king, superintendant of justice, police and finance in alsace and brigau, and his majesty's armies in germany:

"from the provosts, inhabitants and community of the village of heidolsheim, your instruction is requested very humbly by hans bachman, resident of the place of his palatine highness of birkenfeld. [We] much enjoy exemption from some manorial burdens, especially that which is imposed for the business of the king, that up until now has ever been contributed without imposition, since [we] enjoy nearly half of the [land] proclamation and grazing of the so-called place of heidolsheim, effectively having close to forty head of large livestock. but it is likely against the intention of his majesty that any of his taxpayers enjoy the exemption to the prejudice of the other, which is actually founded in the natural right, that any who want to participate to the advantages and emoluments of a place must participate fully to bear the loads, supplicants found obligated of your presents they very humble request:

"be it considered, if it pleases your eminence, ordaining how the aforesaid hans bachman could not pretend any exemption of right, will be imposed to the loads and impositions made and yet to be made for the

service of the king, and also aware of the other inhabitants of this so-named place, that justice will be made.

"the present request is a message to the bailliff and provost of this place, in order to impose the appointed hans bachman, named herein by spoken request, to the burdens and responsibilities of the community in proportion to all that he possesses of it, at the same [rate] that the other inhabitants of this place have, and compel it from all [others] through reasonable means..."

Confident of the rightness of his position, Hans Bachman refused to pay more tax than his non-Mennonite neighbors and then promptly surrendered on 18 February at Rappolstein in order to defend his reasons. He denounced the abuses of the tax system in the following terms:

"since the beginning of this year, the topics of heidolsheim are given [in summary] for the opinion and decree of the intendant, [regarding] chores and other burdens. previously, [we] had refused to hold back the quarter-casks of grain of a value of 30 florins... there is now [a tax collector, who] asked 63 florins for the month and [received] half. this would represent 150 talers annually. elsewhere, he [quotes] up to 220 pounds and promises liberty in all things..."

"[Hans Bachman] asks for the application of his rights, or at least that the lordship reveals what must be his attitude in order to pursue serenity.



[signed]: hans bachman, Hans Ringer

A short time later, in March 1698, the chancellery nullified the higher tax rate imposed on the manor and mill at Heidolsheim "because the peace came back." ^{102:63}

A Certificate of Anabaptists in 1703 at Markkirch listed Christian Bachman, Hans Müller, Hans Rott and 20 others. ^{131:40-41} In 1704, armies locked into the War of the Spanish Succession began to thunder their cannon along the Rhine north of Alsace. To avoid having the French troops confiscate, overrun or destroy the brethren's farms, Hans Bachman applied for a new declaration of their rights "just as that of our predecessors." He finally succeeded in having the community declared a "Holy Estate." It was due to Bachman's intervention with the ruler Christian III on 11 February — the same day of his petition — that the brethren of Heidolsheim were guaranteed their safety. ^{103:64-65}

The manorial farm at Heidolsheim was staggering

under the amount of work that needed to be done. In spite of urgent appeals, the labor force was not strong enough. Hans Bachman decided in 1706 to send "a young man by the name of Bachman, who had emigrated to Alsace," back to Switzerland. Probably choosing one of his own sons or kinsmen for this dangerous, four-week mission, the elder Bachman instructed him to find new recruits for their community from among the young men of Richterswil, "being himself descended of the same place." ^{103:62} He may well be the Bachman who who went on to Hempfield.

By September of 1706, a fresh list of 60 brethren had arrived in the district around Markkirch, and enough reinforcements had joined the manor at Heidolsheim to consider building a new place to lodge them all. ^{131:40-41} Bachman made a demand to Rappolstein that it provide drink and 20 fir trees that would be necessary in order to cut the added flooring at the manorial sawmill. He pointedly promised that "the other works would be entirely to his burden." ^{101:72}

The occupations of several Anabaptists in greater Markkirch were noted by officials on 23 April 1711:

Hans Landis, gunsmith; Rudolf Houser, the younger, blacksmith and principle cutler; Claus Zimmermann, the miller; Hans Rup, who possessed a factory, lumber- and grist mill; Peter Wenger, tanner; Adolf Schmidt, merchant and tanner; Benedict Eyer, tailor; Heinrich Goldschmitt; principle tailor; Ulrich Neuhouser, surgeon; Ulrich Schallenger and Peter Rott, yeoman. ^{101:74}

Scars of the Spirit

THE AMISH MADE ONE FINAL ATTEMPT TO REUNIFY the brethren, this time in Heidolsheim at the home of Hans Bachman. In very reserved terms, Hans asked for counsel from the brethren in Switzerland and the Palatinate through a letter dated of 26 February 1711:

"on the 21st day of january, the year 1711, these men came to us at hirzenheim, named ulli ammen, hans gerber, hans anken, yost yoder, from the pfalz; hans gut, hans günglich, christen zaug, hans kaufman and one other from the upper pfalz who was with them. these men made an offer to make peace with us. if we can hold with their doctrine on the ban and the washing of feet, then they will consider us their brethren. they do not want to force us to take up their opinions, but there should not be two peoples over these two issues. we responded, asking them how they could consider us brethren, since they hold us as a different people? they answered that we should give to each other what we can. we did not say 'yes' or 'no,' but that we would think about it, and get more advice about it. we heard that they

allowed their people to follow our doctrine. this is the reason that we ask you for your advice.

dated, hirzenheim on 26 february 1711

hans bachman,

Felix Hägi, Hans-Yägi Schneider, Jacob Fretz,

Hans Blum, Hans Müller" ⁹⁸

No record of a reply exists.

Through correspondence with their brethren on the other side of the Rhine, word was spreading about new possibilities. Many of the Mennonite families in Alsace began to think about leaving. At first, the local authorities would hear nothing of it.

"Estates of the Anabaptists of the County of Ribeaupierre who may not withdraw from the Province of

Alsace before the Feast of St. George of next year without bearing the great prejudice of the Montgrave, the Prince of Birckenfeld, who is the Lord of these lands:

Hans Bachman, holder of a farm at Heidolsheim

Leonard Leheman, a carpenter at Illheusern

Hans Rott, a miller at Illheusern

Hans Müller, holder of a farm at Heitern

Melchior Schowalter, holder of a farm at Markirch

Christian Zimmerman, a miller at Ohnenheim

Jacob Kleiner, holder of a farm at Jebnheim

The official pronouncement came on 8 August 1712 and was entitled "The Old Community of Anabaptists also known as Hans Bachman's group at Markirch."

They were commended for their "exemplary conduct" but only offered the conciliation that "military necessity made their removal unavoidable." It was mentioned that, in general, the Swiss were departing from Zweibrücken



THE MASS EXECUTION OF ANABAPTISTS AT ALZEY

"THE REST, WHO WERE YET ALIVE AND WAITED FOR DEATH, SANG"

(known to the French as Deux-Ponts) for the margrave of Durlach, near Kaiserslautern, in the Pfalz.^{103:67}

Hans Bachman negotiated his departure from Heidolsheim on 20 January 1713. On the next and apparently final stop in his life's journey, he went to the duchy of Zweibrücken, where he wrote of having "had a lot of satisfaction to serve the prince of Birkenfeld." This same letter also serves to establish that Hans Bachman the elder remained in Europe at least until 1726, and that he had previously contacted the chancellor of the county with a view to proposing the candidacy of his son-in-law for residence "in case a room came to be free."^{101:86}

The old community around Markirch finally broke up. Jacob Amman vanished by the end of 1712, never to be heard from again.^{124:13} Many of the Reist Mennonites decided to move, and continued along the currents of the Rhine to the north. The Amish left Markirch but managed to stay in Alsace by keeping a low profile through much of the 19th Century. Several Bachmans fell on either side of the divide, some remaining Amish and others choosing the ways of Reist.^{131:40-41} The Bachmans who stayed with the Amish became so prolific in numbers that they turned into the fourth largest clan.^{97:203}

Anabaptists generally had large families, with nine children not unusual. One branch of Anabaptists called the Hutterites have as a group one of the highest fertility rates in history of humanity.^{138:27}

Some Reist Mennonites found that they could remain in the cities unmolested. From the Jepsheim church book came a glimpse of Hansenman Bachman and his wife Catharina Mathis on 5 August 1715 with their new baby

boy Lorentz Heinrich Bachman; and later that year on 24 December, Jacob Bachman and his wife Barbara with daughter Anna Maria appeared.

Although their numbers also decreased well before 1712, the community of Rudolf Houser was weakened the most.^{101:84} In 1713, Christian Zimmerman was the last Anabaptist of Ohnenheim. He resigned from the mill and turned it over to a Hans Georg Discher, who successfully ran it. The mill was completely destroyed by a fire 70 years later, but was rebuilt by Anton Weber.^{101:85}

North and East into Germany

BY 1650, ANOTHER DOOR HAD OPENED TO THE Anabaptists, only farther east in Germany. The Barons of Venningen sent an invitation to Alsace for Hans Müller and Hans Meili to resettle at Dühren in the Kraichgau.^{108:22} Mennonites might have been understandably nervous about this offer at first. One of the most frightening events in Anabaptist martyrdom happened in the Kurpfalz at the town of Alzey. In 1529, pursuant to a mandate of the Holy Roman Emperor, 350 Anabaptists were arrested in one awful morning. The Burgrave Dietrich von Schönburg was the local official charged with beheading the men and drowning the women.

"In one fell swoop, they were rounded up from their homes, gathered together and obliged to watch as the day wore on and their neighbors were put to death one by one. While the others were being drowned and executed the rest who were yet alive and waited for death sang



HALF OF THE KURPFALZ DEPOPULATED
A MASS HANGING NEAR THE RHINE DURING THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

until the executioners took them. During the torture and maiming of some, the burgrave said, 'What shall I do? The more I cause to be executed, the more they increase.' ^{111:437}

The next important town to the south, Worms, had also proved its appetite for hysterical mass executions, launching witch hunts and a pogrom in the late 1620s against the Jews. ^{72:57}

By a sharp bend on the west bank of the Rhine sits Ibersheim, a village in a part of the old Palatinate known before as the Kurpfalz but today as Rheinhessen. Ten miles southeast of Alzey and eight miles north of Worms, it has sometimes been lost on maps as Uebersheim, Ybersheim or Jbischheimerhof. Following the Thirty Years' War, it became a magnet and safe haven for Mennonites.

As of 1648, fighting had wiped out half of the German population in the Pfalz, and the great electoral estates there were deserted. To make his plantations productive again, the Elector prince Karl Ludwig invited Anabaptists exiled from Switzerland to live on his lands. He knew even though these religious folk had rebelled against Swiss authority, they were still excellent farmers.

Karl Ludwig faced competition for the Mennonites from other European leaders. Oliver Cromwell was approached by a Dutch Mennonite named Peter Cornelius Plockhoy about resettling the Swiss in Ireland and Scotland. Cromwell liked the idea well enough to present it to Parliament in 1658, but his untimely death later that year brought the plan to a halt. ^{117:4} In later generations, over 3,800 Palatines did find homes in the Ulster province in northern Ireland. ^{141:164}

Some of the Mennonite families that came through Ibersheim, as well as the neighboring cities of Worms and Alzey, had recently arrived from temporary settlement in Alsace.

Elector Karl Ludwig issued an "Edict of Tolerance" towards the Mennonites on 4 August 1664. While the Anabaptists were not to be persecuted for their beliefs, strong limits were imposed on many exercises of their faith.

For instance, in Ibersheim or in any village with five or more Mennonite households, no more than 20 persons could meet at the same time for religious services. No one from a different faith could pray with them — to hold down on converts — and they were to refrain from "rebaptizing," which cut to the very heart of the Mennonite faith.

In 1671, the Mennonites at Ibersheim were caught after they baptized Jakob Weber, a member of the state's official church. It turned out that Weber's grandparents had been Mennonites anyway, but the elector fined them 100 talers for disobedience. Spies found out that the Mennonites were holding services with 50 to 100 in

attendance. All of the Anabaptists of the region rallied to their support with a petition, asking that the limitation on congregations be raised from 20 individuals to 20 families. The crown relented.

In 1672, Valentine Hütwol and Georg Lichti made their own census of fellow Mennonites living between the towns of Brehm and Bingen, south of Ibersheim. They found, among others, Bets Bachman; Peter Baumgardner; Melchior Brennehan; Barbara and Ulrich Lehman; Hans Meili; Hans and Michael Müller; Hans Röt; Daniel and Michael Schnebelli; Christian, Anna, Daniel, Ulrich and Hans Staufer; and Christian Wenger. ^{118:118}

In a town near Ibersheim named Rudelsheim were found the Mennonites Hans Meyer, Anna Baumann, Hans Jakob Hagmann and Maria Brubacher, whose "lives and behavior... were neighborly to date." But from Wolfsheim, not far away, where Christian Nieuwkommet, Christian Stauffer and Ulrich Witmer lived with their families, came this complaint on 8 December 1685:

"In summary, the Anabaptists are very detrimental at this place because they don't take office and don't share food with the other [people of this village]. In a seductive manner, they have the advantage together with their relatives and keep it, while the others will be ruined."

One of the elector's officers, a man named Zachmann of Alzey, helped maintain the crown's affection for the dozen families at Ibersheim, along with the special privileges that the Mennonites kept. "Everyone must give them the testimonial," Zachmann wrote in 1685, "that they live quietly with their neighbors, and have proven themselves more industrious than others, obedient to the government, true and constant in all things."

Ibersheim was leased in its entirety to the Mennonites for 12 years at a time, terms more generous than those given to other Mennonite communities. When the contract was negotiated in 1683, the names of Jakob Dentlinger, Hans Leitweller and Heinrich Reif stand out as different from the census list two years later; and significant to our search, no Bachmans were mentioned yet.

Instead of being considered as renters like all other Anabaptists in the electorate, the Ibersheimers enjoyed ownership rights to their domiciles and furnishings. A school was fashioned for the Mennonite children soon after their arrival, according to a visiting Lutheran tutor. "In the lower story of a two-story house is the school, which looked very handsome, clean, and orderly. Above to the right is a little room in which the schoolmaster lives, and to the left the room... for the meeting of preachers and elders before the service. Adjoining these rooms is the meeting hall, which, in addition to the good

points in its arrangement, has the defect of being very low."

At first, only six Mennonite families could stay on the crown lands there, but by 1685, Karl Ludwig's successor, Philip Wilhelm, subdivided it again, allowing 12 households. In the next century, the number of families permitted there doubled again, but no more than 200 Mennonite families were permitted in the entire electorate.

The crown demanded a special tax from all Mennonites — a stiff annual "protection fee" of six guilders per person. To control these payments and monitor the level of community growth, the Elector made Mennonites submit to registration at his whim, and sent out census takers to search their homes for hidden families.

Recorded in the Mennonite census of 1685, when the new elector prince took over, the following information appears on folio 83:

"The twelve Mennonite tenants of Ibersheimer Hof, along with 61 children. Certified that no more, young or old, could be found," so recorded the census taker from the neighboring town of Hamm on 10 September 1685.

Hans Bachmann with 4 brothers and sisters
Hans Jakob Brubacher, no children yet
Jakob Dahnauer [*Gochnauer?*] 8 stepchildren
Hans Jakob Fuhry [*Forrer*] 6 children
Henrich Gochnauer, 8 children
Henrich Hiestandt, 10 children
Hans Leuthwyler and his (Miss) sister
Rudolf Müller, 4 children
Heinrich Nef, 4 children [*confirmed as the father of the Lancaster County Doctors Neff.*]
Peter Opmann, 3 children
Hennrich Reist, 6 children

Because the Bachmann and Brubacher households appeared together at the end of the original manuscript, a closer proximity if not association between them may be inferred. During the next two months, a survey of "Hereditary tenants" from Ibersheimer Hof deleted Hans Bachman's name and added two more "Mennists" to the list:

Jakob Bendlinger
Ulrich Hagman's widow

The four Bachman brothers and sisters were underage and therefore counted as part of the community's 61 children. It is possible that Hans, as their eldest brother, was tall enough to be the grownup of their household even though he was still in his teenaged years. Whatever his age, the next oldest sibling had to be young enough to be counted as a child. Other records suggest that the

Bachman family in Ibersheim had come from Freinsheim, 14 miles southwest, where two Mennonite families remained — the Kreybühls and the Brygers, along with the widow of Wilhelm Damm.

A separate Mennonite Bible record from Ibersheim describes Georg Bachman who was born in 1686 — the year following this census.

The intertwining of the Bachmans and Schnebellis was documented in Ibersheim with a decorated fraktur bookplate and family register in an ancient family Bible. The 1536 book — which still survives — is a rare, early illustrated Anabaptist labor by the printer Christopher Froschauer from Zürich. Because it was the first Bible printed in the Swiss German dialect, it was an especially treasured edition among early Mennonite families. State church authorities in Switzerland made it a crime to possess the Froschauer Bible or to even take it or any from a list of other Mennonite printings to have them bound.^{106, 295}

An unknown ancestor to the Schnebellis brought it out of Switzerland around 1660 to Baldeheim in Alsace, where a pastor Jacob Schnebely was listed; and then later at Mückenhäuserhof, immediately west of



PUBLISHER OF FORBIDDEN BOOKS
THE 1534 LOGO OF CHRISTOPHER FROSCHAUER

Ibersheim.^{142:469}

In 1708, "Matthias Schnebelli at the Ibersheimerhof" signed a bookplate opposite the New Testament title page:

"Diese Biebel Geheret dem Madteiss Schnebelli Auf dem Iversheimer Hoff und sie ist im Lieb so geschrieven Im Jahr Christi 1708." ("This Bible belongs to the Matthias Schnebelli at the Ibersheimerhof, and it is in love so written in the year of Christ, 1708").

This bookplate is noteworthy for being one of, if not the oldest Mennonite fraktur still in existence.^{94:25}

In 1715, the book apparently became a wedding gift to his sister, Anna Maria Schnebelli (1698-1776) when she married Hans Georg Bachmann (1686-1753), probably at Ibersheim. He was the son of Oswald Bachman of Richterswil in Canton Zürich. After their first son, Heinrich, was born there in 1717, Hans George, his wife and her parents moved to Pennsylvania, settling in Saucon Township near present-day Coopersburg in Lehigh County.

For the rest of the 18th Century, more generations were entered on the pages of the old Bible, and it was eventually passed among the Oberholtzer and Stoudt families. Since 1990, it has become an honored display at the MeetingHouse of the Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania, in Harleysville.^{94:26}

Between 1644-1689 at Ibersheim, a long list of other family members came through, staying secretly, contrary to the laws of the Elector prince, and for unknown lengths of time. A number of these had just arrived from Osthoven, west of Strasburg in Alsace.¹⁵¹ These brief glimpses offer a heart-breaking composite of families torn apart by religious persecution, economic hardship and the difficulty faced by all fleeing refugees.

A Peter Bachman, "40 years old and still unmarried" brought with him two Reichstalers in cash. Barbara "Babe" Lehman, 76 years old, left her husband and four children and arrived at Ibersheim with one quilt and five

Reichstalers. Christian Stauffer, over 90 years of age, who was father, grandfather and great-grandfather to over 94 souls — "among whom 16 died and 78 were living" — arrived without any property of value. Daniel Stauffer, 39, along with his 43-year-old wife, had six children and one more expected. The oldest, aged 17, came with them, but five were left behind. They brought two quilts and 14½ Reichstalers. Steffen Lichti, 70, managed to save 10 Reichstalers, and came in the company of Ulrich Lichti, 32. The younger Lichti left behind his wife and five children "and hopes that they will follow." Hans Müller, an 80-year-old widower came with his daughter, a 50-year-old widow. They shared one quilt.^{134:46-49}

During the same era at Ibersheim, an Anabaptist brother and sister named Conrad and Kleiann Hiestand arrived, having left their Swiss hometown in 1657. Family researchers believe that Kleiann married Hans Jacob Brubacher and lived side by side in Ibersheim with Conrad. The two Hiestands were the grandchildren of Heinrich Hiestand and the Anabaptist Anna Luttol to be found in a 1633 list from Richterswil in Canton Zürich.

Michael Denlinger, born in 1685, lived in Ibersheim prior to moving to the Conestoga settlement at the age of 32. He brought with him a wife and two sons, Jacob, 2, and Heinrich, 1.^{114:1:13}

The Elector Johann Wilhelm (1690-1716), a strict Catholic, was very slow to renew the Mennonites Ibersheim concession. His reign saw the flight of a group of Mennonites from Ibersheim to Friedrichstadt in Schleswig-Holstein in 1693 and the expulsion of all the brethren from Rheydt in 1694, which caused anger in the entire Protestant world.^{136:110}

Tracking Others in the Kurpfalz

IN 1683, THE FIRST GROUP OF PALATINE MENNONITES that emigrated to North America started from a little town only seven miles south of Ibersheim. From Kriegsheim, Peter Schumacher lead 13 families to start what turned into Germantown, northeast of old Philadelphia. He had recently converted into a Quaker, which no doubt, gave William Penn even stronger feelings about inviting these beleaguered folk to settle on his lands.

When the Elector Karl Phillip began his rule in Palatinate in 1716, he doubled the protection fees charged to the brethren and limited their right to purchase land, all in hopes of keeping the number of Mennonite families in his territory to no more than 200. This certainly hurried the departure of many more brethren.^{136:110}

"On 27 April 1706, a census of Mennists residing in



A TALER COIN MINTED IN ZÜRICH
WITH A SCENE OF THE CITY THEY LEFT BEHIND



A FLOWER FROM THE BACHMAN-SCHNEBELI BIBLE
THE OLDEST-KNOWN MENNONITE FRAKTUR

the city of Mannheim:

"Hans Jakob Schnebely [church elder & owner of the Froschauer Bible], Christian Staufer, Ulrich Meyer, Hans Müller; and updated on 24 April 1717 with Jakob Schnebely, widower (in addition to the above named Hans Jakob), Hans Neucommet and Martin Meyli."

On 28 March 1710, 32 Anabaptist prisoners at Mannheim were released because "they were old and emaciated people, some of whom were quite ill." The remaining 22 who were in somewhat better health were led to Nimwegen where they were freed by the intervention of the Dutch authorities and the Dutch brethren and friends.^{142:180}

Many other brethren came from Switzerland and landed in the Kraichgau, including a scattering of Bachmans:

Elisabetha, of Zürich, married at Pforzheim-Altstadt in 1677.

Hans Heinrich, of Brittnau, Canton Aargau, a clothing knitter, son of Heinrich the late toolmaker, at Ladenburg for Communion in 1699; married in Ladenburg on 26 November 1710 to Anna Maria Diehl of Neckarhausen, daughter of Konrad.

Hans Konrad, of Langmatt-Hinwil, Canton Zürich, bap. 6 July 1662, son of Georg Bachman and Elisabetha Honegger of Haltberg-Rüti, who married on 3 July 1655 in Hinwil; married in

Bretten in 1689 to Elisabeth Harder of Oberstammheim, Canton Zürich.

Hans Melchior, of Switzerland, worked in Eppingen, at Elsenz in 1686.

Heinrich, of Eglisau in Canton Zürich, assistant mason, took Communion at Eppingen in 1719.

Jacob, of Rorbas, Canton Zürich, son of Heinrich, married in Bretten in 1669 to Margaretha Hemmer of Niederglatt, Canton Zürich.

Johannes, of Nussbaum in Switzerland, married at Schwaigern in 1658.

Samuel, of Düssberg in Canton Bern, son of Hans, took Communion at Mühlbach in 1672.

Ulrich, of Canton Zürich, died at Grötzingen in 1690.

Ulrich, of Rorbas, Canton Zürich, a miller, married Anna Maria Rawfelder of Heidelberg; citizens roll at Heidelberg from 20-24 January 1702.

Ursula, of Switzerland, took Communion at Schluchtern in 1665

Veronica, of Embrach in Canton Zürich, daughter of Jörg, married at Eppingen in 1681.^{115:21}

Goldschmidt

Hans Georg, barber, son of Heinrich, from Richterswil, married in Mosbach on 22 January 1656 to Katharina Winter

Heinrich, from Richterswil, married in Hüffenhardt in 1663.^{115:65}

Reif

Hans Heinrich, born 1658 in Hirzel, Canton Zürich, married at Eppingen in 1683

Johann, born 1682 in Hirzel, at Sinsheim

Rudolf, carpenter, of Wädenswil, married at Schriesheim in 1667 to Ursula Knop^{115:139}

Strickler

Rudolf, son of Heinrich, of Richterswil, a mason & stonecutter, married at Mühlbach in 1672 to Maria Wust, daughter of Leonhard of Cleeborn-Württemberg.^{115:171}

Treichler

Konrad, of Richterswil, born 1617, with his children Anna, Hans Heinrich, Hans Rudolf, Margaretha and Regina in the Baptismal book at Derdingen.^{115:176}

Pressures to Move Again

FRENCH SOLDIERS OVERRAN THE PALATINATE IN 1697 but spared the Mennonites, who simply rendered their taxes to a different Caesar. In 1702, Daniel Falkner produced a pamphlet called *Curious Information About Pennsylvania...* It was not so different from other printed encouragements that had begun appearing among the German community in 1681,

Curieuse Nachricht
Von
PENNSYLVANIA
in
Norden = America
Welche /
Auf Begehren guter Freunde/
Über vorgelegte 103. Fragen /
bey seiner Abreise aus Teutsch-
land nach obigem Laude Anno 1700.
ertheilet / und nun Anno 1702 in den Druck
gegeben worden.
Von
**Daniel Falkner / Professore,
Burgern und Pilgrim allda.**
Frankfurt und Leipzig /
Zu finden bey Andreas Otto / Buchhändlern.
Im Jahr Christi 1702.

FALKNER'S CURIOUS PAMPHLET
FULL OF REGRET ABOUT A WICKED GERMANY

but its dark mood seemed to strike a chord:

"Ought not a time of dearth and famine come unto you, ought not pestilence, epidemics, the French and other plagues overtake you?... Sodom and Gomorrah were not one tenth as wicked as Germany is at present... If this is to be the rule in Germany, I shall regret that I am born a German, or ever spoke or wrote German."

On top of the political picture was economic desperation, typified in a letter during the same era from a baker, Jost Schneider:

"I don't know how to make ends meet anymore. The heavy taxation and debts take everything, and my craft is so badly paid that I don't know how to make a single penny... I won't be able to subsist here much longer."

Switzerland became adamant in 1708 about sweeping out the remaining Anabaptists. Once in custody, the brethren and their families were kept away from other prisoners. From an account written by one of the prisoners, soon they were taken "to the hospital. There we had to work with wool from 4 o'clock in the morning until 8 at night, and they fed us but bread and water, but this in ample quantity. This lasted 35 weeks. For the next ten weeks work was less arduous." ^{141:178}

On 28 April 1708, the British Council of Trade wrote that the reasons for the Herr-Kindig immigration was economic: "[They] are in the utmost stage of want, not having at present anything to subsist themselves; they have been reduced to this miserable condition by the ravages committed by the French in the Lower Palatinate where they lost all they had." ^{110:78-79}

Even Mother Nature conspired against them during the brutal winter of 1708-1709. An early cold snap locked the Rhine in ice for five weeks and made birds in mid-flight drop dead from the sky. Then came warmth that found "apples and apple blossoms were together on the same branches." Vineyards were destroyed and the cold turned wine into frozen blocks. By the time Spring really arrived, a flood of 13,000 people were ready to head for America, in 1709 alone. ^{117:3}

In 1711, the Swiss brethren in Germany were to be drafted for military service, but by raising a petition explaining their faith and history once more, they gained an official exemption on 27 January 1712.

King Louis XIV gave orders on 9 September 1712 that all Mennonites, without exception, were to be expelled from Alsace and forbidden from settling anywhere else in France. The king's heart softened slightly some 16 years later, and he allowed that a few Mennonites remaining could stay, but that their children would have to move out of France as soon as they were grown. ^{95:70} Ironically, this exemption kept Martin Kindig from winning aid money for the stranded brethren. The Dutch Mennonites would grant money for travel expenses only in the face of actual persecution.

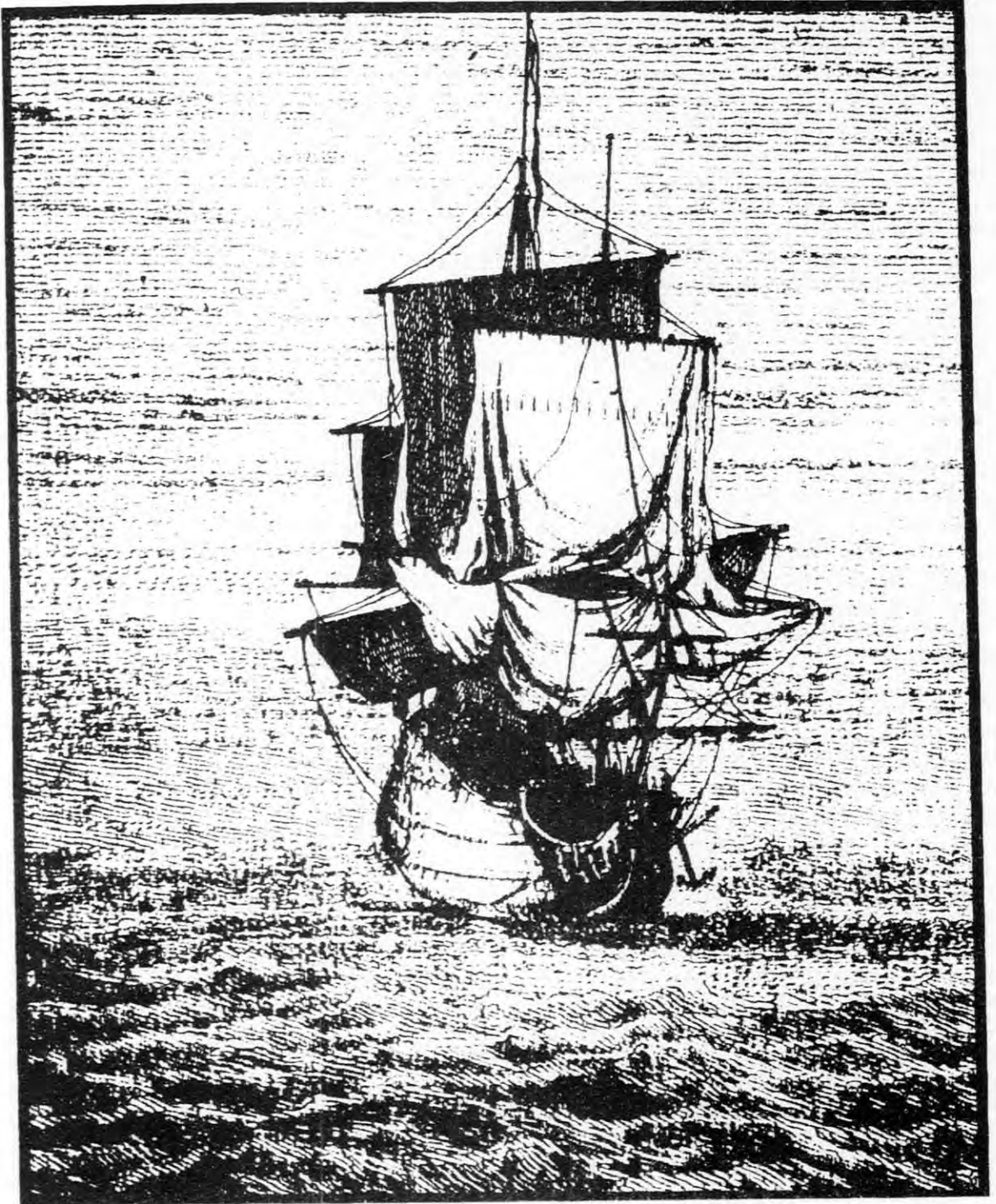
Word came from Kindig in the early spring of 1711 about the settlement on Pequea Creek in Pennsylvania — a land of religious freedom, where a community of brethren already there established kept thousands of acres beside them ready for the newcomers. Kindig visited the elders in Ibersheim, Bonfeld, Ittlingen, Sinsheim and Hasselbach. By February 1717, they had reached a plan that satisfied all, and on 20 March, 100 were on their way, boarding river boats the following day at Ibersheim. The group's notable members included the preacher Hans Tschantz along with Hans Bachman, Heinrich Funk, Johannes Hauser and Jacob Müller. ^{48:96}

By March 1717, the rest of Swiss in Mannheim also decided that America was to be their New Eden. On 15 August 1717, a ship under the command of Captain Richmond arrived in Philadelphia with 150 Palatines aboard. Among them were more Mennonites from Ibersheim, including Hans Georg Bachman, his wife and their one-year-old son Heinrich. Also aboard were Hans and Martin Bär, Jacob Böhm, Hans Brubaker, a Brachbill, a Langenacker and a Schnebelli. ^{148:97-98} A member of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania estimated that Palatine immigration had reached a pace in 1717 of "above 2,200 in about four months." ^{148:100}

Because of the war, another census at Ibersheim was not made for a whole generation. No Bachmans were still around by 1724. On maps from 25 years later, the name Ibersheim was switched for Wiedertaufhof, a blunt, rhyming nickname to mean Baptist Farm. Centuries of healing, however, have left the little village with a Menno Simmon Strasse and its own Mennonite church, the oldest one surviving in the Pfalz. The ancestral home of the Staufer family still stands nearby.

The children and cousins and grandchildren of the Lake Zürich Mennonites kept following for another 30 years. In the late summer of 1738, a shipload of familiar names packed up and gathered together for the trip down the Rhine:

Johannes Äpli, 30 years old from Maur; Felix, 21, and Heinrich Bachman, 27; Hans Bachman, 27 from Rossau; Jacob, Johannes and Lenhardt Forrer, 40, Hans Ulrich Müller, 24, and Hans Ulrich Näff — all from Zell; Heinrich Hauser from Stadel; Hans Jacob, 18, Heinrich, 52, and Jacob Hopman, 26; Felix Huber, 38, from Regensburg; Heinrich Keller, from Winterberg; Heinrich Oberholtz, 34; Bernhardt, 27, Lorenz, 34, and Melchior Riegger; Hans Jacob Schaub, 25, from Niederwil; Heinrich Schellenberg, 22; Ulrich Schmidt, 29; Heinrich, 20 and Johannes Schnebelli, 21, of Niederweningen; Caspar Weidman, 40, from Oberwinterthur; and Christophel Weidman from Tholheim. ^{144&106:57-58} ■ ■ ■



A BRITISH SAILING SHIP OF THE TYPE USED FOR TRANSPORTING EMIGRANTS TO AMERICA
ILLUSTRATED IN THE MARGINS OF A 1750 MAP OF PENNSYLVANIA BY THE GERMAN ARTIST ADAM SCULL



ARGE NUMBERS OF SWISS and Germans began their rush to America by the summer of 1709. "By the middle of July, 6,520 had arrived in London," claimed an early report. "1,278 were men with families, 1,238 married

women, 89 widows, 384 young men..." Among them were 1,083 farmers and vineyard workers, 90 carpenters, 20 joiners, 48 coopers, 48 masons, 46 weavers, 58 tailors, 40 shoemakers, 34 bakers, 27 millers and 15 butchers. ^{196:162}

On 23 September 1710, the British sailing vessel *Maria Hope* arrived in Philadelphia with 20 Swiss Mennonites among the 94 passengers and crew. The ship's captain, John Annis, had been so anxious to avoid the many pirates that plied America's coast that year that he had run his little ship aground in Delaware Bay at low tide, and wasted most of the previous week getting clear.

The handful of families had gathered from the towns of the Kraichgau, and were led by Martin Kindig, Hans Herr, Christian Herr, Jacob Müller, Hans Gräff, Martin and Michael Oberholtzer, Hans Funk and Wendall Bowman. They came from the villages in the Neckar River Valley only a couple of miles from Bonfeld and the leading towns of Sinsheim and Wimpfen.

It is now thought that Peter Lehman also arrived on the *Maria Hope*, as did Martin and Hans Meili, although their names did not appear in the original applications for land. Their trip was made possible by benefactors from Rotterdam, whom they had thanked (but without naming them) in a letter posted at the beginning of the summer from London. ^{161:76}

Within less than a month of their arrival in America, a native of Bern, Switzerland, named Johann Rudolph Bundeli served as their real estate agent, gaining a warrant for 10,500 acres 60 miles west in the unsettled back country of Pennsylvania's Chester County. They could count on their farms being well-watered by two creeks, namely the Conestoga and Pequea — pronounced locally as "Peck'-way" — which fed the Susquehanna River. By coincidence, the river's name comes from *Sasque-sa-han-ocke-a* and means "people who live by the brook" exactly the way Bachman would be translated from German into English. The name Conestoga was shared by the local tribe of Indians and was derived from their own word *Kanastoge*, or "place of the immersed pole." ^{172:170}

Bundeli, a gunmaker by trade, had already been in Pennsylvania for at least six years. He was a non-Mennonite and never actually lived on his Pequea land, but later moved back to Switzerland. His clients became the first Europeans to permanently settle the future Lancaster County.

An eyewitness impression of Kindig's little group, which had come "from the German Palatinate at the invitation of William Penn," has survived:

"The men wore long red caps on their heads. The women had neither bonnets, hats, nor caps, but merely a string passing around the head to keep the hair from the face. The dress both of female and male was domestic, quite plain, made of coarse material, after an old fashion of their own." ^{166:327}

Upon their arrival, harvest time was at its peak in America, and was described by a fellow shipmate as "bountiful." It is unknown whether Kindig and Herr spent the coming winter in the settled comfort of Germantown, north of Philadelphia, or were inspired to move permanently to their new farmsteads. The route of their first visit was an old Indian trail and can be traced on modern maps as Route 30 from the town of Gap west to Strasburg, thence by Lampeter and Willow Street to Rockhill. Their original 500 acre-rectangles began at present-day Willow Street in Strasburg and straddled in a row the old Indian trail for five miles. ^{161:73-78}

Pennsylvania's colonial governor knew that the Swiss were being sent into the lands of the Conestoga Indians. To avoid misunderstanding and bloodshed, Lieutenant Governor Charles Gookins was sent to negotiate with the tribe in the following June, despite "the season being so Hott." On the 29th, according to Gookins' report:

"A present of 50 pounds of powder, 1 piece of stroudwater, 1 piece of Duffils, 100 pounds of shott; being laid upon the floor, the Govr. (by Indian Harry, the Interpreter) thus spoke: Govr. Penn upon all occasions is willing to show how great a Regard he bears to you, therefore has sent this small present (a forerunner of a greater one to come next spring), to you and hath required me to to acquaint you that he is about to settle some people upon the branches of the Potowmack, and doubts not but the same mutual friendship which has all along as brother, past betwixt the Inhabitants of this Gov^{mt} and you, will also continue betwixt you and those he is about to settle; He intends to present five belts of Wampum to the five nations, and one to you of Conestogo, and requires your friendship to the Palatines settled near Pequea.

"To which they answer:

"That they are extremely well pleased with the Govrs. speech, but as they are at present in Warr with the Toscororoos and other Indians, they think that place not safe... that settlement being situated betwixt them and those at Warr with them. As to the Palatines they are in their opinion safely seated..." ^{196:176}

In the years between 1710-1717, thousands of acres in this section were taken up, mostly by absentee speculators, so that the Swiss colony was eventually surrounded on three sides by vacant tracts belonging to individuals or companies that showed no timely interest in settling on the land. ^{161:79}

Valleys Lifted Up Like Bowls

AFTER THEY HAD BEEN SCARCE FAIRLY SEATED," wrote the historian I. Daniel Rupp in 1844, "they thought of their old homes, their country and friends — they sighed for those whom they left for a season. 'They remembered them that were in bonds as bound with them'... and ere the earth began to yield a return in 'kindly fruits' to their labors, consultation were held and measures devised, to send some one to their *Vaterland*, to bring the residue of some of their families; also their kindred and brothers in a land of trouble and oppression, to their new home..."

"A council of the whole society was called; at which their venerable minister and pastor, Hans Herr, presided, and after fraternal and free interchange of sentiment, much consultation and serious reflection, lots, in conformity with the custom of the Mennonites, were cast, to decide who should return to Europe for the families left behind and others. The lot fell upon Hans Herr, who had left five sons... This decision was agreeable to his own

mind; but to his friends and charge, it was unacceptable; to be separated from their preacher, could be borne with reluctance and heaviness of heart only... Their sorrows were alleviated by a proposal made on the part of Martin Kindig, that, if approved, he would take Hans Herr's place..."

"After a prosperous voyage of five or six weeks, he reached the home of his friends, where he was received with apostolic greetings and salutations of joy. Having spent some time in preliminary arrangement, he and a company of Swiss and some Germans, bade a lasting adieu to their old homes, and dissolved the tender ties of friendship with those whom they left. With his company, consisting of the residue of some of those in America, and of Peter Yordea, Jacob Miller, Hans Tschantz, Henry Funk, John Houser, John Bachman, Jacob Weber, [Christopher] Schlegel, [Benedictus] Venerick, [Samuel] Guildin and others, he returned [in about 1711] to their new home, where they were all cordially embraced by their fathers and friends." ^{193:80}

Kindig had also persuaded the young man Jacob Böhme, who later switched from the Mennonite flock to Methodist revivalism, to accompany him back to Pennsylvania.

"The settlement was considerably augmented, and now numbered about thirty families; though they lived in the midst of the Mingoe or Conestogo, Pequae and Shawanese Indians, they were nevertheless safely seated... They mingled with them in fishing and hunting. 'The Indians were hospitable and respectful to the whites, and exceedingly civil.'" ^{193:82}

By 1712, the list of Conestoga settlers included Heinrich Funck, Peter Lehman, Martin Meili, Jacob Müller and Martin Oberholtzer, ^{167:193} John and Michael Baughman, Jacob Böhm, Jacob Hochstetter and Johannes Schenk. ^{194:437} Also by this time, before the rush of new



A TENT CAMP OF REFUGEE PALATINES AT BLACKHEATH, OUTSIDE LONDON
ILLUSTRATED IN 1710 BY WOODCUT

immigrants in 1719, there were Henry Bär, Melchior Breneman, Benedictus Witmer, Jacob Landis, Isaac Coffman and others. Francis Neff was on the west branch of the Little Conestoga prior to 1715, and Christian and Joseph Stoneman were also settled there.^{194:118} Haldiman Mennonites came from the Emmenthal in Canton Bern, while Meilis, Ringers, Guts and Gochnauers came from Canton Zürich.

In those days, Pennsylvania taxes were collected in the beginning of the year, so that when Mennonites arrived, as they usually did in the late summer or early autumn, no tax record was made of them until the following year.^{163:1:9} As a rule, Mennonites made all of their important decisions by group consensus. That is why the total number of Mennonite arrivals for 1709 was only 74. After these reported back on favorable prospects in the New World, a group decision was taken.

On 24 August 1717, three ships arrived in Philadelphia carrying a total of 363 Mennonites. Among them was Hans Barr of Hausen in Canton Zürich, the 69-year-old patriarch of five more Barr men and their families — four generations all tolled — who had recently been living in Ittlingen. Jacob Bieri headed out before long to Virginia. The brothers Hans and Jacob Brubaker, from Ibersheim, brought their wives and children to Hempfield township.^{163:1:12}

The popular folktale about "Three Brothers" who arrived in America and went their separate ways was widely true among the first generation of Swiss Mennonites along the Conestoga. There were four and perhaps more Weber brothers, as there were among the Kindigs and the Bäs. The Herr brothers numbered five. They also brought every branch of their family trees that they could: brothers-in-law, sons-in-law, uncles, aunts, cousins, even elderly grandparents — everyone they could convince. It was if entire valleys had been lifted up like bowls and carried from Europe to America.^{161:84}

Jacob Kreider appears to have been one of Kindig's second group, because he was already settled on 800 acres on the north side of the Conestoga, two miles south of present-day Lancaster Town, by 1716. His family spent the first summer in a tow canvas tent he had brought from Switzerland, but in time for autumn, a cabin was completed.

"When the weather became cold," wrote Rupp, "his tawny neighbors, the Indians, paid him regular night visits to shelter with him, and sleep by the side of a genial fire. They were on perfect terms of intimacy and friendship; the Indians frequently supplied him and family with fish and venison, which they gave in exchange for bread. This little colony improved their lands, planted orchards and erected dwellings..."^{193:116}

The first lands on Pequea were sold at £10 of

Pennsylvania currency per hundred acres, "to be paid in three months, plus the usual quitrent." Sometimes a single neighbor was chosen to handle all business transactions with the English. A combination of block sales, "gentlemen speculators" from Philadelphia, or outright squatting all helped to shroud exact dates of arrival for many. Although some families got there by 1718, they never appeared in the legalities of the Lancaster courthouse until required by law some 45 years later.

Saucon Township

THE EARLIEST MENNONITE SETTLERS SPREAD OUT into five clusters. Besides the original group in Germantown, others huddled around Skippack Creek in Montgomery County and a section of northeastern Berks County the Swiss called "Manatant."^{174:7} While Kindig took most of his shipmates from the *Maria Hope* due west to the Conestoga, a handful chose to walk north-northwest for a day and a half, to a spot 40 miles beyond Philadelphia. Beside the joining of two principle creeks, it was land beside a hilltop that Indians called *Lichai* and the English called Lehigh Mountain.

The Lenn-Lenape Indians kept a village nearby known as *Sakunk* or *Sa-ku-wit*, meaning "mouth of the creek." At first, the Swiss had named this general region "*Der Grosse Sumpf*" after the many fingers of the Great Swamp Creek where a larger community of Mennonites lived a few miles to the southwest. Eventually, the Bachman land became more specifically known as "Saucon."

Johannes Georg Bachman must have been among the earliest to stop since he staked claim to the best part of the gateway, a wide and deep section astride the trail, well-watered by Saucon Creek. The settlers interested in metalwork discovered rich ores of zinc and iron around the limestone soil of Saucon. The Penn family did not officially buy the land from the Indians until a treaty was signed on 7 September 1732. Map on page 173

Neighbors eventually included a mix of German Reformed, Lutheran, Quaker, Welsh and the English. Makeshift union worship sufficed in the early days because homesteads were widely scattered.



THE SIGNATURE OF JOHANNES GEORG BACHMAN
FROM RICHTERSWIL, LATELY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Meetinghouses and church buildings were not practicable or affordable during the first generation.^{184:421}

The original Mennonite meetinghouse was erected about 1735 on the northeast corner of Bachman's land.^{184:427} The first official deeds that a court clerk issued have been preserved by the congregation. See Appendix E, page 194-196. Inside the log building, a special, movable wall separated a school room from the church. At the ceiling, special hinges made it possible to swing the wall up and hook it out of the way. For especially large gatherings — such as the funeral of a community leader — the full capacity of the meetinghouse was absolutely needed. The meetinghouse had to be replaced with another just like it 14 years later, at a cost of £67, and this one survived for almost a century.^{184:430}

Tradition holds that more than a few Indians also worshipped at the meetinghouse. They would park their weapons, pelts and game outside before entering. Some Indians learned to speak Swiss German and chose to be buried at the meetinghouse burial ground. There are no records of Indians harming any settlers in the Saucon area.^{159:5}

Land warrants for the area began to be issued from old Bucks County during the summer and fall of 1735 and trickled in steadily for the next dozen years. Saucon Creek was redrawn 17 years later into the county of Northampton and 60 years beyond that into Lehigh.

Georg received his patent to the first property on 4 June 1737, being tract No. 95 for 334½ acres. Tract No. 34 was also warranted to him in 1742 for 40 acres; tract No. 24 was warranted eight years later to Jacob Bachman for 71 ¼ acres, the future site of Philipsburg.^{191:926-927}

The Bachman family at Saucon held ten farmsteads during the early years, totalling over 1,000 acres.^{188:8} Along with their neighbors, the making of 145 tracts into an official Upper Saucon Township began with a petition filed in March 1743. The 29 signers included Georg Bachman, Henry Bowman, Samuel Newcomer, Owen and Thomas Owen, Henry Rinker Jr., Christian Smith, and Michael Weber.^{184:427}

Amidst slightly more than 14,000 acres, other early landholders included Anton Böhm; Christian Fry; Thomas Mayberry; John Pugh; Conrad and Hans Müller; Bastian Näff; John Newcomer; George Reinhard; Christian Rinker; Valentine Sherrer and Henry Weber. Later neighbors in Saucon included the families Hottel, Kauffman, Landis, Moyer, Reichard and Trexler (Treichler).^{184:424-426}

The Lord Proprietor, Death & Taxes

FROM 1720 ON, THE SCOTS-IRISH WHO POURED into Lancaster County from the Newcastle region

found the fine land along the Pequea and Conestoga Creeks already under cultivation by the Swiss or owned by the syndicates in Philadelphia or London. These latecomers tried to build in the Manor, only to be summarily ejected and their cabins burned. The province had hired John Postlethwaite and John Galbreath for £3:15 for this duty on 15 April 1730, and again on 16 November 1733/34 at a cost £9:5, including horses from John Emerson at £4, for “ye disorders there.” The Scots-Irish found Donegal township around Swatara Creek to be a better place to squat since it was farther away from the anger of the Penns.^{160:23}

A grant in 1681 allowed William Penn to design his townships so that one-tenth, more or less, of every 100,000 acres would be retained for his own portfolio. They were to be feudal enclaves, headed by a Court Baron with absolute privileges and private legal jurisdiction over his tenant farmers. The Conestoga Manor was surveyed in 1717 at 16,000 acres, and the Hempfield Manor followed three years later at only 2,816 acres. Beside the neighboring town of York, Penn next created Springettsbury, largest of all his manors, at 64,520 acres.^{172:47} These manors were held off the market until adjacent regions had been developed by frontier people, thus making all the land much more valuable. Around the French and Indian War, these practices were condemned in the provincial Assembly, most vehemently by Benjamin Franklin.

At the time, the Penns held the greatest private fortune in the colonies, and were loathe to surrender any of it in taxes. The Assembly, on the other hand, refused to pass tax measures unless they fell equally on private citizens as they did on the Penns. The governors sided with the Penns, which only resulted in underfunding the prosecution of the war. For many more years than might have been necessary, frontier families were sacrificed to the French and Indian raiders because the Penns refused to pay for their defense.

On 22 November 1717, the commissioners made a blanket grant to Kindig and Herr under which 5,000 acres were to be surveyed in plots of various sizes anywhere along the Pequea and Conestoga creeks, or their branches — meaning virtually anywhere in present-day Lancaster County.

English tax assessors had a difficult time sounding out the German names. Johannes Bachman seemed to pronounce his name with the characteristic low, open-vowel slur still characteristic of the Swiss and southern Germans — the “a” sounding more like a deep “ahh” or even an “ohh.” The “ch” in his name would have had a breathy, almost silent, scraping sound. Johannes became simply John, but on the 1718 tax rate lists of the “Dutch inhabitants” of Conestoga, he was turned into John Boman. From 1719 through 1722, among “the Palatines

of Conestoga" the anglicizing became Bowman. Starting in 1724, a succession of tax collectors changed him from Boghman back into Boman, then into Booman and Baghman.

These tax lists reveal another interesting thing about John Bachman: measured by the value of his land, animals and tools in 1718, he started off as the poorest man in his community, being assessed only £4 in contrast to his neighbors who averaged £10-20 or Martin Kindig's tax bill of £100. Within one year however, John seemed to have established himself more securely, standing in the lower middle range of his neighbors' income.

Tax assessors listed distinct units of land whenever possible as separate farmsteads, but it was not uncommon for more than one rural family to be counted together as one taxable unit.^{183:28}

The Baughman Farms

ON 28 MAY 1718, MICHAEL BAUGHMAN HAD surveyed 280 acres out of Kindigs's blanket warrant, and on the same day, 200 acres apiece were turned over to Hans Shank and Jacob Kreider.^{175:xxiii} A Baughman got 265 acres surveyed in May 1718 in Chester County, but it is unknown whether it was Michael or John.^{169:IV:67} On 20 November 1717/18, a Pennsylvania warrant was issued to "Michael Boughman of Strasburg in the County of Chester for 400 acres." This was just the beginning of what would become a small land empire for him during the 1730s.

The crop and animal-husbandry practices of southeastern Pennsylvania farmers set the style for the success of America's Corn Belt over the following 200 years.^{183:23} The German farms of Lancaster County were larger than their few English neighbors, with more acres in grain and devoted to the better feeding of their livestock. English farmers, by comparison, spent more time clearing their acres, kept more horses and larger flocks of sheep.^{183:40}

John Baughman's land in Hempfield Township took in a ridge of slate and quartz called Chikis Rock or Chestnut Hill, stretching from the mouth of Chiquesalunga, also known as the Chikis Creek on the Susquehanna River, eastward to Crow Hill. The name Chikisalunga is thought to have come from the local Indian dialect for "long piece of land where rabbits burrow," or perhaps "the creek bed full of crab holes."^{171:169} A thick growth of chestnut trees crowned the hill up until the blight, and in these trees roosted great swarms of crows. Hempfield Manor was surveyed for the Penn brothers in 1740 at 2,816 acres.

Land within Hempfield Manor was bought up in

small tracts by the Bachman, Garber, Kauffman and Strickler families, as well as the Barbers, Bethels and Wrights, though no one ever enclosed it with fence. One government surveyor wrote of his exasperation trying to get the Germans to imagine boundaries separating their neighbors.

"There were a number, however, of small farmers who purchased a few acres near a spring or rivulet, of which there were many, and cultivated an acre or two. They cared only to have a small patch for a garden, and land enough to raise a little grain — spelt, barley, oats and buckwheat — to supply the family. Sometimes they had a cow, a few pigs and sheep, which roamed at will over the hills picking up what they could through the day and returning at night." Benjamin Rush witnessed that German-American farmers of the 18th Century, "feed their horses and cows well, of which they keep only in small numbers."^{183:25} "Their horses are neat, round paunches, generally between fourteen and fifteen hands high, very mettled, six of them make a very pretty team... for hauling a large wagon."^{183:30}

"Their dwellings were built of logs, and the shelter provided for the stock was of the rudest character, and often consisted of poles placed in forked stocks which stood upright. Chestnut poles were thrown across the two of these, resting in their forks, upon which there was 'thatched straw or leaves gathered from the surrounding forest. The head of the family was usually a tradesman or worked for the farmers in the valley. In the fall and winter they amused themselves by hunting for wild game, of which there was an abundance around them.

"It was not an unusual circumstance to find a daughter or wife — whose father or husband was away working the forests — in the woods cutting down chestnut trees and splittin them into fence-rails. In these unpretentious log cabins they lived contented and happy. Within the memory of the present generation these small farms have been cleared of timber, and the land brought to a high state of productiveness, and now as much grain can be produced per acre upon this land as in the limestone valleys."^{166:875}

Thomas Amburey, a British army lieutenant, recorded his impression of Lancaster County's German farmers a bit later:

"After you get over the Delaware [River], a new country presents itself, extremely well cultivated and inhabited; the roads are lined with farm houses, some of which are near the road, and some at a little distance, and the space between the road and houses is taken up with fields and meadows; some of them are built of stone, two stories high, and covered with cedar shingles, but most of them are wooden, with the crevices stopped with clay..."^{173:ix}

At Germantown, Pennsylvania, Mennonites made the first protest against slavery in America. Before a meeting of Quakers in 1688 — 175 years before the Emancipation Proclamation — Mennonites advanced a written argument against the “terror” that men should be slaves in Pennsylvania. “How fearful and faint-hearted are many at sea when they see a strange vessel, being afraid it should be a Turk, and they should be taken, and sold for slaves... Now, what is *this* better done, than Turks do?” Unfortunately, even the Quakers found this too thorny of an issue, and after a year in committee, shelved the resolution forever.^{177:16}

By the end of the 18th Century in Pennsylvania, the Scots-Irish of Cumberland County had one slave for every 44 whites, whereas the Germanic farmers in Berks County had one slave for every 465 whites.¹⁹⁸

Part of the success of many German-American farms can be traced to a tradition of remaining anchored to one place, slowly adding acreage and passing land down to the next generation. Anticipating this inheritance, every member of their large families worked, even the small children. They introduced the habits of a four-year-rotation of crop, along with new methods for irrigation, fruit harvesting, plentiful fertilization of the fields and special attention to the housing and health of all farm animals. The schedule for resting the land followed this plan: wheat in the first year; oats, corn or buckwheat in the second; clover in the third; only plowing and sowing in the fourth.^{198:105}

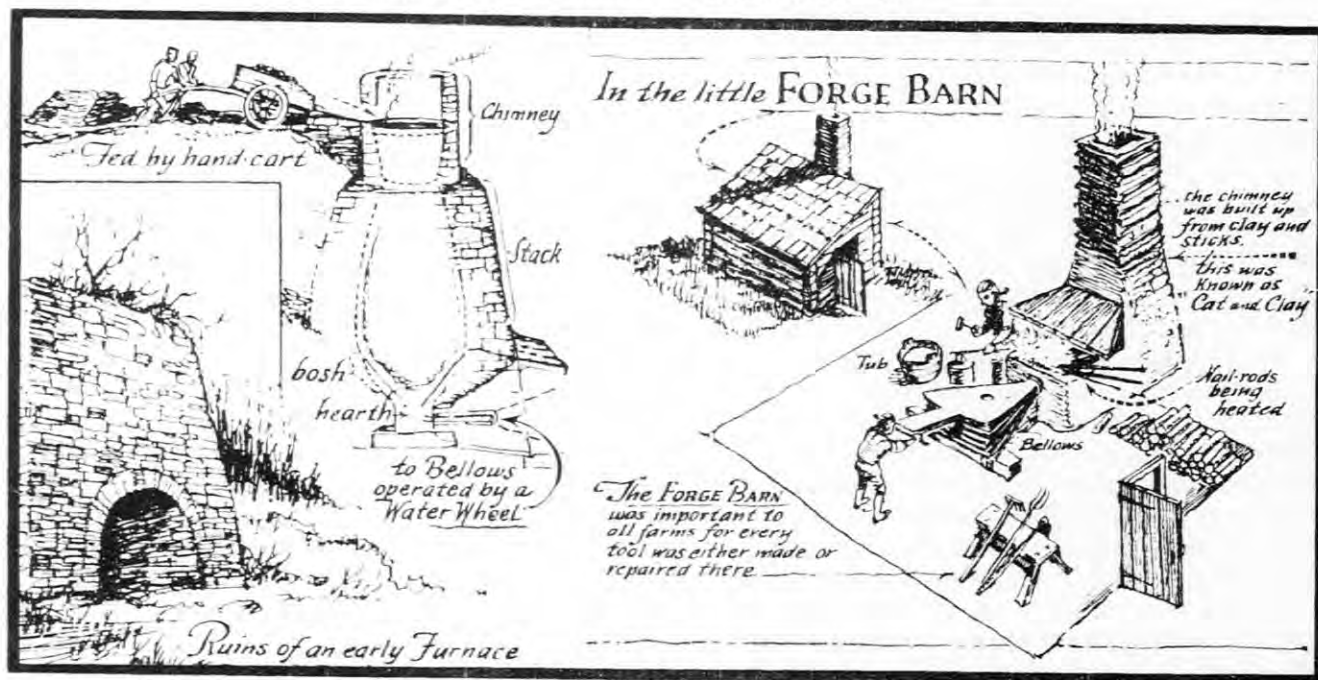
To harvest wheat grain, farmers used a hand sickle

first to cut high on the stalk. The straw was left standing for a second sweep with the long scythe. One good worker could cut one acre of hay in one day.^{164:66-68} The Germanic grain cradle combined a scythe with a frame to hold the cut stalks, speeding its later collection and doubling the productivity of a single worker. In Lancaster County, the harvester’s cradle was popular in the 18th Century, but was not taken up by Anglo farmers in New England until after 1800.^{198:112}

Soon after their arrival, the Swiss used grain fans, also known as cleaning mills, which could separate 200 bushels a day of grain from its chaff, far more than by throwing it up into the wind.^{198:110} The average harvest among all 18th Century Pennsylvania farms was six bushels of wheat per acre; but George Washington noted yields in Lancaster County averaging above 25 and sometimes up to 40 to 50 bushels per acre.^{198:116}

Makers of Iron and Hemp

JUST INSIDE THE EASTERN BOUNDARY OF HEMPFIELD Manor, one of Penn’s surveyors noticed the presence of iron ore. John Taylor, the surveyor for Kindig and Herr, received a letter from William Blunston in 1737 that asked whether anyone had taken a warrant “on the Iron Hill” where exposed outcroppings of the mineral had likely affected the needle of his surveyor’s compass. A century later, the Myers family founded a small village there called Ironville.^{166:876}



THE NECESSITIES OF BASIC IRON WORK
A FURNACE AND FORGE IN EARLY AMERICA AS ILLUSTRATED BY ERIC SLOANE

When they first arrived, the only source of refined iron in the area was in eastern Maryland, where a bloomery was opened in 1715, a year before the first forge was built in Pennsylvania.^{157:11} The Swiss blacksmiths of Hempfield Township needed bar iron from the forges to make tools and other hardware. Before the frontier roads of Pennsylvania were fit for wagon traffic, bars of pig iron six inches wide by five or six feet long were bent into giant 100-pound horse shoes and hooked in pairs over the back of each pack horse. A pair of drivers would lead and prod a single file of 12 to 15 loaded horses.^{157:31, 72} Other popular sizes of raw iron were two inches wide, half an inch thick and 14 feet long.^{157:73}

Visitors unfamiliar with the Hempfield Township area were astonished by rich ore found loose on the ground in farmers' fields. After rains, long streaks of red iron rust would stain the public roads.^{157:57} Dr. Johannes D. Schöpf, an early observer of southeastern Pennsylvania noted that "Any knowledge of mining is superfluous here... all work being done at the surface..."^{157:58} Beside the northern edge of Hempfield, iron ore deposits soon turned into the richest single source in the United States for over 100 years.^{157:48}

The first real company formed in Lancaster County, by 1726, was Kurtz's Iron Works, a bloomery forge on Octoraro Creek, near where Felix Bachman settled in 1740. John Jacob Huber started his furnace on Middle Creek, a branch of the Conestoga around 1750. Seven years later, a partnership between Johannes Bär, Heinrich Wilhelm Stiegel and Alexander and Charles Stedman bought Huber's ironworks and rebuilt it as Elizabeth Furnace. In addition to bar iron, they cast kettles, pots and pans. He also bought the Charming Forge on Tulpehocken Creek in Berks County.

Furnaces were self-sufficient worlds, often far away from any other community, surrounded by many acres of forest that were needed for firewood. The Reading Furnace had 5,600 acres; Martic had 3,400 acres. On smaller furnace plantations, the ironmaster was forced to buy firewood from the surrounding neighbors.^{157:21} Wood was usually cut for this purpose when agriculture came to a standstill during winter months.^{157:64}

During a "blast" of iron ore refining, the 36-foot-high hearths had to be tended by a team of eight to ten men around the clock. It was crucial for them to prevent a drop in smelting temperatures or anything else that might cause an explosion. The crew at Reading Furnace sometimes kept up the fire for 12-18 months at a stretch, although most of their smaller competitors never kept it up for more than nine months. Even the smaller forges put out two tons of iron per week.^{157:69-74}

Stiegel married Huber's daughter, Elizabeth, and then built a mansion house at Manheim with twin towers

and a roof-top bandstand. Whenever he departed or returned in his fancy coach from one of his furnaces, Stiegel insisted on a cannon salute. Unfortunately, his extravagance in this and many other ways bankrupted the company.^{157:127}

On Pequea Creek nearby, the Martic Iron Works were begun in 1754, led by Thomas and William Smith. Hempfield Township finally got its own Mount Hope Furnace in 1785 on the Big Chiquisalunga Creek, under the leadership of Peter Grubb, Jr. Transportation of one ton of pig iron from Lancaster to Philadelphia raised its wholesale cost of £5 by 20-40 percent.^{157:30}

Almost as soon as they arrived, the Swiss began to reapply their genius to practical arts and crafts. John Baughman, by 1715, was reported to be building furniture, houses and coffins.^{158:163} Martin Meili established workshops a mile northwest of the Hans Herr house as a master of iron and gunsmithing, and left behind a dated and monogrammed anvil from 1719, when he also had a gun barrel boring mill. Also on his estate were a grist mill and distillery.

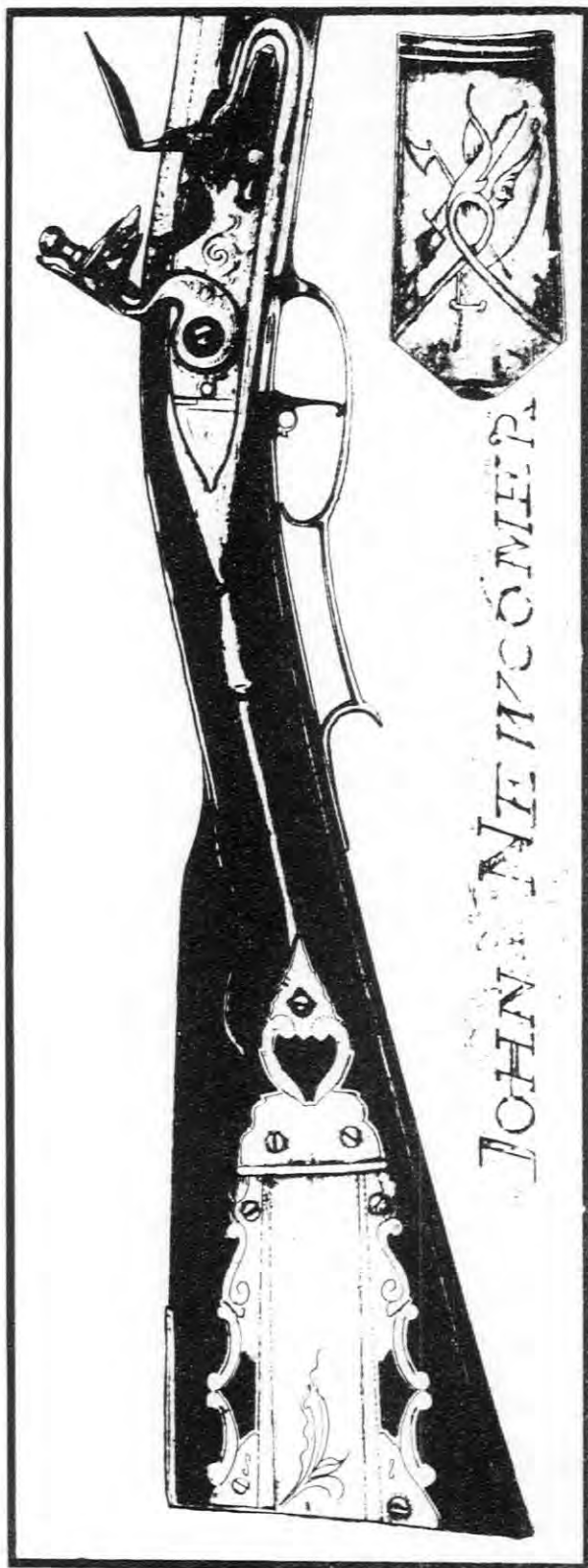
Meili shod horses, and also made and repaired countless of the Conestoga wagons that carried pioneers to the westward frontier. Wagon makers by Conestoga Creek made more than 7,000 of them in the next 30 years.^{157:30} The Conestogas were so important in early American life that even the thin black cigars that wagon teamsters smoked were nicknamed "stogies" in honor of the settlement from where the wagons came.^{198:119}

Some historians believe Meili was the one person most responsible for another colonial classic: a reliable American long arm, evolved from German design, called the Pennsylvania or Kentucky rifle.^{155:151}

In Hempfield township, John Baughman's immediate neighbor to the south was John Newcomer, another of the Mennonite gunsmiths who saw no contradiction in knowing all about guns but never choosing to shoot a fellow human being. Newcomer's trademark, a point of pride for all early American gunsmiths, came in the design of brass patchboxes inset on every rifle's shoulderstock. Each had a functional use for storing greased leather patches needed in the loading of a lead ball down the barrel; but aesthetically, these clever compartments were cut out and decorated with folk designs that turned into a unique "signature" for each gunsmith. Fathers would retire and pass the same pattern for brass patchboxes down to their son, and so it was with John Newcomer Jr. in 1780.

In 1763, the Newcomers of Hempfield were assessed tax specifically for the trade of guns. *The Pennsylvania Gazette* of 6 January 1773 carried notice that a shotgun for hunting birds, known as a fowling piece, with a barrel four feet, two inches in length, and an overall length of

six feet, made by John Newcomer, had been stolen.



THE DISTINCTIVE PATCHBOX
ON A RIFLE STOCK BY JOHN NEWCOMER

When the elder John died, his shop's inventory included gunsmithing tools (£60), Tools in Blacksmith Shop (£8:2:6), Wheelwright's tools (£25), A Lathe & Set of Wheelwright's Tools (£25), A Grindstone with crosscut saw (£3) and Some Old Brass @ 12d per lb., (£2:8).^{203:42}

Another of John Baughman's next-door neighbors also happened to make a living by blacksmithing — his son-in-law, Nicholas Jung. A Peter Laiman was also recorded as a gunmaker on Conestoga Creek.¹⁸⁰

Future generations of blacksmiths doubtless learned their trade at the *meister* Meili's feet. Besides the Meili sons in Lancaster township during the French and Indian War, Valentine Hoffman was at the anvil and before the Revolution a blacksmith Melchior Hill worked not far away.^{181:36} At the Manor in 1738, Michael Baughman sold part of his land to Abraham Stoner, a blacksmith, and another early smith was John Müller, founder of Millersville, who devised a lottery to sell five-acre lots there in 1761. Six years later, he was arrested for a debt he owed to Jacob Witmer.

Christian Oberholtzer Sr. of Hempfield Township and Jacob Hoak of Strasburg reportedly worked for William Henry producing arms for the Continental Army during the Revolution, and did not resist taking the Oath of Loyalty.^{203:44} David Rittenhouse, a Pennsylvania Mennonite, conducted experiments for the Continental Army in rifling cannons, besides supervising saltpeter, powder and casting works. After the war, he served as the first director of the U.S. Mint.^{201:163}

Among the third generation of Swiss from Lancaster County were the gunmakers, farriers and smithys Henry Barr, Jacob Becht, David Forrer, David and Jacob Hess, John Holeman, Ulrich Newcomer and Christian Oberholtzer Jr.^{181:32 & 203:32,44}

A lively commerce was also going on between the farmsteads and port city merchants. Hemp was a well-received commodity for making rope, burlap bags and a thousand other uses, and grown to such amounts by John Baughman's neighbors that their township was soon named after it. Besides his smithing, Martin Meili raised hemp and earned £22:19:4 in one lump sum for 1,378 pounds of it.

Most American colonial farmers jealously kept all the hemp they could grow. Hemp had to be pulled up by the root and then spread out in water to soften its fleshy parts. Its fibers had to be rubbed, beaten, hung up to dry, broken and combed before they could be spun into tow and linen thread.^{164:68} It took back breaking labor to turn it into handkerchiefs, tablecloths and fine linen-like clothing.

In the economic strategy of mercantilism, Great Britain would have preferred to gather the colonists' hemp at a bargain and then force them to buy it back as

expensive finished goods. Spinning and weaving at home had blossomed to such a degree by the 18th Century that self-sufficient Americans ordered only one-fourth of what British textile importers thought they should. The independent mood of colonial hemp growers was an important part of the friction leading to the American Revolution. In a ruling that probably gave great relief to the brethren of Hempfield Township, hemp was declared a vital industry to the Revolution, and anyone who had worked for at least six months making hemp rope for the Continental Army was excused from military duty for the duration of the war.¹⁵³

Early receipts for Arthur Oliver, a local merchant from Conestoga, show that the Mennonites wanted to trade dressed skins for loaf sugar, rice and rosin he got from the southern American colonies; and ginger, pepper, quinine, soap and gunpowder from international importers in Philadelphia.^{155:153} A hemp mill was operating on the Big Chikis Creek about 1740. Shellenberger's saw and grist mill was erected on Strickler's Run about 1750.¹⁸²

Wednesdays and Saturdays were market days on Philadelphia's High Street. To deliver the fruits of their labor, conestoga wagons were challenged with four huge barrels at a time, each one filled with 150 gallons of whiskey, applejack or brandy. Lewis Evans wrote that "the economy of the Germans has taught us... [how] they load their Waggon and furnish themselves with beasts, and provender for the Journey. The Waggon is their Bed, their Inn, their everything, many of them will come one hundred and fifty miles without spending one Shilling."^{198:117}

"It was no uncommon thing," wrote Benjamin Rush "on Lancaster and Reading roads, to meet in one day fifty or a hundred of these wagons, on their way to Philadelphia, most of which belong to German farmers." After a generation or two, cheese and butter were being made in such quantity that it was exported to the West Indies.^{198:113}

Loyalty Affirmed

ON 20 MAY 1718, A LETTER WAS DRAFTED TO William Penn from the newly arrived Anabaptists: "We are subject to the laws of God, you the laws of men. We do not go to your election, we do not go to your Courts of Justice, we hold no offices, neither civil or military, we do not refuse to pay for our land, but we regard it as subject for complaint that we should be subject to civil and military domination. We came to Pennsylvania to enjoy the freedom of our opinions and of our bodies, and expect no other prescriptions of the laws than such as God has commanded. Because we make no

debts and need no laws to collect such, we ought not be compelled to pay for the support of other criminals in jails."

For ten years, the royal governor could ponder whether such feelings amounted to insolence or a self-sufficiency useful to the crown. The position was finally taken that the Palatines should become naturalized citizens. In 1728, a mass enrollment was organized and the brethren finally consented to attend. The "disadvantage they were under by being born aliens, that therefore their Children could not inherit nor they themselves convey to others the lands they purchase."

Whether he wanted to avoid oath-taking and test this law, or because he missed the chance by default, elder Henry Funk did not come to the meeting and failed to be naturalized. Seven years later, his son, Henry Jr., was not allowed to receive title to 200 acres of the old homestead as called for in his father's Last Will and Testament. Only by hurriedly getting a patent reissued in his own name did their land remain in the family.^{185:5}

On 1 April 1728, two of his Majesty's Justices Henry Pierce and George Aston adjourned their Chester County courtroom and went to Martin Meili's house in Conestoga. They had been invited by the Swiss Germans to hold a naturalization ceremony.

The justices, without perhaps intending to, created a rare early American census, a document with a clear profile of the 200 or so who were obliged to sign it. They had to be Mennonites, had to have arrived in Pennsylvania between 1710 and 1718, and had to own land in the Conestoga region of Chester County. The Lt. Governor, Patrick Gordon, also commended them all for contributing "very much to the enlargement of the British Empire, and to the raising and improving of sundry commodities fit for the markets of Europe, and [having] always behaved themselves religiously and peaceably, and paid a due regard and obedience to the laws and government of this province..."

Adjoining this list was a separate petition signed by 23 Germans of other faiths. The second list was necessary because the Mennonites had been given special permission to make a solemn affirmation only, based on a model statement drafted in 1725, in deference to their religious principles. The rest were made, in the more standard tradition, to swear an oath of allegiance. These two lists forced a clear choice in 1728, even though some families diverged from the community of brethren later.

Age and damage has left the original document full of holes. When possible, the language of similar documents has been consulted to complete the phrases of royal edict-making. For accuracy's sake, brackets set off these insertions.

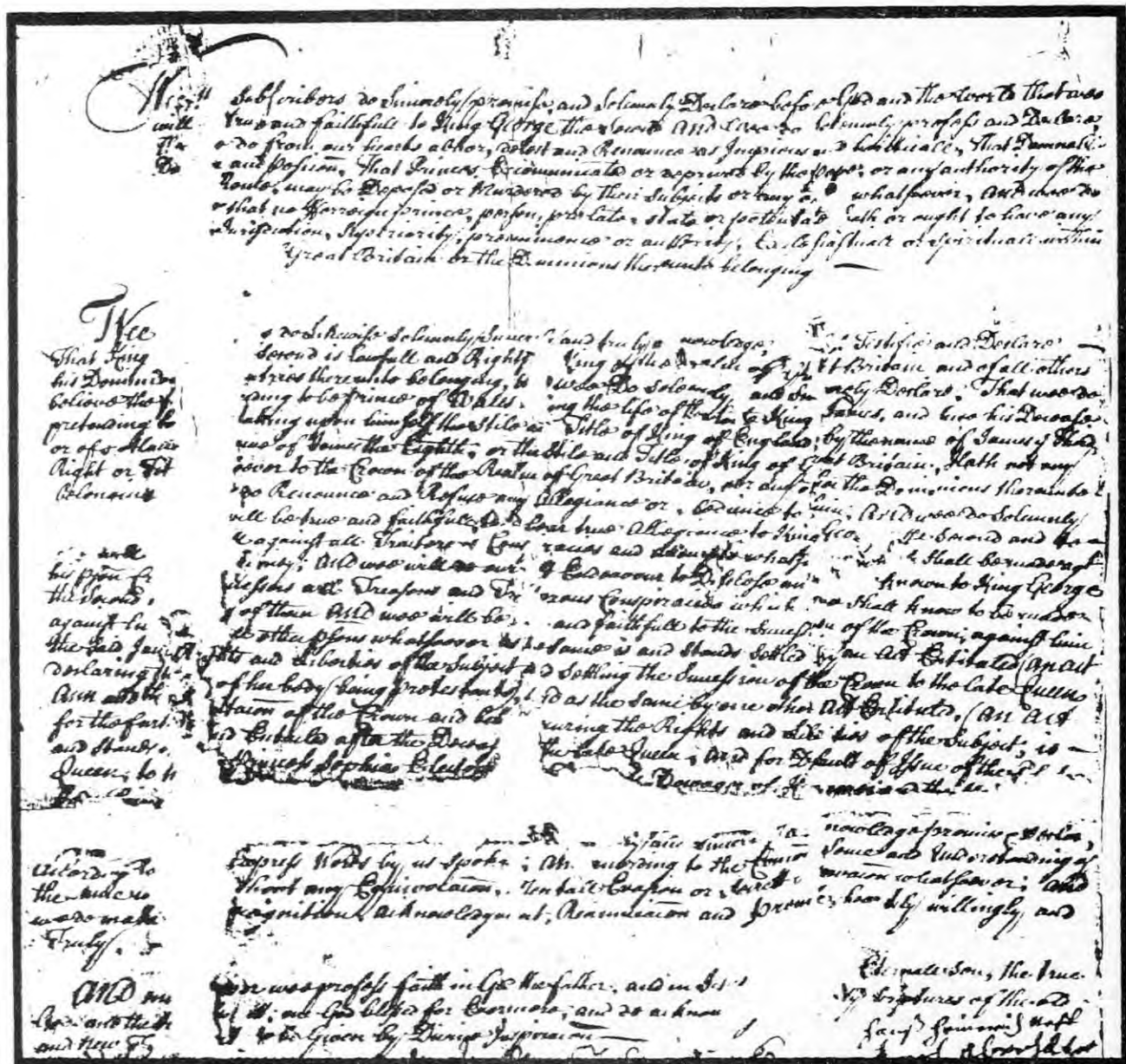
The Mennonites' preamble said "We... promise and Solemnly Declare before God and the world that we will

[be] true and faithfull to King George the Second and... from our hearts abhor, detest and Renounce... That Damnable Do[ctrin]e... That Princes Excommunicated or deprived by the Pope... may be Deposed or Murdered by their Subjects..."

"No foreign prince... hath or ought to have Superiority, preeminence or authority... within Great Britain or the Dominions thereunto belonging..."

In questions of loyalty and high treason, the insecurity of King George could not be satisfied so quickly. The Mennonites were further obliged to learn a bit of the crown's family tree.

"wee do believe the [person preten]ding to be Prince of Wales [dur]ing the life of the late King James, and since his Decease pretending to... Title of King of England by the name of James Third... Hath not any Right... Wee will do our [best] Endeavor to Disclose an[d make] known to King George the Second [and his suc]cessors all Treasons and Treacherous Conspiracies which we shall know to be made... Succession of the Crown to the late Queen Ann and [heirs] of her body being protestants... and for Default of Issue of the sd [late] Queen, to [the late] princess Sophia, Electoress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover... All these things we do



THE MAGNA CARTA OF MENNONITES IN PENNSYLVANIA
RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP IN EXCHANGE FOR LOYALTY TO KING GEORGE

plainly and sincerely acknowledge... and we do make [this r]ecognition, acknowledgement, Renunciation and promise heartily, willing and Truly."

As echoes from Alsace, Ibersheim on the Rhine, Chestnut Hill in Hempfield and a forecast of neighbors from the Shenandoah Valley, a very interesting sequence of signers to that petition began on column A with name 102: "Michael Sigrist, hanss jorg schnebeli, Johnes Bachman, Hanss Georg Döllinger, Dafit Langenecker, Samuel Meyli, Johannes rie[n]ger?, hanss newkommet... [No.A-112] Reinhardt Jung... [No.A-116] henrich strickler, Francis Neff, Frances Neff, mardin kindig... [No.A-128] hanss jacob ber... [No.A-130] Christopher Sours..."

Other names with significance to John Baughman were sprinkled across all three columns of signatures, including [No.A-10] Johannes Ferrer... [No.A-38] Henrich Hiest... [No.A-52] Jacob Hiestand... [No.A-70] Jacob Hagman... [No.A-92] Jacob Miller... [No.A-97] Ulrich rot... [No.A-134] hennerich hinstman... [No.B-4] martin meilin... [No.B-20] Christan Stoneman... [No.B-36] Hennes Funck... [No.B-44] Jacob Funck... [No.B-51] Hanss Heinerich Neff, Samel aberholtzer.

Also present were many Bars, Baumgartners, Böhms, Brennemans, Ebys, Gochnauers, Grabills, Groffs, Kauffmans, Lemons, Musselmans, Oberholtzers, Roths, Stafers and Wittmers. Further genealogical study might tie these particular men to children, grandchildren and cousins of the same name in Virginia. Absences from this list, such as Michael Bachman, should not worry the careful observer since age and accidental damage to the petition have made a dozen of the signatures unreadable. Other adjoining neighbors and future in-laws in Hempfield township, such as George Mummer and Sebastian Weidman, had simply not arrived at Conestoga or come of age yet by 1728.

On the very next morning, 2 April 1728, the justices completed the petition and sent it along to the Provincial Council at Philadelphia. On 13 February 1729/30, "An Act for the Better Enabling Divers Inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania to Hold Lands, and to Invest Them With the Privileges of Naturalized Born Subjects of the Said Province" was passed by the House.

The parchment itself had been in the possession of the Meili family at least until 1844, when it was seen first hand by an early historian of Lancaster County. Officials lost track of it sometime thereafter, and not until 1983 did it resurface from a box of miscellaneous documents in the basement of the Chester County courthouse.

In August 1729 a petition was introduced in Lancaster for "setting forth ye Necessity of a High Way through Hempfield Township from ye first unsurveyed

Land near Susquehannah to Christian Stoneman his Mill and from the sd Mill to... the head of Pequea." The head of Pequea Creek was in the direction of Lancaster Town and the original settlements of Kindig and Herr. Henry Neife and John Brubaker were to work with four of their English neighbors, including Edmont Cartlidge to agree on the course and lay out of a road. In August 1730, a further petition from neighbors around Christian Stoneman's Mill asked that a proper road to the town of Lancaster be built, "praying that fit persons may be appointed to view & Lay [it] out."

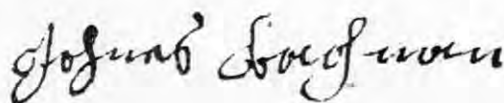
Five years later, another petition came to court, still pleading for a road "from Lancaster to the Sasquehanah River" all the more useful since the Proprietary had authorized a ferry landing at the terminus. John Baughman also offered to join the previous petitioners in laying out such a route. Since the site of the river landing belonged to the honorable John Wright, a county court justice, a speedier progress was assured.

Growing Pains

RUM LICENSES WERE ISSUED BY THE COUNTY IN May 1730 to Martin Harnist, Christian Stoneman, Edward Dougharty, John Stull, John Miller, Jacob ffunk, Edmond Cartlidge, Henry Snevely, Michael Mire and John Wilkin.

During a court session held at Lancaster on 3 November 1730 "in the fourth year of George II," ten items of business were brought up before the half dozen justices, including petitions from John Boghman, John Bire, John Mire, Ketch Miller, Samuel Taylor and Robert Dening "to be liconced & Rated for Seling rum & Brandywine by the Quart & Upward till the Tenth of June Next." These requests were all granted, along with a separate petition by Robert Dening to keep a "publick House in Donegal for the Remaining part of ye present year."

During the winter of 1730-1731, John must have had some success selling spirits because when his license was due for renewal the next Spring, 41 of his neighbors also sought licenses, with more to follow the next year, including Jacob and John Kindig, John and Peter Lamom, and John Snaveley.^{170:15}



THE SIGNATURE OF JOHANNES BACHMAN
WHO SETTLED "NORTHWEST OF CONESTOGA"

At that same session of the court, a jury of 12 Englishmen found Edward Dougherty innocent of charges that he was "keeping an ilgoverned Tipling House & Selling Rum to the Indians Contrary to Several Laws of this province." According to the county court, only William Wilkins and Edmond Cartlidge were officially allowed to trade with the Indians. Michael Baughman was actually the most immediate neighbor of the Indian Town, it being fast upon the western border of his land.

Business for some of these men — namely Barr, Funk, Harnest, Keller, Loughman, Miller and Stoneman — had grown into "publick houses of Entertainment," which the justices gave them permission to continue. Taverns sprouted up often, such as Forry's Tavern between Gethsemane and Columbia, and the Black Bear Tavern east of Mountville.¹⁸²

This explosion of pleasure also brought certain regrets. Martin Harnest had to resort to the courts to recover a bill of 21 shillings and sixpence that had been run up by William Evans. Harnest received the satisfaction of having the debt repaid, plus costs, and seeing Evans "Receive on his bare back at the Comon

Whipping Post Ten Lashes." Balzar Wenrick was charged with assaulting Mary Beholow "with intent to ravish her but the jury found him not guilty."^{170:6} Tavernkeeper Jacob Barr felt compelled to defend in court the reputation of "a Single & Unmarried woman," Arnol ffulton, after Johannes Schwob plead not guilty to fornication with her.^{170:12}

The Almighty Dollar

IN MAY 1732, FRANCIS NEFF, JR. SAT ON A JURY WITH 11 Englishmen to hear a case against Robert Teas, charged with trying to use counterfeit Ten Shilling currency notes. The jury found him guilty and at first ordered that he be put on a pillory and have both of his ears cut off, this before receiving 31 lashes on his bare back and a fine of £100 "one half thereof to the Use of the Government And the other half to the Discoverours & shall pay the parties Grieved Double the Vallue of the sd. Bills." On reconsideration the same afternoon, the jury had a change of heart and dropped the part about his ears. Instead, Neff and the other 11 men decided that Teas would be banned from Lancaster County.^{170:18}



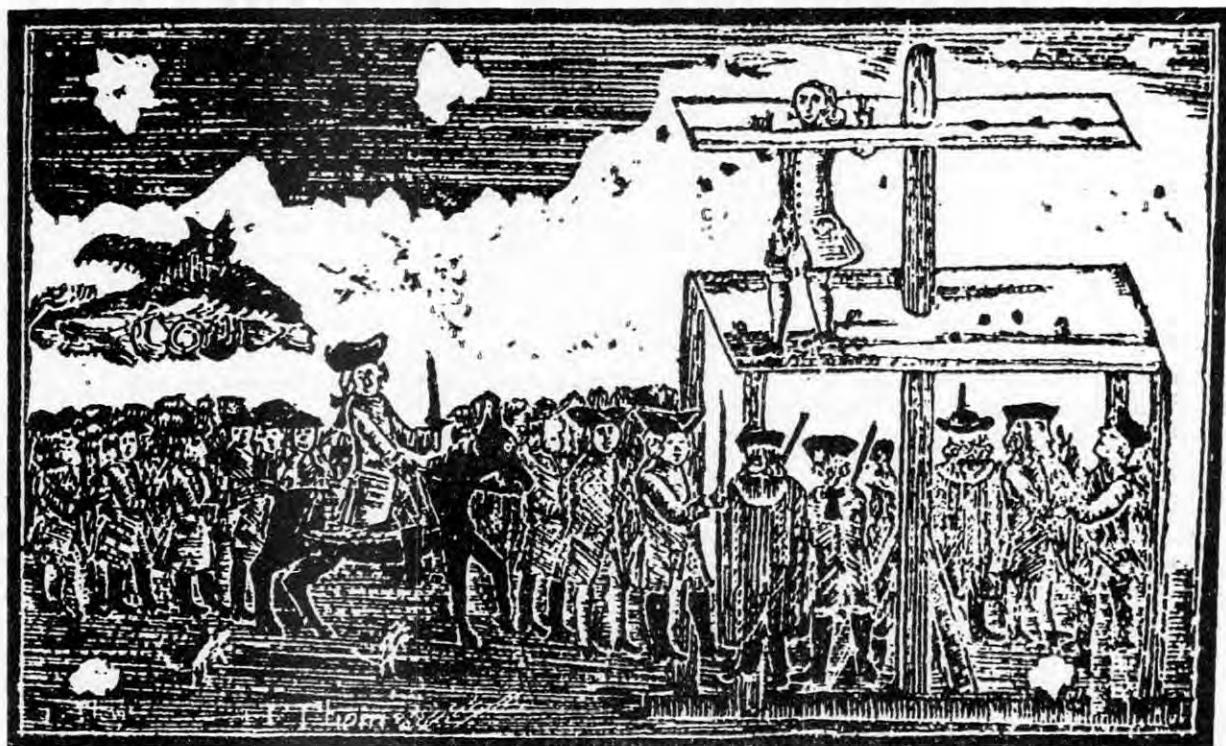
OFFICIAL AND EXCLUSIVE RIGHTS TO TRADE WITH THE INDIANS
EVEN THOUGH OTHERS WERE THEIR CLOSER NEIGHBORS

Teas very likely based his counterfeit bills on the official issue of Pennsylvania in existence since 1723. Benjamin Franklin and his partner D. Hall were contracted to print Pennsylvania's earliest banknotes, but because of the mediocre quality, Franklin hoped to discourage imitators in 1746 with a warning printed right on the money: "To Counterfeit is Death."

In 1742, a butcher from the Rhineland Pfalz named Jacob Ebberman was caught trying to pass counterfeit money in Germantown, Pennsylvania. While under the

custody of Constable Christopher Ottinger, he managed to escape. Ebberman was never recaptured, despite a £5 reward and widespread notices describing him as "short of stature, with jet black hair and a pale complexion, a very large mouth, and teeth wide-set in front."^{197:134-135}

In Lancaster County, Swiss brethren printers at the Ephrata Cloister took a turn printing money in April 1778 for the revolutionary Congress, but the quality was little changed. The contract to print yet more of the 250 different kinds of pre-independence currency in



PUNISHMENT ON A PUBLIC STOCKADE IN COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA;
TWO SAMPLES OF EARLY AMERICAN PAPER MONEY

Pennsylvania passed on to the Philadelphia firm of Hall & Sellers. The new American banknote authorized by Congress was called the dollar, a slurred pronunciation borrowed from Swiss Germans for the word *taler*, an important coin from their old homeland. The Pennsylvania Germans in Lancaster County had even been referring to the British pound sterling with the name "dollar" ever since the 1730s.^{189,15}

The peoples' faith in the new United States dollars was terribly shaken during the war. In South Carolina, printers optimistically listed the exchange rate on the back of a two dollar bill as equal to £3:5:0. British secret agents undermined the rebel currency by counterfeiting eight dollar notes and pouring them into New York and Philadelphia.¹⁹⁷ The French sent an infusion of gold and silver to prop up the "continental's" value and to slow down the 1000 percent inflation, but eventually a bushel of corn sold for \$150 and a suit of clothes cost several thousand. For 80 years thereafter, the United States Government issued no more paper money.

In August 1732, The Swiss German community's heart was certainly challenged by the case of Margaret Hardine, an indentured servant, under the charge of James Smith. He requested the court to extend her servitude "for Bearing a Bastard Child during the time" and also for "certain runaway time & charge of Searching for & takeing her up." Margaret was ordered to serve one additional year for "Loss & Damage" to her master, as well as three more years and nine months for "lost charges, runaway time & trouble."¹⁷⁰



THE FORTIFIED HOME OF THOMAS CRESAP
ENTRANCE WAY FOR THE JOURNEY WEST AND SOUTH

The First Meetinghouse

AROUND THIS SAME TIME, THE MENNONITE ELDERS of Conestoga decided it was important to build the community's first meetinghouse. Since arriving, they had kept to the old Anabaptist tradition of prayer services held in one of their homes, and the stone house that the Herr family built in 1719 was used for this. With much of the community living westward by 1730, closer to the river, Benjamin Hershey consented to a new building on his property near the Little Conestoga Creek. The original building sat on the southwest corner of Abbeyville and Meadow Creek Roads for about 60 years, but then was moved to Rohrerstown and became known as the Brubaker Meetinghouse, where it finally succumbed after 220 years of age.^{190:239}

"This little colony erected... a meeting and schoolhouse for the settlement, in which religious instruction, on the Sabbath, and during the week, a knowledge of letters, reading and writing, were given to those who assembled... Among their first preachers were [Christian] Herr, Hans Tschantz, who later became a Mennonite bishop, and Ulrich Brechbill, who was accidentally killed while driving his team on the road to Philadelphia."^{193:82}

Next came the Strasburg Meetinghouse a decade later, followed in 1747 when the Byerland Church was built in Pequea Township. In 1752, the folks around Chestnut Hill could choose the new Landisville Church, it having been built due north of them in Hempfield Township.

Pequea Township got a second church around 1755 with a fine stone building at New Danville, and Millersville started its own two years later. John Baughman probably never got to see the Bachman & Herr Meetinghouse thought to have been completed three years after his death. It was most certainly a memorial completed by the next generation near where the late Michael Baughman and Abraham Herr's property adjoined at Conestoga Manor. Not until the end of the 18th Century did the families around the old John Baughman place finally see the Chestnut Hill Church built.^{190:13}

Hunger for Land

AT THE END OF THE BLUE ROCK ROAD, NAMED FOR its outcroppings of blue limestone, one of the most important thoroughfares in colonial Pennsylvania branched out to the west and south. The tavernkeeper Thomas Cresap, who at one time operated the Blue Rock ferry, complained in 1731 about settlers from the Pequea grazing their horses on the west side of the Susquehanna,



AN ANONYMOUS 18TH CENTURY BOOKPLATE FRAKTUR FROM THE CONESTOGA MANOR

"On Jesus I will always ponder Till my course in life is o'er. Then shall my soul to Thee wander, Lord Jesus, to heav'n ever more."

which he felt was his domain. Cresap specifically named "Martin Kindig, James Patterson, the Indian trader who lived near Blue Rock and others." Once again, Kindig had cast himself in the role of pioneer. His horses were only stationed there so Swiss Germans could better afford to pack off their household goods to the far-away Valley of Virginia.

First they had to cross the Susquehanna, travel on through York, turn southwest toward Hanover, into Maryland, and on down along the Shenandoah River, the backbone of Virginia. It was the earliest land route to the west, and was used by the Iroquois before the white man, as a war path to their traditional enemy, the Cherokee.^{160:30}

Some of the Pequea settlers decided to stop in York County, including a John Bachman who was the son of Michael. There was also a John Christian Bachman, born circa 1725 in Europe, who died about 1778 in York County's Manheim Township. His children were Christof, Heinrich, Dietrich, Christian, Elizabeth, John Francis and Anna Margaret.¹⁶⁸

Two wills were also recorded in York County for what seems to be two different men both born with the name Hans Bachman and who both died about 1783. One describes John Baughman of Warentown Township, who had children named Jacob, John, Barbara, Anna and Mary. The other man was written up as John Bachman, and his list of children was almost identical, with the addition of daughter Fronica, who married Rudolf Heahy. His other daughters marriages were also given: Anna to Nicholas Sell and Mary to Andrew Zoover. Witnesses to the 1774 document were John Smith and Anth. Kneisli; executors were Peter Lint and Reinhard Bold[housen].²⁰⁷

For many years, it was thought that the Shenandoah Valley fell within the vague western border of Pennsylvania. After it was definitively placed in Virginia, the two brothers Hans and Jacob Funk were among the first to own large areas in the state's back country. The pioneering spirit of Hans had put him among the first to settle on the Pequea. In 1735, Jacob Funk bought 2,030 acres near the present day site of Strasburg, and a year later sold 180 acres of it to Hans back in Lancaster County.^{195:7}

In 1730, Adam Müller was joined by other settlers who left for Virginia from Lancaster, Pennsylvania. They purchased 4,000 acres from Jacob Stover and formed the Massanutten community along the Hawksbill Creek.^{176:174}

A Christian Funkhouser applied for a Lancaster County survey warrant in 1734, suggesting that the Mennonite Funkhousers of Virginia first considered living there. By 1736, however, the elder John Funkhouser, born in Trub, Canton Bern, took his family

to Tumbling Run in the Shenandoah Valley.

As an example of how a farmer's sweat might be invisible on the pages of deed books, Martin Funk, son of Henry Funk the immigrant, improved and profited from a farm beside the Manor — north of Michael Baughman and beside John Shank and Andreas Kauffman — although he never owned it. Henry Funk also owned land due east of there, but neither father nor son appears on the land platt maps of the era. By the mid-1730s, the pace of improvements by the Swiss to Penn's Conestoga Manor were "gaining great momentum."^{160:43}

Without explanation, 1,500 acres on the northeast corner of the Manor were sold in 1735 to Andrew Hamilton, a Philadelphia merchant and lawyer whose friendship was being cultivated by the Penns. The Penns, of course, still kept the choicest tract, which ran three miles deep all along the river.

The sale was not made through the Penns' regular land office, and no record of a patent for it exists. Hamilton had no intention of settling there himself, but had a quick profit in mind. Even though land immediately next door in Hempfield Township was selling at the same time through the land office at one-fourth the price, the Swiss seemed eager to pay the premium.

Hamilton immediately resold "to a syndicate of Swiss farmers headed by Michael Baughman, a Swiss who had arrived in Pennsylvania in 1717, and who had for years acted as an agent of his countrymen in their dealing with the provincial authorities." Baughman immediately transferred portions of the Manor to his neighbors, including Christian Stoneman, who operated a mill where Maple Grove now is, and Samuel Oberholtzer. Two tracts went to Andrew Kauffman; for John Herr, son of Abraham, 500 acres; and Michael kept a pair of deeds, 260- and 404-acres, for himself which were later patented as one. The Brubakers, Martins and Shanks joined in, too.^{160:28}

Michael Baughman acted as the holding office for enormous quantities of land — far more than any of his other neighbors except Kindig. He had plantations in the Manor, in Manheim Township, in Warwick, in Cocalico Township, in Lebanon and Derry Townships. Baughman first settled in Lancaster Township, but soon sold this land and settled on a new tract on a branch of the Little Conestoga near Neffsville. He died leaving a large family, and each of his children received a handsome farm as an inheritance. His son Christian and son-in-law, Christian Hershey [Hörschi], married to Elizabeth Baughman, were among the first young men to build log cabins on Manor land with the authorization of the Penns. During his lifetime, Baughman made frequent trips to Philadelphia, each time making payments not

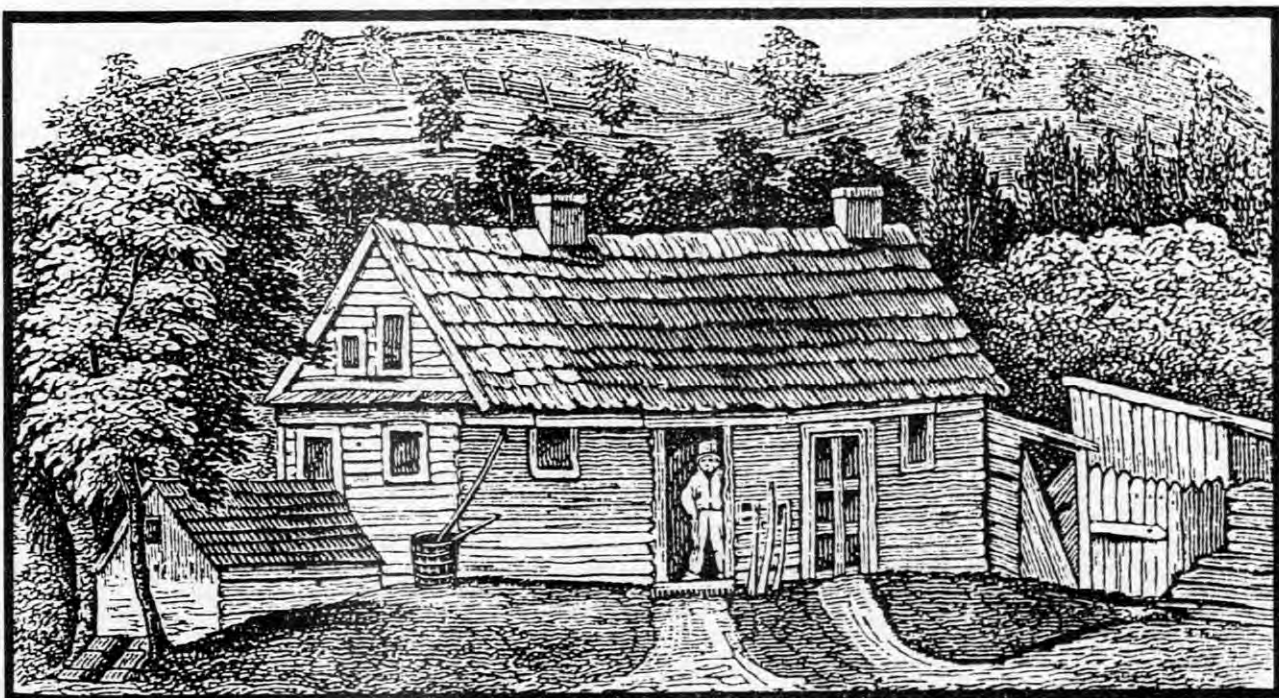
only on his own lands, but on those of his countrymen for miles around.^{160:25}

In the Orange County, Virginia, deedbook for 1735, Jacob Stover sold three tracts of land in the Valley to Ludwick Stone, recently residing on the Conestoga Creek in Lancaster County, who turned around and sold land to Michael Kreider the next year. Peter Ruffner, a son-in-law of Joseph Stehman of Manor Township is recorded in the land book of Augusta County.^{160:31} John Brubaker, of Lancaster County, was one of the first purchasers of land in the Shenandoah Valley, although he never lived there. The Swiss family Tschantz sent Abraham and Ulrich Schantz to Virginia at least by the end of the Revolution.^{154:63}

Bachmans Elsewhere in Pennsylvania

AT THE AGE OF 21, FELIX BACHMAN LEFT CANTON Zürich and boarded the *Jamaica Galley* in Rotterdam, along with Heinrich and Johannes Bachman. In February 1739, they arrived at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and soon moved on to Lancaster County. Felix chose land along the Octorara Creek that fell in Sadsbury Township, but five years later it became part of Bart Township. On 4 March 1747, Felix received a warrant from the Penns for 333 acres, and the title was issued in 1765. His farm eventually grew to 600 acres.

Like the other Bachmans of Lancaster County, Felix adopted the Anglicized surname Baughman. His sons Georg and Jacob divided the farm upon his death and many more generations of grandsons and sons-in-law



THE TOMBSTONE OF JACOB BACHMAN OF BART TOWNSHIP, LANCASTER COUNTY;
THE FIRST HOUSE IN BETHLEHEM, BUILT BY A GERMAN MORAVIAN

kept it in the family.¹⁷⁹

Felix's estate appraisal on 13 May 1765 shows that he farmed wheat, rye and Indian corn. He also kept a bull, a cow and raised honey bees. His personal property included a gun and a big German Bible, while his wife possessed a spinning wheel and a woman's riding saddle.

According to the stories passed down in his family, Felix was buried in the family cemetery on his property. A burying ground in the heart of Felix Bachman's land is located up the hill behind the Charles Gochbauer farm on the north side of Featherbed Lane, a mile south of Georgetown on Route 896. Among the 95 markers still standing, several carved in German date back to the 18th Century, and many in English trace the second and third generations born shortly after 1750.

HIR LIGT DER	Here lies the
GESTORBENER	Deceased
JACOB BACHMAN	Jacob Bachman
IST GEBOHREN D...	Was born...
AUGST IM JAHR	August in the year
1774 IST ALDWOR...	1774. His age was...

HIR LIGT DER	Here lies the
HENRICH BACH-	Henrich Bach-
MAN IN GEBOHREN	man, born
D. 1 SEPTEMBER	the 1 st September
IM JAHR 1787 IN A	in the year 1787 in age
LDWORDEN 7	was 7 months, 1 week
M. I. W. G. D. A.	[G.D.A. ?] ¹⁷⁸

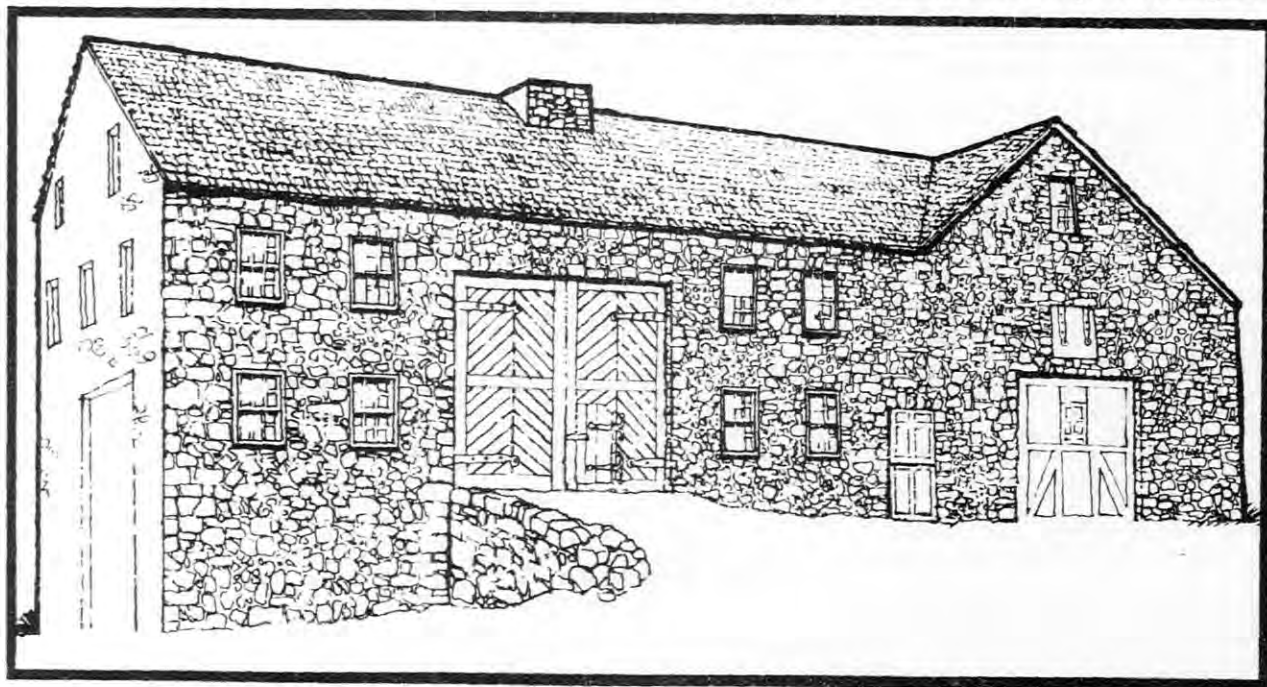
Back in Saucon Township, the volume of traffic passing his front door persuaded Georg Bachman to open an inn and tavern by 1745. A considerable number were German Moravians heading for their new settlement. On a Christmas Eve just a few years before, they founded the town of Bethlehem seven miles further north along the trail.

"The large squared logs were lathed and plastered on the outside, of a yellow tint with white lines drawn to imitate stone blocks," recalled old timers who had seen "*Der Siebenstern*," meaning "The Seven Stars," before it was torn down after 96 years. "The sign, a moon and seven stars, stood in the middle of the public road. The squared, lathed logs distinguished the owner as wealthy and 'genteel.'" Their interior was completed "with large flat stones for a floor."

"The bar room was furnished with small crude tables arranged along the walls. On these tables was wine, which was cheap and served by half pints and pints. Later, whisky and other strong drink came into use and these were served by the [four-ounce] gill."¹⁸⁶

Starting out in the German tradition, one big building sheltered both travelers and their animals. Under the same roof, better protection was insured against midnight horse thieves, and besides, the livestock could share their body heat with the whole building.

The *Siebenstern* Inn faced north on the corner of present-day Main and State Street, the exact site of which was open ground in the late 20th Century. The rectangular



THE STONE BARN AT *DER SIEBENSTERN*

GEORG BACHMAN'S THRIVING INN AND TAVERN AT COOPERSBURG, LEHIGH COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

lot considered part of the tavern grounds ran along the east side of the trail, bounded by the present-day streets of Oxford, to the north, Fourth on the east, Station on the south, and Main as the western edge. Across the lane from the tavern, a large stone barn was soon finished, right where the Coopersburg Town Hall now stands. The huge barn could accommodate 30 to 40 teams of horses at one time.^{159:6} Not too long after it opened in 1748, Georg Bachman patronized an elegant inn and resort founded at Bethlehem called "The Crown," and perhaps borrowed ideas for his own place. I

In 1752, the permanent population of the Saucon Township reached 650 souls. Georg Bachman died around 22 November 1754, and was buried at the old meetinghouse next door to his original property.^{188:8} Tombstones for the elder Bachman and the preacher Jacob Meyer are among the oldest there. His third son, Hans Georg Jr., continued to run the tavern and inn.

The year after Georg Sr.'s death, workers completed the Old Bethlehem Pike, making the last section from Bachman's to Bethlehem into a proper wagon road. It can be traced from Philadelphia, roughly following the course of present-day Route 309, onto Route 378, known north of Coopersburg as Wyandotte Street.^{184:429} See map on page 174

A revealing classified ad was placed by Susanna Bachman Ringger in the newspaper *Pennsylvanische Geschichts-Schreiber* of 16 July 1747:

"Jacob Rincker, a Swiss, arrived in this country four years ago and still has a year to serve. His mother, who is free and lives near Germantown, seeks information about him and asks that he come see her and his brothers Casper and Henrick, living with Thomas Lorentz, four miles from Merion Meeting House, across the Schukill [River in Montgomery County]." ^{162:5}

Another interesting turn involved Jacob Böhm, whom Kindig had persuaded to come along in 1717. A surprising spiritual destiny awaited Jacob and Daniel Böhm in Virginia, and Kindig could never have foreseen that they would draw so many away from the Mennonite fold into evangelical Baptism. ^{154:38-39}

The Golden Years of Prosperity

AT THE SAME TIME THAT HE WAS STRAIGHTENING out his acreage in Virginia, John Baughman still appeared on the 1751 tax rolls in Lancaster County. Nearing the end of his life, John was still prospering, with ten of the 300 acres he owned planted in grains. For all his property, including three male horses, one mare, two cows and three sheep, he was taxed £15 that year, but this count would only reveal taxable animals of

three years age or more. During the 1750s in Hempfield Township, there were 131 farms, the average having 44 out of its 142 acres cleared, and of these only 8½ under cultivation. Patterns across Lancaster County suggest most farmers set a goal of clearing off one additional acre of their forest land each year. The typical range of animals on one farm included three horses, six cattle and five sheep. ^{183:29-30}

John's neighbors, such as David Musselman and John Newcomer, farmed in very similar ways, with ten or twelve acres cultivated even though they had half as much land. Christian Oberholtzer was able to clear and plant 25 out of his 250 acres.

Among the Swiss Germans, sheep were valued in numbers just sufficient to shear and weave cloth for the



THE TOMBSTONE OF JOHANNES GEORG BACHMAN
AT THE MENNONITE CHURCH IN COOPERSBURG

family. Many felt a strong prejudice against the taste of their mutton. George Mumma kept a flock of ten and John Forrey had 20. Only one man in the county kept a flock of more than 60 sheep.

During a visit to Lancaster County in 1754, Governor Thomas Pownall was fascinated by the farming methods there: "I saw some of the finest farms one can conceive... particularly one that was the estate of a Switzer. Here was the method of watering a whole range of pasture... by little troughs cut in the side of the hill, along which the water from springs was conducted. I dare say this method may be in use in England. I never saw it there, but I saw it here first."^{198:113}

The first generation of pioneers arrived at the Conestoga before 1715 when most were in the prime of their lives. Later on in his life, John Baughman saw nearly all of them wither within one decade. In Hans Jacob Huber's will, dated 17 February 1745/6 in Lancaster County, he left £5 to "the poor of the People called Menonists in Pennsylvania and £5 to the poor of the Menonists at the place in Germania called in high Dutch, the Ubersheimer Hoff [Ibersheim]."^{156:29}

The elder Dr. Hans Heinrich Neff died in April of 1745. Martin Kindig and Peter Layman passed in 1748. George Smith died in 1749 or early 1750. Heinrich Bär died in Hempfield in 1750, at the age of 55; and the next year, Jacob Brubaker died in Hempfield, at the age of 75, along with Hans Jacob Lichti. Heinrich Musselman of Hempfield died in 1752, at 56 years old.^{163:112} John Forry of West Hempfield died in 1753.^{166:877} Michael Baughman wrote his last will in March of 1755. Hans Herr died in 1756 at the age of 79. No sale or dissolution of his 300 acre farm in Hempfield has survived in the records of Pennsylvania.

John appeared for the last time in Hempfield Township in 1756 — under the spelling of "Bochmon." According to court papers in Virginia, John Baughman died intestate sometime around 1757. The Orphans Court at Lancaster, 21 November 1757, reported: "Upon the Petition of Jacob Eshleman and Valentine Miller, Administrators of John Baughman, deceased. Setting forth that the said John Baughman died Intestate seized of a certain piece of Land situate in Martick Township, County of Lancaster, containing about 89 acres. That the Personal Estate is insufficient to discharge the debts. Praying an Order to sell said Land."^{192:219}

In the Lancaster County Estate Settlements from 1768-1772 (page 80) can be found reference to the John Baughman who died intestate in 1756. His last surviving administrator, Jacob Eshelman, was instructed to distribute £11:15:6 into the following sums, "not yet passed out." To John Baughman's widow, Ann... £3:9:6, his oldest son John... £1:19:8, Fronica... £0:19:10, and

the same amount to the remaining daughters Christina, Barbara Ann, Anna and Elizabeth. His sons-in-law included George Mumma, Benjamin Layman, Nicholas Bower, Sebastain Weidman, Joseph Charles (Carle) and Nicholas Young (Jung).

Life & Death in Lancaster Goes On

IN 1758, THREE YEARS AFTER MICHAEL BAUGHMAN'S death, the neighboring Conestoga tribe announced its intention to leave Indian Town. Their aim was to permanently resettle in a new village on the North Branch of the Susquehanna, near present-day Wilkes Barre; but the provincial authorities persuaded them not to leave. These friendly Indians, whom the English called Mingos or Susquehannas, were usefully put to spying on Indian allies of the French, namely the Seneca, Shawnee and Delaware. On a wintry December day in 1763, a gang of Englishmen known as the Paxton boys massacred every Conestoga Indian at the village — mostly children, women and the elderly — on the mistaken hunch that they were being too friendly with the French.^{160:45}

More Mennonite Bachmans arrived in Lancaster County at least until 1766. Siblings John, Jacob, Henry and Barbara settled in the vicinity of what would become Willow Street in Pequea Township. Because they arrived into a well-established Germanic culture, and because the urge of English record-keepers to convert all German names seemed to have relaxed, they had no problem keeping their original spelling.

This John had a son, John Jr., who was born in 1746 in Switzerland, and came over with the whole family. With that generation, a 151-year-old dynasty of wood workers began that has been credited with some of the finest colonial furniture in the Chippendale style. For longevity alone, the fine craftsmanship of the Bachman family has never been rivaled in America. Account books from the 18th Century show that besides furniture, their most demanded work included coffins, bedsteads, tables, kitchen cupboards and cradles. John Jr. created tall wooden cases that were filled with clock works by Christian Forrer. As many as eight apprentices worked alongside the Bachman father and sons.¹⁹⁹ Their neighborly associations at Pequea matched the earlier families of John and Michael Baughman exactly, with marriages to the Kreiders and the Kindigs.

In the fourth generation, a Jacob Bachman kept shop a mile below Soudersburg, which soon became Bachmansville in Lebanon County. He made clock cases for Joseph Bowman of Strasburg to complete with gears and face.¹⁶⁵ Later generations of his family ran a tavern, inn and "house of public entertainment."



THE FIRST LOOK AT THEIR NEW HOME
A WAGON TRAIN OF PALATINES COMES TO THE END OF THEIR JOURNEY INTO THE AMERICAN WILDERNESS



BAUGHMANS WERE PART OF the very early Swiss German settlement in Virginia during the 1730s. Well before wagon roads had even been roughed out, John Baughman visited the Shenandoah Valley for the first time.

He looked to a fellow immigrant from Germany named Jost Hite to help make a start.

Baptized Hans Justus Heyd in 1685, this ambitious pioneer came from Bonfeld, a village southeast of Heidelberg in present-day Baden-Württemberg. The son of a butcher, Hite aspired to become a linen weaver; but by 1709, he quit his homeland for America.

An outbreak of Indian attacks hit the Pennsylvania frontier in 1728, sometimes coming close to the outskirts of Philadelphia. In an appeal to the royal governor called the Colebrook Petition, citizens demanded swifter protection against the marauders. The signers of this list included Jost Hite, Peter Böhm, Daniel Stauffer and Christian Neuschanger.²¹⁹

For the dissatisfied, there was another significant change that year in Pennsylvania. Following William Penn's death in 1718, his sons John, Thomas and Richard took up a much less liberal land policy, collecting quitrents much more fervently and evicting all whose warrants were not in perfect order.^{208:9}

On 13 June 1728, the first grants of land in the Shenandoah Valley were given out: 10,000 acres to Sheriff Larkin Chew of Spotsylvania County and four others.^{227:541} When word got out that land ownership in the Valley of Virginia had officially begun, the rush was on.

By the Autumn of 1731, Jost Hite secured 140,000 acres of the Shenandoah Valley, mostly from Virginia's royal governor. As a catch, however, Hite and his partner Robert McKay had to find and persuade a hundred families to settle beside them in the next two years.

Naturally enough, the first wave of Hite's fellow travelers were his neighbors of long standing — from Kingston, in the Hudson River Valley of upstate New York, and from Eastern Pennsylvania, particularly around the Skippack and Wissahickon Creeks near Schwenksville and present-day Evansburg in Montgomery County. These included Daniel Stauffer (Stauber or Stover), Christian Neuschanger, Michael Brach (Brock), Peter Stephens (Stevens), and later, as

future sons-in-law, Georg Bauman (Bowman), Paul Froman and Jacob Chrisman. Dating all the way back to Hite's hometown church books, a 1710 notation on "Emigrants from this Village" matches Justus Heyd with "Heinrich and Martin Funck (dissenting Mennonites)," and "an anabaptist named Neff."

Hite's friend from Alsace, John Funk, started two settlements that were later named Strasburg — as one of the 1710 settlers in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and then again in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia around 1730. The Neff family were also important figures in Lancaster County and later around Holman's Creek, as physicians and in-laws of the Baughman family.

If Hite had ideas about land speculation while waiting to cross the Atlantic in Rotterdam, he might have discussed it with Jacob Stauber, who was recorded on the same page among the German-speaking immigrants there. Jacob "Stover" shadowed Hite's career at first in smaller scale, but even more audaciously. He actually got a head start on Hite, taking three months in 1729 to explore the Shenandoah Valley.^{227:543}

Before his land grant application had even been acted upon in Williamsburg, Stover "resold" 4,000 acres around the Hawksbill Creek for £400 to Adam Müller.

Müller was perhaps the boldest of them all. Born in 1703 at Schreisheim in the German Kraichgau, but raised in neighboring Lambsheim, Müller paused with his wife Barbara among the Conestoga settlers after their arrival in 1724. According to family tradition, young Adam heard reports of Spotswood's 1716 expedition beyond the southern mountains and found them irresistible. Without delay, he followed the same path that Spotswood's group had taken and found a lush, secluded valley that the Indians called Massanutten nestled within the larger Shenandoah Valley.^{221:172}

Müller returned with some of his Conestoga neighbors in 1727 and began their new community there. By 1730, they were joined by John Rott (Rhodes), Mathias Selzer, and Paul and Phillip Lang (Long).^{221:174} In 1733, eight of the original Massanutten settlers petitioned Virginia Governor William Gooch for confirmation of their ownership.^{211:6} To further satisfy the Council at Williamsburg that year, a list of 100 "persons to dwell" in the Massanutten patent were put together from among the Pennsylvania Mennonites, including 30 Herrs, 14 Kindigs, 15 Funks and two Sowders.^{230:31}

Nine families, with a total of 51 people, had gathered by 1735. The Massanutten settlement extended

from Hawksbill Creek to the present-day town of Alma.^{211,6} See map on page 175. These Mennonites included Abraham Strickler and his sons Jacob and John; Abraham and John Brubaker from Hempfield Township; John and Henry Bomgarner; Christian and Daniel Stover; Martin and Michael Kauffman; Joseph Rott and the newly arrived Hans Huldeman, also known as John Holman.

Also listed in the early deed books around Hawksbill Creek were Blasius Bär, as well as Jacob, Henry and Abraham Hiestand — leaders of the second generation — in addition to Gochnauers, Guts and more Müllers.^{208,21} Also nearby were Böhm's, Krums and Steinmans.^{228:438-439}

Soon after his arrival, Jacob Hiestand, the Mennonite patriarch and pioneer from Pennsylvania, drowned in a tragic accident on the Shenandoah River.^{232:609} John Rott, born 1707 to the immigrants Hans and Barbara Rott, lived first at Skippack Creek in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, but was killed with his family at Massanutten 30 years later, a horror known widely as the Rhodes Massacre.

Hite knew it was high time to join the race. He promptly sold his farm in Germantown, Pennsylvania, some fifteen miles northwest of Philadelphia, and, as soon as the weather permitted in early 1732, his caravan started out for the Valley with sixteen families. The difficult terrain made it all but impossible for their wagons to pass, forcing them to carve out a wide enough trail every mile of the way.

They most likely crossed the Potomac River at Pack Horse Ford several miles above Harper's Ferry. Hite's pioneers entered Virginia and rejoined the Indian trail that ran parallel but a mile and a half off to the side of the North Fork of the Shenandoah River. They struggled on for over 40 miles, deciding to stop at last beside Opequon Creek — pronounced locally as "O-peck'-uhn" — five miles south of present-day Winchester.

The 45-year-old Hite later recalled how they were "Obliged to Live in their Waggon till they Built some small Huts to shelter themselves from the Inclemency of the Weather and so far distant from any settlement but especially from any such as could supply them with any Provisions or Necessaries, they could scarce procure any one thing nearer than Pennsylvania or Fredericksburg..."

Hite's wife, Anna Maria had a brand new baby boy to raise, along with four other sons stretching up to the age of 17. Within the first two years though, strong houses got built, helped no doubt by some of the fortune — including £650 in cash — the Hites brought with them.

Jost commuted several times to the colonial seat at Williamsburg to tend to the legalities of his land

business. Hite hired one of Governor Spotswood's friends, Robert Brooke of "Farmer's Hall" in Essex County, to begin laying out the bounds within 10,000 acres of the Valley. Also helping was James Wood, who soon became the officially appointed County Surveyor. Hite's hard work was recognized by the Council, and "due proof of compliance" for 54 surveys by Brooke and Wood was noted. They granted Hite an extension until 25 December 1735 to find more settlers, and then, for his hard work and good faith, rewarded Hite with title as a magistrate of the newly formed Orange County. His taste of success was certainly made bitter within a few years when his wife Anna Maria died at the age of 52.

Hite did not have to leave business agents behind in Pennsylvania, and nothing indicates he left Virginia personally to recruit newcomers, although he did stay sometimes at Shepherdstown, immediately below the Potomac, to oversee the peopling of his lands closer to the north. On top of the news surely passing back and forth from Müller's group, the Conestoga Mennonites were keenly aware of possibilities in Virginia, dating back 20 years to those ambitious Switzers, Michel and Bundeli. Besides, many of Pennsylvania's Germans were being squeezed out of the land market there and were eager to find a future in this new valley.²¹⁹

Arrival of the Baughmans

BY THE SPRING OF 1733, JOHN BAUGHMAN BROKE his usual patterns in Hempfield Township and disappeared from all county records in Pennsylvania. Clues suggest that he arrived in the Shenandoah Valley soon thereafter.^{216:15}

Hite's venture in the Shenandoah Valley was not laid out in a single panorama, but was actually a scattered quilt work beside the river. The Great Cave Tract, an 891-acre survey completed by James Wood on 10 June 1735, was one of the smaller patches. It was named for Cave Hill, where in a sudden rainstorm the yawning mouth of one cavern could shelter two haywagons at a time. Wall markings and stone chips as far back as 200 feet into the cave proved that Paleolithic Indians had sheltered there too. The cavern's most remarkable feature remains the steep shaft and large "corridor" beneath. Explorers can walk upright beneath the Shenandoah River and hear its waters rushing past overhead.²³⁷

Six miles due west of John Holman's place in the Massanutten Valley, Daniel Holman settled 200 acres north of the Great Cave. Soon after 22 March 1735/36, the stream intersecting the North Fork of the Shenandoah River was known as Holman's Creek.^{228:466}

A "Quaker meeting house" was described by an Englishman on Holman's Creek as early as 1737, built

within a couple of miles of a new mill that was eventually part of the Neff property.^{232:433} One of the first settlers on the Great Cave Tract only made a verbal contract with Hite after which he set about immediately improving the land.^{228:467} An Adam Sherrill carved 200 acres out of the same tract from Hite but sold it to Dr. John Henry Neff on 10 July 1748, receiving a slave as payment.^{228:468}

About that time, Henry Baughman settled the next open land due west, although the first part of his plantation may have waited 17 years for its official survey.

On an undated Virginia tax roll for Orange County circa 1736-1738, there was a "Jno Bockman" described as a single tithable in the Precinct of George Smith, who was listed beside a Samuel Smith. It should be noted that the title holder to the Hempfield Township land in Pennsylvania that John farmed was also named George Smith. Next to John on the Virginia tax roll was a "M[il?] Brockaman" — possibly Michael Bachman — who was responsible for two tithables.^{220:1:38}

Just as in the early tax records in Pennsylvania, Virginia also had various listings of a John Baughman/Bockman/Bohman/Bowman — proving how hard it was for English gentry to pronounce the "ch" sound of Bachman and how often they equated it with the open vowel sound of Bauman. At least the English didn't abuse John's name as much as they did to some other German farmers. On a good day, Virginia

court registrars turned Gottlieb Zink's first name in Godfrey, but on one deed he became Cutlip Sinke.^{214:86}

Twenty miles south of the Opequon, on the west side of the Old Indian Trail, Robert Brooke completed a survey of 4,600 acres for Hite on 5 November 1734 called the North Mountain Survey. Ranging between 2,500 and 3,000 feet in elevation, North Mountain is actually a series of peaks and ridges forming the first western hurdle into the Allegheny Front.^{222:76} Brooke's four-and-a-half-mile-wide mapping was laid out just in front of it.

James Wood, Surveyor of Orange County, was called upon to subdivide this land in 1737. When a neighbor gave deposition years later, she recalled that Hite and Wood had arrived together and lodged at her husband's house for one night.^{225:1629} They started out at the northwest corner where he noted "Jno. Boughman" taking the first and largest parts.^{235 & 228:392} On 22 May 1739, John Baughman bought a Guarantee Bond from Hite that officially conveyed to him 1,573 acres.^{228:401} The little spring, branches and creek and that watered John's land were at first named Baughman's Run, but later got called McNish's and then Pugh's Run.^{228:405} See map on page 176

Unfortunately, Baughman's original bond no longer seems to exist, but under the usual terms of such a document, Hite guaranteed that a patent deed from the Colony of Virginia would be issued for the land in Baughman's name. A receipt from Hite to neighbor

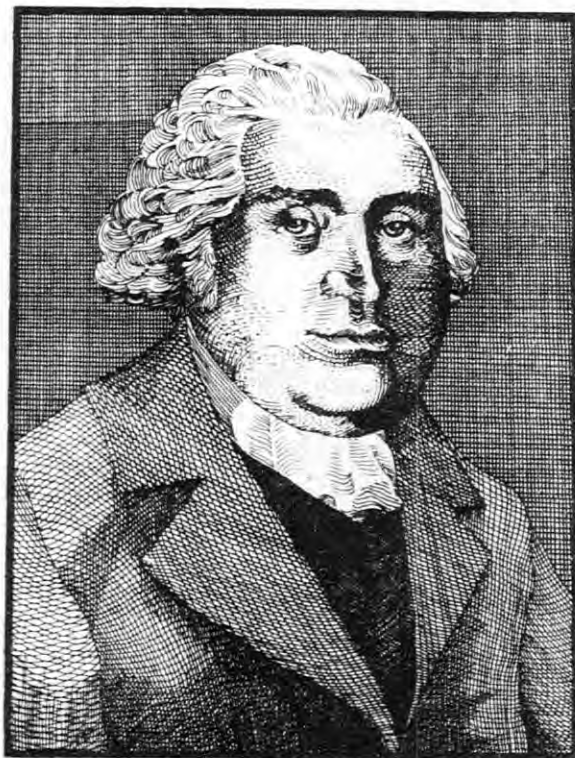


LOOKING SOUTH FROM THE UPPER-MOST END OF THE OLD INDIAN TRAIL
ALSO KNOWN LATER AS THE GREAT WAGON ROAD OR THE VALLEY PIKE

Christopher Wendell quotes a price of £3 per 100 acres, suggesting that John Baughman paid £47-19-0 for his plantation.^{228:393} Except for a few unattributed lots, the remaining two-thirds of the North Mountain acreage belonged to adjacent neighbor Friedrich Barret (815 acres) as well as Reinhard Borden (135 acres), Mary Little (400 acres), Georg Seller and Ulrich Stoner (373 acres), and Christopher and Valentine Wendel (348 acres). Peter Mauk also laid claim to 410 acres, supported by a later deed from the Lord Proprietor.^{225:1757}

On 1,200 acres just below John's land lived Jacob Müller, who founded a settlement there known as Müllerstadt — meaning Millertown. When the British established it by law in 1761 as Woodstock, the German families in the area didn't much care for the new name. They didn't try to translate the English word, but wrote about it with the roughly similar sound of "Wuttstadt, Virschini."

Another of John Baughman's neighbors in Lancaster County was Joseph Sherick. The next town south of Woodstock was first called Shryock, after the German family who lived there, or sometimes after Stony Creek, which emptied into the river by their home. Later, the Germans thought of the place as Eden-burg, after the well-known garden in the Old Testament. The British preferred to call it Edinburg. Likewise, the river beside them was transliterated into Valley German as



THOMAS, THE SIXTH LORD FAIRFAX
LORD PROPRIETOR OF VIRGINIA'S NORTHERN NECK

"Schanathor" or "Chandador" instead of the Shenandoah.^{232:124}

The oldest, most important route through the area ran south past John Baughman's land and connected him to the Müllers and the Shericks. It was known then as the Indian Road, and followed sometimes on or very close to present-day Route 11.

"We see many every day traveling out and in, to and from Carolina, some on foot and some in large covered wagons. The road here is much frequented and for 150 mile further west thickly inhabited," wrote one observer from the vicinity of Woodstock.^{232:663} One early pioneer name Morgan Bryan was trying to get to Carolina over such a dismally tough peak that he finally took the wheels off his wagon and carried the whole thing "piece-meal to the top, and had been three months on the journey from the Shanidore to the Etkin [Yadkin River in North Carolina]."^{232:665}

The most well-known trail for reaching further back into Baughman land was named Ben Allen's Path — modern County Road 642 and lately named Swartz Road. It extended from Tom's Brook in the north down to Allen's 400-acre place below Mill Creek, the site of modern Mt. Jackson.^{228:461} Virginia officials defined a path as "no wider than one wagon's width," while a road was "one where two wagons can pass within curb lines."^{228:525}

In the 1740s, several petitions from the settlers complained to the Orange County Court that "the road which is now there is very difficult for a waggon." On 25 September 1741, the court ordered that a good road be marked, laid off and cleared down to Jost Hite's Mill, which sat on the west side of the road as it crossed the Opequon. Travelers were to be kept from getting lost along the way with officially designated hatchet marks on prominent trees: "two knotches and a Cross." Proper sign posts were erected after four more years.

The next year, George Bowman and John Funk at Strasburg began to help on the road near their places. By 11 February 1745, work had gotten down to Daniel Holdman and Samuel Wilkin; and on 8 April 1745, the court ordered Abraham Strickler, Henry Falkenburgh and two Englishmen to oversee progress further south to Cross Roads, later called New Market.^{228:519-524}

Strickler and Philip Lang had already proved their road building credentials by widening the Indian trail that formed the cross of Cross Roads. Their crew had started from Thorntons Gap in the Blue Ridge, crossed the Massanutten Valley and got to present-day West Virginia along the path of Route 211.^{228:526}

A traveling preacher from Pennsylvania, Leonard Schnell, took on the Shenandoah Valley in November 1743. He seemed glad to find Opequon Creek and "a German innkeeper, Jost Hayd, a rich man, well known in this region. He was the first settler here."

George Washington struck up a relationship with Jost, dating back as far as 11 April 1748, when the young Washington participated in a surveying tour of the Valley and "lodged at Capt. Hite's."

In 1745, administration of the area switched from Orange County to Augusta County. The Augusta Parish Vestry Book, including the activities of the Beckwith Parish of Dunmore County, were recorded there. Charles Robinson and his family took turns with Adam Räder around 8 March 1747/8 as they checked the boundary lines of each other's property, being the duty called "processioning." The law required that every four years the boundaries of each land owner had to be re-marked.^{230:22} Daniel Haldman (Holman) and John Riddle

were appointed Processioners for Frederick County between the Fairfax Line and the Narrows — the district between Edinburg south to New Market. On the same list can be found Jost Hite, his business partner Robert McKay, his son-in-law George Bowman, Robert, Daniel, Thomas and Zebulon Harrison, and Valentine Sevier.

From the Cross Roads near Holman's Creek, the same Valentine Sevier applied for a license to start an Inn and Tavern, testifying that he was "very much infested with travelers."^{228:520}

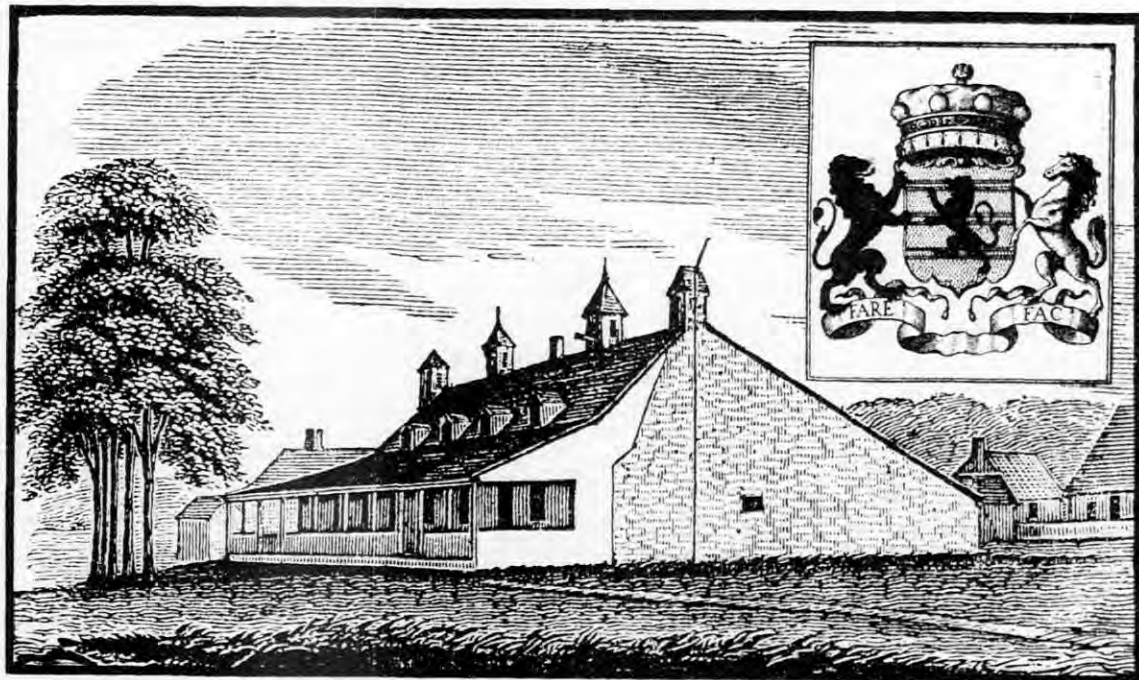
The early ties of affection and commerce between Pennsylvania and the Valley can still be seen a few miles below Holman's Creek at Räder's Church. Where Jacob Moyer served as teacher and lay leader, they had a 11¼" pewter basin for baptisms that was marked by Love of Philadelphia in the last half of the 18th Century. The Lutherans at Räder's are one of only six churches in the

Valley to still have its pewter. At St. Paul's United Church of Christ in Woodstock they have a chalice attributed to William Will of similar age, and the Zion Lutheran Church in Edinburg has a mug made by Richard Yates in England shortly after the Revolution.^{217:187}

At many Mennonite meetinghouses, only tin or ceramic cups and pitchers were used. Others favored wooden vessels, to recall the carpenter from Nazareth. Of whatever material, these items were seldom seen by following generations since most retiring ministers received them as a personal memento from the congregation.^{217:189}

The Lord Proprietor

HITE WAS WELL AWARE BY THEN OF A DANGEROUS rival — wealthy and well-connected — who was ready to tear up all his claims. Thomas, the Sixth Lord Fairfax, Baron of Cameron in Scotland, moved to the Valley in May 1735. After trying for several years to manage his lands from long distance, Fairfax decided to sort out and take control first hand of six million acres of northern Virginia inherited through his father-in-law, Lord Culpeper. Meeting Hite twice with a conciliatory air, Fairfax was ready to blame bureaucrats in London and Williamsburg for the overlap of their interests. Fairfax made a point of describing his own German grandmother, but the two men seemed to have little else in common.^{207:76}



GREENWAY COURT, INSET WITH THE FAIRFAX COAT OF ARMS,
12 MILES SOUTHWEST OF WINCHESTER, WHERE VALLEY SETTLERS APPLIED FOR THEIR LAND

In the late summer of 1737, Fairfax was asked face-to-face for a confirmation of Hite's right to a single, specific piece of land, but Fairfax answered evasively. Hite argued that the settlers were "unwilling to run any further expense, or lay out of their small fortunes in improvements... without some assurances." Furthermore, Hite added, many settlers had "determined" to leave rather than "run the risk of engaging in an expensive lawsuit" or of being "turned out of doors." Fairfax wanted more settlement as soon as possible and knew that the Shenandoah Valley would be worth far less without the Germans. The English lord tried to reassure Hite, claiming that none of the Germans "need be under the least uncasiness" and that even more should be persuaded "to come and settle."²⁰⁷⁻⁹⁰

When negotiations between the two men broke down entirely by year's end, Fairfax issued dire warnings to all who had bought land from Hite, causing wide anxiety amongst the settlers from Lancaster County. Fairfax forced the authorities in Williamsburg to refuse any more of Hite's surveys until the dispute could be settled. By 10 November 1741, John Baughman turned his back on Hite and began to reappear in Pennsylvania record books at Hempfield Township.²²⁴⁻⁶²⁸

Like a latter-day Solomon, King George II confirmed Lord Fairfax's claim in general, but ordered him in 1745 to validate and honor all grants previously made in the area by Virginia, including Hite's. Fairfax set about trying to find irregularities in Hite's surveys, deeds and other paperwork in order to get them thrown out. On 10 October 1749, along with all of his business associates, Hite brought suit against Fairfax in Virginia's General Court of Chancery in Williamsburg.²³⁶⁻³⁴

SIGNATURES OF COMPETING VALUE:
JOST HITE AND LORD FAIRFAX

All Fending Off Was to No Avail

CHARLES HODEL, A NEIGHBOR IMMEDIATELY north of John Baughman, bought 201 acres from Frederick Barret and then "repurchased" 202 acres from Lord Fairfax the following year, making a permanent dent in the acres that Baughman had bought from Hite. Another year went by, making ten years of frustration and wasted time all tolled.

Baughman's faith in Hite hit rock bottom. Beginning on 20 November 1751, three days spent with Lord Fairfax's surveyor regained him 1,499 acres. The new boundaries roughly overlapped his original plantation, but John ended up with 74 fewer acres. Parenthetically, a generation later on Holman's Creek, Henry Baughman was a next-door neighbor to Andrew Hodel, although the German surname had been almost unrecognizably Anglicized to Hudlow.

Obviously, no one thought John Baughman should have to pay Hite and Fairfax twice for the same land. The stakes in *Hite et al. vs. Fairfax* would shift a huge fortune from one side of this grudge match to the other, but meanwhile all the farmers were stuck in between. The slow pace of legal battle meant these antagonists had to co-exist in the Valley while they waited for the slow wheels of justice. In 1752, Lord Fairfax found Hite's eldest son, John, claiming a seat along side him in the vestry at the Anglican parish of Frederick. Lord Fairfax was named Lieutenant of the County Militia in September of 1755, but John Hite was appointed the following April to be Major.^{232-26 & 231-25}

Also commissioned as officers in time for the French & Indian War were Captains Jacob Funk, the miller Ludwig Steffens (known to the English as Lewis Stephens) and Cornelius Ruddle, who commanded the vicinity of his neighborhood at Rude's Hill, and all around New Market.²³¹⁻²⁵

Another well-connected Englishman, eager to buy up the Valley, found the Germans there annoying. William Beverly obtained a grant from Williamsburg for western lands including "Massanutten Town," where a Mennonite community was already thriving, they having "cleared several Plantations & made great improvements thereon." These were the same Swiss families from Pennsylvania that had paid Jacob Stover for lands around the Hawksbill. Stover proved in court that he was broke and could not repay the settlers, but that he could make good on peopling the open land, producing a long list of German immigrants still eager to farm there. Beverly's suit was dismissed, and Stover was issued patents for 10,000 acres.

In 1757, another of Jost's neighbors happened to be doing a little carpentry for Isaac Hite, one of his sons, and was present during a disturbing incident. Ezechie

Sangmeister, a schoolteacher who hailed from the Cloister in Ephrata, Pennsylvania, added this account to his autobiography:

"When we were still living in Virginia and I was obliged to work out in order to pay for debts we had incurred buying land, I worked at one time for a rich man, Isaak Heut, who had many white and also black people under him. One day when the help came in after work, tired and hungry, there was hardly any bread. But they found about a quarter of a loaf of bread and ate it.

"Meanwhile some rich people had arrived for a visit. Since the said bread was eaten, Mrs. Heute began to curse and damn terribly, wishing all kinds of evil on those who had eaten said bread. Whereupon an adolescent boy replied to her as follows: 'Is it not a terrible thing that we are being cursed and damned for a little piece of bread?' I told the woman then not to act like that and offered to run home and fetch a loaf of bread but she declined.

"Shortly afterwards swarms of rats appeared which devoured the grain in the barn and also shocks of wheat from top to bottom, thus destroying about 100 bushels. At last, they even began to eat the shingles of the roof. All fending off was to no avail until the man (Isaac Hite) finally gathered all help and all dogs, had the barn

surrounded and killed 200 of them. They were thrown to the swine with result that two sows with young also perished. Thus he witnessed God's revenge. They grudged their help the wheat and then had to see before their own eyes its destruction and devastation by vermin." ²²⁹

The Land Passed Down

A COUNTY COMMISSIONER AND GENTLEMAN OF THE the Valley, Jonathan Clark, was engaged by the Fairfax estate lawyers in 1786 to inventory all of the lands that had been in dispute between his Lordship and Hite. Clark's notebook, unfortunately thin on either landmarks or the details of deeds, referred simply to Baughman land, leading some to imagine Henry Baughman's plantation on Holman's Creek. Instead, Clark was recording the improvements made to John Baughman's 1737 land, which had already been passed down to four daughters and sons-in-law of John Baughman during the settlement of his estate after 1757.

Son-in-law Benjamin Layman lived in a log house that had been started in 1770, but showed signs of its second story being unfinished above. It had a stone



A "RING" OF NEIGHBORS BUILDING A LOG HOUSE IN ONE DAY
ROLLING HALF OF A TREE UP A RAMP OF DOUBLE POLES

chimney and measured overall 30 by 24 feet; the barn was described as 54 by 20 feet, being made of round logs and was very old. Benjamin's land had 61 bearing apple trees; 45 acres of cultivated land, five of which was improved meadow.

John Layman had a 24 by 18 foot house made of "scalp logg," with a "half worn, stone chimney." Some 30 acres had been cultivated, counting five as improved meadow.

Nicholas Saum had bought land from Benjamin Layman, including a 1772 log house of 1½ stories that measured 28 by 24 feet. A log barn of the same age measured 48 by 24 feet, and had a thatched straw roof. That land had 60 bearing apple trees, 45 acres of cleared land, six of which was dry meadow.

Son-in-law Nicholas Wisman was living in what seemed to be the original homestead, described as "very old." Its log walls measured 38 by 24 feet and surrounded a stone chimney. It also had "a very old logg barn with straw cover" 52 by 24 feet. This farm had 80 apple trees and 20 acres of cultivated land.

George Wisman had built himself an "almost new" log house, 44 by 16 feet, with a stone chimney. He also had "one new scalp'd logg barn cover'd with board shingles, well finished, 52 by 24." Ten acres of land had been cleared. Son-in-law Jacob Shireman had a 24 by 18 foot cabin.

David Funkhouser had a new 28 by 24 foot cabin of "scalp logg" with no chimney. Mature apple trees numbered 25; 16 acres were under the plow and 3½ of those were improved meadow.

Georg Horn was living in the smallest home, a new 16 by 16 foot cabin, with his new barn measuring 22 by 18 feet. He had 48 acres of cultivated land. John Crell was "a tenant to Coffman who claims under Baughman" one 20 by 16 foot log house, with a "half worn, cat & clay chimney with an addition 16 by 16, cabin roof." He was using a log barn, 56 by 24, "half worn with straw cover." He had 50 productive apple trees, 40 acres of cultivated fields, and two of improved meadow.^{220 IV:165}

Peter Mauk first bought 168 acres beside Opequon Creek from Hite in 1742, but also soon moved to the North Mountain Tract. By 14 April 1755, he took steps to pay Fairfax for the land, just as his neighbor John Baughman already had. Mauk's adjacent neighbors to the north were Catherine and Jacob Rife, who had used the same strategy by 1766.^{228:400-401}

The vision of the German settlers was praised in June 1767 from none other than George Washington in a letter to his friend, John Posey: "...See what Fortunes were made by the Hites and first takers up of those lands... by taking up and purchasing at very low rates the rich back Lands which were thought nothing in those days, but are now the most valuable Land we possess."

236:26

After 36 years of legal battle, well into the life of the new American nation, the courts resolved everything in favor of Hite. Unfortunately, neither the old weaver from Bonfeld nor Lord Fairfax — nor John Baughman — lived to learn the outcome. Hite had died in the early part of 1761 at the age of 75, John Baughman was dead by 1757, and Fairfax suffered first the loss of great fortune during the Revolutionary War, and then died in December 1781. Hite's children and grandchildren went on to achieve high respectability among Virginia's English and American aristocracies.

Descendants of John Baughman did not shrug off the 74 acres he lost during the Hite/Fairfax fight. As late as November of 1817, some of his grandchildren, by way of his daughter Barbara Baughman and her husband Benjamin Layman, were repaid £20 as just compensation for 60 acres, which, through the offices of Fairfax, had changed hands from an Augustine Reedy to Nicholas Saum to his heirs, John, Daniel and Christian Saum. Although the boundaries between their property were not forcibly redrawn, the heirs of John Baughman seemed satisfied to get £20 for turning over claim to what had already become Saumsville by 1806.²¹²

Even though John Baughman eventually returned to Hempfield Township in Pennsylvania, his land in the Shenandoah Valley passed down through his daughters to familiar Lancaster County names, including the Lehman (Layman), Meili (Miley), Eshelman, Funkhouser, Wilkin and Byer (Bower) families. A tradition begun with the school house built by Benjamin Layman later turned into Martin F. Miley's Clover Hill Academy. According to Harry Strickler's 1952 book *A Short History of Page County, Virginia*, Miley was born in 1816 and because he was "interested in education, erected a schoolhouse... he employed college graduates to conduct it. This was before there were any public schools. He was the son of David Miley, who was the son of Tobias."

On the former grounds of the Clover Hill School — in the heart of the northern third of John's land — is the Miley-Layman Burial Ground. Fourteen unreadable limestone slabs stand alongside several hand carved tombstones. Among the oldest are marked "B LM 1788," "Martin Miley" born 26 Aug 1759, died 1821 or 1827, and "Josef Miley, A 14 1825."^{206:16}

Another Jacob Baughman — who cannot be fit into the shoes of any other known Jacob — also lived off the Back Road during the late 18th Century. In 1778, this Jacob lived adjacent to Ulrich Naves somewhere along Riles Run,^{215:25} a six-and-a-half-mile stream that ran northeastward along the west side of Persimmon Ridge and Snider Hill, finally feeding Stony Creek two-and-a-half miles east of Jerome.^{222:85} Because Barbara

Bachman Rinker left Switzerland with a young but independent Jacob, it has been theorized that he might have become this man.

Gottfried and Georg Wilkin were Swiss, and came to the Valley at least by 11 Sept 1756 when they received a grant for 400 acres near Woodstock. Godfrey had his will carried out on 26 May 1785 by his son Matthias, who married Margaret Keller and lived at the Baughman Settlement on Lost River in present day Hardy County, West Virginia. Phillip and Godfrey Jr. married Benjamin Layman's daughters. Other branches of the Wilkin family spliced with branches of the Dellinger, Gochbauer, Helsey, Neff, Spitzer and Stout families.^{218:1083}

The Swiss family Tschudi was also living west of the Shenandoah in Virginia's old Augusta County at North Mill Creek. Although the genealogical thread does not trace clearly across to Jacob Juda in the Ozark Mountains, it is interesting to note that a Johannes, Martin and Hans Jacob Tschudi, a cooper, all arrived in Philadelphia in 1714 and found their name Anglicized into Juda.

In 1737/38, the lacemaker Martin Tschudi left Sissach, along with his wife Rosanna Schaffner, from near Lausen in Canton Basel, Switzerland, and came to America. Other Canton Basel family members quit their hometown of Frenkendorf in the Liestal district in 1749 and more still in 1767, including a baby Jakob born on the high seas. A Jacob Juda became the well-known gunsmith from Arundel County, Maryland, during the Revolutionary War. Most of the newly arrived Tschudis gravitated to the North Mill Creek where present-day Grant and Pendleton Counties meet in West Virginia. When a century passed, another Jacob Juda named his daughter Rosa, and she eventually married George Washington Baughman, the author's great-grandfather.^{209:55-57}

Together from the Beginning

ANOTHER SIGNIFICANT NAME OUT OF PAST WAS Dellinger, and this family could be found just north of Susanna Bachman Rinker on the Back Road. They were also Swiss, and more than a century before in the Alsatian village of Heidolsheim, these same families had first become involved. In 1728, Mennonites who had recently immigrated from Switzerland and Germany were obliged by the Pennsylvania governor to affirm their loyalty and allegiance to the George II, King of England. Among the list of over 200 signatories from the Conestoga Settlement, Johannes Georg Döllinger and Johannes Bachman were next to each other in line. In Virginia's court records, the men became most commonly known as George Dellinger and

John Baughman.

Within ten years, both men went to the Shenandoah Valley where Jost Hite had settled. On 19 October 1736, Hite certified that Döllinger turned in the head of an old wolf and collected a reward of 150 pounds of tobacco for it. Döllinger's bounty may not have been actual bundles of tobacco leaf. Whenever coin became scarce on the frontier, Virginia's eastern leadership simply chose their favorite commodity to stand as an alternate currency. Since very little tobacco was raised in the Shenandoah Valley, the payment was probably made in proportionally valuable weights of corn, wheat, barley or cider.^{228:380}

In the summer of 1747, two German missionaries from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, made a tour of the Shenandoah Valley and came across George Dellinger.

"Today," wrote the Moravian preacher Leonhard Schnell on 22 July, "I went to an elder living at the Schanathor River. I asked him if I could preach in his church. But he hesitated because I was a stranger, and an injunction had been issued against strange ministers. But he would allow me to preach in his house, which I accepted, and then he made it known. I went back to Cedar Creek to my dear [traveling partner, Valentine] Handrup."

The next spring, a Moravian named Matthias Gottlieb Gottschalk followed the same trail and stopped at Dellinger's again. He described it as being 30 miles farther into the wilderness than the last place worth stopping. "Some of the people are hostile, others well-meaning, but all timid and suspicious, and for this reason



THE BANKABILITY OF TOBACCO
EARLY AMERICAN MONEY PRINTED LEAVES ON THE BACK

are not willing to listen to the brethren. They have written to Pennsylvania for a true Lutheran minister, but have not been able to secure one." ^{232:84}

George Dellinger first bought land near Strasburg, close to the Shenandoah River from Jacob Funk, but instructed his eldest son Christian to sell it off upon his death. Christian got a land warrant from Lord Fairfax on 8 December 1749 and moved a few miles further west towards the mountains. The brook behind his house that fed into Stony Creek was dedicated to the memory of the southern German region called Swabia, but, when slurred from a thick Rhineland accent into English became known as Swover Creek.

The early warrants and surveys from Frederick County include the following details:

"Christian Dillinger, heir of George Dillinger; no warrant, survd 3 Mar. 1752; 460 ac. on W. side of N. Shannandoah; adj. his own land. CC [chain carriers] & markers - Henry Piper & Frederick, John & Jacob Dillinger. Surv. Robert Rutherford.

"Christian & Frederick Dellinger, sons & exects of George Dellinger, dec'd, direct land to be sold to discharge his debts in case Exects think proper but they find sufficient of the moveable est. & desire a deed issue in name of Christian Dellinger, eldest son reserving 1/3 to Catherine Dellinger, widow of dec'd.

"Frederick Dellinger, assignee of Jacob Reife, assignee of Thomas Langdon; 10 Feb. 1762 - 8 June

1762; 67 a. on N. side of North R. of Shanando on E. bank; adj. Frederick Dellinger's own land. CC [chain carriers] Jno Ba. Reedy & Jno Nizel. Pilot & marker - Tho Langdon & Fredk Delenger. Surv. Robert Rutherford."

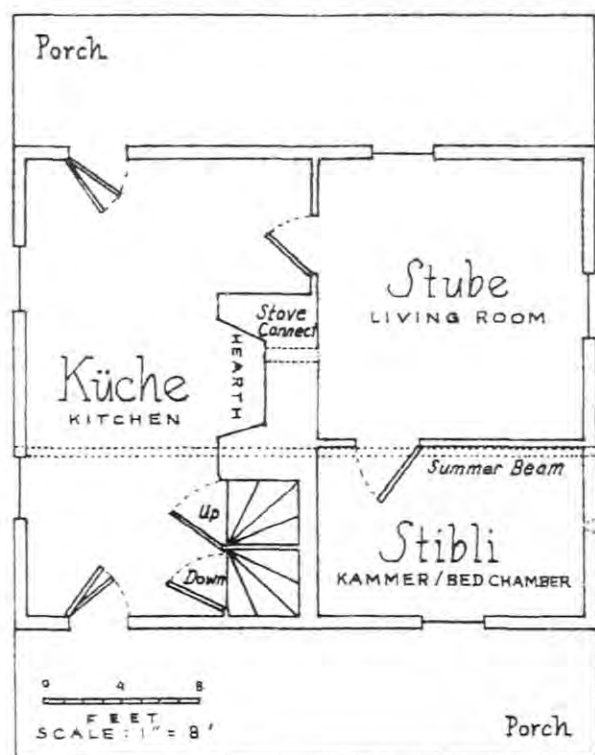
After John Baughman died, and his son-in-law needed to have the land near present-day Saumsville resurveyed, Dellinger's son Frederick came to help out as chain carrier.

Many scholars say Swedish pioneers in New Jersey first invented the stacked log walls of the classic American frontier cabin, and that the English and the rest of the Europeans merely copied their good design. The rationing of logs in medieval Switzerland and Germany did result in many farm houses with "half-timbered" frames, filled in with a plaster called daub and wattle; but the Swiss needed no inspiration from Scandinavia on how to clear forests and build homes. In Canton Zürich and the higher elevations of the Alps, square-hewn, dovetailed log buildings known to be 600 years old can still be seen. ^{233:52-56}

Christian Dellinger's log house is one of the dozen surviving examples of central chimney architecture in Shenandoah County. It has a typical Germanic floor plan of the 18th Century, with three rooms on the ground floor. For reasons unknown, this configuration seemed to have fallen out of favor with builders in the 19th Century. The square-hewn white pine logs were notched into notably tight, full-dovetails. Extensions of the gable-end wall logs formed cantilevered supports for front and rear porches. Because the Dellingers built the house on a hillside, the rear porch sat high above the ground. It never had stairs by which to leave it, and so could be thought of in the classic Swiss Alpine tradition as a large boxed balcony.

The front and rear entries to the kitchen were fitted with original Dutch double doors hung on long wrought hinges, a feature still seen at only two other early houses in the county. The puncheon floor of the living room and a small bed chamber behind it were made from halved logs laid side by side, forming both the structure and surface of the floor, a technique also extremely rare in Virginia. ^{223:15-16}

A massive six-foot lintel of hewn wood bridges the top of the kitchen hearth. The flu of the living room's heating stove stuck through a hole still visible on the hearth's back wall. Family tradition holds that long ago this chimney saved the life of a Gramma Dellinger and her baby. The tale describes them home alone when hostile Indians could be heard approaching, and the desperate woman decided to crawl up into the chimney. High inside, a wrought iron bar planted in the stones supported trammel chains, pots and the woman's weight. Her whimpering infant was silenced at the last possible



FLOORPLAN OF THE DELLINGER HOUSE
WHERE GRAMMA CLIMBED UP THE CHIMNEY

second, and remained hushed the entire time by nursing from her breast. The Indian warriors searched the house, but left without a scalp or a hostage.

A single 30-and-a-half-foot beam ran through the middle of the ceiling to support the crossing joists and the floor above. When stonework for the original chimney was completed, it had to be built around this massive, long "summer beam," a name derived from the French word *sommier* or girder. Logs for the long lateral walls stacked up four feet higher, making a "half-story" garret or sleeping loft. In the next century, the walls and roof were raised four more feet to make a complete second story. A board nailed onto the front of the building recorded the initials of the crew — mostly Dellingers — that renovated the roofline:

BD	WD	AD	JD	AR	BH	ED	1903
	1855			RLD	APR	12	
DPD							
1861							

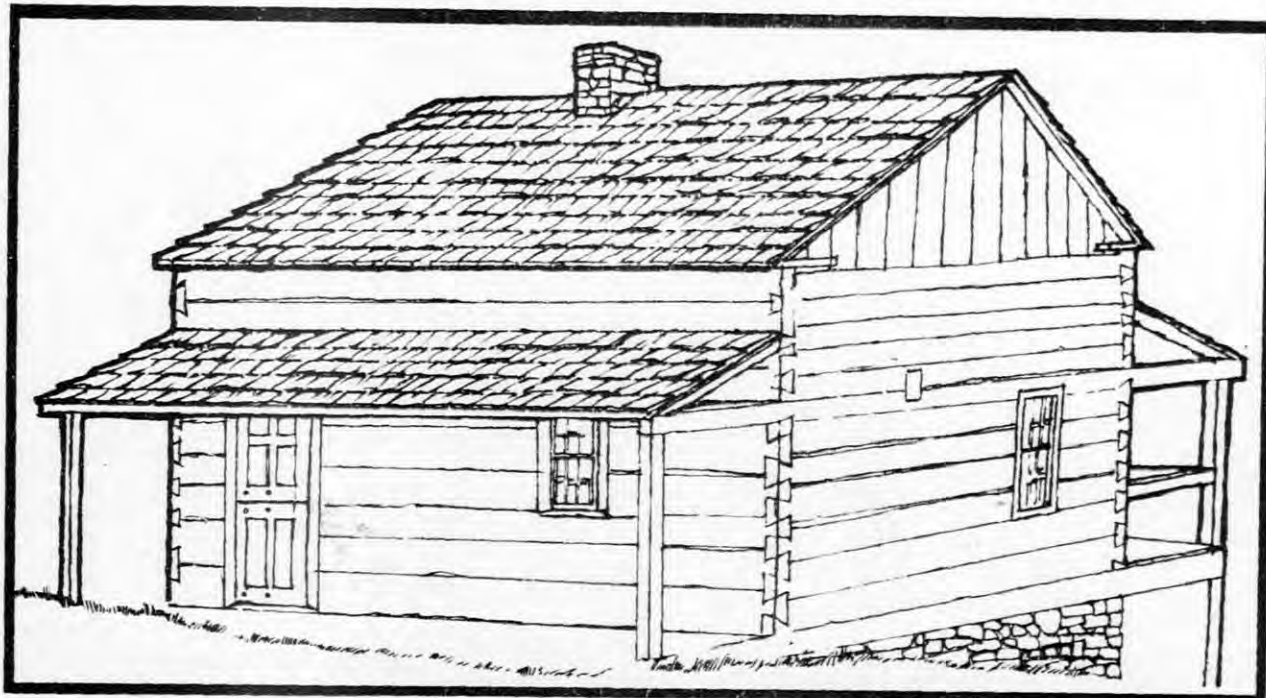
Among the first things that the Dellingers and their neighbors wanted to do was build a union church. In a warrant from 24 April 1752, George Dellinger, John Painter and Peter Fultz requested a Deed in Trust for 400 acres of waste and ungranted land "including the Dutch Chappel, the said Land being for the use of the Society of Dutch Protestants." Across Swover Creek and up the next hill, Dellinger could see the meetinghouse from his back porch balcony.

Named as partners in this society were Christian Dellinger, Ulrich Mire, Nicholus Counts [Kuntz] and 13 other German neighbors.^{220:111:34} In the early years, it became known simply as Jacob's Church. Valley historian John Wayland theorized that this was meant to honor the name of Jacob Rinker — shared by the pioneer, son and grandson — who all lived but a mile further down the road and all cared for the little chapel.^{232:441}

Although George Dellinger took the oath in Pennsylvania as a Mennonite, the meetinghouse entrusted in his name became a church for the Lutheran and Reformed congregations along the Back Road of Shenandoah County. To George Dellinger, the patriarch, fell life's sharpest pain: for a parent to see his child and grandchild die early, and even worse, by murder.

In 1764, John Dellinger was ambushed on land right next to the village of Strasburg by Indians in the company of "a white scoundrel." Rachel Dellinger and her infant child were taken prisoner. Rescuers got to Rachel on South Branch Mountain, but her baby had already been killed at Sandy Ridge, west of the Capon River. Also that day, the killers went on to a whole family — George Miller, his wife and two children — two miles north of the town. An early account preserved the following:

"At the attack on George Miller's family, the persons killed were a short distance from the house, spreading flax in a meadow. One of Miller's little daughters was sick in bed. Hearing the firing, she



THE ORIGINAL SHAPE OF THE DELLINGER LOG HOUSE
BEFORE THE ROOF WAS RAISED TO A FULL SECOND STORY IN THE MID-19TH CENTURY

jumped up, and looking through a window and seeing what was done, immediately passed out at a back window, and ran about two or three miles, down to the present residence of David Stickley, and from thence to Geo. Bowman's on Cedar Creek, giving notice at each place. Col. Abraham Bowman, of Kentucky, then a lad of sixteen or seventeen, had at first doubted the little girl's statement. He however armed himself, mounted his horse, and in riding to the scene of action was joined by several others who had turned out for the same purpose, and soon found the information of the little girl too fatally true.

"Thomas Newell... the first person who arrived... found Miller, his wife, and two children weltering in their blood, and still bleeding. From the scene of murder he went to the house, and on the sill of the door lay a large folio German Bible, on which a fresh killed cat was thrown. On taking up the Bible it was discovered that fire had been placed in it; but after burning through a few leaves, the weight of that part of the book which lay uppermost, together with the weight of the cat, had so compressed the leaves as to smother and extinguish the fire... The fire had been placed about the center of the 2d

book of Samuel, burnt through fourteen leaves, and entirely out at one end. It has been preserved in the Miller family, as a sacred relic or memento of the sacrifice of their ancestors."^{232:27-28} On Cedar Creek that same year, a number of other settlers were wiped out.^{232:68}

By 1769, at the ripe old age of 79, the immigrant George Dellinger died. Property in the Shenandoah Valley has remained in Dellinger and Vetter hands since 1749. The Dellinger family Bible, along with court books and personal papers corroborate these accounts. Currently residing next door to the old Christian Dellinger log building is Velma Reedy Vetter, informant for some of these accounts and mother of Vernon Reedy, the owner of the house up until 1996. The Baughman family purchased the building on 13 April of that year.

Records for the Hite and Baughman lands, especially around Holman's Creek, were shuffled between differing jurisdictions. The paperwork was filed with the Orange County Court between 1734-1745; then at the Augusta County courthouse in Staunton up until 1753; and with Frederick County at Winchester from 1753 until 1772. The courthouse at Woodstock started the paperwork in



INDIANS ATTACK A WHITE FAMILY ON THE EARLY FRONTIER
A CONTEMPORARY WOODCUT REPORTED ON THE BURNING, RAVISHMENT, SCALPING, TORTURE AND CAPTIVITY

1773, for five years under the name of Dunmore County, until it was changed to Shenandoah County.

Unfortunately, in May of 1864, a few Union officers marauding their way through the Shenandoah Valley stopped at Belle Grove, the old Hite mansion and "helped themselves" to the original Hite files in the garret from "barrels of old papers illuminating the history of the family, neighborhood and times of Lord Fairfax." ^{219:30}

A Trail of Paper Along Holman's Creek

THE SEQUENCE OF SETTLEMENT ON HOLMAN'S Creek can be deduced not only from the belated survey and patent dates, but from the position and shape of their boundaries. Daniel Holeman got first choice and

started right by the river; his son Jacob went further inland but still on the choicest part of the creek bottomland; Archibald Ruddle and Christian Funkhouser came next; Henry Baughman's land was clearly next, almost of the same proportion but with a boundary that was molded in between Holeman and Funkhouser, and all of the surrounding neighbors squeezed in after that.

Holeman had arrived in 1736, but only got his survey in 1749. Henry Baughman got his survey in 1754, and figuring backwards at a similar rate, probably arrived circa 1741, shortly after reaching America, just as Adam Müller did. Jos Schnebbli, renamed Joseph Siefly by the English, had his paperwork by 1761 beside Thomas Holeman. Jacob Holeman sold his father's original 393-acre tract on the east side of the river to Henry Houser. ^{214:C:522} Neighbor Peter Gartner waited 13

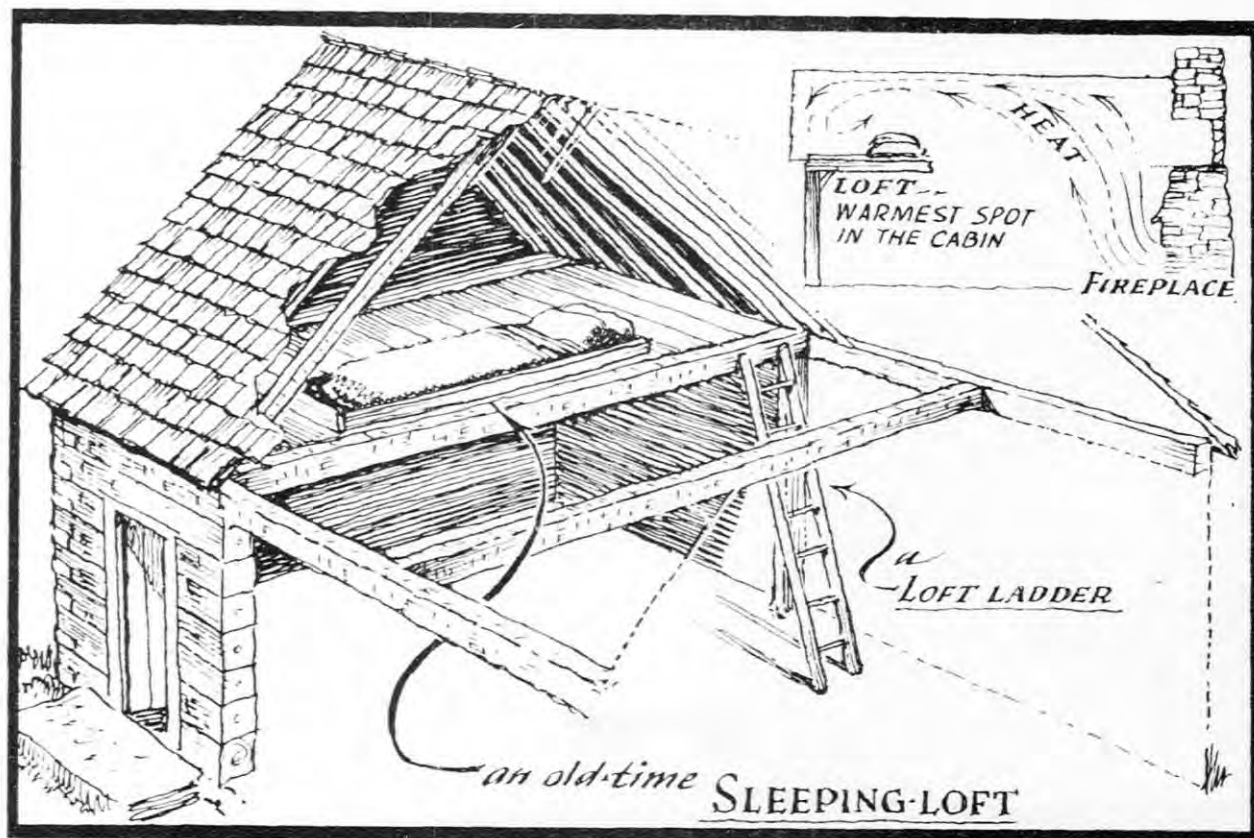


AS HANDY WITH HIS RIFLE AS WITH HIS AXE
A VIRGINIA FRONTIERSMAN DEFENDS HIS FAMILY AND HOME

years for the grant to his land on Holman's Creek.^{228:481}

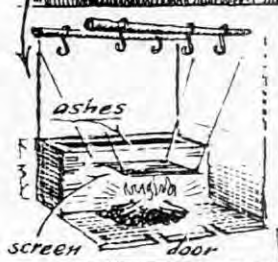
By 1725, Jacob Funkhouser showed up as a freeman among the Conestoga Mennonites on a tax list that year, but John Funkhouser of Canton Bern arrived in America aboard the *Mortonhouse* in August 1728. Christian Funkhouser received a survey warrant for 200 acres in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, on 23 April 1734. By 1737, three Funkhousers — Jacob, Johannes and Christian — were living near Tumbling Run in present-day Shenandoah County, amongst the 51 men that signed a petition protesting their required labor on a road through Chester Gap. Most of the men in this group bought land from Jost Hite. "We came a great way here and undergone Great Hardships and have wasted great part of our estate in coming and can scarce get Bread for our Children for want of land clear'd."

Christian Funkhouser, as a newlywed, moved to Holman's Creek with his bride Christiana Brock. Rudolf Brock, her widower-father, had been settled nearby since the early 1740s. In 1754, Christian helped Henry Baughman to survey his land, but within three more years, the Funkhousers left the Valley for Fincastle County in southwestern Virginia, having sold half of their place to Henry Myers, "late of Pennsylvania," and the other part to Michael Zirkle.^{205:9 & 234:53} ■ ■ ■

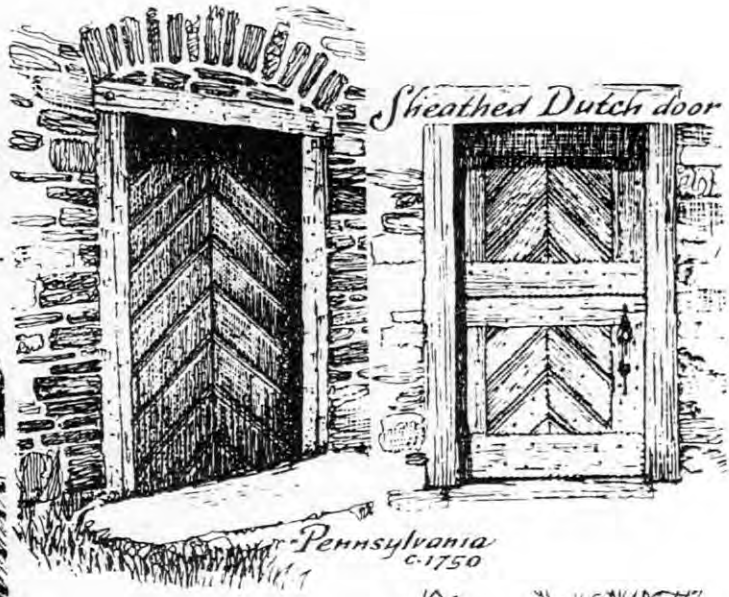


PREPARING A PALISADED STOCKADE;
PUTTING A "STORY-AND-A-HALF" LOG HOUSE TO ITS BEST USE

Pennsylvania
c. 1770



Smoke Houses

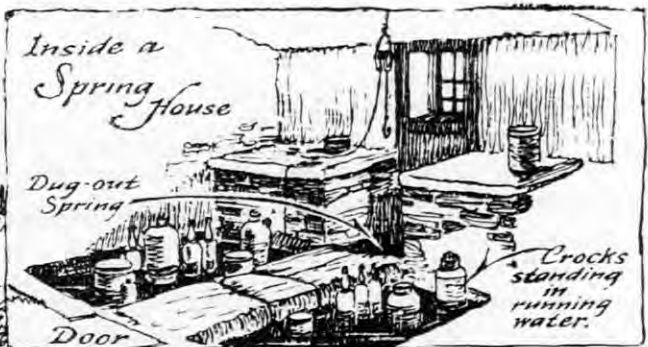


The
Forge Barn



1760

Spring
Houses





THE FAMILY REGISTER OF JOHANN GEORG BACHMANN
 FROM THE 242-YEAR-OLD BIBLE CONFISCATED BY AUTHORITIES IN AMERICA



THE *GEMEINDE ORDNUNG*, or Community Order, was inherited from the Mennonite Confessions of Faith set down in 1527 at an early church conference at Schleithem, Switzerland, and then restated a century later at

Dordrecht in the Netherlands.

The Mennonites in Pennsylvania and Virginia may have had their own copy brought from the old country or could have even gotten the first English translation in America of *Christian Confession of the Faith of the Harmless Christians in the Netherlands*, known by the name of *Mennonists* published in 1727 by Andrew Bradford of Philadelphia. Elders from all five Mennonite communities of eastern Pennsylvania were so pleased with this printing that they gave it a page of endorsements. "Christian Heer, Martin Bear and Johannes Bowman" appeared on behalf of "Canastoge," and the communities of "Shipack, Germantown, Great Swamp and Manatant" offered other familiar names.²⁵⁷⁻⁸

In the opinion of some Valley historians, the code developed by each local congregation may have been informal and unwritten, similar to what other churches call their "Rules and Discipline." Some Old Order Mennonites inserted their own idiosyncratic views into the *Ordnung*, forbidding church members from wearing certain clothing, hairstyles, keeping any kind of idolatry or even putting lightning rods on their houses or barns.

For just about all 18th century Mennonites, the following standards were among the reasons and ways in which an offending church member might be dismissed from social and spiritual fellowship. Ostracism may well be the oldest punishment devised by society — considered by many cultures to be equal in severity to death by execution. For Christians, the banning of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden is one of most powerful, dramatic lessons. When Cain murdered his brother, the immediate punishment was excommunication to the Land of Nod, east of Eden.

From the *Ordnung's* Article XIV on Defense by Force: "Regarding revenge, whereby we resist our enemies with the sword, ...the Lord Jesus has forbidden his disciples and followers all revenge and resistance, and has thereby commanded them not to 'return evil for evil, nor railing for railing,' but to 'put up the sword into the sheath,' or, as the prophets foretold, 'beat them into ploughshares.' ...also, if necessity should require it, to

flee, for the Lord's sake, from one city or country to another, and suffer the 'spoiling of our goods,' rather than give occasion of offense to any one...

"And that we are, besides this, also to pray for our enemies, comfort and feed them, when they are hungry or thirsty, and thus by well-doing convince them and overcome the evil with good." "Fall away from us the diabolical weapons of violence — such as sword, armor, and the like, and all of their use to protect friends or against enemies — by virtue of the word of Christ: 'you shall not resist evil.'"

"Concerning the sword: whether a Christian shall pass sentence in disputes and strife about worldly matters... Christ did not wish to decide or pass judgment between brother and brother concerning inheritance, but refused to do so. So should we also do."

In Pennsylvania, the whole adult male Mennonite population of Saucon Township got arrested during the Revolution for not supporting the colonists' war against the British. In the summer of 1778, the stringent new rules of the second Test Act, passed 13 June 1777, were applied by the local militia officers to the Mennonites south of Bethlehem.

The specific oath that was forced at them said: "I do swear (or affirm) that I renounce and refuse all allegiance to George the Third, King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors, and that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a free and independent State, and that I will not at any time do or cause to be done any matter or things that will be prejudicial or injurious to the freedom and independence thereof, as declared by Congress; and also that I will discover and make known to some one justice of the peace of the said State all treasons or traitorous conspiracies which I know or hereafter shall know to be formed against this or any of the United States of America."

Besides identifying Tories sympathetic to the British Crown, these rebel officers had the extra incentive of collecting forfeited estates — and a percentage for themselves — from anyone "tainted by treason."

In addition, any male over the age of 18 who did not subscribe to the oath by 1 June 1778 would forfeit a long list of rights. They would no longer be able to hold political office or any "place of trust" in Pennsylvania, be able to sue for debts, buy or sell or inherit land, own weapons, or act as a guardian. They would also have to pay double rates of taxation, serve three months in prison without bail or pay a £10 pound fine plus court

costs.^{267:36}

The 12 senior members of the Saucon Mennonite Congregation refused to take the Test Oath of Allegiance and so were imprisoned at Easton and had their estates confiscated by the sheriff of Northampton County.

The testimony of pacifists such as the Mennonites and Quakers counted for little. A farmer from Hatfield Township and an elderly Quaker miller from Upper Merion Township were hanged despite a petition from 4,000 neighbors that pointed out the plight of their families and pleaded for mercy.^{268:166}

The Mennonites of Saucon had always obediently paid war taxes, exemption fees, and donated their horses and wagons to aid Washington's army whenever requested, sometimes driving the teams themselves "for which service they have hitherto received no pay" even though their English-speaking neighbors did. Despite their peaceful and cooperative behavior, the Mennonites got 30 days notice that they were about to be thrown out of their homes and banished from the state. On 24 June, also marked by an eclipse of the sun, two assessors from the court of Northampton County began to inventory all their possessions. Every last piece of property was confiscated and scheduled for auction, "with the exception of spectacles without which they should be blind."^{268:168}

On the Fourth of July, 1778, Georg Bachman led his neighbors in their last-chance appeal:

"To the HONORABLE the Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania... your petitioners having received Sentence of Banishment at the last Court of Quarter Sessions held at Easton, for no other cause but that we could not with freedom of conscience comply with the Law of this State imposing a Test on the Inhabitants, and being deeply afflicted with the complicated distresses, our unhappy families are thereby involved in; beg leave, in all humility to lay before you our deplorable case, not destitute of some hope of obtaining your merciful Interposition, as we believe none can justly charge any of us with having ever done any act that can be construed inimical to the State or Government we live under, but have always been peaceable subjects, ready and willing to contribute our full proportion towards the support of it, except going into the military service, it being contrary to our religious principles to bear arms in any case whatsoever, and if we are found guilty of anything contrary to these our peaceful principles, may we suffer the severest penalties; and your petitioners believing the Supreme Council to be invested with a dispensing power to mitigate the severity of our sentence as we humbly conceive the process against us has not been according to the spirit of the law or the intention of the Legislature with regard to the peaceable industrious part of the people... and your

petitioners not being able yet to get over their religious scruples about taking the said test, it appearing to us like joining our hands to military service, and being very desirous to continue to be not only peaceable but useful subjects to this State, do humbly request the Honorable Supreme Council to take our distressed case into consideration, and grant such relief therein as to you in your wisdom shall meet..."

Twelve non-Mennonite neighbors added a brief statement to this document, vouching for the integrity of these "men of unblemished reputation for uprightness and integrity..." These supporters went on to suggest that the Mennonites' "present blindness to their own essential interest proceeds from an unhappy bias in their education, and not from a disaffection to the present Government."^{267:37}

At the end of August 1778, Sheriff John Siegfried supervised a "Publick Vendue" of George Bachman Jr.'s property. A profile of neighbors who likely showed up at *Der Siebenstern* comes from a census of trades and labor from the township assembled not long before: 80 farmers, 9 laborers, 3 blacksmiths, a pair of tavern-keepers, two weavers, a carpenter, a miller, a doctor, a cooper and "four poor."^{263:429}

The family's inn and tavern was sold to Daniel Cooper, recently arrived from Amsterdam, and after whom the town was eventually named.^{243:7}

"Inventory of the Goods & chattle, the Property of George Bachman in upper Saucum Township, which are forfeited according to the Law of the State of Pennsylvania, the 17th June 1778 at Easton Court vizt. A Clock & Case (£40), two Bedsteads & bedding (£20), a Chest (£1:2:6), a Chest Drawers (£15), a walnut Table (£2:5:0), a Dresser (£0:15:0), 3 Chairs (£0:15:0), a Fan (£2:10:0), a Spinning Wheel (£0:10:0), a five plated Stove, pipes (£7:10:0), a large Iron Kettle (£2:5:0), an Iron Pott (£1:10:0).

"A Waggon (£30), a Waggon Cloth (£2:5:0), A Waggon Chain (£1:10:0), a Cart (£5), a Sleigh (£3), a Saddle (£0:15:0), Two Plows & a Harrow (£7), a Black Mare (£40), a Black Mare Colt (£20), a White Horse (£90), a Bay Horse (£45), Four cows (£40), Four Young Horn Cattle (£20), Ten Cow Chains (£1:17:6), Ten Sheep (£10), Three Hogs 3 died (£6), a 6&700 Sheaver Wheat (£21), 6½ bushells of Buck Wheat (£0:3:9), Four bags with Flax Seed (£1:17:6), Ten baggs (£3:15:0), Ten Siths with Craddle (£0:15:0), a Cutting Box (£2:5:0), a Parcell Shingles (£6), a Barrel Matigium (£15), a few Empty Barrels (£4), a funnell (£0:15:0).

"For a total of £511:17:6"^{251:340}

Also lost to the Sheriff was the following property from two other Baughman brothers: Henry Bachman, three sheep (£1:6:0), two hogs (£1:10:0); Jacob Bachman, a sheep (£0:15:0), two hogs (£0:16:0), 6½

bushels Buck Wheat (£2:12:0), a Pott (£1:11:0)^{251:430}

Because the highest bidder had to be respected, the county could not prevent the Bachman family from buying back 26 out of the 56 lots up on the auction block. They had to bid up to £75 to get back their clock, and managed to recover most of the furniture. They did lose one bed, a spinning wheel, their flock of sheep and some hogs. On the same day, Caspar Yoder's larger estate went up, but his family Bible was the only thing bought back by a Mennonite neighbor, John Bare from 10 miles southwest at Great Meadow also known as The Swamp. The pacifist-hater Squire Limbach showed up to buy "a hand screw."^{268:171}

A petition on behalf of the entire Mennonite community from George's wife, Esther Oberholtzer Bachman, and Eve Yoder, was delivered to the Pennsylvania General Assembly asking for special consideration and relief. "All their said personal Estate, even their Beds, Bedings, Linen, Bibles & Books were taken from them and sold by the Sheriff to the amount of about £40,000."^{238:26}

Almost lost forever was the old Schnebbli-Bachman Bible from Ibersheim. The local schoolteacher Johann Adam Eyer had lately completed a decorated family register page in it:

"This Bible belongs to Johann Georg Bachmann; it belonged to my Father Georg Bachmann, and after his death it was given to me by all my brothers and sisters.

"Anno 1724, the 30th of November, I Joh. Georg Bachmann, as is recorded on my parents' [family] birth register, was born into this World. And on the 16th of November 1748 — old style — entered into Holy Matrimony with Esther Oberholtzer, daughter of Jacob Oberholtzer and his wife Barbara. She was born into this world the 16th day of May, 1728. In our married life, the Lord blessed us with the following children..."²³⁸

For all the paperwork filed by the desperate brethren, no surviving record suggests that Pennsylvania responded to them. When the war was clearly over, the men of Northampton County were forced to re-enroll in their local militia, although there is no indication that they ever actually mustered or drilled. In the first platoon or 'class' was Michel Musylman; the second class had George Bauchmen and Jacob Musylman; third class, John Bauchmen; fifth class, Henry Bauchmen. John Beye, one of the justices of the peace for Northampton County, attested to the formulation of the Fifth Company on 23 May 1785, according to his witness Nicholas Masteller "upon his oath by the holy Evangelist of Almighty God doth declare... a full and true list of all the male white Inhabitants between 18 & 53 years, residing within the District of said company to the best of his knowledge without favour or

malise."^{264:898-899}

The Bachmans did not flee from Saucon Township straight away. Henry and Jacob built homes, including a handsome tall stone house still in use at 205 North Main Street, but an ironic insult to their family came long afterwards. When their names were found on compulsory militia rolls, careless local historians marked the graves of the Saucon Mennonites as heroes of the American Revolution.^{268:173}

Nathan Bachman, one of George Bachman Jr.'s nephews, decided to move to the Valley of Virginia after all of the dust settled, and eventually on to Clover Bottom, near Blountville in eastern Tennessee's Sullivan County.^{266:33}

When forced into military service later on in Virginia, one Valley Mennonite reassured his wife that he would not take another man's life. He later explained how while standing on the firing line, he always aimed his barrel high so that no one would get hit by his rifle's ball. When his regular term of enlistment expired, he deserted his regiment. His superiors were afraid that he would counsel other young men to avoid the army, so they put a price on his head and organized a manhunt. A noted woodsman before the war, he played a cat and mouse game with the provost marshal for two years until the war was over.^{256:107}

The Baughmans in Pennsylvania finally gave in to a post-war military enrollment. In Virginia, however, Jacob Baughman's name did not appear on a 1775 compulsory muster list for the Dunmore County Militia, even though his father's and brothers' did. After the war, Jacob did sign a petition on 10 December 1785 along with 73 other Valley Mennonites to be exempted from military duty. The other dissident petitioners included his four brothers-in-law, Abraham, Christian, Jacob and Johannes Neff, and other names traceable to Lancaster County: Böhm, Bomgarner, Brennerman, Funkhouser, Gochnauer, Greibill, Hodel, Kauffman, Meili, Rot, Schantz, Stauffer and Strickler.^{241:112}

The Ties that Bind

THE OLD LOYALTY BETWEEN THE BAUGHMAN AND Neff families stretched back through many generations. The bond was restrengthened in the Shenandoah Valley when old Heinrich's son Jacob grew interested in Dr. Neff's daughter Catherine.

Catherine's grandfather, Dr. Hans Heinrich Neff Sr., was the first doctor in all of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He settled on Conestoga Creek northeast of Lancaster Town by 1718, and also built and operated a grist mill, the primary source of the family's income.

According to the diary of Christopher Marshall, many people went to Dr. Christian Neff in Lancaster County for blood letting.

The elder Dr. Neff had a son, Dr. John Henry Neff Jr., who moved first to Frederick County, Maryland, in 1746 and then in 1748 to Holman's Creek, Frederick County, Virginia. Catherine may have been eight or nine years old when her father had his land on Holman's Creek surveyed in 1749. Dr. Neff also bought a substantial amount of land on the Back Road.

His medicines would have been made from imported narcotics, home-grown herbs, bark, seeds and the roots of plants found along the mountains and in the surrounding forests. It was important, according to medical manuals of the day, for herbs to be plucked while the plant was still in bloom. Roots and barks were only to be harvested in the Spring or Autumn and always dried out in a well-ventilated room, often tied up in bundles and hung from the rafters.

Catherine Neff almost certainly helped her father to plant, cultivate, harvest, dry and grind the dozens of herbal powders, as well as gather his many wild ingredients, such as sassafras, boneset, camomile, gentian and snake-root. No doubt she watched as he prepared the teas, salves, concoctions, decoctions and tinctures, listening to him explain their preparation and use. In the same way that her father had learned the medical arts from his father, the latest generation became the interns and heirs of their parent's doctoring skill.²⁶⁵ In 1770, at the age of 62, Dr. John Henry Neff turned most of his practice over to Conrad Neff, who served the folks around Holmans Creek for the next 30 years.

The elder Dr. Neff may have experimented with a diagnostic tool far ahead of its time, and upon which his great-nephew, Dr. Abraham Neff Breneman made his reputation in 1810: Urine analysis.²⁶⁵

Some of Dr. Neff's medicines, even though they seemed to work just fine, would have been frowned on by doctors until recently. Medical research in the late 20th Century has proven that plants are the source of untold biochemical cures. Nonetheless, Dr. Neff would have treated his patients with a careful respect for their own families' traditional cures, and may have even subscribed to a few of them himself. People would have resorted to their own family medicines not out of antagonism towards Dr. Neff but in addition to his efforts.^{276:23}

Along the Back Road by Neff property, chicken manure was also made into a tea and used to relieve pains in the back, and for cramps. Another person in the same area recalled drinking chicken manure tea and claimed it really helped, but she added, "Cat manure tea is the most powerful of all teas... My mother used to say, 'If it's kill or cure, use some cat manure.'" ^{273:133}

To take the pain out of a burn, the following

incantation was used to activate a poultice made in part out of chicken droppings: '*Heili Heili hinckeldreck, bis marye iss ales weg,*' meaning 'Holy, Holy chickending, by next morning it's all gone.'^{256:47}

From New Market, nearby to Dr. Neff's old practice on Holman's Creek, Maggie Gochnour suggested a recipe for cough syrup to her sisters in the Brethren Church in 1903 that had been passed down through the 19th Century in her own family:

"Take one quart of dandelion blossoms, pour over them one gallon of boiling water, add two lemons, sliced, let stand twenty-four hours, strain, add four pounds of sugar, boil and can like fruit. Take a swallow frequently."^{275:131}

Madstones, formed in the stomachs of deer, were known and used as early as the 18th Century in Virginia. These small, hard objects were said to have the power to draw poison from the bite of a snake or a rabid animal. Some stones were so revered that shares were sold in them so that they would be available to more people when an urgent need arose. "There are many sworn accounts of madstones being placed on a wound and adhering without being bound in place. They stuck tight for a matter of minutes, hours or days, falling off only when they had absorbed all of the sickness or poison. Some madstones were soaked in water after their use, and green fluid was observed leaking from them."^{256:56}

Horse chestnuts carried in a pocket were thought to ward off rheumatism.^{256:59} Great-great grandchildren of Virginia still held onto this belief in the Ozark Mountains of Missouri through the end of the 20th Century.^{240:97}

Just as important as plant medicines were the cures credited to animal fat. Grease and oil were carefully drawn off of bear, possum, hogs, snakes and skunks. Skunk grease could be rubbed on the chest, or a half-spoonful could be taken orally for bad coughs.

"Pull the skin off the snake," advised one Valley farmer, "then hang the carcass in the sun and let the oil drip off into a container... When Johnny had rheumatism I used it, I rubbed it on his knees and the back of his wrists."^{275:139}

Greasing the bottom of the feet was good for bringing down a fever, as it was thought that the sickness would actually be drawn out from the soles and onto the ground.^{275:140} Nothing was better for an earache than bear grease. A dangerously ill person would sometimes get the homemade ointment heated up, mixed with onions and be greased from head to toe.

Some cures hinged on what was called "sympathetic remedy." A woman born just after the Civil War below Holman's Creek explained how any serious breathing problems were treated:

"When Daddy took you to the woods with his augur

you knew what was coming, all the folks around did this. The child was taken to the woods, a hole was drilled into a tree and the child stood next to the hole. A lock of the child's hair was put in the hole and the peg plugged in."

A cure for asthma and croup was guaranteed. Of course, the children left a bit of their hair pegged into the tree, but all breathing difficulties would be all gone by the time they had grown taller than the peg. The thinking was that the asthma would be sympathetically transferred to the tree.^{275:134}

In Pennsylvania, a bright shining axe placed under the bed of a sick person was thought to draw off and heal open sores.^{275:141}

An Old Order Mennonite, when asked about superstitions and why people would put any faith in them, quoted an old Pennsylvania Dutch saying: "*Batt's net, schatt's net*" meaning "Doesn't help, doesn't hurt."

See Appendix F on page 197-198

Deep Blushes to the Cheeks of the Bride

DURING THE LATE 1760S, WHEN CATHERINE NEFF first guessed that Jacob Baughman wanted to marry her, she was likely quite familiar with courtship customs among the Valley Swiss.

There was purported to be a magic spring in the Briery Branch area of Rockingham County, south of Holman's Creek. If a young woman went there, and with a mirror, looked over her shoulder into the water, she would see the image of her future husband reflected on the surface.

Further encouragement could be gotten at harvest time, especially at festive socials where apple butter was cooked outdoors in huge kettles.^{241:63} A lovestruck girl was advised to peel an apple all in one piece and throw the peel over her shoulder. When she turned around and looked at it lying on the ground, whatever letter it



A PAIR OF GERMAN SISTERS WITH THEIR SUITORS
THE IMAGE OF THEIR FUTURE HUSBANDS REFLECTED IN THE WATERS OF A MAGIC SPRING

reminded her of would be the first letter of her future husband's last name. An old *hausfrau* was asked if she knew anyone who had success with this method. "I saw an L," she said, "and there sits Mr. Lam."^{256:40} Whether at old fashioned apple-peeling bees or quilting bees, the hostess never worried about her guests' girlish figures, but rather encouraged them to enjoy her oven's hospitality: "The mare that does double work should be best fed."

One romantic tradition in the Shenandoah Valley was a game called "Love in the Dark." A boy and a girl were put in a pitch black room without having seen each other first. They disguised their voices and talked awhile, hugged a little, and exchanged a kiss or two while trying to guess with whom they had been matched.^{256:39}

In order to spend more time in each other's arms, couples did not have to sneak off into the dark. In the 18th Century, German families allowed young couples to spend nights together as part of courtship. At first, they might be allowed to climb into bed together, but only with their legs bundled tightly together and knotted with rope.

If both the parents and sweethearts wanted the liaison to progress, an upcoming Sunday or Feast Day would be chosen as *probenacht*, meaning a "trial night." In 1780, a German author named F.C.J. Fischer described the tradition: "She lets him surprise her lightly clothed, and, at last, grants him everything..." A trial night did not always lead to marriage, but neither was it thought a failing for either the boy or the girl if it didn't. Only a long succession of trial nights with different men might lead the neighbors to think that something was wrong with a girl.²⁷⁴

Pre-nuptial counseling was required to quote from Scripture and forewarned that "you shall not take a wife for my son from among the daughters of the Canaanites in whose land I live, but go to my fatherland and to my friends and take from thence a wife, etc... We do not recognize separation except in case of adultery or death. Then they are told to think it over well while they are still free, and so on."^{277:114}

Another look at the Articles of Faith suggests what happened next for Jacob Baughman and Catherine Neff.

From Article XII on Matrimony: "...An 'honorable' state of matrimony between two believers of the different sexes, as God first instituted the same in paradise between Adam and Eve, and as the Lord Jesus reformed it by removing all abuses which had crept into it... Marry amongst the 'chosen generation'... that is, to such — and none others — as are already, previous to their marriage, united to the church in heart and soul, have received the same baptism, belong to the same church,

are of the same faith and doctrine, and lead the same course of life... this is then called, 'Marrying in the Lord.'" Later Mennonites summarized this article as meaning "the union of one man and one woman for life."

Wedding ceremonies for the brethren relied on a part of their large Bibles called the Apocrypha, bound between the Old and New Testaments. In 1534, when the first Bible in German gathered together several scattered tales from the Old Testament, Martin Luther decided to follow the advice from 1,100 years earlier to make a separate section of them.

The early Greek Christian, Jerome, had earmarked these pages as being worthy of spiritual study but not of the same divinely inspired order as the other parts of the Hebrew testament. The first English Bible to include a separate Apocrypha, written by Myles Coverdale in 1635, was a rushed translation of Luther's German and Zwingli's Swiss editions. Under the influence of the Puritans, these pages soon disappeared from most English Bibles.

Luther was not enthusiastic about the religious value of the Apocrypha, but felt they should be left in. The opening pages, known as the book of Tobit, formed the traditional narrative and heart of the Anabaptist wedding ceremony.^{255:4} It was not unusual for the pastor, in performing the marriage ceremony, to go into such great detail in regard to the story of Tobit as to bring deep blushes to the cheeks of the bride.^{277:111}

Farm work, religious beliefs and tradition limited wedding days to Tuesdays and Thursdays following the end of harvest, but before winter weather made travel difficult.^{272:9} Jacob and Catherine had a choice of at least three places where they could exchange their vows: at her father's home, at the meeting house on Holman's Creek or at the meeting house on neighbor Good's property that served the brethren in the early years on the Back Road. Part of Catherine's dowry seems to have been the choice piece of farmland waiting for them below Deerhead Hill on the Back Road.^{241:58} See map on page 177

Eat, Drink & Be Merry

A RARE HANDWRITTEN MANUAL FOR OLD ORDER Mennonite pastors, probably dating from the 18th Century, provides a glimpse of the blessed event through this recommended script:

"When... the fitting passages in the New Testament have been brought in, then one says, 'Because one finds nothing in the New Testament how from the beginning this ceremony was performed and our Savior himself pointed those who had asked him in regard to this matter back to the Old Testament, so we will also turn thither...' "We should not look or marry... according to the lust

of the eyes or the lust of the flesh, but according to honor and virtue and in the fear of God and how only those should celebrate this ceremony together who are in one ark of the New Testament and have been baptized...

"This shows us how a youth should not run and go courting himself, as is the practice among many who make a secret marriage or promise themselves with endearing words, or seek to bring the matter about in a dishonest fashion but that he first pray to the Highest that he by all means might put in his mind which person God in his providence might have ordained to be his wife. Then the youth is to commit his affair to a man who is designated for that and similar work and who may then do the courting as the servant of Abraham did and so on as follows in the Bible...

"Then one turns to the book of Tobit. Even though this is an apocryphal book and is not counted among the books of Holy Writ, still it presents a beautiful lesson... One begins in the book Tobit and continues in that as is well-known. But one may also make it much shorter than exactly according to the letter."

Leading figures in the story of Tobit were his son, Tobias, and Sarah, the two betrothed by the arrangement of elders.

"Tobias was instructed by Raguel, his future father-in-law: 'Eat and drink, and make merry ...thou shouldest marry my daughter, nevertheless I will declare unto thee the truth. I have given my daughter in marriage to seven men, who died that night they came in unto her; nevertheless for the present be merry...

"But Tobias said, 'I will eat nothing here...' And Raguel said, 'Then take her from henceforth according to the manner, for thou art her cousin, and she is thine, and the merciful God give you good success in all things.'"

Tobias begged to be excused from the risk, but was reassured by a handwritten covenant from Raguel. He was counseled that Sarah has been cursed, and only strict observance of Scriptural law, clean food, and ceremonial ablution would break the spell and drive out the demons.

Raguel told his wife Edna to prepare a wedding chamber for their daughter and take her into it. "She wept, and she received the tears of her daughter, and said unto her, Be of good comfort, my daughter; the Lord of heaven and earth give thee joy for this thy sorrow... And when they had supped, they brought Tobias in unto her."

Tobias "took the ashes of the perfumes, and put the heart and the liver of the fish thereupon, and made a smoke... which smell when the evil spirit had smelled, he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him."

Tobias spoke to God, "Thou madest Adam, and gavest him Eve his wife for a helper... of them came mankind; thou hast said, It is not good that man should

be alone; let us make unto him an aid like unto himself. Sarah, arise and let us pray, for it is not fitting for us to begin marriage like the heathen who hold God in contempt. And now, O Lord, I take not this my sister for lust, but uprightly: therefore mercifully ordain that we may become aged together. And she said with him, Amen."

Sarah's father suffered doubts that night, and even went so far as to dig a secret grave for Tobias. If they found him dead in the morning, "we may bury him, and no man know of it."

The newlyweds were described as giving the first three nights after their marriage to religious exercise and postponing their wedlock until the fourth, and the success of their efforts was celebrated by two more weeks of celebration.

As the couple were about to depart, loaded with her bountiful dowry, Edna spoke to Tobias, "Grant that I may see thy children of my daughter Sarah before I die, that I may rejoice before the Lord; behold, I commit my daughter unto thee, of special trust; wherefore do not entreat her evil."

A second wedding feast of seven days was hosted by Tobias' father, Tobit, and this became the practice of religious folk throughout the Ages.^{255:19}

The pastor's manual continues:

"Then one may briefly address the bride and groom with the words: 'And now you two young (if they are widow or widower then one leaves out the word young) people if your intentions still remain as you earlier acknowledged, then you may now come forward in the name of God.

"You ____, I will first ask you, do you hope and do you also believe that Almighty God has heard your prayer and has ordained this your sister to be your wife? (Answer, 'Yes!')

"And you ____, do you hope and also believe that Almighty God has heard your prayer and has ordained this your brother to be your husband? (Answer, 'Yes!')

"In turn, both must assent to the following: 'And you ____, do you hope and also believe and do you promise before Almighty God and his church to live with this' your (wife or husband) in love, peace, and unity, as with your God-ordained (wife or husband), as is fitting for a truly believing, pious, and virtuous (husband or wife)? Also with patience to help (her or him) bear the love and sorrow, good days and sorrowful days, as the dear God will send them to you, and not leave (her or him) until death parts you? Do you believe and profess this? (Answer, 'Yes!')

"Then one might add: 'This public and acknowledged confession is good. May the dear God now and henceforth rule your hearts to bless you so that all your walk and activity may serve to his holy, eternal,

praise and glory and to the good and salvation of your souls.

"Then one says: '...I hope and believe God has heard my prayer, and has regarded my hot tears... The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and God of Jacob unite you and bestow his holy blessing rightly upon you and bind you together with true marital love and faith through Jesus Christ, Amen. Now depart in God's name.'"^{277:109}

Outside the pious tradition of their Bible, a wedding custom enjoyed among the plain brethren was called "Throwing the Stocking." When the newly married couple had been tucked into their bed, all the unmarried young people would be let into the room. A stocking was rolled into a ball. The girls lined up at the foot of the bed, facing away from the couple and were each given a turn throwing the balled up stocking backwards, over their shoulder. The first to bonk the bride in the head would be the next to marry.^{256:41}

After Heinrich Bachman died in 1779, the center of gravity for the Baughman family began to shift away from Holman's Creek, and change greatly during the next ten years. Jacob Baughman was named co-executor of his father's will, along with his mother Barbara. Brother Henry Jr. moved to Botetourt County and John sold the remaining pieces of the family plantation to John Glick Jr. and the neighboring Zirkles. Their widowed mother remarried John Glick Sr., bishop of the Mennonite church in the Valley, and moved up to his place on the Back Road.^{241:65}

The elder Glick had arrived from Basel, Switzerland, in the autumn of 1765, and moved to Virginia within three years.^{254:553} By 1772, he had become a leader among the brethren in the Valley, and was described as the *Oudste* or Bishop of the Mennonites there along with "Michil Kaufman and Jakob Struckler" at the Massanutten settlement.^{241:50} The Glick family in Shenandoah County also adopted orphaned children from the Landis family on Mill Creek.^{242:110}

In 1783, Jacob Baughman wanted more than the house and the land he had been using from Dr. Neff's below Deer Head Hill, and bought 235 acres across the road.

On 26 June 1783, the Court Book of Shenandoah County shows that Jacob Baughman was ordered along with Jacob Helsley, Daniel Walters, Thomas Henton "and all the inhabitants on the waters of Stony Creek to the mouth of Cat Hollow to work under Richard Hudson" to improve or build a road "from Boughmans Plantation to Orkney Springs..."^{253:83}

Following the estate settlement for his late father-in-law in July 1784, Jacob inherited the 200-acre homestead next door — where he had been living — from the Neff family. The official entry for Jacob's 235-acre tract was

made on 17 June 1785. At the easy-going pace of early America, it was never surveyed until a year and a half later. On 10 January 1787, Jacob Rinker paced off the boundaries, while Jacob Baughman "was already living on said land." Ulrich Nease and Abraham Baughman assisted Rinker as chain carriers, and Valentine Faber Jr., was present, either as a concerned party or just as a curious neighbor.

In an original patent from Edmund Randolph, Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Jacob Baughman received title to the 235 acres immediately west of John Glick. Chosen as his witnesses were Martin Garber, William Duggan and Philomon Higgins. The land was situated southeast of Deer Head Hill and in the northernmost section of *Der Wald*, where in early days the bountiful number of deer meant that the hunting season never closed.^{261:23}

When the Joining was Broken

SOMETHING POWERFUL HAPPENED TO JACOB Baughman as he approached his 40th birthday. Between 1787 and 1790, with so many important new pieces of his life beginning to fall into place, Jacob disappeared from the Shenandoah Valley.

Several possibilities may be gleaned from the *Ordnung*:

Article XVI on Excommunication or Expulsion from the Church: "We also believe in the ban, or excommunication, a separation or spiritual punishment by the church, for the amendment, and not for the destruction, of offenders; so that what is pure may be separated from that which is impure... and thus remain until his amendment, as an example and warning to others... Regarding the brotherly admonition, as also the instruction of the erring, we are ... to watch over them, and exhort them in all meekness to the amendment of their ways; and in case any should remain obstinate and unconverted, to reprove them as the case may require."

Article XVII on The Shunning of Those Who are Expelled: "... Any one, whether it be through a wicked life or perverse doctrine, ... be shunned and avoided by all the members of the church (particularly by those to whom his misdeeds are known), whether it be in eating or drinking, or other such like social matters. In short, that we are to have nothing to do with him; so that we may not become defiled by intercourse with him, and partakers of his sins; but that he may be made ashamed... and thereby induced to amend his ways. ... Such shunning and reproof may not be conducive to his ruin... For should he be in need, hungry, thirsty, naked, sick or visited by some other affliction, we are in duty bound... to render him aid and assistance, as necessity may

require."

Other insight into the *Ordnung* comes from a letter of 1752:

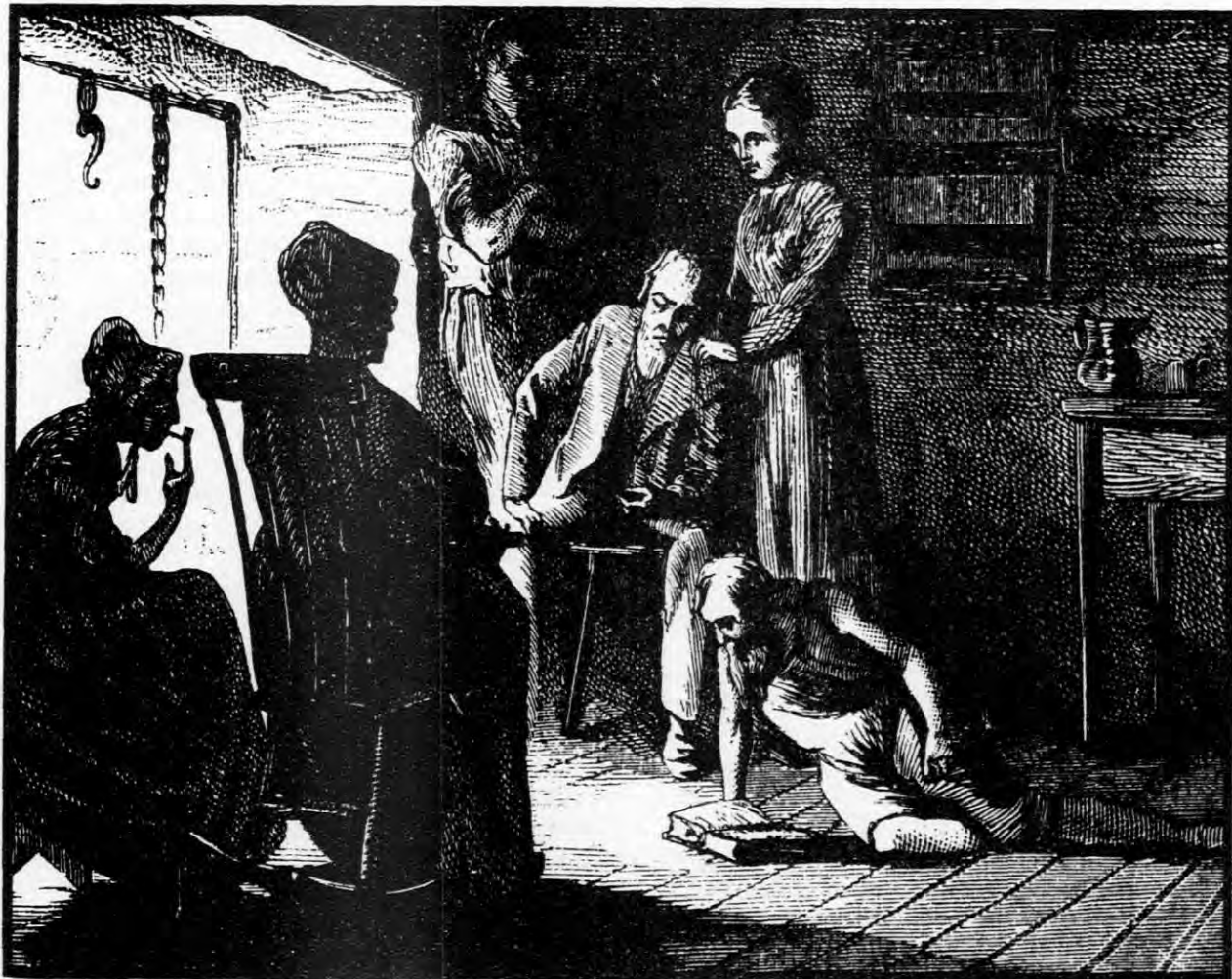
"Married couples who quarrel are to be put out of the congregation; if one partner is penitent and is received back into the brotherhood, but the other will not be converted, but remains in his sins, the former shall for that reason not remain outside the congregation, but shall not marry another so long as the partner lives... When a brother or sister joins or marries a worldly person, but repents and desires to be readmitted into the brotherhood, he shall not be denied acceptance, but only on the condition that he bring the other partner with him; if he cannot do this, he must leave his partner, but provide him with the necessities of life and separate himself for the sake of heaven, and earnestly pray..."^{239:71}

The following account of a Mennonite council meeting follows the traditions of the *Ordnung* that are

centuries old. It took place in the home of one of the elders, a Hershberger, in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. A deacon first read from Matthew 18 on how discipline should be maintained in the church.

"Two members had come to the bishop and admitted that they had transgressed against the commandments of the Bible and the order of the church. They had already confessed their sins to God and now felt the need to do so before the church. A third member had not readily acknowledged his wrongdoing but was admonished by the ministers when he was caught. It was considered essential that members have a right relationship with God and the church before taking communion, lest they partake of the elements unworthily.

"The bishop called the name of a young man. 'It is my understanding that this brother has transgressed against the order of the church by using tobacco. If this is not true, I ask to be corrected.' The young man held his head very low and said nothing. Bishop Eli then



READING ABOUT GRAVE MATTERS BY THE FIRELIGHT

"WE ARE TO HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH HIM; SO THAT WE MAY NOT BECOME DEFILED..."

mentioned the names of a young man and a young woman. 'It is my understanding that these members have been guilty of improper courting practices. If this is not true, I ask to be corrected.' Both reddened but said nothing.

"Bishop Eli had a very burdened look on his face. He cleared his throat and wiped away a tear before proceeding. 'We regret to say that Amos and Susie Schlabach have been disobedient to the church and after being counseled and worked with refuse to comply.' Eli cleared his throat again. 'We have decided that for their spiritual welfare they should be put under the ban, so that they will see the error of their ways and may repent and be restored to the church.'

"There were sobs from several of the members, especially from Susie's sister...

"Eli then told the young man and the young couple to leave the room. He reviewed both cases, then recommended that the young man make a confession of his wrong while seated. He recommended that the young couple make a kneeling confession, since theirs was the more serious offense.

In all such cases of kneeling, it was thought fitting for the bishop to say, "This kneeling is not to be before me, but before the all-highest and all-knowing God and his church."^{277:107}

"Eli asked the other ordained men to express themselves on the matter. All agreed that this was the proper discipline. Then they 'took the voice of the church,' and each member was asked if he or she agreed. Reaching perfect consensus was called *enniger rote*, meaning an 'agreeable voice.'

"Bishop Eli now began to recite from memory the *Ordnung* of the church. These were rules for daily living that the church had drawn up so that members would not stray into the evils of the world. After the rules for all members, Eli recited those that applied specifically to men then those that applied to the women. He asked the other ministers to help him if he forgot anything. With the harmony of the church restored, communion service could be held."^{272:55-56}

The severity of the ban differed from one branch of the Anabaptist faith to another, but often meant that even family members could not speak to the disciplined person, could not directly hand to or receive from them any object, sit together at a meal-time table, and certainly never offer them spiritual comfort. If, of a married couple, one was under the ban, the other had to separate from the offender.^{250:129} The only conversation that the offender might share could be with the church elders that initiated the discipline, and they would only be interested to hear sorrow and a begging for forgiveness.

Meidung or shunning comes from Paul's admonition in I Corinthians 5:11 "not to keep company" and "not to

eat" with an unfaithful member, but rather to "put away from yourselves that wicked person."

If stubborn pride, or conversely, misunderstood innocence, kept a Mennonite from accepting the rightness of his accusers, the only relief might come from turning away from them forever. Numerous hearts were lost to the Mennonites in just his way, or if wider splits left enough kin on each side, whole new churches would break off and move on.

When some Mennonites in the Valley picked up Wesleyan ideas from the traveling Methodist preachers, they became known as River Brethren to their old friends. Although they shared a common Anabaptist heritage, the River Brethren shed some of their earlier pacifist sentiments. For breaking the *Ordnung* on this fundamental point, it was said that some Valley women even refused to come together for a quilting bee, their favorite comfort and oldest tradition.

On 29 March 1791, Jacob wrote a letter granting his power of attorney to his brother Abraham still living in Shenandoah County. Jacob also gave the Deer Head Hill land to his son Henry, although the title was not technically transferred until 11 years later. The letter had been notarized from Greene County, North Carolina, but this was not the same county created in 1799 near the Swiss settlement of New Bern. Beginning in 1783, the Smoky Mountain lands of eastern Tennessee, including the future Sevier County, were claimed by North Carolina as part of a huge Greene County on its western border.^{246:142} It is interesting to note that another branch of the Bachman family had earlier chosen the Carolinas, namely Jacob's Uncle Rudolf who went there from Richterswil in 1739.

Jacob missed the weddings of his two daughters — Ann in 1791 and Barbara's five years later. Court papers establish that by 7 March 1803, Jacob settled in Sevier County, Tennessee.²⁴⁹

The depth of anger that Jacob triggered was proved by the reaction of his step-father, John Glick Sr. The Elder Glick, who was an important leader of the brethren in the Valley, gave instructions on 19 March 1805 that "Jacob Baughman shall have no part of his father and mother's inheritance, but his children which he had by his wife Catherine Neff shall have his share."

If Jacob was banned, it likely demoralized the spirit of other family members as well. Jacob's journey south coincides with the religious fragmentation of his brother's family in Botetourt County. Henry Baughman Jr. saw his neighbors and his own children transform first from Mennonites into Methodists and then once again into Baptists. By 1812, Abraham and a different Jacob Baughman deeded land in Fairfield County, Ohio,

to form a church and what became the Pleasant Run Cemetery. It also had a Baptist affiliation.^{241:120-121}

The Neighbor's Homes

ON THE INSIDES OF ONE PARTICULAR Pennsylvania German log house, according to the description by one early American traveler, Johann David Schöpf, "everything was daubed with red," and they had no desire to imitate the more "gracious living of their English neighbors."^{270:109} The real differences, however, ran much deeper than paint.

In Virginia, it has been theorized that gable chimneys reflect a transition between Germanic style and the years when those folks blended into the English mainstream. Most often, the rural Swiss built central-chimney Germanic farmhouses, but gable chimneys are undeniably present in the old, larger and more prosperous buildings in Swiss villages. The so-called "English" architectural styles were designs already familiar along the Rhine.^{279:104}

According to some scholars, German families that wanted to have a more English looking home were simultaneously dropping their mother tongue.^{245:33} This widely accepted theory may be useful in the broadest sense, but is perhaps imperfectly simple. That many families switched to English ways is supported by the few number of 19th century houses built by German families that held onto the central chimney design. The adoption of "English" houses, however, did not always signal the blending and erasing of culture and language for the Germans. Pockets of the Valley Dutch maintained their identity in all kinds of houses for another two centuries.

Still standing on the John Baughman land that was passed onto Benjamin Layman is a small, very old ancillary house. The Pennsylvania Germans sometimes called this kind of building the "grandfather house" because the widowed elders of a family often turned the main house over to the next generation and retired to a littler cottage.

Sited on a hillside, most of the ground-floor was built of stone, but upper additions were made completely from wood. The earliest features included a huge hearth in the ground level kitchen, a springroom with large stone water troughs and what could have been living quarters above. Because the building was added upon in so many different eras, it is difficult to see what its original configuration might have been. It was not unusual for German families to renovate the original homestead that they had outgrown and put it to other uses: summer-kitchen, springhouse, workshop, distillery or granary.

Examples of stone houses among the Mennonites in the Massanutten date to 1761, long before their German identity was evaporating. Isaac Strickler's stone house there was known as Locust Grove.^{245:38} A stone house was built by Abraham Hiestand in 1790 and became known as Fort Stover.

Hite's children also built homes out of rock, not as their first dwellings in the 1730s and 40s, but as the second homes which reflected their growing prosperity and a need for greater security during the dangerous 1750s. Mary Hite and her husband George Bowman built a limestone house in Long Glade on the west side of Cedar Creek, two miles northeast of the future Strasburg. Known later as Harmony Hall, it is considered by many to be the oldest house in Shenandoah County. Six or seven miles further up Cedar Creek, Elizabeth Hite and Paul Froman built a substantial stone house around 1753 that became known as Fort Froman.

Isaac Hite built a limestone mansion around 1787 that became known as Belle Grove. The plans for its design were drawn by Thomas Jefferson, and Hite's first wife was Nelly Madison, sister of the President James Madison. When the British burned the White House in 1814, President Madison fled to Belle Grove while the Redcoats remained on the Potomac.^{278:449-451}

Fifty years before and just a mile or so north of the Baughman land, the Rinkers built a stone house in the tall, medieval proportions of their Swiss homeland.

The Rinker house was also built above a spring, with a single chimney built within and taking up most of its northwest wall. The first religious service of the neighborhood were said to have been held in this house.

Susanna Bachman Rinker and her boys had settled in the Shenandoah Valley along the Back Road by Stony Creek, receiving a Fairfax survey for 386 acres from Robert Rutherford on 9 January 1764. The elder Rinker saw his son, Jacob Jr., become a lieutenant in the all-German 8th Virginia regiment,^{278:157-158} and for one of his details during the latter years of the war, escort a number of redcoat prisoners along the Valley.

During the Revolution, the British hired many Hessian regiments to fight the colonists. Although these professional mercenaries did not surrender easily, those that were taken prisoner often got sent to the Shenandoah Valley. Past the Blue Ridge Mountains, they were farther away from escape, easier to feed, better understood by their Swiss German "keepers," well-assigned as a duty to pacifist brethren who otherwise refused to help the cause, and able there to harvest food for the good of the Revolution.

According to local stories, a stone house in Augusta County was expertly built by these prisoners of war. Instead of going back to Europe after the defeat at Yorktown, many of these men stayed in Virginia, and

elsewhere in the mid-Atlantic region.^{259:11}

A House of Stone

AS THE 18TH CENTURY WAS COMING TO A CLOSE, Jacob's son Henry Baughman also decided to build a strong and long-lasting house. Random, rough field stones stacked into walls that averaged two feet thick, towering up a full four stories high at the cellar door. From its appearance, Henry may well have sought advice for his design from Abraham Hiestand, or his surveyor, Jacob Rinker, if not actually enlisting some of his neighbors' muscle.

It was the German habit to choose a banked site where the ground slopes downward by the rear and at one gable end, allowing an outside entrance to the cellar either at ground level or by way from inside on a short flight of steps.

Among Germans in Pennsylvania and the Shenandoah Valley, early houses were sometimes called forts. Later observers believed that stone cellars and

their defensive advantages were proof of this fear. In 1827, the Shenandoah County Land Tax Book was still referring to them as "fort."^{245:10}

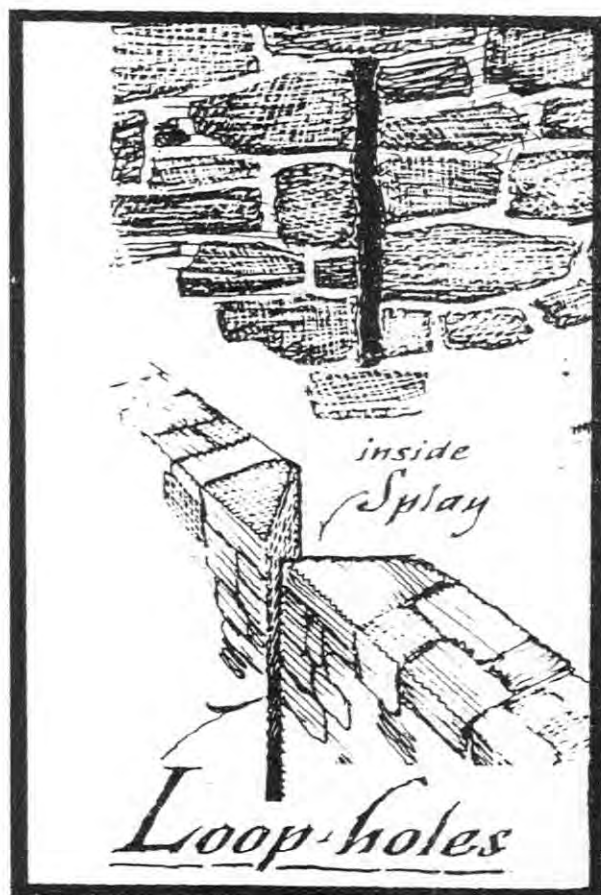
Henry Baughman built his house with four slots facing west and south — with one of these "gunloops" centered just beneath the southern door. No trace remains of a built-up stoop, and it would be hard to imagine a staircase that would not completely block the opening of the slotted loop. The answer lies in the Swiss habit of attaching wide balconies across one side of a house without any thought of using it as an exit to the outdoors. The Dellingers had the same kind of stairless porch facing south at their log house just a few miles up the Back Road.

If an enemy arrived from the western frontier to surround a house and put in under siege, as the French and Indians did to a Henry Baughman at Fort Greenbrier, it was also wise to build the foundation over a spring for drinking water as well as fire control. Henry Baughman built over a spring that fed Crooked Run, the north branch of Mill Creek. Also in the basement walls were small rectangular niches that locally were called "pine holes." Pine knots were burned for light in these spots, which in some cases even had flues connected to the main chimney.

The cellar certainly could be "fortified," but calling it a fort probably gives it more of an air of daily emergency than Henry had in mind, or ever had reason to use it for. If a real defensive strategy was at work, it seems illogical to leave the eastern face of the house without such gunports, even though the walls were just as high and would have easily permitted it. Any clever enemy could have circled around and been able to creep up right next to the walls.

In fact, the loop windows only continued an ancient European tradition in stone work. The openings were named for their resemblance to button loops in a shirt, and these can be found on stone buildings with no military use, as well many Rhineland castles.

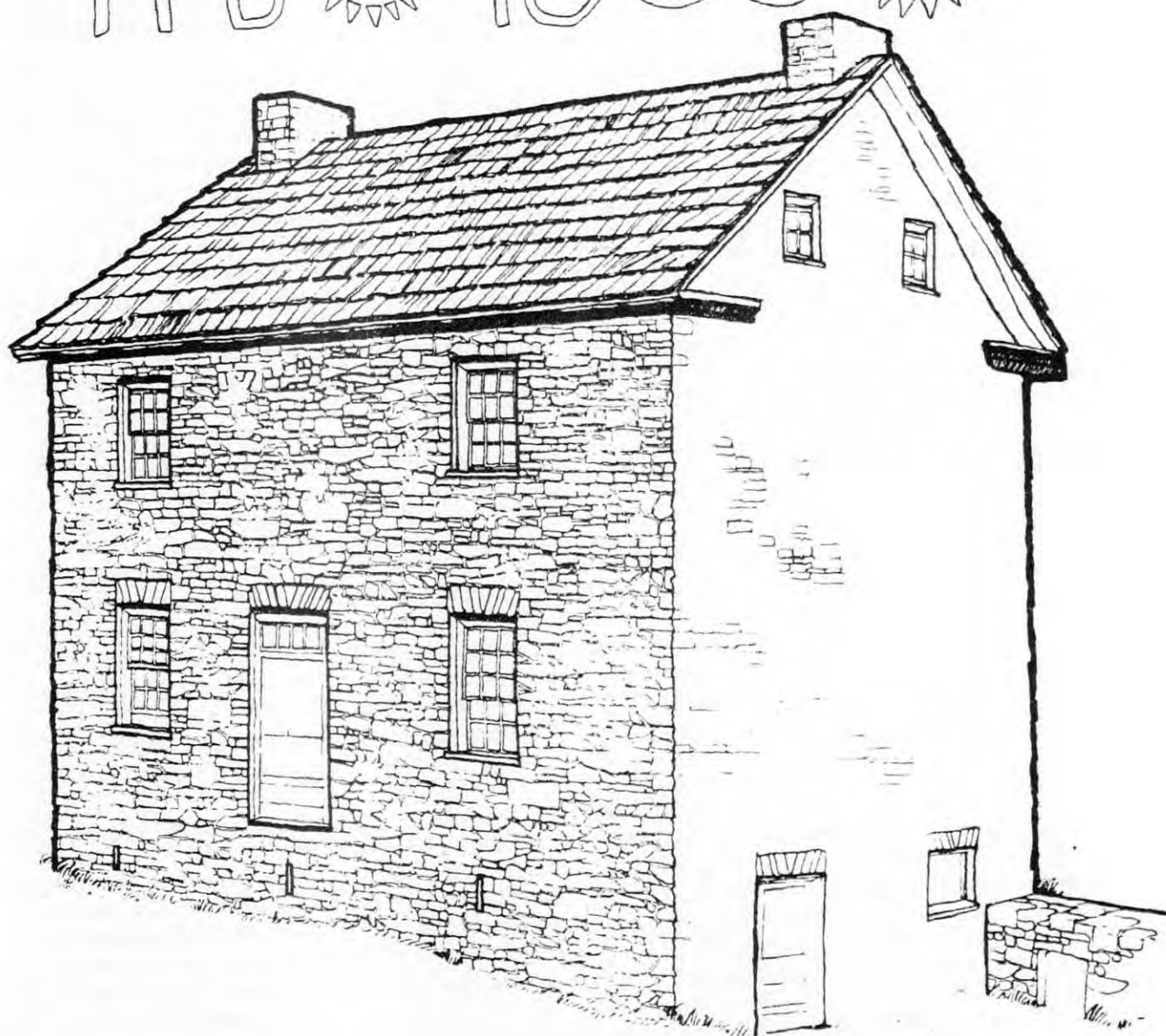
On the stone walls of many barns in Pennsylvania, the same loops are spaced all the way up to the roof, where no one could even stand behind them, much less aim a rifle out of them. Our ancestors relied on these slot windows to provide light and ventilation without admitting rain, without leaking too much heat in wintertime, or allowing animals in or out. The inside splay or bevel was often whitewashed to intensify the light coming through them. This architectural shape also creates an aerodynamic suction upon indoor odors, while allowing a wider view for anyone looking out.²⁷³



LOOP HOLES IN THE STONE WORK
DO NOT A FORTRESS MAKE

In 1937, the Works Progress Administration hired writers across the nation to undertake local histories. Beside the original records in the clerk's office at the

H B 1800



HENRY BAUGHMAN'S HOUSE ON THE BACK ROAD,
HIS INITIALS CARVED IN A STONE ATOP THE CHIMNEY AND A LITTLE BROOK BUBBLING UP THROUGH THE BASEMENT

Shenandoah County courthouse in Woodstock, two local informants, Charles Hepner and Mrs. Jesse Smoot, daughter of Dolora Tisinger, confirmed the following account:

"The Stone House.

"Location: .2 miles from the crossing at Hudson's Cross Roads, Virginia.

"This house is built entirely of large stones, set one on the top of the other, two stories high. The attic is in the form of a triangle.

"The house is the same front and back. The windows are twelve panes, two up over two down. The door in the center has four-pane light across the top. There are two windows in each triangle of the attic, one each side of the chimney, which runs the full length of each end of the house. The roof is of painted tin, put on over the original hewed rafters.

"The fireplace in the kitchen is very large, with a small cupboard on the left side. The entire fireplace is framed in wood panels with marrow wood mantels.

"The doors are six-panel with molding around the facing; long strap hinges reaching the width of the door. The stairways to the rooms and attic are circular with triangular steps at the turn. The doors are boarded up and down with long iron hinges and iron latches.

"The rooms are partitioned off with wide boards, running up and down. The rooms are small. A narrow hall leads upstairs from the kitchen and also to the downstairs rooms.

"Historical Significance: This house was built about 1800, by Henry Baughman, who received the land... from his father in 1802, near the old Indian Fort, the foundation stones of which one can see today on the northern corner of the lot near the road. It was from this house that the last Indian was seen, whoever came to this county. He was shot by one of the men and buried at the foot of Deerhead." ²⁸³

In a report of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Henry Baughman's stone house was described as having "exceptional architectural integrity" and being "unparalleled in Shenandoah County" since the basic structure has remained virtually unchanged — from basement to attic — since the day it was completed. On the inside, "only one section of the first-floor vertical-board partition survives; the second floor partition is intact. Both are of one-inch boards... Its two fine mantelpieces are of some architectural distinction... The basement retains, though in a damaged state, the original spring room, a facility with water that entered directly through one wall of the house from an outside spring, ran through a trough, and exited through the opposite wall... The original spring continues to function."

As "an example of the persistence of Germanic stone

construction methods into the final years of the eighteenth century" the state surveyors concluded that Henry Baughman's house deserves protection under Virginia's Landmark Register as well as from the National Register of Historic Places. ^{262:115}

A first-hand inspection of the Stone House in 1995 revealed some additional facts. The naked eye can barely decipher markings on one stone close to the top of the chimney nearest to the road. With binoculars or the telephoto lens of a camera, the hand carved initials "HB" and the number "1800," set off by two primitive shining suns, can be clearly seen.

The style of these folk art suns, where their circles are defined by the many small triangles shining out from the edge, happen to be identical to a small quilted heirloom pillow passed down through the Baughman family in the Ozarks. Unfortunately, no additional markings from the Baughmans seemed evident on the interior beams or chimney work.

According to architectural historians, the early German-American house has many fundamental distinctions that make it instantly recognizable. Beside those features already mentioned, such as a central chimney and hillside location, the Swiss favored a door that opened directly into the principal room, in contrast to the English habit of building central or symbolic entrance halls. In their small homes, Germans were loathe to use any space indoors as a hallway, preferring that each room open directly into another.

Swiss Germans also cared more about aesthetics of interior design, placing windows at pleasing symmetry within each room, but without any of the English concern for a balanced appearance from the outside. ^{245:7} Interior carpentry was limited to trim around the hearth, baseboards around the floor and occasionally chair rails. ^{245:8} They had a no-nonsense approach to indoor building methods, and made no attempt to disguise them.

For Swiss Germans, cooking was a central event, spiritually and physically, inside their houses. Meals were served to fixed seating arrangement, not only because benches were wall-mounted permanently in the shape of a booth. The patriarch was always to be found at the head of the table, and at his right hand, the eldest son and other males all on the one side, down to hired help at the far end. On the left side bench which was always most convenient to the kitchen door, his wife was by his side, followed by his daughters and maidservants. ^{279:152} In contrast, the English were first to put food, the messiness of its preparation, and their slaves in the very back or completely outside of the house.

The Germans invented clever ways to use every nook and cranny of their houses for storage, including built-in

shelves and ladders up among the rafters. The English were quicker to build extra outbuildings for no other purpose but storage.

An insight into the life of Henry Baughman on the Back Road can be gained from annual Shenandoah County tax lists. In the year 1800, when he completed his stone house, the family was taxed 12 cents for each of their four horses. Henry was the only white male of the household over the age of 16. In contrast to some of his neighbors, Henry had no wheeled carts or slaves, which were also tallied by assessors. Henry occasionally sold or disposed of a horse, so their number, along with his tax bill, would dip. In 1804 for the first time, the household counted two white males over 16 and three horses. The following year's tax climbed to 60 cents for their five horses, but one of these was also sold within the year.

Times were so prosperous for Henry that he bought a lot in a prospective village called Georgetown that was being organized by Joseph Foltz north of Holman's Creek. On 10 January 1803, Henry paid \$11.67 for the half-acre Lot N^o 40 at the corner of Main and Union Streets.²⁵² Although Georgetown prospered in the 19th Century, no trace of a Union Street remained by the end of the 20th Century.

Henry's cousin, Abraham Baughman, stands out in Baughman family history up until that point for having an African-American male over the age of 16 living in the household for three years, between 1809 and 1811. In 1810, when Abraham owned six horses, he was taxed the expected amount plus an additional 44 cents. From 1812 to 1814, no trace of this black man was recorded. Speculation about the nature of this relationship could range from a sheltered runaway to a temporary hiring to an outright slave ownership. Out of an unpublished trove of miscellaneous court and chancery records recently organized in Shenandoah County, another glimpse comes to light:

"Commonwealth [of Virginia] vs. John Holeman (free man of color) for rape of Susanna Baughman. He was arrested in Rockingham Co. On March 10, 1816 at the home of Abraham Bockman in the said County, John Holeman of the County aforesaid did feloniously ravish and carnally know her the said Susanna. CC 1816.06 ND." By 1818, Abraham and his family left Virginia for eastern Ohio.

In September of 1801, Jacob Layman stopped to visit Henry Baughman Jr. and his wife Mary Layman. He was able to serve as their witness when they sold their heavily mortgaged 60-acre farm to John Pitzer.

Jacob Layman undoubtedly told them about his experiences in eastern Tennessee, where he had recently married Nancy, a French woman twenty years his junior,

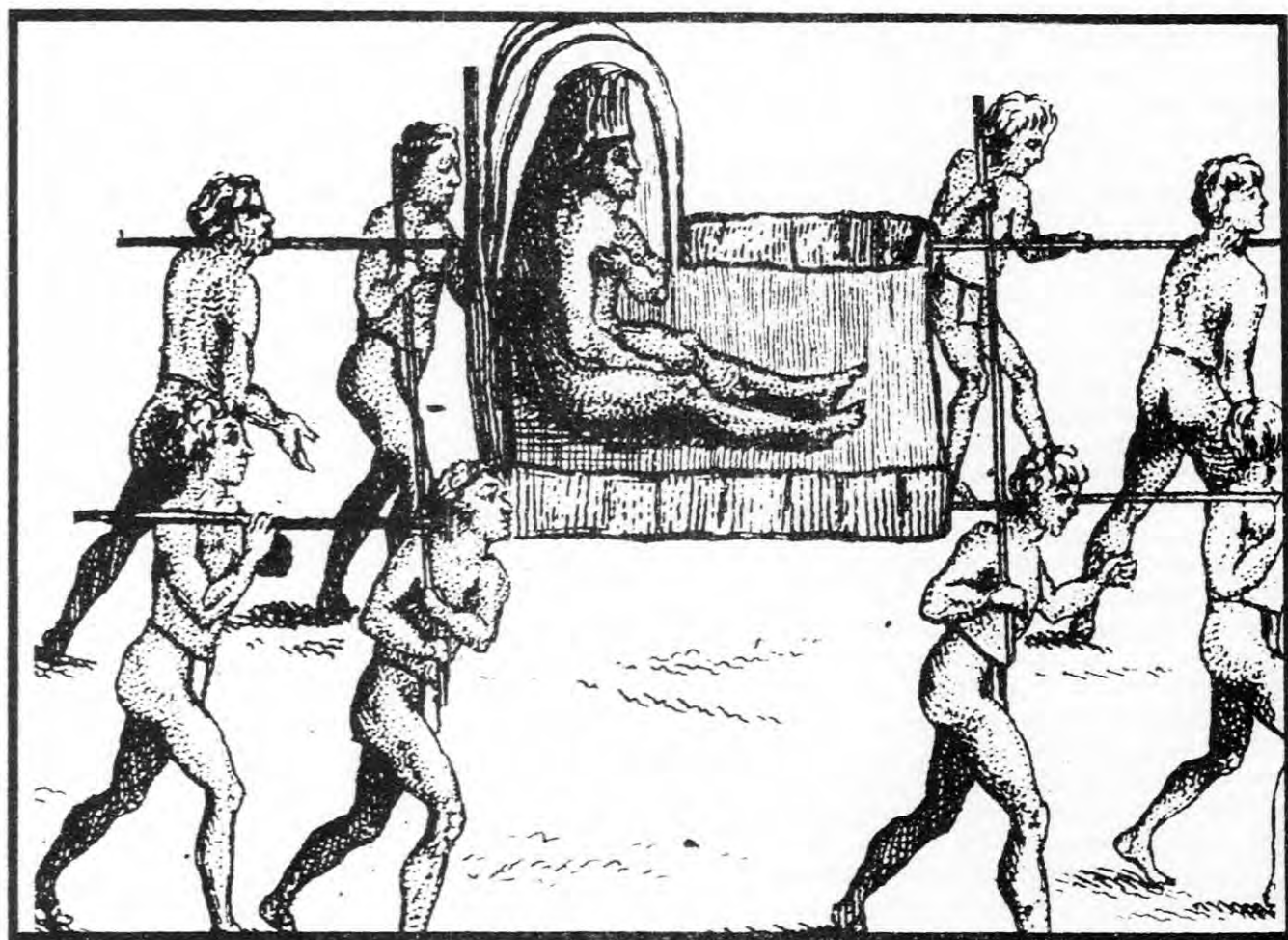
and been appointed to the rank of captain in the Tennessee Militia on 30 July 1800.

Henry's own eldest brother, the wandering Jacob Baughman had also settled in the same corner of Tennessee during the last decade. All this must have made an impression on the dreams of 26-year-old John Baughman, Henry's eldest son, who moved to Sevier County with his bride Dortha five years later. Jacob Layman came along, bought land in the same valley and was inducted into the same Baptist church that John Baughman joined. Another of Benjamin Sr.'s children, Isaac, followed a course of migration that paralleled the Baughmans: Tennessee's Lincoln (1830) and Gibson (1840) counties, and Arkansas' Crawford, Franklin (1860), Polk, Scott and Washington counties.^{260 IV:23}

No records suggest that Catherine Neff Baughman ever remarried. She apparently spent the last 20 years of her life alone and died sometime after 1812, being around 72 years old. Jacob died far away sometime between 1806-1813.

By September of 1813, Henry Baughman and his family had moved on but the courthouse records of Shenandoah County still described the old stone house as a landmark. For the purpose of building another road, workers were instructed to begin at "Hudson's stone house," keeping to the name of the nearby crossroads village that Thomas Hudson owned.²⁷²⁻²⁴⁹ For the next 125 years, many local folks assumed Hudson had built it and that he had been the one who had always owned the land. Shenandoah County historian Linda Dellinger Varney has vowed to set this part of the record straight and in 1997 initiated the registration of the old stone house as a national landmark.

The Baughman name seems to have persisted in the Valley as late as 16 August 1828, when the courthouse at Woodstock recorded a marriage between Mary Wilkins and a Henry Baughman. ■■■



A MISSISSIPPIAN GORGET OF CARVED SHELL DEPICTING A VICTORIOUS WARRIOR, FROM TENNESSEE, CA. 1200 A.D. ;
THE GREAT SUN OF THE MISSISSIPPIAN CULTURE, BORN UP ON THE SHOULDERS OF HIS PEOPLE
DRAWN IN THE 17TH CENTURY BY A FRENCH EXPLORER



EUROPEAN EXPLORERS arriving in the 16th Century kept hearing the same story, whether from the natives they met near the Great Lakes or all the way down in Central America. The Western Hemisphere had already

been visited long ago by white-skinned warriors.^{307:31}

In the writings of Ho-chee-nee, a leading storyteller of the Cherokee Nation, "the Indians thought that the white men who came to their shores were gods descending from the sky or returning from the east. An ancient belief among the Indians was of a superior man with fair hair and white skin who had once lived among them and had taught them many things. They had been deeply grieved when he left, but he had promised to return."^{288:3} As a witness, perhaps, to this legend, the 9,300 year-old skeleton of a Caucasian male recently turned up in the Pacific Northwest beside the Columbia River near Kennewick, Washington.^{300:C13}

According to the oral history of Germanic Vikings, Bjarni Herjolfsson, Thorfinn Karlsefni and Leif Ericson explored North America as early as 986 A.D. and continued to gather timber for their treeless colony on Iceland for the next three centuries. Bjarni had been sailing off the southern tip of Greenland when a storm swept him southward for five days. For tangible proof of how far down the coast he had ever gotten, archaeologists can so far only point to one Viking village on the coast of Newfoundland in Canada.^{305:125} The Vikings renamed the natives of North America as the *Skrælings* and eventually the two people's learned a bit of each other's language.

Thorvald Ericson wished that he could make his permanent home among the Indians, at a spot where three mounds rose upon the sands inside the headland. According to an old Eskimo legend, the peace enjoyed by the Vikings and natives was interrupted when "dreadful pirates came... When we saw them we fled, taking some of the Norwegian women and children with us up the *fjord*, and left the others... When we returned in the autumn hoping to find some people again, we saw to our horror that everything had been carried away, and houses and farms were burned down... We took the women and children back with us and fled far up the *fjord*, and we stayed there in peace and quiet for many years. We married the Norwegian women — there were only five of them with some children — and when we finally

grew to be many, we left there and settled up and down the country."^{305:124}

Tragically, Ericson's men also started a bloody battle with "a countless fleet of skin-boats" filled with the *Skrælings*. Thorvald took an arrow that quickly killed him. His surviving comrades buried him on the spot, insuring the permanence of his final wish.^{305:125}

An intriguing but still controversial rune stone turned up in Minnesota bearing the date 1362. It seems to describe a far deeper penetration of the continent than any other hard evidence, and translates from an ancient Germanic/Swedish dialect called Old Bohuslän to read "8 Goths and 22 Norwegians on discovery-voyage from Vinland over west; we camp by 2 skerries; one day's journey north from this stone we were and fish one day after we came home found 10 men red with blood and dead; A[ve] V[irgo] M[aria] preserve [us] from evil; have 10 men by the sea to look after our ship 14 day's journey from this island..."^{310:23}

German pirates repeatedly raided ships and outposts in Iceland during the early 1400s.^{305:124} In 1440, a Swiss mapmaker from Basel copied the unmistakable coastlines of the northern Atlantic from unknown sources, labeling America as "Vinland," for the forested land of frost less winters, where wheat and grape vines grew wild and plentiful.

Because the rulers of central and southern Europe feared the Norsemen, they took little notice, and had no idea what lay beyond the western horizon until some 52 years later, when Columbus made his voyage.^{299:4}

Beginning in 700 A.D. and flourishing for the next nine centuries, a spectacular Native American Empire sprawled across the Mississippi River and all its tributaries. Its capital Cahokia, a walled city of 100 temples and 10,000 elite leaders, dominated the eastern river bank at present-day Collinsville, Illinois, across from St. Louis. By 1250, another 20,000 people had begun living just outside Cahokia's walls, making it one of the largest urban centers in the world.^{316:32} No other city in America grew as big until the year 1800, when Philadelphia finally rivaled it. In manner and organization, Cahokia shared many traits in common with the Aztec and Mayan Cultures to the south.

Colossal earthen mounds formed their distinctive building method, sometimes in fantastic animal shapes but more often as flattened pyramids or domes. Cahokia's absolute leader, the Great Sun, lived with his family atop a flattened pyramid ten stories tall. Known today as Monks Mound, its earthen base is far larger than

any pyramid in Egypt or Mexico. Common ritual, art motifs, symbols and medicine bonded the Mississippian Culture together, and traces have been found everywhere from the Rio Grande to the Great Lakes and back down to Florida.^{302:41-42} A mythic legend among the Cherokee tells of how diseases and medicine were thought to have originated among the Mississippians:

"At one time the birds, the beasts and the plants could talk. They came together, declaring war on man because he was killing with the bow and arrow without asking permission. First the bear, then the deer, and then the other animals took an oath to avenge themselves. The plants would not take the vow. They declared that they would supply the remedies to heal man — they would not enlist in the cause of death."^{288:167}

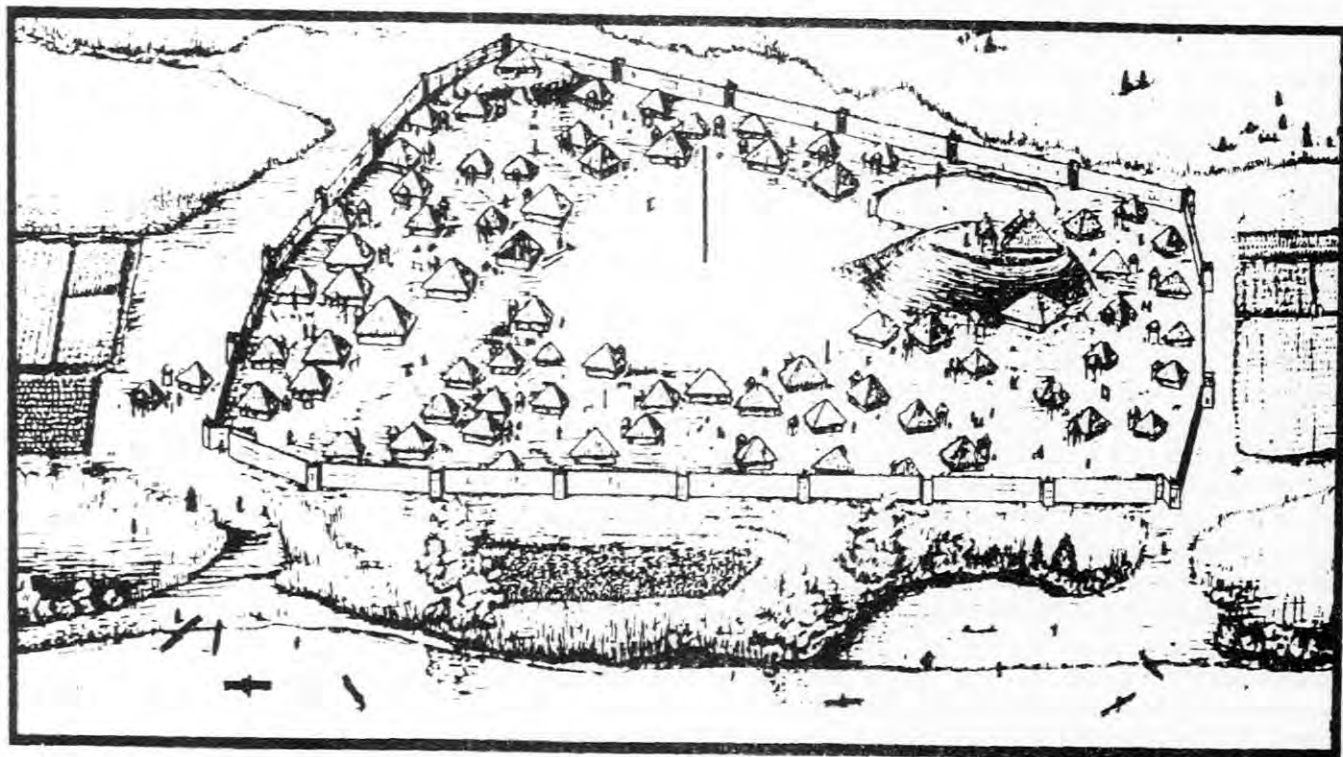
One common belief among the Mississippian Indians was a rite of purification always taken before battle and the Green Corn Ceremony each July. Priests served the "Black Drink," a powerful emetic tea from the plant *Ilex vomitoria*, out of conch-shell cups.^{318:62}

In 950 A.D., evidence of an offshoot culture — the Etowah — appeared in the Appalachian Mountains of southeastern Tennessee and northern Georgia.^{322:31} Within the archaeological stratum of 1350 A.D., plentiful artifacts prove a consistent, characteristic design for the material culture of these proto-Cherokees. These have been gathered under the general label "Lamar,"

named for John Basil Lamar upon whose land in Macon, Georgia, began the systematic study of artifacts during the 1930s.^{322:11} In contrast to their neighbors, the Lamar Indians always seemed to strengthen the lips of their ceramic ware by folding over the top half-inch, and chose distinctive patterns of geometric swirl to stamp into the moist clay before it was hardened.

The earliest evidence suggests that Lamar Culture began in the mountains and took many generations to radiate outward to the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. A site in northern Georgia called "Little Egypt," at the junction of Talking Rock Creek and the Coosawattee River, contains two mounds that match Hernando DeSoto's description in 1540 of the Indian's capital at Coosa.^{322:104} Unfortunately, that site was soon submerged beneath the reservoir project creating Carter Lake.

Other matching sources of Etowah/Lamar/Cherokee Culture center around the Hiwassee River, Etowah and Woodstock on Lake Allatoona, and several other towns on the Upper Coosa and Coosawattee Rivers. The oldest recovered artifacts, with radio carbon dating to 950 A.D., turned up at the Martin Farm along the East Tennessee River.^{322:31-32} Other evidence suggests that villages of the Upper Coosa River were occupied continuously from around 4000 B.C. until 1550 A.D.^{322:106} After allowances were added in for crossing mountains or water, the site of each village was chosen to equalize the travel time



A 16TH CENTURY MOUND VILLAGE IN THE COOSA REGION OF CHEROKEE COUNTRY
INTERPRETED FROM RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

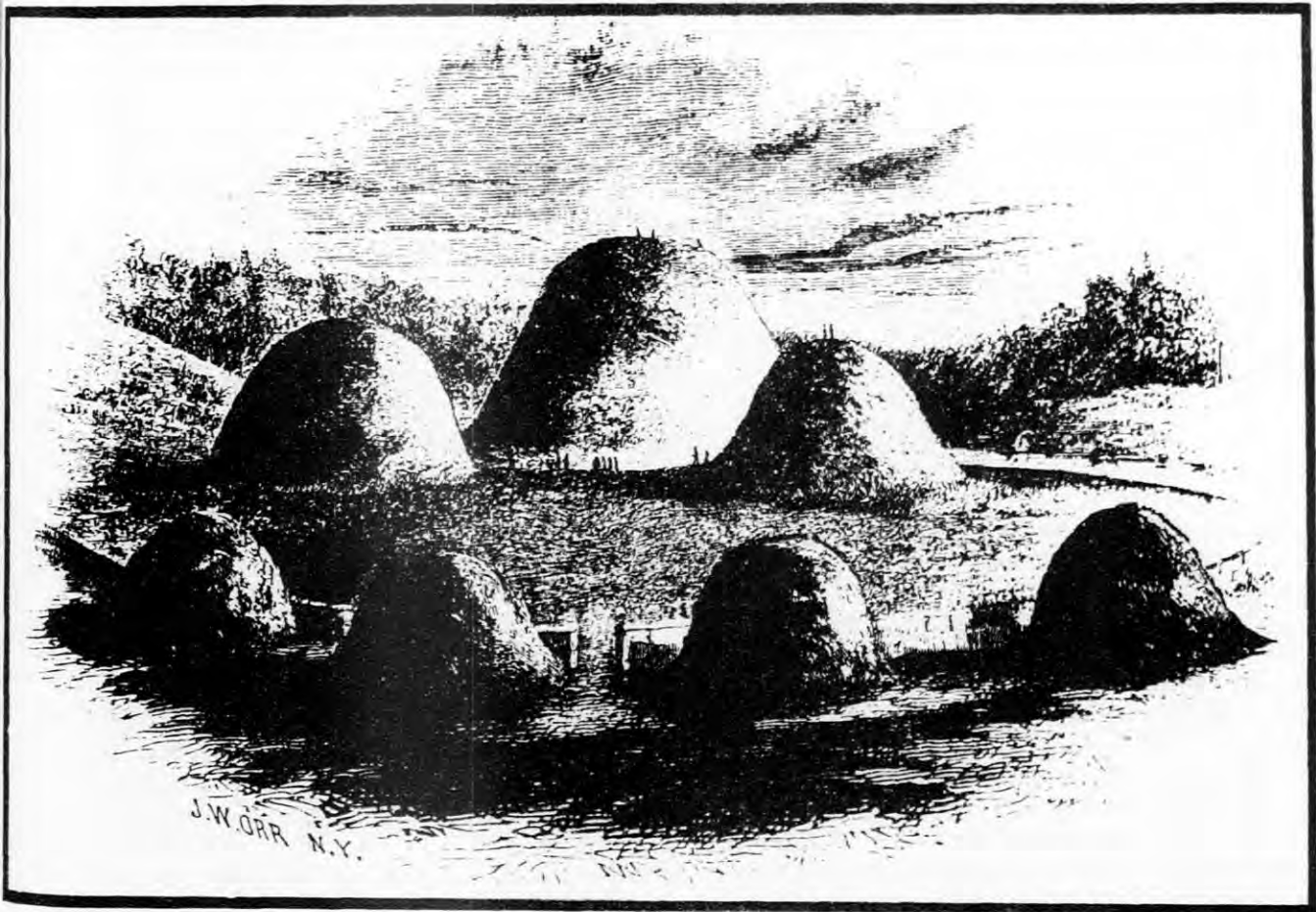
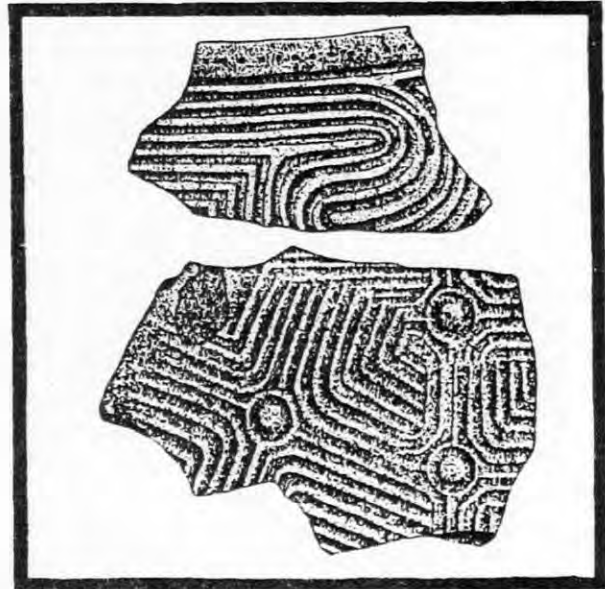
between them. Running from Carter Lake to the west, the settlements have been named by archaeologists as Swancy, Poarch, Thompson, Baxter, Brown and the Mouth of the Coosawattee.^{322:111}

The Lamar/Cherokee built their houses in rows perpendicular to the river, each row being 300 feet in width and running side-by-side for 1,200 feet. It is unclear whether every town kept palisaded walls surrounding their community.

Each cabin took a square shape, with corner-post construction and four interior support poles spaced in from the corners. Coming off from these poles, perpendicular dividers turned the floor plan into a "tic-tac-toe" grid of nine unequal rectangles. A hearth and public area took the larger center square, and the smaller corner squares were used for storage. An entryway took up the eastern wall, but a bench or bed was centered on the other three. Just outside the entrance, they kept a second spot for building fires and a small shed for food processing, storage and cooking.

The most remarkable feature of each Lamar house was that it also doubled as the family cemetery. In a

tradition that persisted among the Cherokee for several more centuries, "the body was carefully prepared and



INCISED DESIGN ON FRAGMENTS OF LAMAR /CHEROKEE POTTERY;
THE DESERTED REMAINS OF A MISSISSIPPIAN MOUND VILLAGE IN 19TH CENTURY GEORGIA

then dressed in its ceremonial garments for that long last sleep. The face of the deceased was painted in the old symbolic ways. A medicine man performed the sacred rites. While chanting prayers for the departed, he sprinkled sacred cornmeal, called the Mother, over the body (the cornmeal was used like the holy water of Christian churches). Then, lightly brushing the body's face and hands with a ceremonial eagle feather, he transferred the touch to each member of the family, 'for remembrance.'

The traditional arrow was shot to the place where the sun goes to sleep, symbolizing the spirit taking flight into that unknown, faraway place beyond the sky, there happily to await its loved ones from the earth. The body was wrapped in soft blankets, and a large animal skin was laced around it.^{288:120}

They dug holes in the floor inside their homes, and children were usually buried on the western side immediately beneath the edge of the bed. Adults tended to be closer to the walls, with women along the north and south, and the men along the west.^{322:125-129}

This tradition also helps to explain the mounds. Upon the death of a chief, his house was razed to the ground, the chief was buried on the spot and then a thick layer of dirt was added above him. The next chief's house was built on top of this, and after many generations, the height of a mound reflected the longevity and stature of the tribe's family tree.

At nearby Etowah, the principle mound stood six stories high, with its flattened top measuring a full acre. Over many generations, an estimated one million baskets of earth were piled up to make it.^{318:61} The mounds became a symbol of group identity, a monument, the center of their towns, the residence of the leader and their most important cemetery.^{322:226}

When DeSoto first arrived at Coosa, the ruthless Spanish explorer was impressed by the sight of the 26-year-old principal chief sitting on a pallet, born upon the shoulders of his people. His retinue was formed by a thousand leading men wearing shiny decorations of copper, pearl, polished shell and great feathered headdresses.^{302:148}

"There were seven little hamlets in its district," according to a member of Tristan DeLuna's expedition in 1560. "Five of them smaller and two larger than Coza itself, which name prevailed for the fame it had enjoyed in antiquity."^{322:112}

A significant gap coincides with the aftershocks of De Soto's visit and continued through a great part of the 17th Century. Some of their dead during the 16th Century were buried with artifacts of European contact: blown-glass beads, brass bells, copper and iron tools, the brass tip of a crossbow bolt and in one case a partial sword blade.^{322:110} The Europeans also gave them epidemics of

disease, as is born out by mass and multiple burials at many of the sites.^{322:115}

1818

Across the Mississippi

FULLY 20 YEARS BEFORE THE U.S. GOVERNMENT expelled Cherokees wholesale from the Smoky Mountains, "six or seven thousand of the tribe did move to the Arkansas, under the guidance of a chief by the name of Jo-lee," related the early American painter and explorer George Catlin.^{309:319}

Chief John Jolly had lived on Hiwassee Island, where the creek of that name enters the Tennessee River.^{308:222} The island became a refuge to a runaway white boy, whom Jolly took in to his home and raised like a son.

The boy grew up to be Sam Houston, and in 1818 he became a federal agent for Indian affairs, a job negotiated for him by Jolly and Andrew Jackson. Houston's job was to foster a desire among Cherokees to move west.^{294:150} Eventually, Jolly's own niece, Talihina, married Houston, her friend since childhood.^{308:223} Between the start of his political career in Tennessee and his future in Texas, Houston was officially adopted by the tribe and became their emissary in Washington. His letter of appointment from Chief Jolly described Houston as a man "beloved by all my people" and whose "path is not crooked."^{284:82}

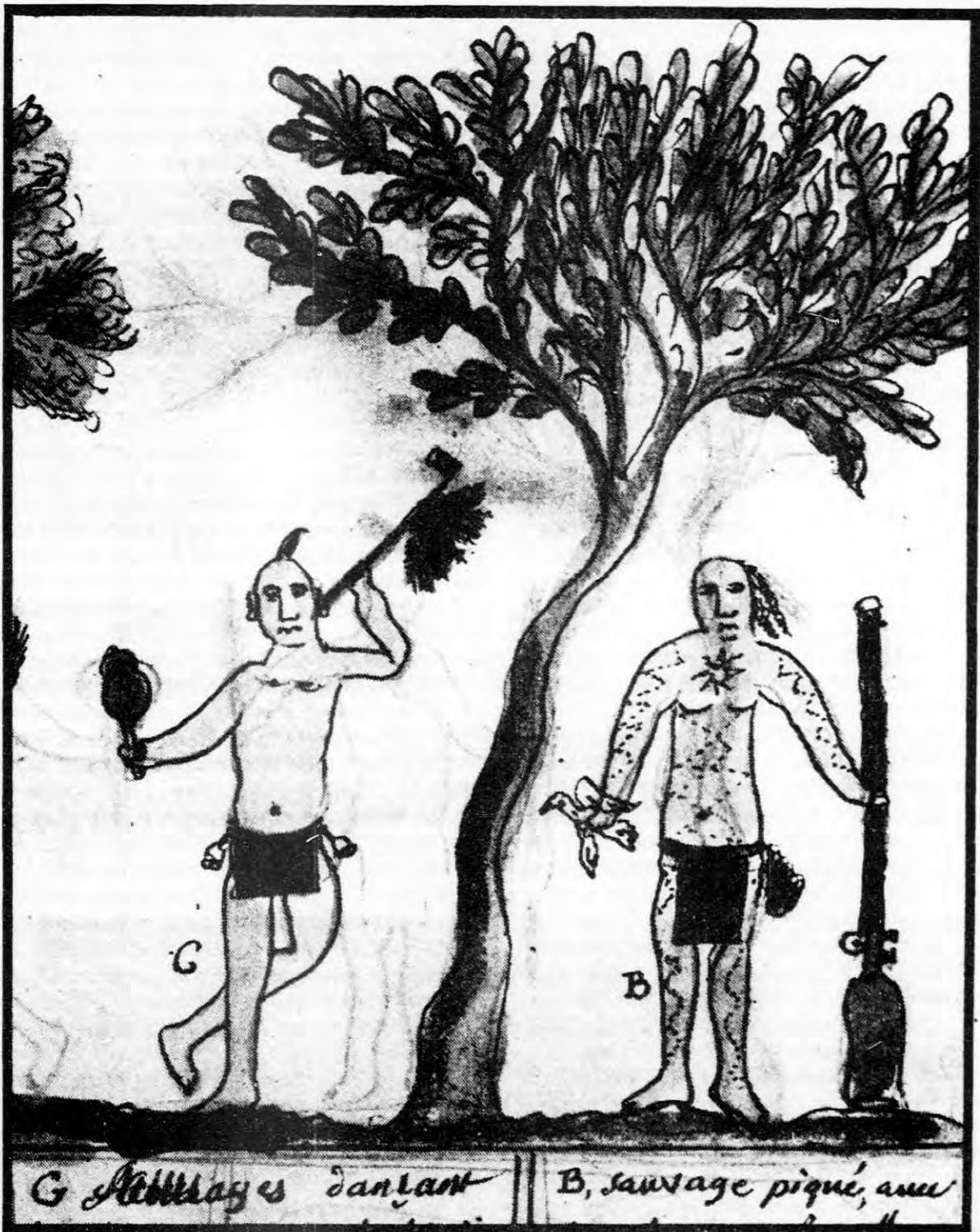
Chief Jolly joined with three other powerful chiefs — his brother Taluntuskee, Black Fox and The Glass — and drafted a message to the White House in Washington:

"Tell our Great Father, the President, that our game has disappeared, and we wish to follow it to the West. We are his friends, and we hope he will grant our petition, which is to remove our people towards the setting sun. But we shall give up a fine country, fertile in soil, abounding in watercourses, and well adapted for the residence of white people. For all this we must have a good price."^{294:80}

Other Cherokees, led by Chief Ridge, disagreed severely:

"I scorn this movement of a few men to unsettle the nation and trifle with our attachment to the land of our forefathers! Look abroad over the face of this country — along the rivers, the creeks, and their branches, and you will behold the dwellings of the people who repose in content and security... I, for one, abandon my respect for the will of a chief, and regard only the will of thousands of our people."

Jolly and the others who were willing to leave were expelled from the council in disgrace.^{294:81} Censure such



THE OLDEST KNOWN DRAWING OF THE INDIANS IN ARKANSAS
FROM THE 1747 MEMOIR OF THE FRENCH EXPLORER DUMONT DIT MONTIGNY

as this hardly dampened their urge to leave.

The Suttons of Ooltewah Creek came from the same part of east Tennessee, being just 20 miles south of John Jolly, and were also part of the conservative hunter society. Compared to their cousins in the Smoky Mountains, the so-called "Old Settler" Cherokee lived at lower elevations along the Tennessee River Valley, known as the "Lower Towns". Another of the famed warriors from among the Old Settler Cherokee was a chief named Tahchee, known to the Whites as "Dutch."

294:49

Even though Ridge claimed to honor tradition and the Cherokee ancestral homelands, the Tennessee River conservatives hated how missionary schools and eastern influence had begun to transform their people in Georgia for the worse. They felt that the best of Cherokee culture could only be saved by remaining apart from the rapidly changing world.

Some Cherokee began to explore west of the Mississippi shortly after their nation's ill-begotten alliance with the English during the Revolutionary War. To escape the jurisdiction of the new United States government, a Cherokee chief named Bowles fled to the St. Francis River Valley into what would soon become part of the Louisiana Purchase.^{284:8}

An "Arkansas Territory" was created by Congress in 1819 and white settlers had already begun to enter the Ozarks. The tribal leadership of the Cherokee sounded the alarm in Washington, reminding them with a written commitment from President James Monroe that the Cherokee would "have no limits to the west" and "not be surrounded by white people." Secretary of War John C. Calhoun acknowledged the Cherokee's right to a closed tract of land, but sent out surveyors to establish a western boundary. Monroe's "no limits to the west" instantly turned into 3,285,710 acres of "mountainous, broken and barren" land, and Whites were perfectly free to settle beyond that new border.^{284:58}

John Sutton, the son of a white trader and Betsey, a full-blooded Cherokee, joined Jolly's group migration through the Ozarks — long before the Trail of Tears. By 1819, the Suttons settled beside Marble Creek, next door to where the Baughmans, their future in-laws, moved a decade later in present-day Iron County, Missouri.

Along the Arkansas frontier some 18 years later, Catlin took special note of the Cherokees, who were still looked upon as newcomers. A great Indian council at Fort Gibson "gave the semi-civilized sons of the forest a fair opportunity of shaking hands with their... untamed red brethren... The vain orations of the half-polished Cherokees... with all their finery and art, found their match in the brief and jarring gutturals of the wild, naked Indians of the West."^{309:300}

1818

An Early Tour of the White River

HENRY ROWE SCHOOLCRAFT (1793-1864) HAD NO desire to resettle in the Ozarks, but along with Levi Pettibone, a fellow New Yorker and traveling companion, Schoolcraft took off with a single pack-horse on one of the earliest expeditions west of Mississippi where sightseeing was the sole objective.³¹⁵

The adventure began on 5 November 1818 at Potosi, the seat of Washington County, Missouri, southwest of St. Louis, and made a three-month loop to Springfield and back. Due north of the future site of Yellville, where the Little North Fork joins the White River, Schoolcraft found a cabin on the opposite river bank. The first individual encountered by Schoolcraft seems to have been James McGarrah.

"Monday, Dec. 7th

"A white hunter, by the name of M'Gary... told us we were 800 miles above the junction of White River with the Mississippi; that the river was navigable with keel-boats all the way; that there were several settlements along its banks, the river bottoms being very rich; and that traders sometimes came up with large canoes to that place... He represented our journey toward the head of the White River as extremely hazardous, on account of the Osage Indians, whose hunting grounds embraced the whole region in which this river, and its upper tributaries, originate, and who never failed to rob white hunters, and travelers who were so unfortunate as to fall in their way, and sometimes carried them into captivity.

"He related the particulars of a robbery they had some time before committed upon him in the very house we were then sitting, when they took away horses, clothes, and such other articles about the house as they took a fancy to. They had visited him in this way twice, and very recently had stolen eight beaver traps, with all his furs, from a neighbouring hunter, and detained him a considerable time a prisoner in their camp. Numerous other instances were related, all tending to prove that the Osage Indians felt hostile to the white settlements along that river...

"All this was new to us... we considered [the United States government] bound to protect them in the lawful and peaceable enjoyment of their liberty and property while living within the territories of the United States, and that if proper representations were made to the Indian agent at St. Louis, redress could undoubtedly be obtained...

"He also informed us that a deadly and deep-rooted hostility existed between the Cherokees, who had lately exchanged their lands in Tennessee for the country lying

between the Arkansaw and Red River, and the Osages, and that they were daily committing depredations upon the territories and properties of each other. Having but a short time before witnessed the conclusion of a treaty of peace between these two tribes, made at St. Louis under the auspices of Governor Clark, I was surprised to hear of the continuance of hostilities. To prove what reliance is to be placed on the faith of such treaties, he mentioned, that when the Cherokees returned from the council which concluded that treaty, they pursued a party of Osages near the banks of White River, and stole, unperceived, twenty horses, and carried them safely off..."

The Cherokees traded not only aggravation but occasionally bloodshed with the Osage. In October 1817, the Battle of Claremore Mound, near Fort Gibson, Arkansas, left 80 of the Osage dead and over 100 prisoners taken away by the Cherokee.²⁸⁴⁻¹² Half of the group led by Chief Jolly were concentrated around Fort Gibson, but the rest had scattered throughout the Ozarks.³⁰⁹⁻¹³⁷

"Tuesday, Dec. 8th

"On offering to pay our entertainer for victuals and lodging, he refused to take any thing, and perceiving we had no meat to take with us, took me to his smoke-house, and drawing his knife, put it into my hand, then opened the door, and told me to go in and cut what I wanted. I did so. It was well filled with dried buffalo's beef, and bear's meat, both smoked and fresh..."

The following section of land was later settled by — and widely known as — the Jake Nave Bend of the White River. The name Nave is a common Americanization for the old Swiss Naf or Neff family. Fifty years later, this spot was the home of Peter W. Baughman, between Lead Hill and Diamond City. The trail also led past the future site of another Baughman home by Protem. Schoolcraft's host was Lem "Buck" Coker, patriarch of the Boone County, Arkansas, Coker clan.³¹⁵⁻¹⁵²

"Wednesday, Dec. 9th

"The path we are pursuing became so feint and indefinite, that we were unable to follow it more than a mile from our encampment, but taking the general course of the river, forced our way through the thick cane and brier which over-run the rich alluvial banks of the river... At a distance of seven miles we came unexpectedly into a small opening in the midst of one of the most gloomy thickets of cane... we found a family who had two weeks before emigrated from the lower parts of White River. They had brought their furniture and effects, such as it was, partly in a canoe up the river, and partly on pack-

horses through the woods.

"Nothing could present a more striking picture of the hardships encountered by the back wood's settler, than this poor, friendless, and forlorn family. The woman and her little children were a touching group of human distress, and in contemplating their forlorn situation we for a while forgot our own deprivations and fatigues..."

"These people subsist partly by agriculture, and partly by hunting. They raise corn for bread, and for feeding their horses... No cabbages, beets, onions, potatoes, turnips, or other garden vegetables, are raised. Gardens are unknown. In manners, morals, customs, dress, contempt of labour and hospitality, the state of society is not essentially different from that which exists among the savages..."

"Hunting is the principal, the most honourable, and the most profitable employment. To excel in the chase procures fame, and a man's reputation is measured by his skill as a marksman, his agility and strength, his boldness and dexterity in killing game, and his patient endurance and contempt of the hardships of the hunter's life. They are, consequently, a hardy, brave, independent people, rude in appearance, frank and generous, travel without baggage, and can subsist any where in the woods, and would form the most efficient military corps in frontier warfare which can possibly exist. Already trained, they require no discipline, inured to danger, and perfect in the use of the rifle.

"Their habitation are not always permanent, having little which is valuable, or loved, to rivet their affections to any one spot; and nothing which is venerated, but what they can carry with them; they frequently change residence, traveling where game is more abundant. Vast quantities of beaver, otter, raccoon, deer and bear-skins are annually caught. These skins are carefully collected and preserved during the summer and fall, and taken down the river in canoes, to the mouth of the Great North Fork of the White River, or to the mouth of Black River, where traders regularly come up with large boats to receive them. They also take down some wild honey, bear's bacon, and buffalo-beef, and receive in return, salt, iron-pots, axes, blankets, knives, rifles and other articles of first importance in their mode of life.

"We were received by Mr. Coker with that frankness and blunt hospitality which are characteristic of the hunter. Our approach to the house was, as usual, announced by the barking of dogs, whose incessant yells plainly told us, that all who approached that domain, of which they were the natural guardians, and whether moving upon two or upon four legs, were considered as enemies... Dried skins, stretched out with small rods, and hung up to dry on trees and poles around the house, served to give the scene the most novel appearance... At every hunter's cabin...great pride is taken in the display,

the number and size of the bear-skins serving as a credential of the hunter's skill and prowess... ^{315:60-64}

"Justice... is here obtained in a summary way. Two hunters having a dispute respecting a horse, which one had been instrumental in stealing from the other, the person aggrieved meeting the other, some days afterwards, in the woods, shot him through the body. He immediately fled, keeping in the woods for several weeks, when the neighbouring hunters, aroused by so glaring an outrage assembled and set out in quest of him. Being an expert woodsman, he eluded them for some time, but at last they got a glimpse of him as he passed through a thicket, and one of the party fired upon him. The ball passed through his shoulders, but did not kill him. This event happened a few days before our arrival, but I know not how it has terminated. In all probability several lives will be lost before a pacification takes place, as both parties have their friends, and all are hot for revenge." ^{315:70}

Schoolcraft continued on to the Beaver Creek settlement in present-day Taney County, Missouri, to the homes of William Holt and James Fisher, one mile above the mouth of the creek. The rock formations noted by Schoolcraft are today known as Johnson's Bluff. ^{315:153}

"Sunday, Dec. 13th

"We are now at the last hunter-settlement on the river, which is, also, the most remote boundary to which the white hunter has penetrated in a south-west direction from the Mississippi River... It consists of two families, Holt and Fisher by name, who have located themselves here within the last four months. They have not yet cleared any land for corn, nor finished their houses, notwithstanding the advanced season. They have fixed the site of their habitations on the east banks of the river, on a very large and rich tract of bottom land... The opposite bank of the river is a perpendicular bluff of lime-stone rock, rising at the water's edge to a height of 300 feet... over which it casts its broad shadow by half-past three in the afternoon, which must render it a cool and delightful residence in summer. The bold and imposing effect of this scene is much heightened by beholding two natural pyramids, or towers of rock, ascending with a surprising regularity from the highest wall of the bluff, to a height of fifty or sixty feet..." ^{315:67}

Holt agreed to guide Schoolcraft further into the wilderness, but only after another week-long errand was attended to first.

"Thursday, Dec. 24th

"The hunter... is nevertheless a slave to his dog, the only object around him to which he appears really

devoted. His horse, cow, and hogs, if he have any, living upon vegetable food, can subsist themselves in the woods; but the dog requires animal food, which he cannot himself alone procure, and to furnish which occupies no inconsiderable portion of the hunter's time. It is no easy task to provide a pack of hungry dogs, from six to twelve, the usual number owned by every hunter, with meat... A very high value is set upon a good dog by the hunter... We have been told of a hunter, who lately exchanged a cow for a dog, but this is considered extraordinary even here.

"The leg bones of the buffalo [are appreciated] for the sake of the marrow they contain, which they told us is considered a great delicacy, intending it as a treat to us. These bones are boiled in water to cook the marrow and then cracked with an axe, and the marrow taken out. The quantity is immense. It is eaten while hot, with salt, and with the appetites we now possess, and which are voracious, we have eaten it with a high relish." ^{315:72}

"Friday, Dec. 25th

"Christmas-day. Employed in splitting oak-boards, &c. At our suggestion, the hunters went out to kill some turkeys, as we wished one for a Christmas-dinner, and after an absence of a couple of hours, returned with fourteen. I prevailed on Mrs. H. to undertake a turkey-pie with Indian meal crust, which we partook of under a shady tree on the banks of the river, the weather being warm and pleasant."

"Sunday, Dec. 27th

"The Sabbath is not known by any cessation of the usual avocations of the hunter in this region. To him all days are equally unhallowed, and the first and the last day of the week find him alike sunk in unconcerned sloth, and stupid ignorance. He neither thinks for himself, nor reads the thoughts of others, and if he ever acknowledges his dependence upon the Supreme Being, it must be in that silent awe produced by the furious tempest, when the earth trembles with concussive thunders, and lightning shatters the oaks around his cottage, that cottage which certainly never echoed the voice of human prayer..." ^{315:73}

"Some years ago, [Mr. Holt] occasionally attended a Methodist-meeting and thought it a very good thing, but had found as many rogues there as any where else, and on account of a particular act of dishonesty in one of the members of the church, had determined never to go again, and had since thought there was no great use in religion; that a man might be as good without going to church as with it, and that it seemed to him to be a useless expense to be paying preachers for telling us a string of falsehoods, &c. He said, that itinerant preachers sometimes visited the lower parts of White

River, and had penetrated within 300 miles of the place where we then sat, but had not found much encouragement.

"Schools are also unknown; and no species of learning cultivated. Children are wholly ignorant of the knowledge of books, and have not learned even the rudiments of their own tongue. Thus situated, without moral restraint, brought up in the uncontrolled indulgence of every passion and without a regard of religion, the state of society among the rising generation in this region is truly deplorable. In their childish disputes, boys frequently stab each other with knives, two instances of which have occurred since our residence here. No correction was administered in either case, the act being rather looked upon as a promising trait of character.

"They begin to assert their independence as soon as they can walk, and by the time they reach the age of fourteen, have completely learned the use of the rifle, the arts of trapping beaver and otter, killing the bear, deer, and buffalo, and dressing skins and making mockasons and leather clothes. They are then accomplished in all customary things, and are, therefore, capable of supporting themselves and a family, and accordingly enter into marriage early in life.

"The women are observed to have few children, and of those, being deprived of the benefit of medical aid, an unusual number die in their infancy. This is probably owing wholly to adventitious causes... a similar circumstance in savage life, the female being frequently exposed to the inclemency of the weather, always to unusual hardships and fatigues, doing in many instances the man's work, living in camps on the wet ground, without shoes, &c. Mrs. H. tells me, she has not lived in a cabin which had a floor to it for several years; that during that time they have changed their abode several times, and that she has lost four children, who all died before they reached their second year...

"The girls are brought up with little care... being deprived of all the advantages of dress possessed by our fair country-women in the east, they are by no means calculated to inspire admiration, but on the contrary disgust; their whole wardrobe, until the age of twelve, consisting of one greasy buckskin frock, which is renewed whenever worn out." ^{315:74}

Schoolcraft left the White River Valley and continued on through the arrival of the New Year to tour lead mines on the James River south of present-day Springfield. Heading home by early January, he retraced his path to the Beaver Creek settlement.

"Tuesday, Jan. 5th [1819]

"The deer, which is very abundant, was frequently in

view, and we sometimes startled droves of twenty or thirty at a time. Being suddenly aroused, no animal surpasses the deer in fleetness... They will bound twenty feet a leap... This I have afterwards measured.

"The deer, however, has a fatal curiosity, which prompts it, after running five or six hundred yards, to turn around and look back upon its pursuer, and it is at this moment that he is killed. For the hunter, on starting a deer, immediately pursues with all his speed after it, without regarding the noise made among the bushes and upon the earth; for a similar disturbance, excited by the deer itself, prevents it from distinguishing that of its pursuer, and whenever it stops to turn around, at that instant also the hunter is still, and if within shooting distance, say one hundred yards, he fires; but if not, he endeavors to creep up, by skulking behind bushes and trees. If, in this attempt, he is discovered, and the deer takes the alarm, he again follows in the pursuit, assured that it will, in running a certain distance, again turn round and stand still to see whether it is pursued. This fatal curiosity is the cause of so many of these animals being killed...

"The white hunters of this region, (and I am informed it is the same with the Indians,) are passionately fond of wild honey, and whenever a tree containing it is found, it is the custom to assemble around it, and feast, even to a surfeit... We had no bread [but] they ate prodigiously. Each stood with a long comb of honey, elevated with both hands, in front of the mouth, and at every bite... the exterior muscles of the throat and face were swelled by their incessant exertions to force down the unmasticated lumps of honey... The dog also received his share as the partner and sharer of the fatigues, dangers, and enjoyments of the chase... The honey then left was tied up in a wet deer-skin, which communicates no taint; and, appended to the saddle of one of the horses, carried along." ^{315:86}

"Wednesday, Jan 6th

"When seated around his cabin-fire, the old hunter excites the wonder of his credulous children, gathered into a groupe, to listen to the recital of his youthful deeds, and thus creates in their breasts a desire to follow the same pursuits, and to excel in those hunting exploits which command the universal applause of their companions..." ^{315:89}

Schoolcraft's final host in the upper White River Valley fits the description of Solomon Yocum, who was descended from the German family Joachim. ^{315:156}

"Saturday, Jan 9th

"The men, women, and children, followed us down to the shore, and after giving us many direction and

precautions, and repeating their wishes for our success, we bid them adieu, and shoving our canoe into the stream, found ourselves, with a little exertion of paddles, flowing at the rate of from three to four miles per hour down one of the most beautiful and enchanting rivers which discharge their waters into the Mississippi. To a width and a depth which entitles it to be classed as a river of the third magnitude in western America, it unites a current which possesses the purity of crystal... every pebble, rock, fish... on the bottom of the stream is seen while passing over it with the most perfect accuracy; and our canoe often seemed as if suspended in air, such is the remarkable transparency of the water.

"Sometimes the river for many miles washed the base of a wall of calcareous rock, rising to an enormous height... in the fissures of which the oak and cedar had forced their crooked roots, and hung in a threatening posture above us... Deer and buffaloe, where they daily came down to drink, were numerous all along the shore..."

"As night overtook us... [we stopped at] a hunter's cabin, which we found in the occupation of a person of the name of Yochem, [and] were invited at supper, as a particular mark of respect, to partake of a roasted beaver's tail. I was highly gratified... The tail of this

animal... is covered with a thick scaly skin, resembling in texture certain fish, and in shape... the bow of a lady's corset, tapering a little toward the end, and pyramidal on the lateral edges... By roasting... the skin peels off, and it is eaten simply with salt. It has a mellow, luscious taste, melting in the mouth somewhat like marrow... [or] a boiled perch... The way in which hunters eat it, [there is] a slight disagreeable smell of oil. Could this be removed by some culinary process, it would undoubtedly be received on the table of the epicure with great *eclat*."

315:97

When Schoolcraft's *Journal of a Tour into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas...* was published in 1821 in London, it was the earliest printed report on life along the White River. The subtitle added in an 1853 edition promised *Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine Region of the Ozark Mountains...* ^{315:x}

1828

A Civilized Nation

MORE THAN ANY OTHER GROUP OF NATIVE Americans, the Cherokee living in the "Upper Towns" of northwestern Georgia tried to adjust to the European culture which was overwhelming the continent. One proof of this can be found on the pages of the weekly newspaper they began to publish in 1828.

Some of the earliest issues promised that the "*Cherokee Phoenix* will be filled, partly with English, and partly with Cherokee print; and all matter which is of common interest will be given in both languages in parallel columns... Account of the manners and customs of the Cherokees, and their progress in Education, Religion and the arts of civilized life... calculated to promote Literature..." ^{320:4-5}

The *Phoenix* deserves more than a footnote in the histories of journalism and America. It was among the very first bilingual newspapers published in the United States; the foremost example of the first written language ever invented by a single individual; the first printed language of a Native American people and as well their first newspaper; and the only newspaper ever officially banned in the same country where Freedom of the Press was enshrined in its Bill of Rights. ³²⁰

By 1835, the Georgia State Militia had threatened the printers and any other Whites who championed the *Phoenix*. The next and even blunter step was to confiscate the Cherokees' printing press, take it away from New Echota and dump it down a well. Kuh-le-gannah, the nephew of Chief Ridge, but better known as the *Phoenix*'s founder Elias Boudinott, may have been the first American newspaper editor ever lynched.



CHIEF GU' WISGUWL' OF THE CHEROKEE
KNOWN TO THE WHITES AS JOHN ROSS

From out of their first year in print, this 45th issue appeared with the dateline Wednesday, 21 January 1829. The weekly paper's front page was largely taken up with the initiatives of their highest chief, Gu' Wisguwī', known to the English as John Ross, and the laws passed by the Cherokee Nation's legislature.

"Resolved by the Committee and Council, in General Council convened, That if any person or persons shall commit the crime of willful murder, such person or persons on being thereof convicted, shall suffer death.

"Sec. 2. Be it further Resolved, That a respite of five days shall be allowed to the criminal after sentence of death shall be passed, before he shall be executed.

During the respite, the sheriff shall be bound to keep a safe guard over the criminal; and should any person or persons make an attempt to rescue him, he or they shall be fined each two hundred dollars, and receive one hundred lashes on the bare back; and should the officer or any of the guard kill any person making an attempt to rescue the criminal he shall not be held accountable for the same.

"Sec. 3. Be it further Resolved, That if any person or

persons shall kill another in self defence, or by accident, without any previous intent to do the same, he, she or they shall be exempted from any punishment whatever.

"Sec. 4. Be it further Resolved, That any person, who assaults another, with intent to commit murder, rape, or robbery, shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in such a sum as shall be assessed against him, or her, by the verdict of a jury, not exceeding fifty dollars, and be subject to such corporal punishment, as the jury may inflict, not exceeding fifty stripes on the bare back.

New Echota, Nov. 10th 1828

LEWIS ROSS, Pres't Com.


Concur'd — GOING SNAKE, Speaker

Approv'd — JNO. ROSS

"Mr. William Horn has been compelled to close his School for want of sufficient number of scholars. He has taught two months. On last Friday evening we attended and heard a number of his Scholars exercised in parsing, and repeating the English Grammar, who had received instruction, according to a new plan, in the short time of twenty four evenings. For the time they were engaged in learning it, we thought some of them did remarkably

GWY

CHEROKEE



JdAUO-A.

PHOENIX.

W. BODDINOTT, Editor.
NEW ECHOTA, WEDNESDAY JANUARY 21, 1829.
VOL. 1.—NO. 45.

PRINTED WEEKLY BY
JNO. F. WHEELER,
FOR THE CHEROKEE NATION.

At \$0.50 if paid in advance, \$1 in six months, or \$1.50 if paid at the end of the year.

To subscribers who do not read only the Cherokee language the price will be \$1.00 in advance, or \$1.50 to be paid within the year.

Every subscription will be considered as continued unless subscribers give notice to the contrary before the commencement of a new year.

Any person possessing the subscription, and becoming responsible for the payment, shall receive a seventh gratis.

Advertisements will be inserted at seven cents per square for the first insertion, and thirty cents and a half cents for each subsequent insertion, longer ones by special contract.

EPICAN letters addressed to the Editor, and paid, will receive due attention.

ADVERTISING RATES.
SQUARES OF TYPE—
FIRST INSERTION \$1.00
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AGENTS FOR THE CHEROKEE PHOENIX.
The following persons are authorized to

case agreeably to law, unless the said debtor shall secure to the creditor the debt by giving bond with sufficient security.

New Echota, Nov. 24 1828.
LEWIS ROSS, Pres't Com.
Concur'd, GOING SNAKE, Sp'kr's Com.
Approv'd, JNO. ROSS.

Resolved by the Committee and Council, in General Council convened, That so much of the law passed 30th Oct. 1828, providing for the appointment of "One circuit Judge to have jurisdiction over two Districts, to associate with the District Judges, &c. be and the same is hereby repealed.

Sec. 2. Be it further Resolved, That so much of the law passed providing that the Cherokee Nation be organized and held in Districts, as gives the time that each shall hold their respective circuits, or courts, be and the same is hereby also repealed.

Sec. 3. Be it further Resolved, That the Cherokee Nation shall be laid out into circuit Districts. The first circuit shall be composed of Cowassee, Highwater, Hickory Log and Talqoochee Districts; the second circuit shall be composed of Micochee, Ahicochee, Chickasaw and Chattooga Districts, and the time of holding the courts in each District shall be as follows, viz:

FIRST CIRCUIT SPRING TERM.
1st Monday in May, at Cowassee.

That it shall be the duty of the clerk of the several circuit courts to take down, in writing, the evidences in all cases brought before, and decided on by, the circuit courts, and when an appeal is taken to the Supreme court, those evidences, together with the Bills of declaration, shall be sealed up and transmitted through the sheriffs to the clerk of the Supreme court, and each document shall be marked and transcribed on the outside, stating the case to which it relates, and it shall be the duty of the clerk of the Supreme court to preserve these documents with great care, and to lay them before the Judges of the Supreme court at their next session, and they shall not be opened until the parties shall be ready to take up the case to which they relate.

Sec. 7. Be it further Resolved, That it shall be the duty of the sheriffs to require from the clerks of the circuit courts of their respective Districts, all documents of appealed cases, and to deliver the same to the clerk of the Supreme court.

Sec. 8. Be it further Resolved, That the circuit court shall sit all the days at each term, provided there shall be any business to occupy their attention that length of time; and that the circuit Judges shall have the power to grant a new trial in cases where a decision in their courts shall be made contrary to law and evidence.

Sec. 9. Be it further Resolved,

INDIANS.
THE DOG RIB INDIANS.
From Jackson's account of a visit to the Four Seas.

The first man, they said, was, according to the tradition of their tribe, named Chaponee. He found the world well stocked with food, and he created children, to whom he gave two kinds of food, the black and the white, but forbade them to eat the black. Having thus secured his command for the guidance of his family, he took leave of them for a time, and made a long excursion for the purpose of conducting the sun to the world. During this, his first absence, his children were obedient, and ate only the white fruit, but they consumed it all; the consequence was, that when he returned, he found himself obliged to bring the moon, and they longed for fruit, they forgot the orders of their father, and ate of the black, which was the kind remaining. He was much displeased on his return, and told them that in future the earth would produce bad fruits, and that they would be tormented by sickness and death—pestilences which have attached to his descendants to the present day. Chaponee himself lived so long that his throat was worn out, and he could no longer enjoy life; but he was unable to die, said, at his own request, one of his people drove a heavier tooth into his head.

will be best understood, and that a number of animals up to the time to see much the sun, by cutting the moon; and the intense heat of that luminary reduced them all to ashes. The objects of the moon at five animals being thus frustrated, a ground mole, though such travelling and awkward beast, succeeded, by burrowing under the mud in the sky, until it reached and cut asunder the snare which bound the sun. It lost its eyes, however, the very instant it thrust its head into the light, and its nose and teeth have ever since been broken; so if buried—Chaponee's island, during these transactions, increased to the size of the present American Continent, and he traced the course of the rivers, and scraped out the lakes, by drawing his fingers through the earth. He next allotted to the quadrupeds, birds and fishes, their different stations, and endowing them with certain capacities, he told them that they were in future to provide for their own safety, because man would destroy them whenever he found their tracks; but to con sole them, he said, that when they died they should be like seed of grass, which, when thrown into the water, springs again into life. The animals objected to this arrangement, and said, let us, when we die, be as a stone which, when thrown into the lake, disappears forever from the sight of man. Chaponee's family complained of the cruelty of death inflicted upon them for eating the black

well. For expedition, we consider Mr. Horn's plan superior to the common method. Mr. Horn intends to go from here to Huntsville, Alabama. We recommend him as a man of steady and moral habits.

"A woman in High Tower was a few weeks since dreadfully burnt. Her clothes caught fire while in a state of intoxication and the greater part of them were consumed before they could be extinguished. Her



THE CIVILIZING OF THE CHEROKEE
THEIR MANNER OF DRESS IN 1760 COMPARED TO A PORTRAIT IN 1820 OF CHIEF DUTCH BY GEORGE CATLIN

recovery was considered hopeless. Another victim to intemperance.

"A circumstance lately happened in Chikamauga District, a full account of which is related in a Cherokee letter published in another part of our paper. It appears that three persons went in quest of squirrels with bows and arrows. While they were in pursuit of one, a boy of about nine years of age was accidentally shot. The arrow, after being shot into the air, in its descent struck the top of his head, and penetrated his skull three inches. The boy survived but three days and died. Arrows are now very seldom used by the Cherokees. It is not recollected that a similar accident ever happened when they were more common."

"MIRABILE DICTU!!!

"On an evening not long since, I set out, and after riding a few miles, I arrived at a place, selected for an Indian dance. This was not only a new, but a curious scene to me, as it was the first I had seen. At my arrival, I saw a number of the natives of both sexes, gathered around two large fires, which they had built a few paces from the dancing ground. It was now not long till one of an elderly appearance, gave a short address to the surrounding company; the intention of which I could not easily guess; but having an interpreter at hand, I learnt that it was the manager giving the orders of procedure.

"Immediately after which, a lighted torch was placed in the center of the dancing ground, & aroused by this they all followed their leader, singing and dancing, as they marched in a kind of circus.

"They also had a peculiar kind of music, made by a parcel of small gravels being put into some terrapin shells, which some of the females wore on their legs. These, it may be relied upon, made no little racket. I could not, however, help noticing a parcel of kegs which were collected together not far from one of the fires, over which a watchman was placed to prohibit them from intoxication, until after the dance; when I expected there would be general welcome to the kegs. But during the little while I stayed, I was no little surprised to see so much order preserved. Another circumstance, however, equally drew my attention, which was a number of the aged, who were unable to partake in the dance, sitting round, and looking on, with as much concern, as if it had been a matter of the utmost importance. That a part of the human family, who are equally interested in the blood of a Saviour, should be given to a savage life, whilst another is enjoying the comforts of religion and pleasures of refinement, is, to a reflecting mind, a matter of no small interest. Is it not a pity, that so many may yet be found, in this enlightened day, & that too in a land of boasted liberty, who have not even been taught the first

principles of morality? 'O that my head were waters and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night,' for the savage children of the forest!

"But perhaps it may be asked, why I should be found at a place of this description? To this I would answer that it was not mere curiosity, nor was it to partake of their vices; but a desire to obtain a knowledge of the manners and customs, of those unfortunate children of nature. For what purpose did the traveler visit the famous idol of Juggernaut, and that too when thousands of pilgrims were offering up their sacrifices. Was it to partake of their crimes by paying adorations to that idol also? Or was it to obtain some useful information, by which future generations might be profited? I presume the latter was his chief object.

— VIGIL

"'VIGIL' might reasonably entertain one cheering consideration, and that is, the gradual diminution of such practices as described by him in his communication. If he had visited this Nation *thirty years ago*, and witnessed the practices of the inhabitants in their full extent, his tears would have flowed more freely, and the consideration of their wretchedness would have been without a redeeming thought. At that period the Cherokees resided in villages, in each of which was a "Townhouse," the head quarter of frivolity. Here were assembled almost every night (we are told, we speak from hearsay for we were born under an era of reformation,) men and women, old and young, to dance their *bear dance*, *buffalo dance*, *eagle dance*, *green-corn dance* &c. &c. &c. and when the day appeared, instead of going to their farms, and labouring for the support of their families, the young and middle aged of the males were seen to leave their houses, their faces fantastically painted, and their heads decorated with feathers, and step off with a merry whoop, which indicated that they were *real men*, to a ball play, or a meeting of similar nature. Such in a word was the life of a Cherokee in those days during spring & summer seasons. In the fall and winter seasons they were gone to follow the chase, which occupation enabled them to purchase of the traders a few articles of clothing, sufficient to last perhaps until the next hunting time. From the soil they derived a scanty supply of corn, barely enough to furnish them with *Gah-no-ha-nah* [mush-bread] and this was obtained by the labor of women and grey headed men, for custom would have it that it was disgraceful for a young man to be seen with a hoe in his hand, except on particular occasions.

"In those days of ignorance and heathenism, prejudices against the customs of the whites were inveterate, so much so that white men, who came among the Cherokees, had to throw away their costume and adopt the *leggings*. In a moral and intellectual point of

view the scenery was dark & gloomy, nevertheless it has not been impenetrable. The introduction of light and intelligence has struck a mortal blow to the superstitious practices of the Cherokees, and by the aid of that light, a new order of things is introduced, and it is to be hoped will now eradicate the vestiges of older days."

"TO HOUSE BUILDERS

"Sealed proposals will be received at my office in Cossewaytee, until the first day of February, for the building of a COURT HOUSE at New Echota, of the following description.

"The House to be framed, twenty four feet by twenty in dimensions, two stories high, lower story ten feet, and the upper story nine feet high, shingled roof of yellow poplar shingles, one stair case, one door on each side of the house with plain batten shutters, two fifteen light windows in each side of the house above and below, also two windows in the end, in the lower story, where the

Judge's bench is to be erected. The weather boarding of the house is to be rough, but jointed; the floors are likewise to be rough. The lower floor to be of square joint, but the upper floor tongued and grooved. The platform for the Judge's bench is to be three feet high, eight feet long, and three feet wide, and banistered, steps at each end, with a seat the whole length of the platform. There are also to be half a dozen dressed pine benches of ten or twelve feet long. The foundation of the house is to be of good rock or brick, and raised two feet above the ground.

"The person or persons contracting for the above mentioned building are required to furnish lumber, nails, glass, hinges, locks and other necessary articles. The lowest bidder is to have the contract, who will be required to give bond and good security for the faithful execution of the work in a workman-like manner, to be completed by the second Monday in October 1829.

JOHN MARTIN

Treasurer of the Cherokee Nation"



SHOUTS OF THE REDEEMED
AT REVIVALS THAT WERE "THRILLING IN THE EXTREME"

1829

Habits of Living Alone

DEACON JOHN BAUGHMAN SOUGHT AND GOT THE blessing of his fellow Baptists in eastern Tennessee before moving his family to Missouri. But elsewhere across the South in 1829, only one out of twelve people attended church devoutly. In April 1833, with the 24-member Bethany Church of the Baptist Order not even four years old, Deacon Baughman pushed through the resolution that no interaction or correspondence should be taken with the roving missionaries. Instead, they built a chapel on Meeting House Hill beside Brewer's Creek and withdrew into it.³¹⁷⁻⁹⁵

Another Baptist born in the mountains of frontier Virginia was a contemporary of and shared many of the religious views of Deacon Baughman. Daniel Parker became converted in 1802, moving shortly thereafter to eastern Tennessee. Parker became a preacher and by 1820 became convinced that the Baptist Board of Missions was his "greatest enemy in human form."³¹³⁻¹⁴

After a disappointing tour of Protestant churches around East Tennessee, Jeremiah Evarts reported back in his roll as secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The southern mountain Baptists, so unlike Evarts' fellow New Englanders, "seldom associate or confer together for any common purpose; and they get into such habits of living alone, that it seems almost impossible to impart to them... principles of social conduct..."³²³⁻⁵¹⁸ Neighboring

Methodists greatly resented the missionary report that the whole region was "in a state of moral degradation..."
323-519

Antagonism between the missionaries and the Hardshell primitive Baptists revealed a deep-seated class struggle against the wealthy of both North and South. The plantation aristocracy hardly ever demonstrated genuine concern for uplifting the downtrodden, but rather, they preferred to make others do things their way. The mountain Baptists saw these newly arrived, Bible-toting Eastern outsiders as no different.

Many missionaries were northerners by birth or adopted alliance, on top of being highly educated Whigs or crusaders against gambling and slavery. Plain mountain folk had little regard for the plight of slaves or their tormenters, believing that all humanity would have to endure God's wrath in the Final Judgement.
323-524
 Hardshell fundamentalists were Jacksonian Democrats and believed in self-discipline, autonomy and austere primitivism.
323-503

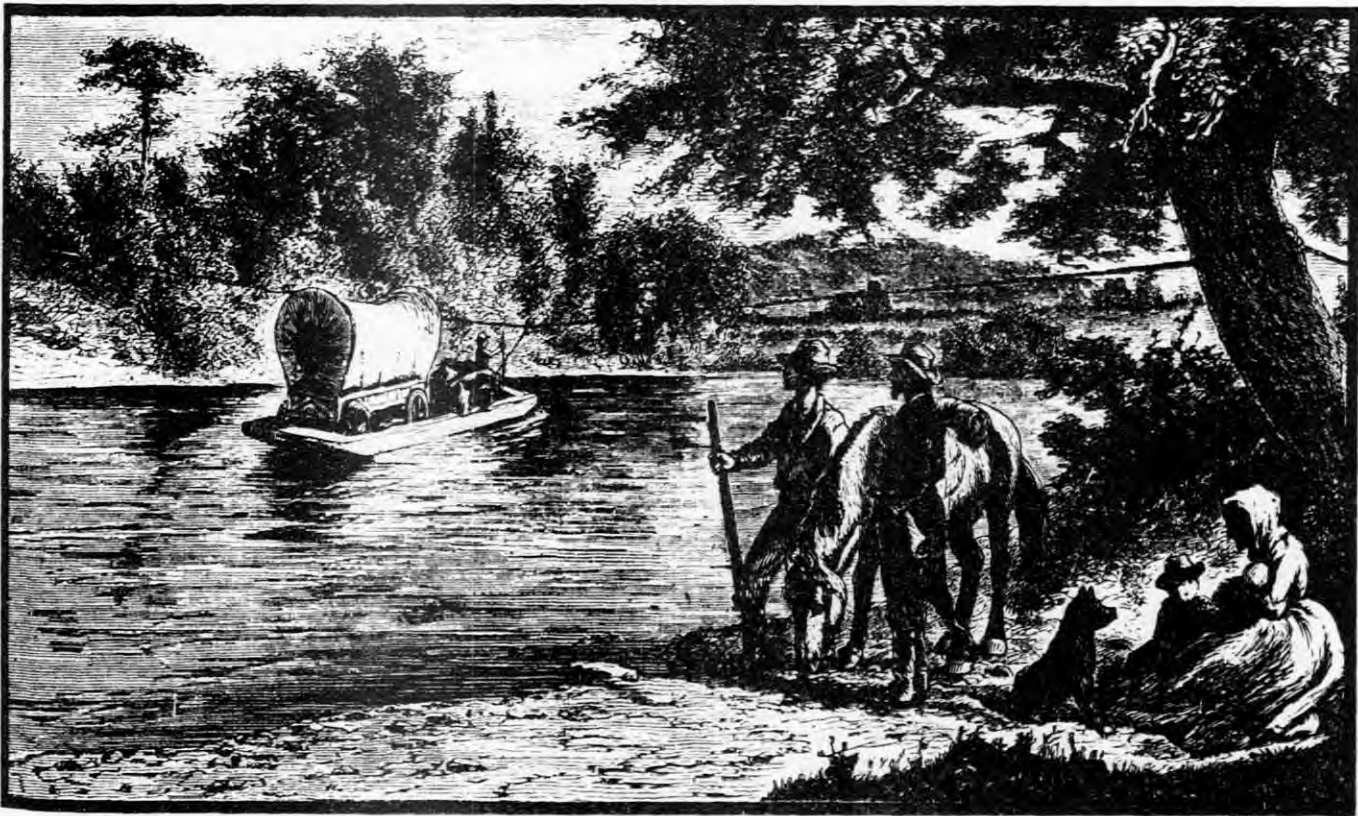
The real money which supported missions came from prosperous city congregations. The Baptist Tract Society of Philadelphia received only one dollar in 1831 from the 40,000 Baptists of Kentucky, and the balance of the budget came from the Atlantic seaboard states.
323-507

The toughest criticism of the traveling evangelists came from the mountains of Tennessee and Arkansas. Evangelism required long meetings, stiff tithes, stiff collars, social refinement and conformity, along with church discipline on alcohol and other vices.

"Christ drank wine, but men are supposed to refrain?" wondered a southern Baptist attending a district church conference. Many pious frontier folk quit the East expressly to flee coercion and "decadent influences" from Europe.

Pastor Parker argued that only a personal calling from God should send a person out to a life of preaching. When Christ dispatched his disciples to the four corners of the earth, argued Parker, money was never mentioned, much less that wealth should be siphoned off the people and funneled back to some far-away leadership.

"They rob God of his glory and make merchandise of the gospel," wrote Parker in 1820. Protestant seminaries presumed to add to Christ's instruction and made the same mistake as Rome by training armies of young men expressly as fundraisers.
313-16-39
 Good works intended to impress God or improve on His abilities seemed pathetic and feeble to Hardshell Baptists. They disliked the notion that large donations of money guaranteed the wealthy a special seat in Heaven.



FORDING THE RIVER
 WITH A SKIFF, ROPE AND PLENTY OF ELBOW GREASE

At the age of 28, James Leander Scott was assigned to be a Baptist missionary to the western territories of Missouri and Kansas. As he left his Richburg, New York, home in 1842, revivalism was sweeping the American frontier.

According to his journal, Scott felt apprehensive at first but soon touched off religious "wildfires" where "the shouts of the redeemed and groans of the convicted" were "thrilling in the extreme." ³⁰⁶⁻⁹⁵

"Jan. 26th For many miles [the road] was one continued Causeway... which is made by throwing trunks of trees into a marsh and leaving them to settle there. This material is used where the swamps are extremely bad. The jolts, as the carriage fell from log to log, were uncomfortable in the extreme. If in high water any of the logs get washed out of their place, the team first plunge into the mire up to their mid-side, and then flounce for the logway again, when the carriage is drawn into the marsh, well nigh burying the forward wheels... Out we must get, and wading through the mud, raise the wheels until they will roll on the logs again, and then we trudge on." ³⁰⁶⁻⁹⁷

"March 8. Passed through Springfield [Illinois]. [Here] we hailed the macadamized road with much joy. The toll on the road is very high, but clergymen are free.

"Ready to try our skill in recrossing the river... we succeeded in getting the family across, then with much difficulty swam the horses. A few days after, we took the carriage over in a skiff.

"Proceeded to an embankment upon the brink of the river... built to guard the bottom land below from the bursting flood in high water. We came to an ancient mound there, in which were human skeletons, very closely compact, and standing erect. The mound was some sixty feet in diameter, of ordinary height. In it was also found flowered earthenware, of modern style.

"The river, in washing away its banks, had exposed many skeletons which had been buried about four feet beneath the surface. They lay horizontally with head[s] eastward. They were of a Giant size, and the skull very round and extremely thick. The company, although boisterous in the morning, was now softened. With this vision of bones, they were willing to listen to remarks about the resurrection of the dead. After this day's exercise, they resolved to attend the meetings, and were all, I believe, converted... I had the inestimable privilege of baptizing them before leaving the place. After they were converted they often referred to the excursion in the forest, in which they professed to have realized the contrast between religion and irreligion." ³⁰⁶⁻⁹⁸⁻¹⁰⁰

One of Scott's fellow missionaries on the evangelical trail was the Reverend Eli Lindsey, who began winning

Methodist converts during the 1830s in Arkansas before it even became a state.

Lindsey was interrupted in the middle of one of his sermons by a pack of loud hunting dogs lathered up for the chase.

"The service is adjourned in order that the men may kill that bear," the preacher announced from the pulpit. When his congregation of hunters came back victorious, the sermon was resumed. "Thank God," said the preacher, "for men who know how to shoot and for women who know how to pray." ²⁸⁷⁻¹⁶⁷

In 1844, there were 900 anti-mission preachers, 1,622 churches and at least 68,000 church members who quit the mainstream faith. They were nicknamed "broad-brimmed, hardshelled and square-toed" by the Easterners. From a wider, historical perspective, all this marked the beginning of the South's struggle to preserve old values in an "alien, changing and often self-righteous world." ³²³⁻³²⁹

On Marble Creek, a neighbor of the Baughmans named Peter Williams served briefly as preacher for the Bethany Church. During this period, Henry and Charity Baughman named their first-born son Peter William Baughman. William Polk took over as pastor from October 1831 through July 1856, and then again from October 1856 until his death during the final months of the Civil War. ²⁴¹⁻¹⁹⁶ Amongst the entire Bethel Association of Baptists, including the seven churches that evolved out of the Bethany congregation, only three ministers survived the war. ³¹⁷⁻⁹⁵

Regular Baptists, who believed in the importance of missionaries, have left behind their handwritten notes of how a church was organized on Crooked Creek, near present-day Harrison on 3 July 1834. Within the lives of its first generation, though, Hardshells who agreed with the Baughman family had taken it over. For wider fellowship of a like-mind, these newer Baptists of Crooked Creek joined the Buffalo Association, which had begun in 1838 in North Central Arkansas, and included the churches known as New Hope, Mount Gilead, Mount Pleasant, Salem, War Eagle and Zion Hill.

1840

The Black Dutch & the Black Baughmans

ONE OF THE GRANDCHILDREN OF HENRY Baughman [I], by way of his son John, was Daniel Bachman, who was born in Shenandoah County, Virginia in 1787. Daniel married Dorcas Shaw, eight years his junior, and settled in 1809 at Lincoln County on the headwaters of Bradshaw Creek, at what would

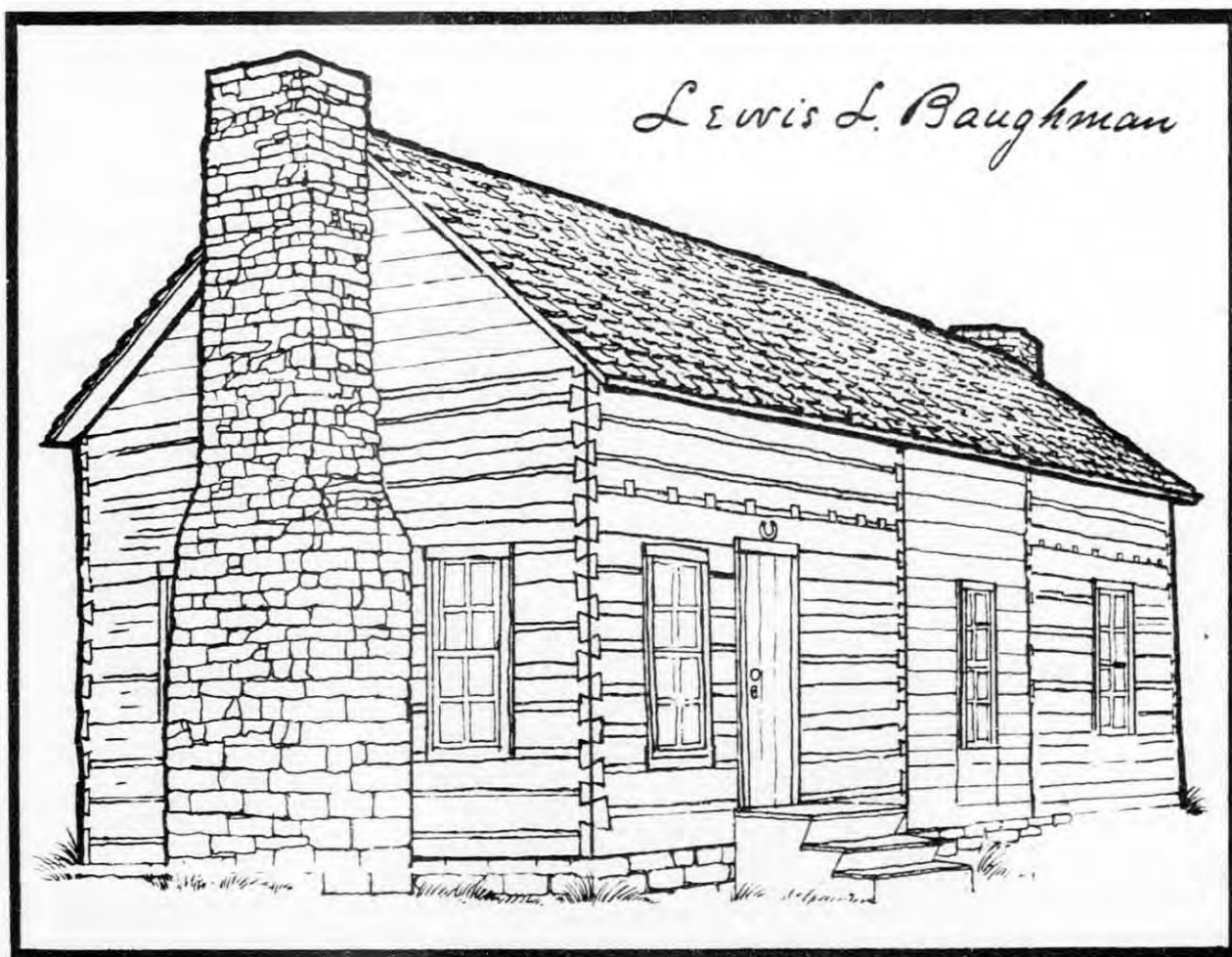
become a 1,300-acre farm in south-central Tennessee. He served as an ensign in the 39th Regiment of Lincoln County's Militia during the War of 1812.

Besides farming, Daniel also made his living as a tanner, as did his sons John and William.^{321:61} Daniel was described by his descendants as resembling the "Black Dutch," meaning that instead of the tall, fair-colored Germanic profile, he came from the shorter, darker, Alpine stock.^{321:59}

His house was originally built beside the main route through the area, but the layout of these roads later changed. The log building still stands near present-day Delina in Marshall County, although it was covered afterwards with clapboards. Its design is markedly different from the Germanic tradition of his grandfather in Virginia, but bears a perfect resemblance to the Lewis Lafayette Baughman house built during 1867 in Arkansas. As Daniel's family grew, the residence turned into two cabins side-by-side, separated by a narrow alley or breezeway called a "dog run." Eventually, this center

space was closed up and built into a staircase serving the upper level. The front porch has three separate doors into the house: one for this stairway, and each of the original duplex cabins still has its entrance. Chimneys stand at both ends. A root cellar was dug under one end, and water was supplied by a spring at the rear of the house. Limestone walls bordered the fields.^{321:71}

Daniel departed from most of his family's traditions in an even more profound way — he decided to own slaves to work on his plantation. By 1840, he owned five slaves to work the 854-acre plantation and tannery. Daniel intended that his daughter, Sarah D. Bachman Marks, should inherit "one Negro woman and child valued at \$1599.50, but because of the late war she is of no value." Instead, Sarah was to receive \$1,000. Daniel's daughter Jane owned a mother and her six children as slaves.^{319:420} Within 20 years, Daniel amassed livestock and other property worth \$14,000, making him one of the more successful men in the county.^{321:61} He traveled the region far and wide, selling



THE LOG HOUSE OF LEWIS LAFAYETTE BAUGHMAN
BUILT DURING 1867 IN THE SILVER VALLEY, ITS CENTRAL BREEZEWAY LATER BOARDED SHUT

leather and collecting on money due from many dozens of clients. Tanners from his county, possibly including Daniel, sold leather goods to the Confederacy.

One of Daniel's seven children was William S. Bachman, born 1826. He brought at least one slave to Arkansas by 1859, bought 160 acres south of Henry [IV] by Crooked Creek and began to use the "Baughman" spelling of his surname. Seventy five percent of households in the South did not own slaves, and none of the other Baughmans in the Silver Valley did.^{321:62}

On 25 March 1818, Daniel had a daughter named Jennet Steele Bachman. She preferred to be called Jane, and eventually married William Green Clayton at Lewisburg, Tennessee on 7 February 1837.^{321:43} Jane told a granddaughter later in life that she had memorized the words to her hymns by propping the book on the loom while she was weaving. When Daniel died in February 1868, Jane bought several items at her father's estate inventory sale, including a tooth-puller and two Bibles. Daniel and Dorcas were buried in the family cemetery beneath large flat rectangular stones. Sadly, both rocks have since been plowed under.^{321:71}

Slaves in America often took the surname of their owners, either in identification with the household as part of its property, or as children descended by blood from a male member of the master's family. A 30-year-old black woman born in Tennessee named Celia

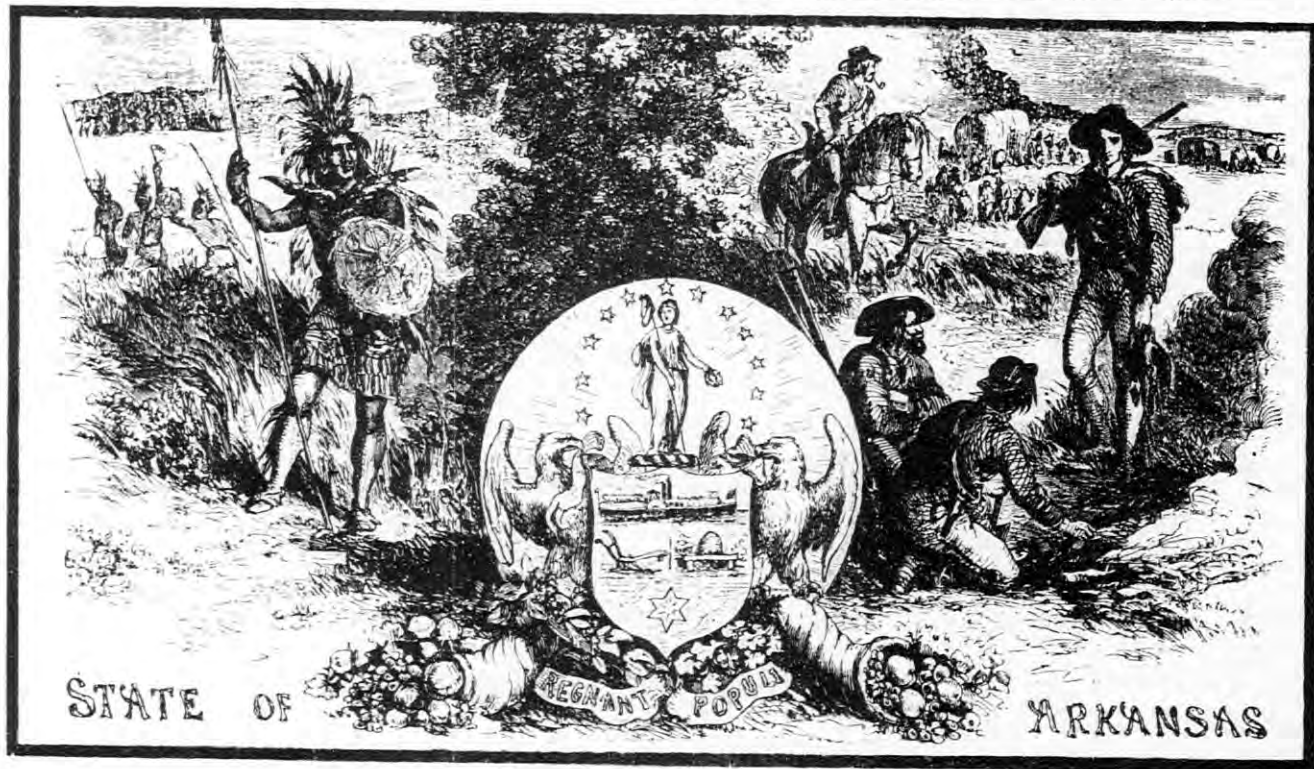
remained as part of William Baughman's household as a "servant" seven years after emancipation. Also listed with her under the Baughman name was Francis, a 16-year-old black who came from Tennessee. Several African-Americans living in Texas during the 1990s have the Baughman surname, but are unaware of where their ancestors lived.

1840

The Rush to Arkansas

AS THE YOUNG STATE ATTEMPTED TO IMPROVE THE quality of its rapid growth, Arkansas seized a considerable amount of land in 1840 on account of the owners' failure to pay their property tax. Under the Donation Law passed that year, new settlers could obtain title to this land in return for a promise to pay the back-taxes within a reasonable period. Amendment to the act soon allowed 160 acres for each immediate member of a family, regardless of age or gender. Word of these generous terms spread far and wide, and written inquiries poured in from New York, Massachusetts, Virginia and Tennessee. The clamorous demand for "free land" under the Donation Law soon exhausted Little Rock's inventory of confiscated tracts.^{295:103}

Living at Marble Creek, Missouri, only a couple of days' ride from the border, the family of Henry and



THE LAND RUSH INTO ARKANSAS, WHERE "THE PEOPLE RULE"
ILLUSTRATION FROM *BALLOU'S PICTORIAL*, 7 APRIL 1855

Charity Baughman loaded up their household and arrived in Arkansas on 11 October 1840. While their application was considered, the Baughmans lingered at Shawneetown, the seat of Marion County.

The Baughmans were among the first pioneers of Crooked Creek, well before its name changed to Harrison. In those days it fell just past the western edge of Marion County, in the much less settled Carroll County.

Gideon Baughman must have heard the rumors about Indian treasure and rich silver deposits along the upper reaches of Crooked Creek. Not long after the family settled, he began digging a mine on the craggy ridge across the creek and southeast of where the old Milam burial ground was later chosen. From Gideon's dreaming, the whole area became known as the Silver Valley.

During the rest of the 19th Century, the Baughmans homesteaded or bought outright almost 1,880 acres of what became known as the Silver Valley. Baughman holdings grew to include a school, a church and a mill which Lewis Lafayette Baughman built on the southwest corner of Rebecca Baughman's land, 100 yards north of the Silver Valley Road on the eastern bank of the creek. Spencer and Adeline Baughman owned an appreciable block of stock in the Farmers Bank, and he sat on the board of directors with E.M. Cantrell. See map on page 178

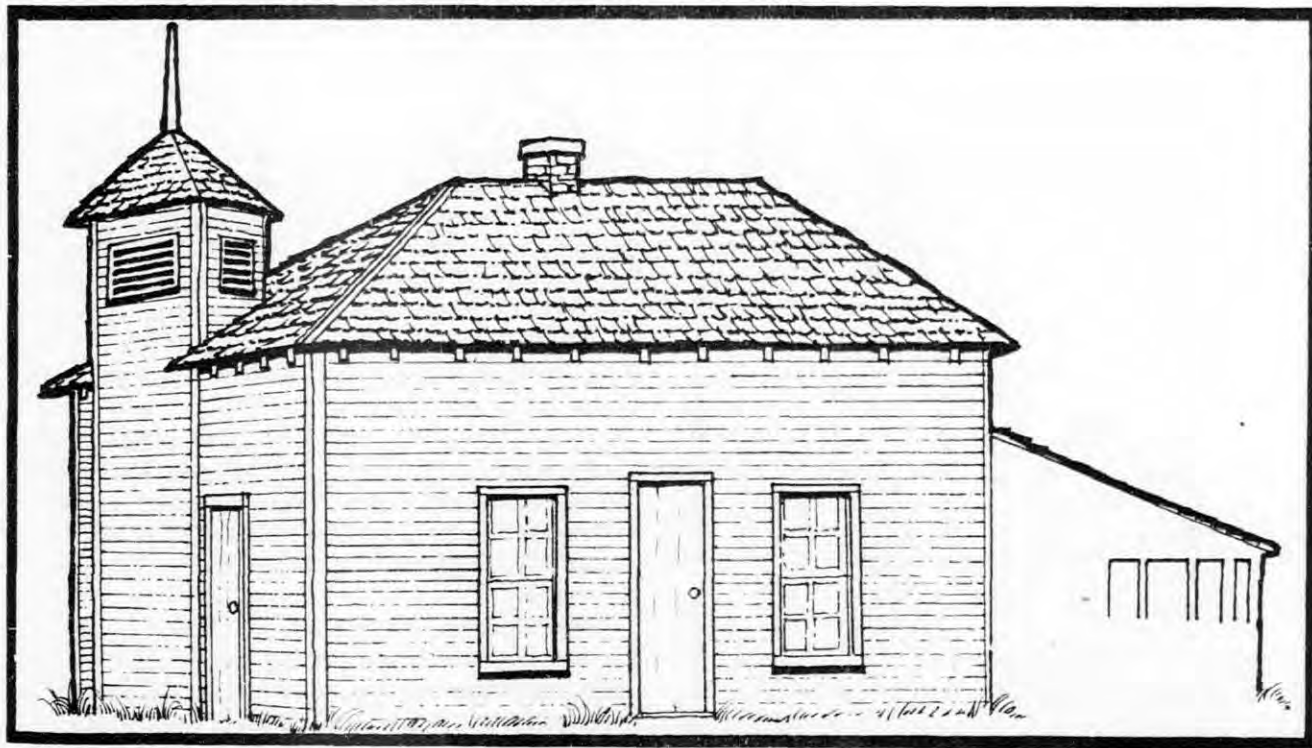
1848

A Blackfoot Bride

SINCE ONE OF PETER BAUGHMAN'S GRANDFATHERS was the half-breed Cherokee John Sutton, Pete was legally entitled to full membership in the tribe. Nothing suggests that Pete or any of his nine brothers and sisters ever took up the privilege or burden of being one-eighth Indian. Peter's first wife though was Rebecca, a member of the Blackfoot tribe, the mere fact of which suggested that Pete had traveled to Montana and brought her back to the Ozarks in 1848. An explanation from much closer to home comes from the genealogical research of Charles Fuson Jr. into another Indian line in the Baughman family tree. Family researcher LaVonna Wood, however, remains unconvinced by their theories.

Their focus centered on Adeline and Angeline Cloud, twin sisters born to the dynasty of Chief Red Cloud in 1859 at Stone County, Missouri, near Springfield. The twin sisters eventually married Pete's nephews, the Baughman brothers Spencer and Scaphus. The twins' tribal affiliation was assumed by many mountain folks to also be with the Cherokee, a tribe widespread in the area which had other connections to the Baughman family. Identifying the twin girls' great grandparents offers several clarifications.

A member of the Teton Sioux named Two Arrows,



THE BAUGHMAN SCHOOL.
BUILT ON THE OLD JACOB BAUGHMAN LAND NORTH OF HARMON

who lived from 1700 to 1750, came from the Sauk Rapids of Minnesota. The Sioux Nation originated along the upper reaches of the Mississippi River, and French Jesuits reported them living on Lake Superior in 1641. Their migration westward must have seemed inevitable once other Indians were pushed into their laps by arriving Europeans.

With his wife, a member of the Yanktonis, Two Arrows had three children:

A son named Smoke, who became a chief of the Oglala Sioux and died in 1864 at Fort Laramie, leaving a son in 1814 named Afraid-Of-His-Horse who became an Oglala chief in 1850;

A daughter named Bega, who was mother of a son named Spotted Bear, also nicknamed Bad Face;

A son named Lone Man (Isna Wica), later called Red Cloud, who became chief of the Brulés, a subgroup of the Teton Sioux.

It was this Red Cloud who eventually became the grandfather of the twins. Red Cloud's wife was Walks-As-She-Thinks, described as a *saune* or *sanyuna* to mean a "Shouter Among the Trees." This was a nickname that the Oglala Sioux gave to five local tribes, including the Blackfoot Sioux, who broke away from their main tribe further west in Montana and Canada.

Red Cloud and Walks-As-She-Thinks moved to eastern Tennessee, north of Knoxville in Claiborne

County. Their white neighbors knew them as James and Jane Cloud. Before dying around 1825, they had seven children: Henry, Jack, Green Berry (1815), a son named Yellow Lodge, two daughters and a son born in 1822 as Two Arrows.

This last boy's name was intended to honor his grandfather, but upon reaching adolescence in 1843, the boy assumed his dead father's name, Red Cloud (Murpiya Luta). Greenberry Cloud and another brother moved to Taney County, Missouri, by 1850. Eventually, the new Red Cloud became chief of the Bad Face Band of Oglala Sioux.

In November 1877, Red Cloud had no other choice than to lead his people onto the Pine Ridge/Rosebud Reservation near Fort Robinson in western South Dakota.^{286:15-16} Thereafter, his name changed once more and he became Two Robes. Red Cloud went blind during the last years of his life, but he was considered the most powerful chief in the history of the Sioux. He fought in fifty battles, and was also a guest of President Benjamin Harrison at the White House in 1889. He died twenty years later.^{286:302}

Henry, the eldest son of Walks-As-She-Thinks, was born in Tennessee in 1812. From his first marriage, to Jane, Henry had nine children:

Joseph Britten "Britt" (1835), Benjamin Franklin "Frank" (1838), Wiley Van Buren (1840), William Henderson "Hence" (1842), Mary (1845), Abraham Augustus "Gust" (1848), Nancy O. (1850) and Martha E. (1854) and Eddy Houston. Jane died in 1858.

On 22 January 1859 in Stone County, Missouri, Henry married a second time, to Elizabeth Shumate Hill, who was born on 12 May 1828. Elizabeth brought four children from her marriage to Mr. Hill: Samuel, James, Elisha and Jephtha. Henry and Elizabeth were still living in Stone County, 25 miles south of Springfield, when the twins Adeline and Angeline were born on 25 December 1860. They also had two more daughters, namely Louise and Sarah.

Henry Cloud wrote out these details of his family's history in 1887 and presented copies to his daughters so they could claim their rights "if the Indians ever come in possession of money or land."²⁸⁹ Elizabeth died on 3 August 1903, and is buried at the Milam Cemetery east of Harrison.

Since the path of migration for old Red Cloud, his Blackfoot bride and their son Henry mirrors that of the Baughman family, and because the two families had this later connection through marriage, future research may establish that Peter Baughman's bride, Rebecca the Blackfoot, was one of the kinfolk of Walks-As-She-Thinks.



MURPIYA LUTA
KNOWN TO THE ENGLISH AS CHIEF RED CLOUD

1850

A Bachman on his Way to the Gold Rush

ON 29 MAY 1850, JOSEPH BACHMAN BEGAN TO write the following letter to his mother while at sea, en route to join the California Gold Rush, and mailed it from Panama. He was the eldest son of Jonathan and Frances Rhea Bachman, and a great-grandson of John George Bachman Sr., the immigrant.

"Dear Mother:

"Though space has stretched her wide extended arms, and the billowy deep now rolls between us, yet forget I thee not... Our passage costing us \$25 each... and were soon out of sight of land... About an hour after we struck the sea water many were taken sick. It did not effect me for three or four days... This seasickness produces the most miserable feelings I ever had, one cares for nothing. He can get no rest, he almost wishes himself dead, but it is soon over. But when he begins to get well and thinks about what he has to eat he almost takes sick again. I have done without eating a bite for three days which was done very easy as I had no exercise; upon the whole I fared tolerably well as to my sickness... for breakfast we have coffee that is as bitter as gall, without cream, corn bread that Alfred would be ashamed to make — it is only meal and water mixed and baked, shoulder fried that is never washed, grits sliced three-quarters of an inch thick. For dinner crackers that require a small mallet to break them, they are made of half beans and flour; salt beef and pork and a few molasses sometimes, once a week we get flour pudding. For supper crackers, salt beef and pork and better than all 1½ biscuits each such as Jonnie could make with his eyes shut... But we made the best of it we could...

"Our boat is now ready to leave and we are sitting on the beach waiting for the yawl to take us in to the ship *Magdola*. We are taking a [sailing] ship, for steamers are full and about 3,000 waiting for passage... We are all well and in good spirits; it is very hot here...

"Dear Mother, time distance, prosperity or adversity cannot induce me to forget you; no, no, never... I hope, dear Mother, that we may be allowed to meet again on earth, if not, I trust to meet you all where parting will be no more — where sorrow can never come; where joy is unspeakable and full of glory. I trust that I have set to my seal that God is true, and am persuaded that He is able to keep what I have committed to Him against that day. Dear Mother, if such a trip as this does not settle a roving disposition nothing will do it; it is a trip that will fully test a man's religion if any he has. And though your eye cannot see or ear heed me, be assured that your God is my God and that I will attend all my duties knowing that God is ever watching and is displeased

with the sin of having any other God. You may imagine how unpleasant I feel when I can find no secret place except my bunk where I may pray out my soul before my God.

"Dear Mother, it gives me great pleasure when night draws nigh to think that I am remembered at a throne of grace by you. I imagine that I see you all following your daily avocation as usual, busy about your corn; but there is no day which calls up home so vividly as the Sabbath. When the sun begins to peep, I think I almost see you all stirring about making preparations to go to meeting, and when Sabbath evening comes methinks I see you all seated, with each his Bible... seated around the fire to sing our little hymns... and I hope that we will again mingle our voices in those lovely little hymns...

"Dear Mother, folks may call me a baby and Mama boy or what they please, but so long as I have such a mother and brothers and sisters, I will ever esteem home the dearest place on earth to me. Yes, Mother, oft have I thought that few if any had such a mother as I had. I have enough to love home for, and should I be so blessed as to return and meet you all it will be ten times dearer than ever. I thank you, dear Mother, for your unspeakable kindness and I would be glad if ever I can help you in the least, I never can half pay you for what you have done for me...

"We got to Panama on the evening of the 28th and left the morning of the 29th. Gold is to be found here by the bushels and hundreds; the news brought by the passengers just arrived is too good and flattering. They say if we take a sail we will be better accommodated and that we will get there in the right time; they say the wet season is the best season to dig in the dry diggings, some of them digging from the 1st of Sept. to the middle of April and made \$14,000.00. I must close... and may God bless and protect you all is my prayer.

Farewell,
J.B."

Upon Joseph's arrival in California, he learned of his Mother's death on 3 June. He wrote that he and two Cowan boys from Greene County, Tennessee, were starting home. They were never heard from again.³¹⁴⁻⁶⁹⁻⁷¹

1851

The Voice of an Old Soldier

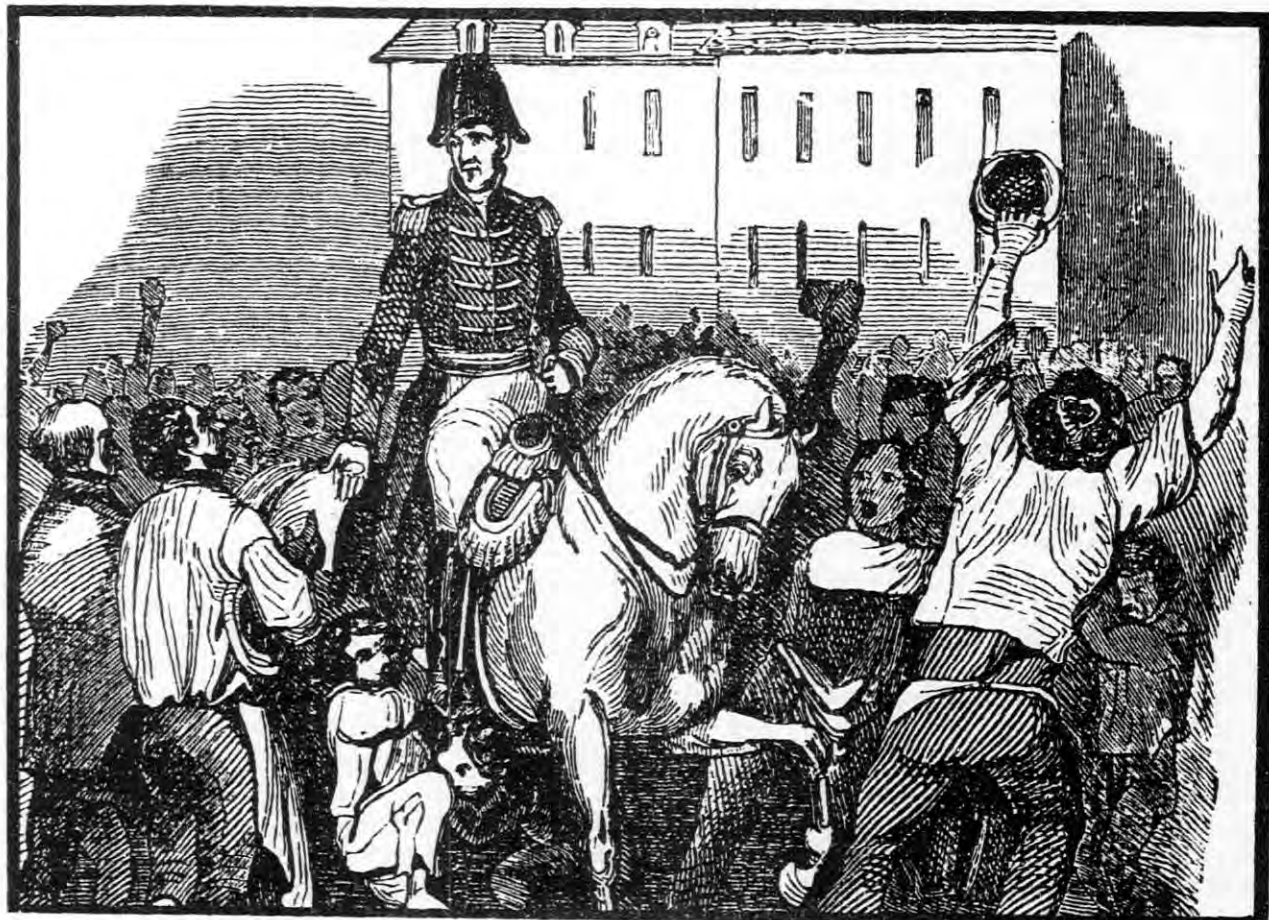
WHEN AMERICA'S SECOND BIG FIGHT AGAINST Great Britain began to go poorly, John Baughman volunteered to join the 5th Regiment of the East Tennessee Militia. The emergency call had gone out in November of 1814 to repulse the British task force on its way to New Orleans. When the British were

defeated and John was paid \$8 per month for six months, plus a \$2 travel allowance, that seemed to be the end of it.

Hailing from seven different states, a total of 34 Baughmans served in the War of 1812. In Maryland, both Randall's Battalion and Schuchts' Regiment had several Baughmans each:

Adam Baughman, private
3rd Regt. (Stembels's), Maryland Militia
Chrisly Baughman, private
5th Regt., Virginia Militia
Christian Baughman, private
5th Regt., Virginia Militia, commanded by Lt. Cols.
Dickinson, Scott and Coleman
Christopher Baughman, private
2nd Regt. (Benton's), Tennessee Volunteers
David Baughman, private
4th Regt., Virginia Militia, commanded by
Lt. Cols. Huston and Wooding
Daniel Bauchman [filed as Daniel Bohman], private
4th Regt. (Ewing's) Mounted Kentucky Volunteers

Daniel Baughman, ensign (commissioned 8 VIII 1814)
39th Regt., [Lincoln County] Tennessee Militia^{3:1:229}
Fraene Baughman, private
5th Regt. (Sterett's), Maryland Militia
Francis Baughman, sergeant
Randall's Battalion of Riflemen, Maryland Militia
Francis Baughman, private
2nd Regt. (Schuchts'), Maryland Militia
Frederick Baughman, private
2nd Regt. (Schuchts'), Maryland Militia
George Baughman, private
2nd Regt. (Price's), Ohio Militia
Henry Baughman, private
McConnel's Regt., Ohio Militia
Henry Baughman, private
Randall's Battalion of Riflemen, Maryland Militia
Henry Baughman, private
2nd Regt. (Schuchts'), Maryland Militia
Henry Baughman, private
3rd Regt. (LeFevre's), Pennsylvania Militia
Isaac Baughman, private
4th Regt. (Boyd's), Virginia Militia



GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON
CHEERED BY HIS TROOPS AND THE PEOPLE OF NEW ORLEANS

Jacob Baughman, private
 Juhan's Battalion, South Carolina Militia
 Jacob Baughman, private
 Kratzer's Command, Ohio Militia
 Jacob Baughman, private
 1st Regt. (Kennedy's), Pennsylvania Militia
 Jacob Baughman [also as Jacob Bauchman], sergeant
 2nd Regt. (Ritscher's) Pennsylvania Militia
 Jesse Baughman, private
 Capt. Rodney's Co., Artillery, Delaware Volunteers
 John Baughman, private
 1st Regt. (Metcalf's) West Tennessee Militia
 Capt. Daniel M. Bradford & Dillahunty, vol. inf.
 John Baughman [also as John Baughman], private
 2nd Regt. (2nd Battalion, Oswald's)
 South Carolina State Troops
 John Baughman, private
 Findlay's Battalion, Pennsylvania Volunteers
 John Baughman, corporal
 Randall's Battalion of Riflemen, Maryland Militia
 John Baughman, corporal
 1st Regt. (McArthur's), Ohio Volunteers
 John Baughman, private
 1st Regt. (Snider's), Pennsylvania Militia
 John Baughman, corporal,
 2nd Regt. Of Light Infantry (Bache's)
 Pennsylvania Militia
 John Baughman Sr., private
 3rd Regt. (Rutledge's), South Carolina State Troops
 John Baughman, private
 5th Regt. (Booth's), East Tennessee Militia
 John Baughman, private
 5th Regt. (Fenton's), Pennsylvania Militia
 Lemuel Baughman, private
 2nd Regt. (Schuchts'), Maryland Militia
 M[artin?] Baughman, private
 1st Regt. (Ragan's), Maryland Militia

Towards the end of the war, volunteers who enlisted for five years were promised 320-acre bounty land grants. It was a simple enough fiscal decision, since the U.S. had far less silver and gold on hand in the treasury than it had untouched acres out west. Congress also liked the idea of creating a screen of military veterans between the older settlements in the east and hostile Indians who were being pushed ever westward.^{312:10} The huge tract set aside in Michigan for these awards proved to be an endless, uninhabitable swamp, so Congress quickly established a half million acres in Missouri and 1.5 million more in Illinois.^{312:9}

In 1847, the idea of a military buffer zone was abandoned. Claims could be made in any part of the vast public domain; and grants were expanded to 160 acres for every man who had served a minimum of 12 months

during the War of 1812. At the time, two of the biggest "public lands" states were Arkansas and Iowa. While all of this public land would become instantly private, the law also provided that the sixteenth section in each township, a total of almost a million acres, would have to be set aside for public schools.^{295:101}

Many veterans, especially those resettled in Arkansas, lobbied successfully in 1848 for the grants to be issued to every member of the American armed forces, regardless of whether that particular inducement had been made at the time of service.^{312:14} This included all 450,000 militiamen who enlisted between 1812-1814. The schedule was further refined in 1850 based on a veteran's length of service: serving on active duty for one-month got 40 acres; four months won 80 acres; anything over nine months earned 160 acres.^{312:17} Even soldiers who had served briefly as escorts and guards during the Cherokee Removal — the infamous "Trail of Tears" — were awarded 40 acres.^{312:20}

The clamor for government land became so great by 1852 that awards were given to any soldier — or any soldier's widow — who could prove service of at least *two weeks* in any American military conflict since 1775. The United Brethren of the War of 1812 held a national caucus at Philadelphia in January 1854 which turned out to be "the largest convention ever held" in America up until that time. In 1855, any veteran who had received less than 160 acres was given an additional grant to make up the balance.

A total of nearly 60 million acres were eventually dispersed. John Baughman, and 144,799 other soldiers, were entitled to their first grant after 1850 if they served at least one month against the British.^{312:21} Five years later, political winds brought 147,000 more warrants to be cashed in out west.^{312:54}

As soon as the political will solidified, lawyers, land agents and buzzards began to circle in wonderment over how the program would be carried out. Lobbyists west of the Mississippi felt that payment should be made exclusively in land, and that the veteran's family would have to occupy it. They eventually lost out to more powerful Eastern interests who wanted to create a huge market in negotiable bonds.

Since the government consistently sold land during this era at \$1.25 per acre, the standard paper certificates had a face value of \$200, but an instant flood of middlemen drove its price down. Average veterans from the War of 1812, most likely simple country folk and already advanced in age, didn't stand a chance. The system even seemed too much for a far younger veteran of the Blackhawk Wars — a smart country lawyer from Springfield, Illinois, named Abraham Lincoln — who bungled the chance to profit from his 1850 warrant for 40 acres.^{312:102}

Some who could not afford to move to the western grants, but wanted to sell their certificates in 1851, could only liquidate them for \$15, netting nine cents an acre.

^{312:101} Laws against usury gave no real protection, but instead, small buyers faced interest rates of 40 percent. ^{312:145}

Widows who received land warrants for their husband's service most often sold them for cash, and were also the ones most often exploited by speculators.

^{312:95} John Baughman initiated his applications on 6 August 1851, and they were authorized finally under the 1855 Bill as No. 35439-80[acres]-55, and No. 36625-80[acres]-55. Dortha Moyer Baughman was still negotiating the application process after John's death in 1857, and continued her correspondence through 1873.

For veterans of 1812, largely farmers whose net worth during the federal census of 1850 averaged out at \$1,400, the warrants seemed like a belated, probably welcome but hardly overwhelming thanks from their government. ^{312:104} Almost no veterans received the full \$1.25-per-acre value of the warrants, but were lucky to recover 90 cents of that. For the chance at a modest savings on the price of land, the warrants induced few veterans to actually move further west. The start-up costs of a farm required a much, much greater outlay. Consequently, militant veterans never formed a safety buffer against hostile Indians. The original intent of the program proved badly muddled in the end. ^{312:107}

1852

Tales from the Baughman Family in the Ozarks

THE WHITE RIVER CHRONICLER SILAS CLABORN Turnbo interviewed Pete Baughman about how life had been on Crooked Creek in the early 1850s, back when Pete was still a young newlywed of 21 and getting into all kinds of mischief and trouble. ³⁰⁴ Peter W. Baughman was a great, great grandson of Henry Baughman [I]. In Turnbo's volume 15:96 appears the following:

Peter Baughman gives a funny story. "In the early Fifties," said he, "me and John Sutton, Isaac Carter and a man of the name of Napier, went on a camp hunt on Sugar Orchard Creek in Boone County, Ark.

"One morning I and Napier left camp in one direction while the other two went an opposite way. Shortly after I and my partner left camp, we shot a deer. Just for fun we decided to wait until the animal had become rigid (the weather was cool) and then prop it up on its feet for our friends to shoot at it, if they came around that way. With this end in view we took a big laugh together and thought how bad our friends would

feel when they found they were pumping lead into a dead deer. But it turned out different to our anticipations and it was well that we enjoyed a laugh before hand.

"After preparing the dead deer in a shape we wanted it, we went on and hunted all day without seeing another live deer. Near sunset, as we were walking along, we got bewildered. We aimed to reach camp on the opposite side from the course we had left in the morning, but we came in on the same side without knowing it until afterward. As we went along we spied a deer standing perfectly still and we both shot at it, but the animal never moved.

"Napier says, 'Pete, what's the matter with our guns. Something's wrong with them or us.' Of course I agreed with him and we decided to reload the guns and aim more careful, and we took as accurate aim as our eyes would allow and fired simultaneously at the deer. The deer never flinched. We were astonished beyond measure. Directly Napier says, 'Pete, ain't that the same deer we propped up this morning to fool them other fellows?' and it flashed over me that what Napier said was true and I replied, 'Yes, it is.'

"We set a trap to catch the other boys and had walked into it ourselves. We promised each other that we would keep it to ourselves, but that night Napier said that it was too good to keep, and told it to the other fellows and we never like to have heard the last of shooting at the dead deer."

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The next story appears in Turnbo's volume 13:86, under the title 'Killing Panther in the Buffalo Mountains.'

"Talking about panther," remarked Peter Baughman, "reminds me of shooting one in these same mountains while I was on Buffalo [River] once on a camp hunt. One day, while I was passing through a narrow gorge just above the mouth of Big Creek which empties into Buffalo from the south side, I heard a noise above me and looking up to the top of a precipice I saw the head of a panther protruding over the edge of a cliff directly over me. The animal looked down at me very saucy.

"Elevating my rifle straight up I took a steady aim between its eyes and pulled the trigger and the dying beast slid over the edge of the precipice and fell with a thud. As I was standing under it, I had to get a quick move on to prevent it from falling on me.

"It was a small panther measuring only about eight feet in length. But this was not all the experience I ever had with a panther on this same stream. Me and Isaac Carter had hunted together frequently on Crooked Creek, but in the course of time Carter moved to Buffalo and

lived on Calf Creek. In December, 1851, Carter sent me word to come down and take an old time bear hunt with him. Of course I accepted the invitation, for we had always seen a good time hunting together on Crooked Creek and I thought we could enjoy life in killing game on Buffalo.

"When I reached his cabin he had everything in shape to start and we did not delay any time but struck right out into the forest with dogs and guns. We were out several days and met with only fair luck in killing game. We returned back to Carter's on Christmas Eve day, I remained overnight with him intending to start home Christmas morning.

"We sat up late salting away our bear meat that we had brought in from the forest on our pack horses. Then we had to tell several hunting stories for past time before we retired to bed. That night Carter's children told that when they would go into the field for corn which was less than one-quarter mile from the cabin, 'a big thing' would run them out of the field. Carter made sport of their story and said they had got scared at nothing, but the children insisted that they saw something.

"Next morning he told the children to get up out of bed and take a sack and go to the field and fill it with corn for the horses. The children were slow about starting and Carter, after scolding them and saying he had never knew his children to be disobedient before, ordered them in a humorous way to take the dogs along to frighten the 'buggers' away. They were in no hurry about going but finally they took the dogs and went on to the field.

"When they had time to reach the field we heard the dogs yelping as if they were on a hot chase and we heard the children hallooing and directly they came running back to the house and reported that they saw the same thing in the field and the dogs had run it out. They dogs soon treed it and were now barking furiously.

"By the time Carter's wife had breakfast nearly prepared, but me and Carter were still lying in bed. But we both rose in haste now and put on our clothes, and, with guns in hand, went to see what the dogs had treed and found that they were barking in the mouth of a small cave or opening in a cliff.

"The crevice in the rock was straight up and down. Part of the opening was narrow but large enough to admit a man's body edgeways. But in one place the opening was big enough for a large animal to enter in.

"Thinking a lot of coons or foxes were in there, we concluded to go in and have some sport. With guns in our hands we scrouged in edgeways. Carter went in ahead of me. After passing into the mouth of the cave a few feet we observed a much larger opening or pocket, but before we had time to enter into it we saw a half grown panther in eight feet of us. Plenty of daylight

penetrated through the opening and crevice and we could see the form of the young animal plain and Carter aimed at it with his rifle and shot it dead. Then he gave me his empty gun with the remark that he would drag it, but at this moment a full grown panther made its appearance and sprang at Carter to force its way out of the cavern.

"The beast hurled itself against the man's legs and tore his clothes and flesh with its teeth and claws. Carter did not attempt to back out to the outside, but snatched his knife from the scabbard and sent to work stabbing the panther with it.

"Owing to the narrowness of the passage I was helpless to assist him, but I begged him to back out and give room for the panther to make its exit. This he refused saying that as long as the panther wanted to fight he should have the chance. So I gave him all the encouragement I could. The man was greatly excited and furious and fought the enrage beast desperately. Every stroke with the knife was effective. The panther growled loud and lacerated his flesh with its teeth and claws. Carter grunted and groaned with pain, kicked and struck the panther vigorous blows with the keen pointed hunting knife.

"How long the struggle between man and wild beast lasted, I am not able to say exactly but it was only a few minutes. But it was fierce, bloody and ugly, while it was on. But the knife did its work well, for the panther sank down and lay dead. But Carter's excitement and temper was wrought up at such a pitch that he was not sensible of his victory and refused to quit using the knife on the dead beast, and sent the long blade into its lifeless form twenty times more, before I could persuade him to let up and quit fighting a dead enemy.

"After we both got out of the cave I found that Carter's clothes were nearly torn off of him. His legs were gashed and bleeding and the man groaned out loud. I tried to persuade him to go to the house, but he would not hear to it until we had pulled both dead panthers out of the cave. The grown one was a she and was nine feet in length, but Carter had cut it almost to pieces with his knife.

"Carter was too severely wounded for me to leave him and I postponed going home for several days or until the man was better.

"On the following morning after Carter got into the combat with the panther, Enock Vaughn happened along near this same cave with his gun and dogs and the dogs chased something away from the cave and compelled it to climb a tree. When Vaughn reached the tree the dogs were barking up the tree. It proved to be a panther. He yelled for someone to come and help him kill it. Carter was not able to go, but I took my gun and went to where Vaughn and the dogs were.

"The panther had climbed high up in the tree and

looked fierce as he lay crouched on a limb. We both shot at it the same moment. One ball crashed through its head and the other through its body behind the shoulder. The animal turned its hold loose of the limb and was dead when it struck the ground. This one was a he and was nine feet and four inches.

"This last killing broke up the nest of panther at the cave and Carter's children could go to the field now for a sack of corn without being bothered by 'some big thing.' It was many days before Carter's wounds healed sufficiently for him to get around, but he learned one lesson from his encounter with the panther and that was he was careful after this about poking fun at his children when they told him they had seen a 'bugger'."

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Another glimpse of life near Marble Creek, Missouri, in the early days was recalled in 1891 at a time when some of the Baughmans' in-laws still lived there. They descended from John Sutton and Elizabeth Huff of East Tennessee. Another local newspaper writer, Theodore Pease Russell remembered the following tale about his hunting buddy, Leonard Sutton, a son of John and Elizabeth.³⁰³

"It was this way. My brother and I had been down to the old mill [on Brewer's Creek] to make some repairs, ready to saw when the fall and winter rains should set in. As we had so many things to carry, we did not take our guns with us. When we had made the necessary repairs, we came home through the mountains, it being much nearer than to go along the road.

"When we had crossed the mountains and got to the old Farmington road [modern country road V], toward the head of Long Hollow about three or four o'clock, we heard a dog give one or two yelps and then a deer bawl. We looked, and almost two hundred yards from us, we saw Mr. Sutton with his gun, running. As we looked the way he was going, we saw his dog had a fine deer down. Of course we wanted to see the fight. When we reached him, we asked him how many deer he had killed that day. He said, 'This makes five.'

"After hanging it up, we came with him 'fore he started for home. We had reached the road and were walking along when we saw a deer standing by a large rock, just up on the side of the mountain. Mr. Sutton drew down on it, and at the crack of his rifle the deer made a few jumps and was out of sight. After loading his gun, we went to look for the deer. The dog took the track and went but a few steps before he jumped it up, caught it, and threw it down. Before it could get up, Mr. Sutton ran up to it and knocked it in the head with his tomahawk. That made six.

"As he went to load his gun again he found he had but a half of a bullet left. But he said, 'I will load her with that.'

"As he was about to hang up the deer, we asked him what he would ask us for the deer. He said, 'I will take the hide off and you may have the deer for a peck of apples.'

"All right, we will do it."

"So he cut a good pole with his tomahawk and fixed it up for us to carry between us.

"After we had got started on the way, we had not gone more than a quarter of a mile when we saw fifteen deer standing in the road right ahead of us. He said, 'Now we will see if I can kill one of those deer with that half bullet.' He shot at one of them. They all ran off, but we saw one of them leave the rest. He said, 'I believe I hit him with that piece of a bullet.' He let the dog take the track and he soon came to it lying down. As it jumped up the dog caught it. After hanging it up we went home. When he skinned the deer he put the skin in his wamus [a long, home-spun hunter's shirt] and we filled in all around him with apples. He looked so funny as he walked all swelled out around his body!"

1852

Pioneering in Illinois

JACOB BAUGHMAN, 48, WROTE THE FOLLOWING letter to his 62-year-old brother John in 1852. The Henry Baughman mentioned was their half-brother, who was born in the Shenandoah Valley on 13 October 1769. In the tradition of the times, Jacob folded the paper on which the letter was written, turning it into an envelope which was addressed as follows:

To Mr. John Baughman
Knox Co., Ky.
Cumberland Ford Post Office

"June the 14 1852 at home in Illinois Randolph County. Der brother and sister and neses and nepfews and all inquiring frens. I set me down to let you a line to let you now that I am yet alive and Gods blessing aperes to smill over me, thank his name for that.

"We are all well at presant and has left tennesse and has located my self in Randolph County Illinois. our county seet is Chester, about sixty mills belo St. louis and is satisfied with my move for thair is no master her. we air all free alike. we have noe negrose heir to [illegible] now John, if you noe whare Abraham is, let me noe wat county and stat, also Peggy and William and Jef so I may noe whair all is. I hav found our half brother Henry Baughman. he lives not fair off. I seen

THE ARKANSAS TRAVELLER



BY

MOSE CASE.



SHEET MUSIC TO THE NATIONALLY POPULAR TUNE, PUBLISHED BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

his son and has past two leters. he was glad to find us out and will come to see us if he can this fall and mack all inquiry about the famely and about our father and wanted me to come whare he lives.

"John, this is the ritches land I ever seen and can rase more grane to the aker, for the peopel tels mie that tha can rase fifty bushels to the aker. Some braks and sose thir corne and harrows it in and never tutch it agane. sum braks and plants lik other stats and works it one or two times.

"Well John, we air destitut of pretching. the peopel is wicked, but I hope that God will send laboreres here to save sols for tha air needing there [---illegible---] send them on. I com her the first day of march. I came by water to Chester. I bought land her tho thare is vacant land plenty her. I giv one Dollar and 70 cents per aker. I hav 9 akers in corne and the peopel sase that I will make two hundred bushels. I give 24 dollars for two milk cows and we git four galins of milk at a milking and milk butter and molasses and bisquit or lit brae is good anuf for us. I bought pork at three dollars a hundred. wheet crops is good. Flower is worth one dollar and fifty cents per hundred. Hoo cant liv that will work six days in seven. I hav got all my children with me but one, that is Jane. she is Tennessee yet. tha say tha will come this fall. so noe mor at this tim but brot Remanse your brother. if you right to me direct your leter to steels mills, Randolph County Illinois. so end the leter.

Jacob Baughman to John Baughman

"note — your half brother Henry Baughman lives in Fulton County, Illinois Cuba Post Offis" ^{301:27}

Even through the end of the century, the Baughmans of Fulton County still counted on the friendship of their neighbors, the Snively family. ^{301:16}

1854

SAMUEL BAUGHMAN WAS LIVING IN OREGON WHEN he received this letter from his sister-in-law, Eliza Hill Dooley Baughman:

Fulton County, Illinois
Feb. 21, 1854

"Dear Brother and Sister,

"I once more sit down to write to you a few lines to let you know that we are all in usual health. Your letter of December 20 has just come and we were truly glad to hear that you and the rest of our friends in that country are all well. I wrote you a letter next day after we received yours, dated August in which I have you an account of our dear fathers death and all the particulars. The reason why I did not write to you sooner was because

had not had one from you since you left Iowa and we though you were certainly dead or had gone to some other part of country. The friends here are all well. Mother is living with Jacob Baughman and I suppose she will stay there likely as long as she lives. Mothers health is good for a person her age. She has not had any sickness since last fall a year ago.

"Jacob, Elizabeth and Mother were all here a week ago all night.

"It appears to be rather a query wheather your friends does now and then send a wish or a thought after you — they do — but alas, the road is so long it stops before it reaches you unless it is put on paper. Yes dear friends often do we think of you with a sorrowful heart and tearful eye. We feel something like our friends have all gone — some by death, others by removing to distant lands until they are nearly all gone and we are left alone, but we would be better satisfied if Mathew and Alva Rowley was living in your neighborhood if they could be suited there — believing from all I find out that it is a better place than where they have gone.

"We received a letter from Margaret Jane which informed us that she was not satisfied for there was no meetings, no schools, and no society. We would be glad to hear of them being settled in a healthy part of the country and where the society was good.

"Tell Matilda and Sarah Jane I had a letter from Fanny lately and they are all well. (Walter thinks he will have enough in about four years to return to the states and buy him a good farm.)

"I cannot say with you that we have very interesting meetings here although our last meeting was Sunday was more interesting than usual. We had two additions by letter and there was Harriet Lasswell which was very unexpected to us. There is a Methodist protracted meeting in progress now.

"Hannah and Henry is gone to meeting tonight and Salina and I are here alone. We have had a dry season and there has been neither snow nor rain all winter until night before last it rained until after bedtime and in the morning was six inches deep — after all the rain that had fall and now the snow is about all gone — so that our well has water in it now again after being dry about three months.

"The health of the people is generally good at this time. There was two deaths last week — one was Mr. Irvin and the other Phebe Herbit. (Week of Feb. 14, 1854) James Murphy is very sick now with the mumps by taking cold.

"You wish some of us to write every month and we will try to do so — for me writing letters is considerable task and the reason is because I am such a poor hand at the business — yet I answer every letter we receive and still intend to do the best I can and if you are satisfied I

am — for fear you have not received my last letter I will write more particulars about fathers death — he died the 28th of August [1853] after an illness of about six months — nearly two of which he was confined to bed. His suffering were great for a few days — and after that suffered no pain and said he lay quiet easy — after he died he was taken to Centerville to the Brick Church where a very appropriate sermon was preached by Elder John Scott from the Fourteenth Chapter and the thirteenth verse of Revelations after which his remains were laid in the Centerville graveyard by the side of Brother David Baughman there to rest until the morning of the first resurrection undefiled and that fadeth not away in Heaven for all the faithful — may we all be so happy to have a part in the first resurrection then to meet all our friends who have gone before us and never have to part more.

"I will bring my letter to a close — write monthly as you propose and we will do the same — give my love to all inquiring friends but remain you affectionate brother and sister until death.

Henry and Eliza Baughman to
Samuel and Elizabeth Baughman

"P.S. Please use your influence in trying to get D. Rowley and A. Mathews to settle themselves in your neighborhood." 301:1

1861

One Thousand Half-Savage Rangers

RECENT SCHOLARSHIP HAS SHED NEW LIGHT ON THE 14th Regiment of Arkansas Infantry, particularly on their very first taste of battle and, as well, on their very last days before being taken prisoner.

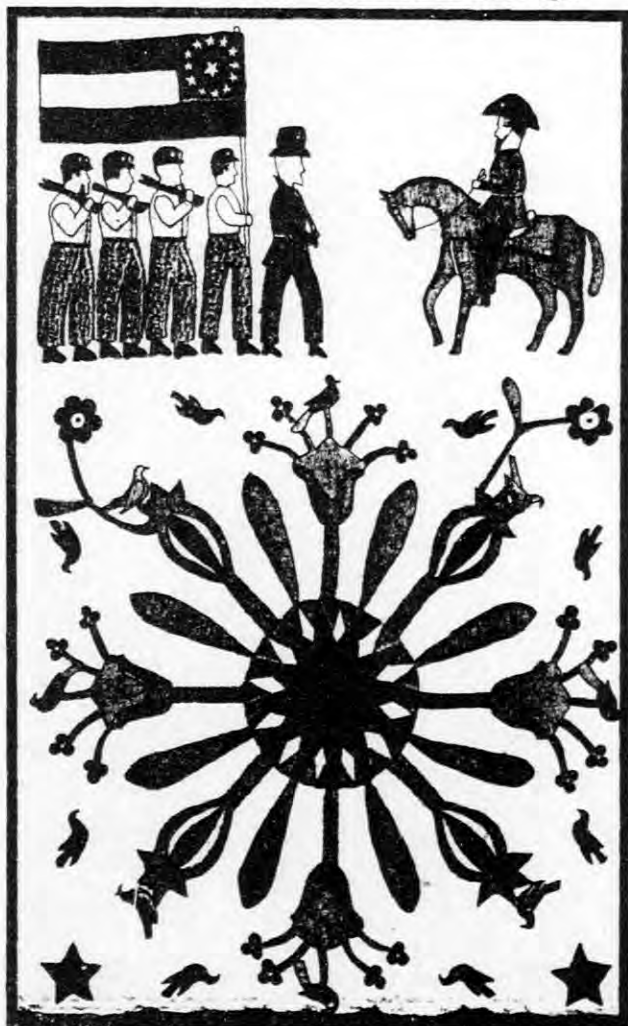
A wider review of the regiment's roll call reveals a strong continuity of family names that stretch from the Susquehanna to the Shenandoah to the Holston and on to the White River: Allen, Baughman, Billingsley, Boen, Dodson, Farrar, Gauff, Hoffman, Hudson, Lantz, Mabrey, Reddell, Slagley, Smith, Weast, Wilhite, Wilkins, Wood and Young.²⁸⁵

According to papers left behind at the Boone County Museum by A.J. Lopp, Captain Enos W. Baughman organized the volunteers from Crooked Creek into what was known at first simply as The Guard. One of the men, Joe Bailey, had a sister named Jane, who volunteered along with her friend Josephine Wright to sacrifice at least a couple of their dresses to make a flag. On the day that their boys marched out of Harrison, Miss Bailey and Miss Wright presented Captain Baughman with the labor of their love.

As war and rumors of war gripped America in 1861,

Peter Baughman saw another brave son of Tennessee rise up to lead the rebel forces atop the Ozark Plateau. Ben McCulloch became the charismatic general that Arkansas men gladly followed. He was described by his contemporaries as smart, coarse, stubborn, sometimes brutal and usually profane.^{297:101} He never got a military education, owned or wore a uniform. Thanks to vivid reporting about his exploits on the western frontier during the Mexican War, McCulloch had been turned into a frightening giant by the eastern press.

On the eve of the first real battle of the Civil War at Manassas, speculation spread by *The New York Herald* and *Harper's Weekly* had him taking over the Shenandoah Valley, then camped within 15 miles of the capitol, and in command of one thousand "half savage rangers," each "mounted upon a mustang horse" and "armed with a pair of Colt's navy revolvers, a rifle, a tomahawk, a Texan bowie-knife, and a lasso." The Union's General-in-chief Winfield Scott advised Major



AN ARKANSAS APPLIQUED QUILT, CIRCA 1861
IN HONOR OF THE MEN SEEN OFF TO WAR

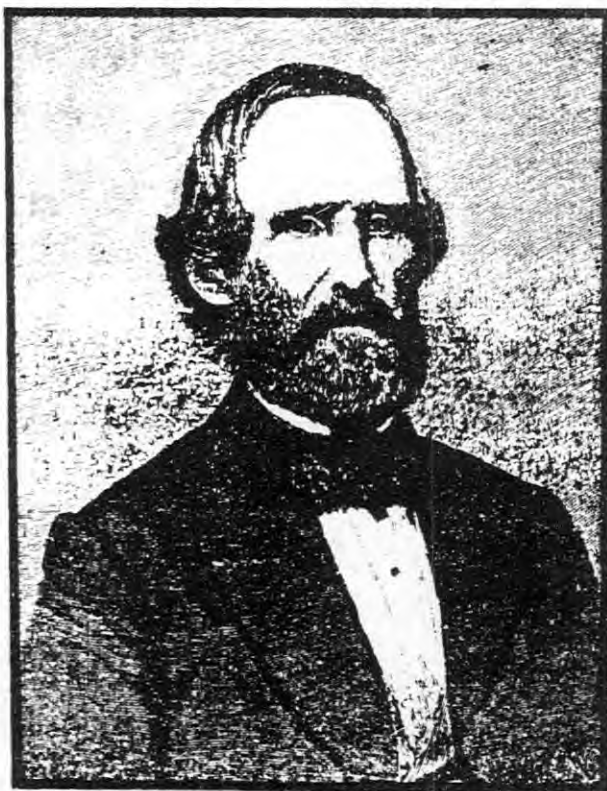
General Robert Patterson that McCulloch's "sharpshooters be met by sharpshooters."

A newspaper editor from Ben's home district knew better:

"Our distinguished fellow-citizen, Ben McCulloch, appears by all accounts has achieved the difficult faculty of ubiquity. If all reports are true, he is at one and the same time in the neighborhood of Alexandria, at Richmond, near Lynchburg, at Montgomery, at New Orleans, at or near Memphis, and in Texas somewhere between Galveston or Austin, or for all we know he may be all over that space. However this may be, one thing is morally certain, the powers that be at Washington and the abolitionists throughout the North entertain a wholesome dread of Ben McCulloch, and they appear to apprehend his terrible presence in every shadow and every shaking bush. Wherever he may be, or whatever doing, they are sure it bodes them no good." ^{291:189-190}

In fact, McCulloch was readying a force to strike the one place where he was not expected — the federal armory at Springfield, Missouri. On 10 August 1861, when the yankee general Nathaniel Lyon tried to stop McCulloch near Wilson's Creek, the bluecoat paid with his life and the defeat of his army.

McCulloch's erstwhile ally, but not-so-secret rival was the Missouri general Sterling Price. While



BRIGADIER-GENERAL BEN MCCULLOCH
COMMANDER OF THE ARKANSAS CONFEDERATES

McCulloch's force wintered just south of the border in Arkansas, Price was caught napping near Springfield in mid-February and had to make a sloppy retreat to rejoin McCulloch. On 16 February 1862, Price's long column crossed the state line. Miles of "horsemen, footmen, delicate women, little children... every species of wheeled vehicle, from jolting ox-cart to the most fantastically painted stage coach" was fighting for right of way. At the head of this terrorized parade was an army of highly-decorated officers, in numbers all out of proportion to the enlisted men. As the column passed the wags of Arkansas' army, a cry went up, "Here's your army of brigadier-generals and stage coaches."

At 11:00 a.m. on 17 February, the Union general Samuel R. Curtis caught up to one of Price's batteries of cannon and overtook it. In the nick of time, Ben McCulloch came thundering up from a 70-mile ride, triggering "a storm of enthusiastic 'Vivas!' as seldom greets anyone." Captain David Pierson later wrote to his father down in Louisiana, "The troops have confidence in McCulloch and shout like wild men when he passes along the line." ^{291:289} McCulloch raised his hat and said simply, "Men, I am glad to see you."

The untested men of the 14th Arkansas, including several Baughmans in Company G, received their baptism of fire that day by charging the federal line. "For a few moments," recalled the Texan trooper Victor Marion Rose, the two lines "were intermingled in seemingly inextricable confusion," while "sabers and clubbed muskets were freely used." The double-barreled shotguns that hunters had brought along were especially effective in such melees. Side-by-side with the boys from Crooked Creek were Colonel Frank Rector's 17th Arkansas and the 3rd Louisiana, led by Major Will Tunnard. By 4:00 p.m., the federal attack was checked, and Price was able to scoot past the yankee line. ^{291:282}

The Arkansas boys retired to their crude camp at Cross Hollow, 15 miles northwest of Fayetteville, where winter conditions had ravaged them about as harshly as an outbreak of small pox. ^{297:109}

As they started to march south the following day to regroup, a driving storm of sleet hit them, coating their beards with ice — on top of quickly spreading plagues of dysentery, measles and malaria. By 20 February, the 14th Arkansas felt their spirits rally again. They had chunks of bacon to roast and for bread, dough was wound around sticks or ramrods and baked over their campfires. For the first time in three days, their clothes were dry and their bodies were warm. They were in great humor even though their officers described the Arkansas warriors as "a set of greasy-looking cannibals." ^{291:284}

The next night was spent at Strickler's Station, a stop on the Telegraph Road for Butterfield's Overland Mail Coach centered in some of the most picturesque

scenery in North America. Owners Jacob Strickler and his son Ben had arrived by 1840 from Sullivan County, Tennessee. "On either side of the road the precipitous mountains rose hundreds of feet overhead, while gigantic icicles hung pendant from the overhanging rocks, like huge stalactites, and glittering in the brilliant rays of the cold winter sun, looked like the suspended spears of giants." The insignia chosen for this "Army of the West" was the crescent moon embracing a five-pointed star.

On 22 February, the same day that the Confederate constitution was ratified and Jefferson Davis was sworn in for his six-year term as president, McCulloch and Price arrived at their camp in the Boston Mountains.

Private Peter Baughman had been discharged on 12 February, but many from McCulloch's army who had been on a ten-day winter furlough were reporting back for duty by the 22nd, along with fresh volunteers raised by Little Rock's new emergency recruitment law.^{297:115}

For the first time, all of them got to meet their new commander, Major General Earl Van Dorn, a fair-haired, aristocratic West Pointer. Van Dorn's arrival had been later than expected, due to his having lost his sword from its sheath along the way, and even more so after he tipped over into an icy stream.^{297:115}

"Soldiers," called out Van Dorn, "behold your leader! He comes to show you the way to glory and immortal renown." The frontiersmen from Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas and especially their Cherokee allies were little impressed.^{297:115} Price broke out his best supplies for a welcoming dinner, and the "kidneys stewed in sherry" prepared by his staff afforded the first decent meal that Van Dorn had gotten in several weeks and the last he would have for several more.^{297:118}

Strong disagreement broke out over what strategy the rebels should take. General Albert Pike reminded them that his force of Cherokee cavalry did not want to fight outside their own territory, and were bound by treaties with the Confederate government never to do so. He also felt that Indians would do poorly if forced to fight the white man's type of war. Many Indians felt that while they were away, their families could not defend their own lands. McCulloch argued that his green Arkansas troops were not ready for a major battle, that they needed time to regain their strength, to be properly armed and trained, and that in a few weeks better weather would allow for a stronger offensive.^{297:121}

Price voted with Van Dorn for immediate action.

Starting out on 4 March, McCulloch rode up front with his skirmishers, but the chilled and feverish Van Dorn chose to linger farther back in a private coach.

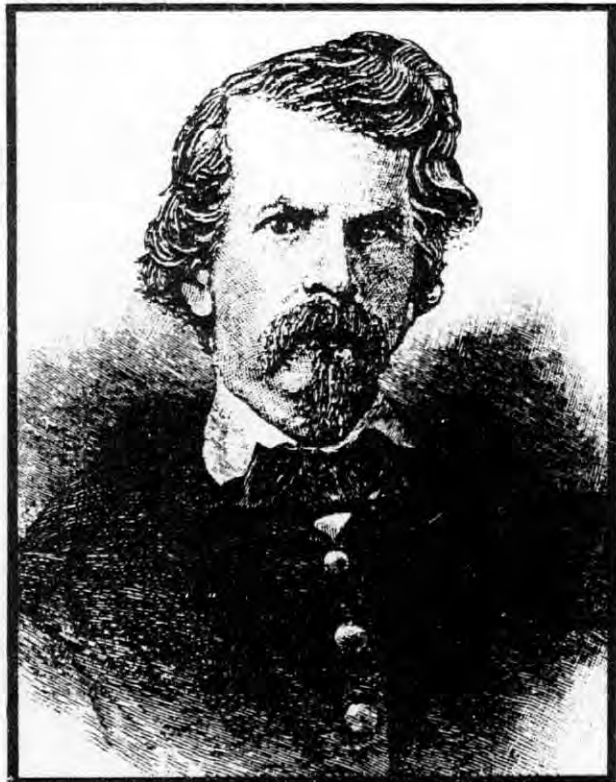
By late morning on 6 March, Price and Van Dorn were positioned above the yankees on the Telegraph Road by Elkhorn Tavern, while McCulloch was to bash into their sides. McCulloch furiously wheeled his men

below Round Mountain until an enemy detachment at Leetown opened up on him with cannons at 11:00 a.m. McCulloch ordered his own reply, and the rebel shell burst over a Federal gun, killing the horses and crew.

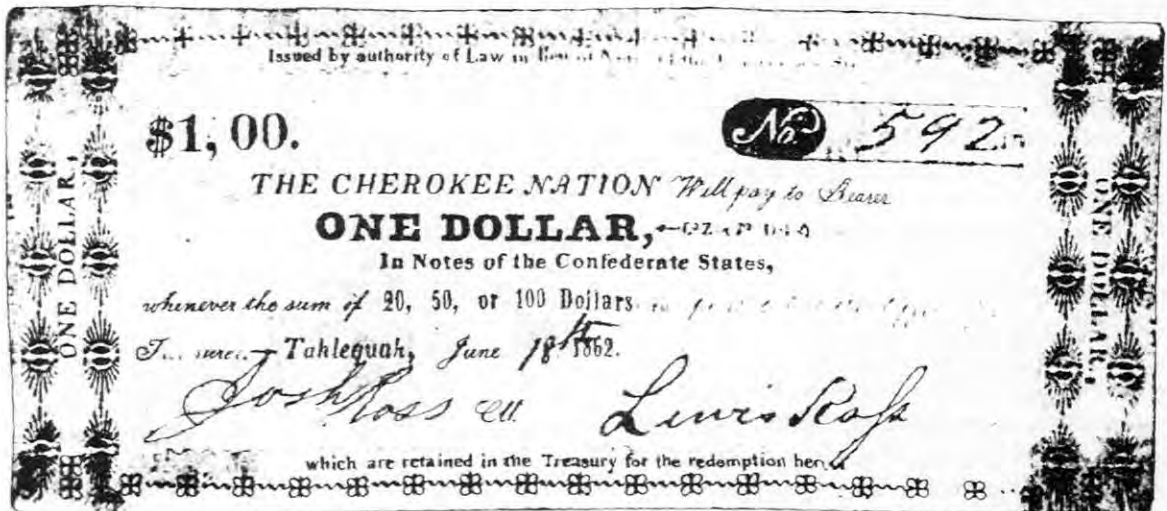
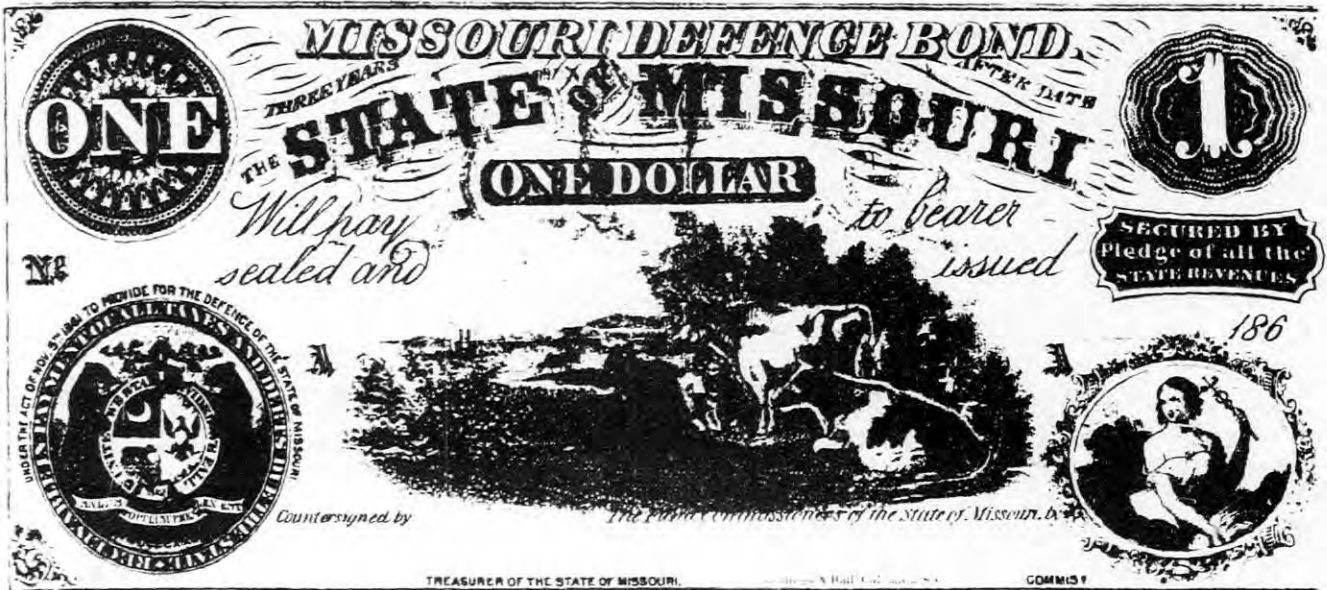
The infantry formed its battle line, with the 14th Arkansas holding the western-most end. At McCulloch's command, General James McIntosh waved his saber on high and led "the furious, irresistible charge... the rush of an avalanche." The rebel yell mingled with the Cherokee battle cry, where in the "helter-skelter charge, [it was] every Indian for himself, whooping and yelling at the top of his voice."

A counter-charge from the 3rd Iowa Cavalry collided with mounted butternuts in the middle of farmer Foster's field. With the "shout of men" and "the clash of swords," "a wild, numerous, and irregular throng of cavalry, a great many Indians among them" the boys from Crooked Creek got their second look at battle — "and a fine sight it was!" said the Arkansas private William Harris. "The mad columns swept over the field" in ten minutes, with thousands of men leaping a fence and a ditch and overwhelming a Union battery 500 yards away. A brisk artillery fire from other yankees kept the rebels from pursuing any farther.^{297:298}

Within a few hours though, a terrible reversal of fortune left McCulloch and McIntire dead, both shot through the heart, and the men of the 14th Arkansas



MAJOR-GENERAL EARL VAN DORN
COMMANDER, THE CONFEDERACY'S ARMY OF THE WEST



barely able to escape from Morgan's Woods just outside Leetown.

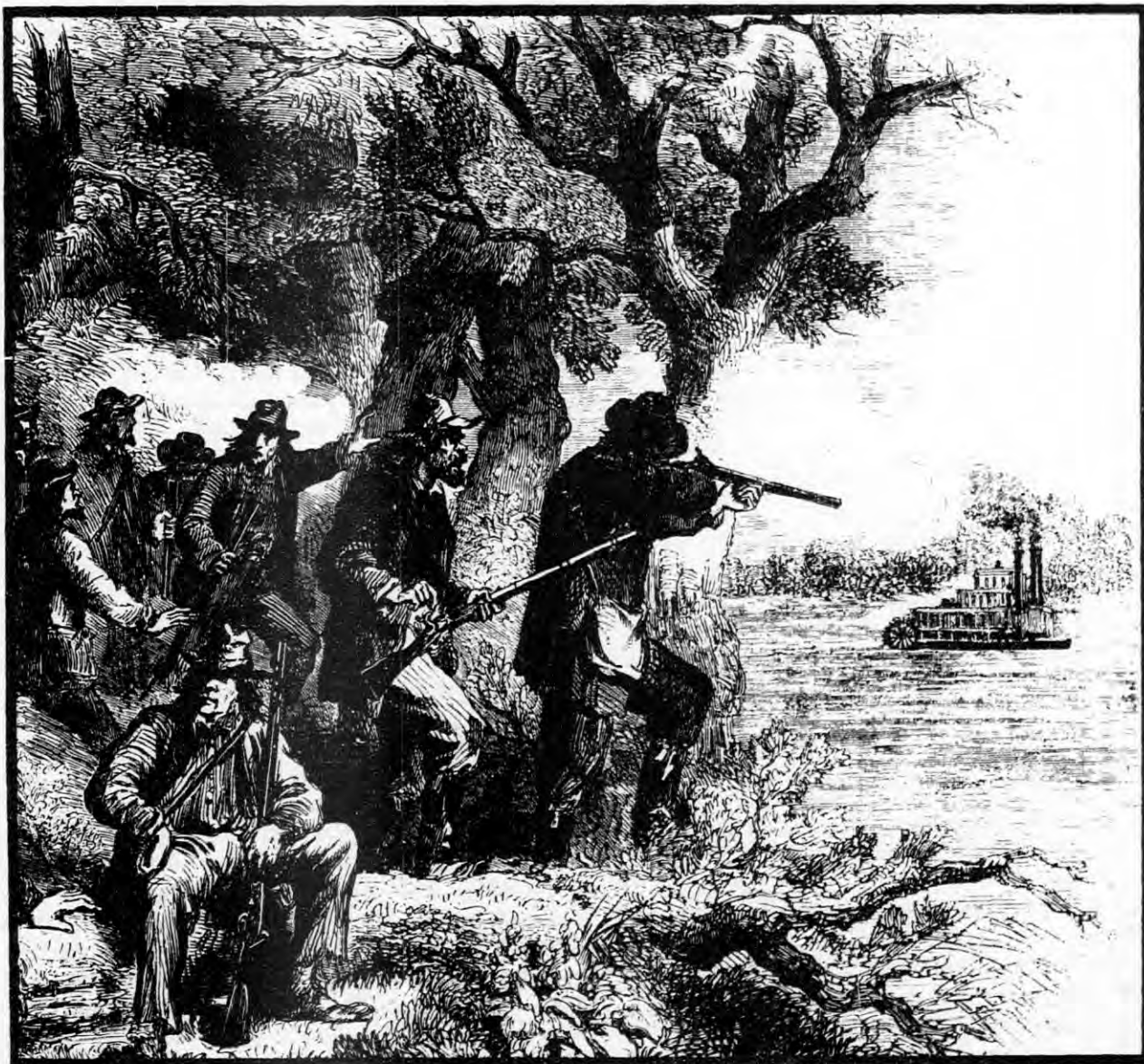
1863

EXACTLY ONE YEAR LATER, THE WHOLE Confederacy was fighting for its life, desperately trying to avoid being cut in half along the Mississippi River. Between Vicksburg, Mississippi, and Port Hudson, Louisiana, the rebels had just one last route for supplying beef and horses from the west, and one last chance to stop yankee gunboats from controlling all river traffic from New Orleans to Minneapolis.

From 7 March through 9 July, the fortifications at Port Hudson, Louisiana, some 150 miles upstream from the Gulf, withstood the longest true siege ever endured by American soldiers.

The 14th Arkansas Infantry became part of the fort's 4,400 man rebel army. Commanding General Franklin Gardner permitted enterprising Tennesseans to make Port Hudson "beer" out of scrounged corn, molasses and water mixed and fermented in a barrel. Faced with "slimy old blue beef" for their daily rations, some soldiers went hunting for alligators.

A few looked for the chance to desert, but got caught. Their sentence was called a "bucking": the seated offender had his wrists tied and slipped over his



HUNTING YANKEE RIVERBOATS ON THE MISSISSIPPI

WHILE THE BOYS FROM CROOKED CREEK ENDURED THE LONGEST SEIGE AMERICAN TROOPS HAVE EVER ENDURED

knees, with his rifle jammed across the crook of the arms but beneath the knees. For his entire sentence, he was left in this position.^{298:27}

Besides chronic hunger, the rebels found that their worst enemies were lice, poor drinking water and a surgeon "who enjoys tooth-pulling more than any man I ever saw," according to one young butternut who chose to endure his sore jaw for many weeks instead.^{298:26}

During long weeks of waiting, looked forward to sharing any copy of a newspaper, especially the *Memphis Appeal*. Some of them published their own daily paper called *The Mule*, which satirized the officers and men at drill. The readership became so devoted that a competing paper, *The Woodchuck*, soon appeared.^{298:28} In the nearby town of Jackson, a photographer offered to mail a soldier's likeness back home.^{298:51}

On 10 March 1863, Major General Sterling Price stopped by and addressed a cheering crowd of 10,000, and a contingent of Arkansas troops serenaded him in song.^{298:62}

Numerous yankee deserters from Baton Rouge fled to Port Hudson in the months following Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation on 1 January 1863. They had refused to salute black officers and were generally mistrustful of the skills and fighting abilities of black troops. The *Memphis Appeal* quoted the commanding Union general, Nathaniel Banks as saying, "My army had gone to hell, and it is useless to deny it."^{298:57}

Rear Admiral David Farragut began to shell Port Hudson from his floating fortresses on the river. On the night of 9 May, the first rebel killed from this bombardment took a 13-inch mortar round to the shoulders. He was pushed head first into the wooden platform and earthworks of his cannon emplacement, and only his feet protruded from the hole.^{298:123}

Colonel Frank Powers from the 14th Arkansas formed a cavalry company that gained its reputation by coming to the last-second rescue of their thinly spread comrades. The records are not perfectly clear, but the larger part of the 14th remained at the fort as infantrymen under the command of Colonel Eli Dodson and Lieutenant-Colonel Pleasant Fowler.^{285:12-13}

On 18 May, Powers brought 300 of them storming up on horseback, along with two six-pound howitzers, after Captain T.R. Stockdale had been pushed back to Plains Store by bluecoat cavalry.^{298:127} On 21 May, Powers' boys prevented three companies of the 30th Massachusetts from getting any closer than three-quarters of a mile south of Plains Store. The yankees added eight guns and two regiments to the attack, but the Arkansians held them in deadlock until the bullets ran out. Powers reformed his line near the railroad, got more shot and powder and resumed the fight, tying down the 174th New York and the 2nd Vermont.

The 15th Arkansas joined the fight, which ended with the federals from the 48th and 49th Massachusetts becoming panicked and fleeing in disgrace.^{298:129} A fresh countercharge from the 116th New York made the difference, and Powers quit the field, returning to Freeman's plantation on the road to Clinton. Both sides felt satisfied with the thrashing they had given the other, although the ferocity of the day left only 100 casualties in each army.^{298:129-130} Powers put off the cutting of the rail link to Port Hudson by a week. After that, though, Banks completed his grip around the fort and the siege began.

Brigadier General William Beall took charge of 2,300 fighters in the middle third of the Confederate line, where most of the 14th crouched beside three cannon batteries, six other Arkansas regiments, one from Mississippi and another from Alabama. The Alabamians stood five feet apart, armed with outdated flintlock muskets. Since their effective range was only 40 yards, each gun was loaded with one ball and three buckshot to increase the deadliness.^{298:144}

The Arkansas cavalry under Colonel Frank Powers had been cut off from the fort but was able to continue operating from the rear of the Union force, dividing their attention.^{298:133}

On 27 May, the assault began in full force, with the yankees trying first for a spot called the "Bull Pen," where the rebels slaughtered cattle. The 14th was brought over in the nick of time, along with the 18th and 23rd Arkansas, to catch the foray in a cross-fire trap — what one Union officer called a "huge bush-whack." The 8th New Hampshire lost 124 men as they approached, a casualty rate of 42 percent. Though sheer numbers of men should have won the day for the federals, but many lost their taste for the charge and dropped out to seek safety. Seven available regiments never assaulted the rebel trenches.^{298:146-147}

Thousands of troops from Massachusetts and Connecticut formed a long, crescent shaped line and started back up the torn and rugged terrain, made treacherous by thickets of honeysuckle and magnolias. The commander of the 15th Arkansas, Colonel Benjamin Johnson realized that his 200 boys were hopelessly outnumbered, but devised a strategy to hold on to "Fort Desperate," their lunette above Little Sandy Creek. Johnson forbade his men to even peek out of their trenches until the enemy was within 60 yards.

The Federals let out a lusty cheer and quickened their pace, but then the rebels popped up, answered with their own yell and volley after volley of lead ball and buckshot. The center of the yankee line faltered, turned tail and ran. The wings closed in but the Arkansas hunters carefully picked off all their officers. About 300 bluecoats, a small fraction of the attack, got within 50 yards but were forced by the withering fire to scramble

for shelter behind logs, stumps and little gullies.

"Are you ready?" shouted a Federal commander, and all of his men yelled their willingness. "Charge!" came the order, but as he scaled the rampart, only four men survived by his side. Even their lifeless bodies were soon rolled back down the hillside, unnerving the men that cowered below. "Charge!" shouted a second officer, but not a single man got up.

Between the marksmanship of the 14th and 15th Arkansas, almost 700 bluecoats were left as casualties between the Bull Pen and Fort Desperate. The 15th Arkansas lost 40. The remaining 8,000 Union men that morning, on their own, had no desire and no leader who inspired them to keep up the fight ^{298:152-153}

By 2 p.m., on one stretch of the thinly spread rebel defenses, each man was issued three rifles. In this way, with their every cartridge fanned out in front of them, rapid shots could be made while a partner reloaded.

"Shoot low, boys," instructed Colonel William Miles of Louisiana. "It takes two men to take away a man who is wounded, and they never come back." ^{298:158}

"Oh how they fall," said a sergeant from Texas pointing at the colorful zouaves from the 165th New York, "their red baggy breeches the prettiest mark in the world." ^{298:161}

A deep, muddy ditch in front had filled with water, making a kind of moat. The next wave of yankees brought long poles with them, hoping but failing to stack these into a bridge. One other tactic from medieval combat failed: Colonel David S. Cowles of the 128th New York wore a chain mail plate over his chest to make himself bullet-proof, but as he turned to the side to cheer his men forward, a fatal shot tore through his side under his arm. ^{298:160}

Colonel William F. Bartlett grabbed a regimental flag and rode out in front of his column only to receive several instant and severe wounds. Sixty yards short of the parapet, he dropped from his horse but still managed to pick up the flag and urge his men forward.

"Don't shoot him," came the order from his Confederate opponents, who later said it had been "the bravest and most daring thing we have yet seen done in the war." ^{298:164} During the hot, bloody afternoon, the Union suffered 1,000 casualties while the Arkansas troops lost only 30.

The campaign against Port Hudson introduced black soldiers wearing blue into combat for the first time. A northern correspondent wrote: "One negro was observed with a rebel soldier in his grasp, tearing the flesh from his face with his teeth, other weapons having failed him. After firing one volley they did not deign to load again, but went in with bayonets..." ^{298:175}

Because General Banks was stopped cold by the boys

from Arkansas on 27 May, he was honor bound to remain until the job was done. If he had succeeded, and returned to Vicksburg where his senior rank would have placed him over Grant, the rest of the war and the nation's history might have turned out very differently. Grant would certainly have been kept from taking credit for Vicksburg's eventual fall; and he would likely have never taken command of the Union Army or gone on to the presidency.

Time was against the boys from Arkansas, who spent June eating horses, mules and then the plentiful camp rats — "a dainty dish... considerably sought after."

Vicksburg caved in to General Grant on 4 July 1863 and the Confederacy's corridor to the west collapsed. By 9 July, the defenders of Port Hudson had held 40,000 attackers at bay for almost two months. The rebels shot a total of 5,000 yankees but only suffered 500 of their own casualties. Another 4,000 bluecoats were hospitalized for disease and sunstroke; but only 200 boys in gray died from these causes. They held onto the Confederacy's last stronghold on the Mississippi, but they were starving to death, and simply could not fight any longer. ^{298:173}

When Port Hudson surrendered, the Confederate officers were shipped off first to Johnson's Island Prison Camp on Lake Erie, near Sandusky, Ohio, and transferred to "Point Lookout" on 21 March 1865 for the rest of the war. The enlisted men were briefly prisoners, but were soon paroled and allowed to go home. The Confederacy never tried to reactivate the 14th Arkansas Infantry. ^{285:13}

Joe Bailey from Crooked Creek managed to escape from Port Hudson, and smuggle the old flag that had been sewn for the Guard back through Union lines. He found Josephine Wright and presented it to her. For several decades following the war, the flag flew at the Boone County Camp of Confederate Veterans during their reunions, and was also proudly displayed at meetings of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Meantime, Josephine married Colonel George Crump and eventually three of her grandchildren, Lulu, Kathleen and Osborn Garvin inherited and then donated the flag to the state headquarters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Little Rock. Attempts in recent years to locate the flag met with no success.

1863

The Doubts of a Union Sergeant

CATHARINE BAUGHMAN, THE DAUGHTER OF JOHN Musselman Baughman and Catharine Bowman, and the great, great granddaughter of Henry Baughman [I], married John W. Stevens on 23 July 1868. At the Battle of Chickamauga, Stevens had been wounded in the

left hip, but carried on as a sergeant in Company B, of the 87th Regiment of Indiana Infantry. John wrote the following letter from Grand Junction, Tennessee on 4 March 1863:

"I thought I would write you a Few lines to let you know that I Am well as usual and hope these Few lines may find you and yours Enjoying the same blessing. I was on Duty last night so I am free today Till noon, and I thought I might As well write as do nothing. I have Nothing new to send.

"we are still In Tennessee guarding the railroad And rehell property. They draw the Wool over our officers again by telling them they are union men but come To find them out and they are at heart our bitter enemies. Oh, When will our officers learn wisdom? Not when they get such high wages And can get whiskey or brandy. All they care about is drinking And playing cards. There are times when The enemy might make a dash And cut us all to pieces, but I Think there is no danger at present Of having a fight, but tharre was A time when we might have had One.

"It was when we wer on our march Southward at a place called Talahatcha. Price had Fortitude himself on the other side of the river. Our division was Ordered on and got near enough to Hear General McDowell orderd A halt so we encamp For a while. The rebbels heard Our drums, so they thought they Had better skedadel so away they Went. Our officers knew of them Being thare and had they obeyed Orders, and hurried up we could Have taken them all prisoners. But I think that was not the Intention that would end the war Too soon.

"Frank Shoffner got a letter from John the other day. he say he believes half Of the solgers will desert when they get payed off, that there is great dissadisfaction Among the troops tharre. Its the case here. (They sware that they did not enlist to Free the niggers.) Our capt. Myers Prooved to be a traitor. after all, he calls This an unholy war and says he will Not help fight to free the negroes nor Stand idly by and see it done. The One we have now is right-side up. he Is a republican, but I have heard several republicans say that they Did not come to fight for the negroes And say they will never go to an Election Again.

"Frank Shoffner is well. Joseph Plumer is well. Ruben Hankins is well. Let Susan see this. I wrote her a letter the other day. I have not received one from her for most 2 weeks. Write to me and let me know how you and all the Rest are getting Along and how the weather is all About things in General. Write soon and let me have the news."

Sergeant Stevens later wrote a letter to friends that was published in the *Winamac Republican* on Thursday,

8 October 1908:

"I wonder how many there are left of old company 'B' of the 87th Ind. Inf. who 45 years ago today heard Capt. George Baker give the command: "Attention, Co. 'B,' left face." This was the last time that noble officer was ever permitted to form his company, for in a short time afterwards, with sword in hand urging his company on to victory, he fell never to rise again.

"It was 45 years ago, and I was a smooth-faced boy of 20, yet what I saw and heard that day is before me now as though it were yesterday. A short time ago I visited the old battlefield of Chickamauga where Capt. Baker lost his life, and as I walked over the earth made precious by the blood of my comrades, and while standing in the road at the edge of the Kelley farm, where the 87th engaged Stovel's brigade at close quarters, looking to the north I could see the rebel guns in the same position they were when they raked us with double shots of canister at 40 yards distant, and it seemed to me I could hear that constant and awful roar of artillery, the rattle of musketry and the cheering of our regiment and the 2d Minnesota as we drove the rebels before us with cold steel and clubbed guns, for it was a hand to hand fight.

"I wonder how many of the old company are left today that were engaged in that battle. There were only seven left of the 47 that went into the fight on the morning of the 20th. I shall never forget the sad faces of that little group as they sat around their campfire. One fire was all that was needed for that true and tried band of soldiers as they talked over the awful scenes of conflict and wondered where their other 40 comrades were — whether dead or wounded and left, on the field to die — while tears flooded their powder-blackened eyes and cheeks!

"You that have never past through the vicissitude of battle can realize what war is!

"A short time ago I quietly strolled over the battlefields around Chattanooga and through the cemetery with a sad heart. In the cemetery 15,000 heroes who gave up their lives for flag and country are at rest. Oh, how sad it is to see so many head-stones marked "Unknown"! But it matters not what company, regiment or army corps they belonged to, the sacred mounds are under the watchful care and keeping of the national government and the Grand Army of the Republic.

"And now, comrades of Company 'B' — Eighty-seventh Indiana Volunteer Infantry, Second Brigade, Third Division of the old fighting Fourteenth Army Corps, I would like to hear from each and every one of you.

Sergt. John W. Stevens, September 20th
General Delivery, Chicago, Ill."

*"What it Means to Have Been a Soldier
In the Civil War"*

TO THE MAN WHO MEASURES HIS WORTH IN BLOOD and scars, that flag means something — whether he wore Blue or Gray, it something to have been a soldier — on either side. It is something to have marched all day long through rain and sleet, your knapsack and blankets on your back with spider and cup tied fast — your canteen ready and with rifle and forty rounds of cartridges in your box — just for ballast — with plenty of holes in your shoes just to let in the water — and plenty more to let it out — while the tough red-clay mud hangs on to them with all the persistency of a bad reputation — with hair unkempt and face unshaven, — “forward march,” the whole day long, unless detailed to help lift a wagon or piece of artillery out of a mudhole — with bread and meat for breakfast, meat and bread for dinner, and for supper the sweet but unsatisfactory memory of how good they tasted, — and when thus wearied and worn, to see battery of flying artillery go wheeling and thundering into position right in front of your line, and then, when the very minutes seemed hours, to hear the command to fix bayonets and forward in the face of a perfect hell of shrapnel, under whose fierce heat your lines melt away. It is something to have stood on the field of conflict when bursting shells and leaden death hurtled through the air and comrades were dropping on every side in obedience to the enemy’s messenger of death; where the cries of the wounded welled up through the night and the pale moon, breaking through the rifted clouds, looked down upon faces paler than its own — faces across which had passed the ghastly shadow of an eternal eclipse. It is something to have seen the waving lines advancing to the charge — to catch the glittering sunshine upon a forest of steel — to have seen all the sights and heard all the sounds of mortal strife — something sublime, yet terrible. It is something to have been a soldier inspired by duty unto daring and to death. But grandest of all and beyond description is the thrilling sight when riding right into the enemy’s ranks to have seen the flag you love and fight for, burst through the veil of smoke that wreathed it like a halo of glory — dazzling the vision as the vapor wreath is wafted aside — and to have heard the wild, exultant cheers of your comrades, all following where its eagle pointed the way — to death, perhaps, but certainly to victory and glory.

“What a thrill of inspiration to deeds of daring there is in that shred of silk or bunting! What an incentive to valor is there in its mute appeal: to do or die! “Bring the Flag back to the line!” shouted a timid commander at a moment when victory wavered in the balance. “Damn you, bring the line up to the Flag!” was the grand and

glorious response. And it is such an experience, mutually shared, that has cemented into a sacred and inseparable union, as comrades and brothers all, the men who wore the Blue, and the men who wore the Gray, and above them floats the banner of their mutual choice to which their united defense is pledged — the Stars and Stripes.

Written by

Nathan Lafayette Bachman (1848-1903)

A Confederate soldier from Tennessee;

[Great-great grandson of the immigrant

Johannes Georg Bachman];

Teacher, lawyer, poet, newspaperman,

California State Legislator (1895-1896).^{314:76-77}

1864

Generally Social Folks

THOMAS BAUGHMAN LIVED IN THE IDAHO Territory when he wrote the following letter to an unidentified uncle living in Cuba, Illinois. The writing style suggests his recent service during the Civil War.

November 8, 1864

“Dear Uncle,

“I take the presents opportunity of dropping you a few lines to let you know that I am well and dewings well. I recived a leter from cozein Eaphrim and was glad to hear from him and the rests of the folks down there. I was glad to hear that you was all well and levings well. I think I shall come down there some of these times and see the country and the people there. I expect your famely wood seem like strangers to me now. But the Baughmans are generally social folks and not very hard to get aquanted with. I want them to rights to me as if they was all aquanance. tell them rights to me and I shall answer them shurley.

“Mother has been maryad to a man by the name of Ballingesan some four years. my oldest brother was killed by the cares where he was going to colledge at Abingdon. My youngest brother is in the army. he has been there three years next spring. my oldest sisters is in Iowa. the younest one is teaching school. there no more at this presents but remans your affectionate nephew.

Thomas Baughman

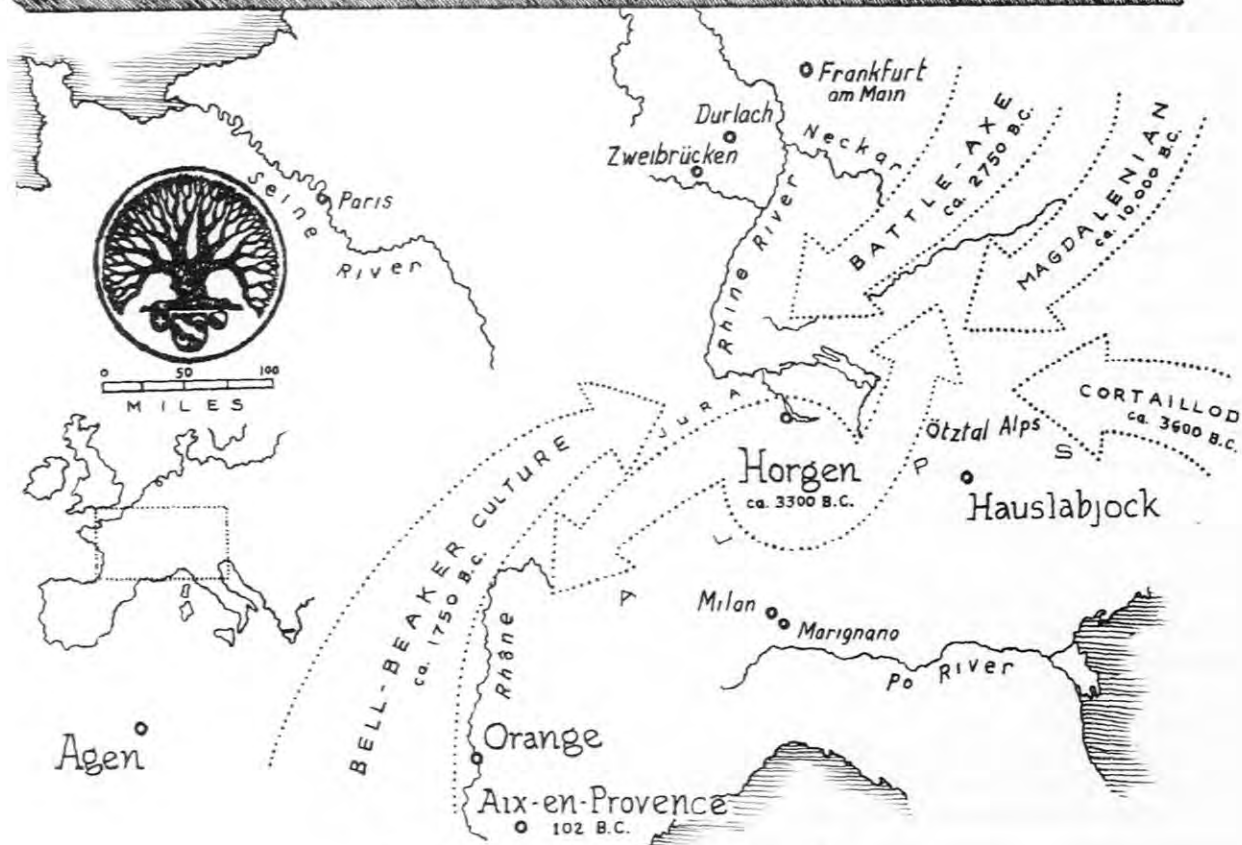
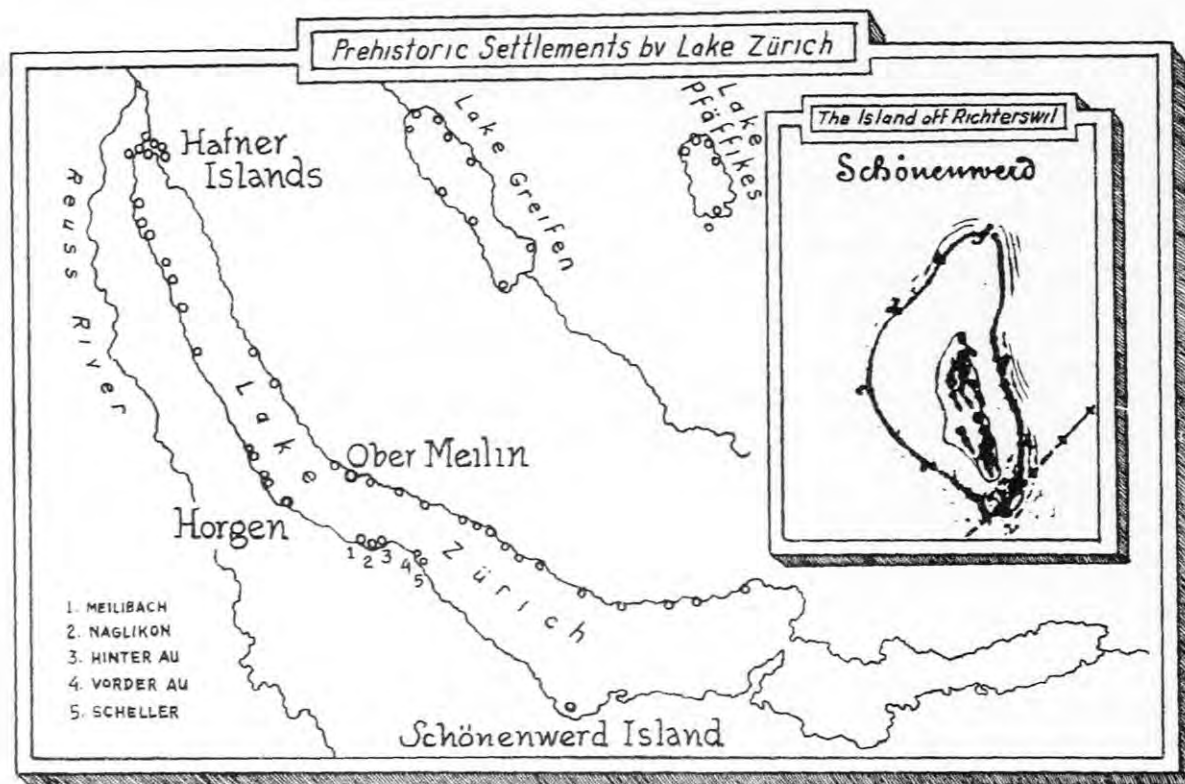
“Direct your letters to

Mr. Thomas Baughman

Owyhe County,

Kuty City,

idaho teritory”^{301:10} ■■■



THE MOVEMENT OF PREHISTORIC PEOPLES
THROUGH EUROPE'S CENTRAL ALPINE REGION



A MAP OF THE RHINE RIVER
DRAWN BY A GERMAN MONK IN 1493



THE SWISS PLATEAU AND SOUTHERN RHINE RIVER VALLEY
FAMILIAR TO SWISS MENNONITES



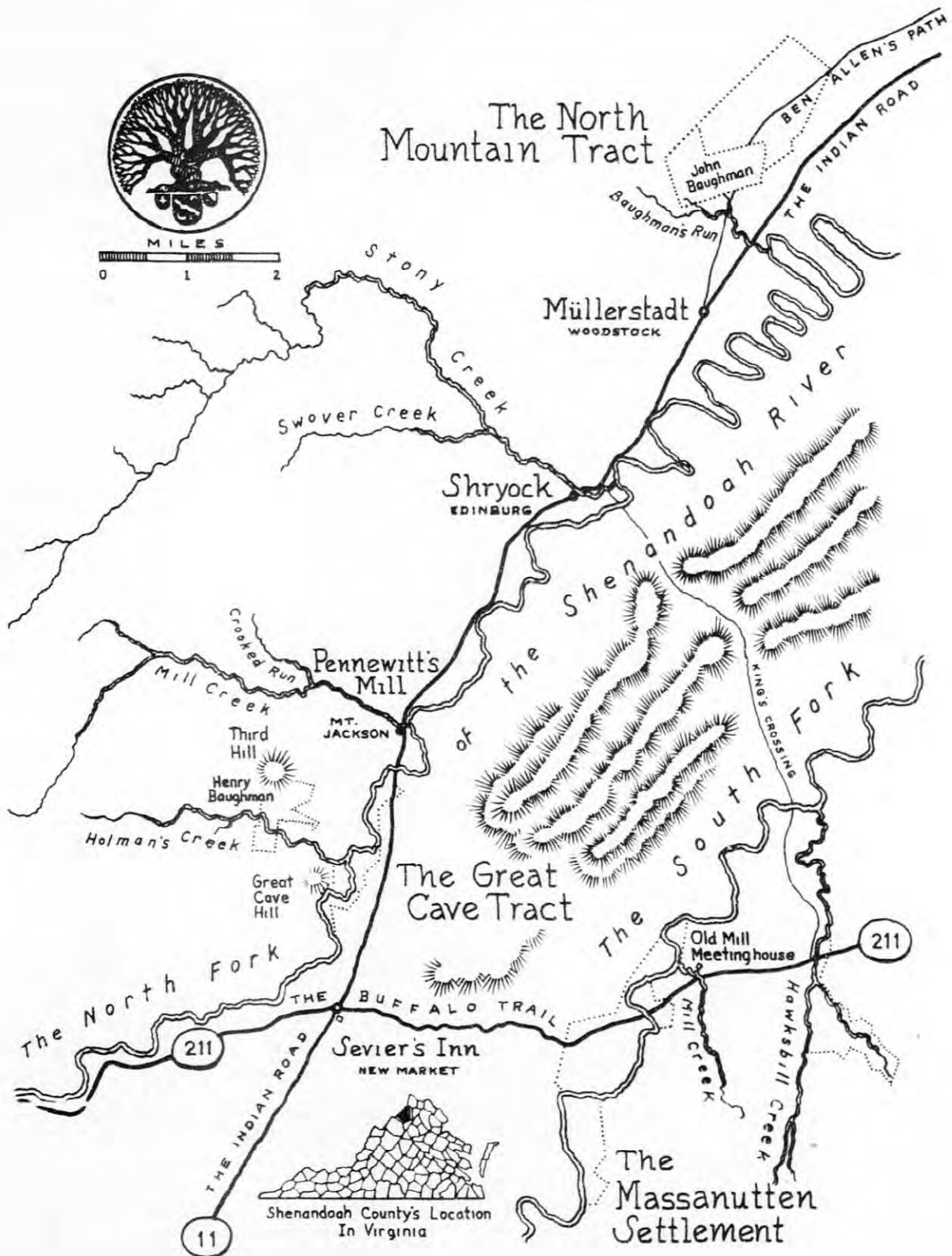
A REFUGE FOR MENNONITES
AMONG GERMAN VILLAGES IN THE KRAICHGAU REGION OF THE PALATINATE



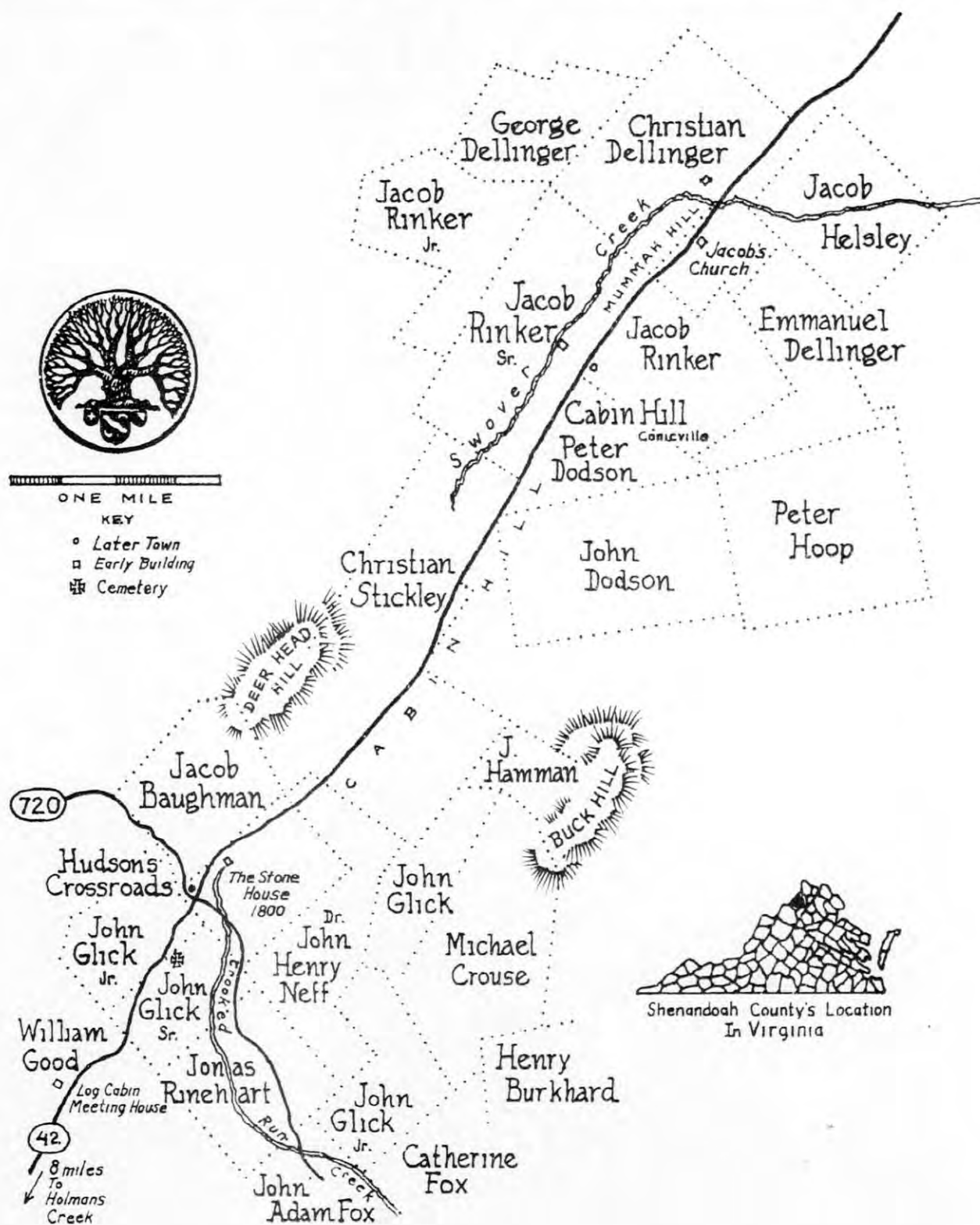
FARMS OF WESTERN LANCASTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA: 1710-1750



SOME MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS NORTH OF PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA: 1710-1750



AMONG HITE'S SETTLEMENT OF SWISS GERMANS
IN THE VALLEY OF VIRGINIA: 1730-1760



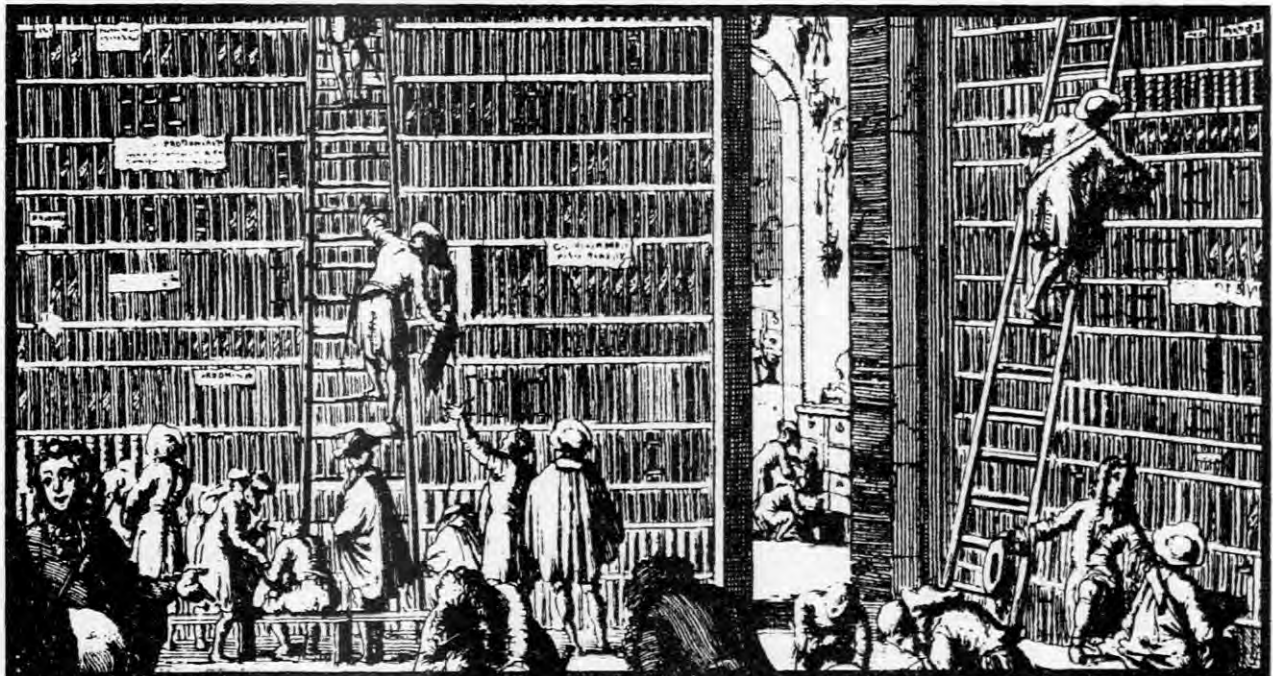
SETTLERS ALONG THE BACK ROAD, PRESENT-DAY ROUTE 42
IN SHENANDOAH COUNTY, VIRGINIA: 1740-1810



SETTLEMENT OF THE BAUGHMAN FAMILY IN NORTHWESTERN ARKANSAS
1840-1904

A CHECKLIST OF
MENNONITE FAMILIES FOR FOLLOW-UP RESEARCH

Aberli/Eberly	Frick	Kuntz/Koonce/Counts	Schenk
Äppli/Eby	Gochnauer/Cochnower	Neukommet/Newcomer	Schmidt/Smith
Äschlman/Eshleman	Götz/Getz	Neuschwander	Schmucker/Smucker
Ashman/Eshman	Groff	Neuschweiler	Schnebelli/Snavely
Bachman/Baughman	Guldin	Nissley	Schneider/Taylor
Backer	Gut/Good	Landis	Schürch/Sherrick
Bär/Bear	Habecker/Hawbaker	Lange/Long	Siegrist
Bauer/Bower	Haldeman/Holeman	Leaman/Lehman/ Layman	Stauber
Bauman/Bowman	Harnisch	Lichti/Light	Stauffer/Stover
Baumgartner	Hauser/Howser	Maag/Mauck	Steinman/Stoneman
Bechtel	Hegi/Haggy	Meili	Stöckli/Stickly/Stuckey
Böhm/Beam	Hiestand	Meyer/Moyer/Farmer	Stoltz
Brachbühl/Brackbill	Hess	Müller/Miller	Strickler
Brenneman	Hörschi/Hershey	Mumma/Moomaw	Suter/Soder/Sutter
Bruppacher/Brubaker	Hoffman	Mossiman/Musselman	Treichler/Trexler
Burkhardt	Hostetter	Oberholtzer	Tschantz/Shantz
Burkholder	Hottel/Hoddle/Hudlow	Reiger	Tschudi/Juda
Byer/Boyer	Houck/Hawk	Ringger/Rinker	Walder/Walter/Waller
Dägen	Huber/Hoover	Rohrer	Weber/Weaver
Danner/Tanner	Kauffman/Coffman	Rott/Roth	Wenger
Detweiler	Keagy/Cagy	Rusterholtz/Elmwood	Widmer/Wittmer
Forrer/Forry	Klein/Kline/Little	Ryff/Rife	Wilken
Fuchs/Fox	Köndig/Kindig	Schärer	Wisler/Whistler
Führer/Forrer	König/King	Schaub/Shope	Wisman
Funk	Kreider/Cryder	Schellenberger	Zimmerman/Carpenter
Funkhouser	Kreihbühl/Graybill		Zollinger/Tollkeeper





THE BACHMAN FAMILY OF CANTON ZÜRICH
AN ARMORIAL COAT OF ARMS IN THE STYLE OF ALBRECHT DÜRER

APPENDIX A
BACHMAN FAMILY GENEALOGIES FROM SOUTHERN CANTON ZÜRICH
1553-1735

THE EARLIEST WÄDENSWIL CHURCH BAPTISMAL RECORDS, CANTON ZÜRICH, SWITZERLAND (EXTRACTED)
(pages covering 1570-1595 are missing)

Canton Zürich Archives Record EIII 132.1; LDS microfilm No. 0995912

Caspar Bachman	Heinrich Bachman	Görg Bachman	Jacob Bachman & Frena Hausler	Christian Bachman
1. Hans Heinrich b: 11 II 1553	1. Anna b: 14 IX 1553	1. Hans b: 20 V 1555	1. Hans b: 12 I 1556	1. Maria b: 12 I 1561
—	2. Jacob b: 1 X 1554	2. Niclaus b: 14 IV 1556	2. Barbel b: 13 XII 1557	—
—	3. Adolheit b: 4 VII 1556	3. Elsbeth b: 7 XII 1558	3. Elsbeth b: 27 III 1560	—
—	—	—	4. Hans b: 28 XII 1561	—
Klein Hans Bachman & Elsbeth Götttschi	Burkhardt Heinrich Bachman & Elsbeth Treichler	Jos Bachman & Frena Gottinger	5. Jos b: 1 VIII 1563	Melcher Herr "Anabaptist" & Margaret Huber
1. Conrad b: 21 IV 1562	1. Regula b: 14 IX 1600	1. Hans b: 26 V 1605	6. Hans Jacob b: 7 XII 1564	1. Maria b: 3 VIII 1606
2. Anna b: 28 XI 1563	2. Catherina b: 4 II 1606	—	7. Anna b: 31 III 1566	2. Hans b: 19 III 1609
3. Elsi b: 24 X 1569	3. Madalena b: 1 I 1609	—	8. Caspar b: 11 III 1570	—

THE EARLIEST RECORDED WÄDENSWIL MARRIAGES, CANTON ZÜRICH, SWITZERLAND (EXTRACTED)

Adelheit Bachman & Jacob Schneider, 21 X 1599
Burkhardt Bachman & Richter Äschman, a widow, 6 X 1603
Eva Bachman & Uli Schneider, 27 I 1605
Caspar Bachman & Madelena Moyer, 17 VI 1611
Susanna Bachman & Hans Huber, 23 II 1612
Jos Bachman & Elsbeth Wild of Richterswil, 31 III 1612
Barbara Bachman & Ulrich J____, 17 I 1613
Catherina Bachman & Caspar Blattman, 29 VI 1617
Caspar Bachman & Anna Bauman, 9 X 1627
Hans Bachman & Regula Burkhardt, 13 V 1628
Barbal Bachman & Heinrich Rusterholtz, 5 VI 1632
Barbal Bachman & Hans Jagli Schärer, 1 XII 1635
Elsbeth Bachman of Richterswil & Hans Jagli Trinkler, 30 VIII 1642
Barbal Bachman & Hans Jacob Hägi, 24 IV 1649

Other Wädenswil townsmen during this era included:

Heinrich Äpli; Peter Äschman; Conrad, Felix and Rudolf Bruppacher; Jacob Hiestand; Hans and Uli Huber; Heinrich Kuntz; Hans Moyer; Hans and Klein Hans Näff; Caspar and Heini Rusterholtz; Rudolf Ryff; Rudolf Schärer; Peter Schmid; Hans and Jacob Staub (married to Anna Landis); Hans Strickler; and Uli Widmer.

Rudolf Bachman, "an almost vehement Anabaptist"

(ca. 1570-1640)

& Verena Ryff

1. Heinrich (1614)

& Barbara Hauser

2. Haini (1621)

3. Barbara (1634)

Hansenman Bachman

b: 10 III 1616

d: 6 X 1693

& Anna Rusterholtz

from Wädenswil

(No obituary)

□ 1. Johannes (1637)

2. Elsbeth (1652)

■ 3. Heinrich (1655)

4. Barbara (1656)

5. Hans Heinrich (1657)

▣ 6. Hans (1660)

7. Elsbeth (1663)

8. Anna (1665)

9. Hans Heinrich (1670)

10. Regula (1672)

11. Barbara (1676)

Hans Jacob Bachman

b: 4 IV 1628

nicknamed Jaggli

& Elisabetha Häuss

(From his 1st marriage:)

1. Rudolf (1646)

(With Elisabetha:)

2. Rudolf (1653)

☆ 3. Johannes Rudolf (1659)

4. Conrad (1664)

Hans Jacob Bachman

b: 1629

d: 1704

& Regula Strickler (m: 4 X 1653)

1. Heinrich (1654)

▶ 2. Hans Heinrich (1656)

○ 3. Jos (1657)

▶ 4. Martin (1659)

▶ 5. Hans (1661)

6. Verena (1663)

7. Anna (1666)

8. Elsbeth (1668)

9. Elsbeth (1669)

10. Anna (1671)

11. Elsbeth (1673)

▶ 12. Johannes (1675)

▶ 13. Hans Jacob (1677)

Descending Lines Bound for Emigration [Note: Families unrecorded in Alsace for ▶ Martin (1659) and Hans (1661)]

□ Johannes Bachman

b: 27 VII 1637

d: 26 VI 1710

From Schwanden

& Magdalena

Pfenniger of Stäfa

b: 1635

d: 2 III 1708

(m: 5 VI 1655)

⊗ 1. Hansenman

(1677)

—

⊗ Hansenman

Bachman

b: 5 VIII 1677

& Regula Hauser

b: 25 II 1672

(No obituary)

1. Anna (1707)

◇ 2. Heinrich

b: 7 IX 1711

At Greenbriar?

3. Barbali (1715)

■ Heinrich Bachman

b: 1 I 1655

From Schwanden

& Lisbetha Bachman

b: 2 III 1658

d: 12 VI 1718

(m: 14 IX 1683)

Gravida

◆ 1. Hans Heinrich

(1683)

2. Regula (1687)

3. Catherine

(1696)

4. Barbal (1703)

◆ Hans Heinrich

Bachman

b: 16 VIII 1683

& Susanna Treichler

1. Andreas (1709)

2. Ulrich (1710)

3. Elisabetha

(1712)

4. Hans (1715)

◆ 5. Jacob

b: 2 IV 1718

▣ Hans Bachman

b: 11 II 1660

"Left sons behind"

1716

& Esther

Schwartzbach

1. Hans Caspar

(1684 *Spuria*)

2. Hans Caspar

(1686)

3. Barbara (1687)

4. Hans Heinrich

(1689-1689)

5. Heinrich

(1690-1693)

6. Heinz

(1692-1732)

7. Conrad

(1693-1693)

8. Conrad (1695)

☆ Johannes Rudolf

Bachman

b: 3 VII 1659

& Anna Goldschmidt

b: 4 IV 1655

d: 23 VIII 1721

1. Johannes Jacob

(1686)

⊗ 2. Johannes Rudolf

(1693)

—

⊗ Johannes Rudolf

Bachman

b: 8 X 1693

Blacksmith, "for many

years in foreign lands.

& Barbara Dagen

b: 1 V 1683

d: 7 III 1735

Remained in Richterswil

★ 1. Heinrich

b: 13 X 1711

At Shenandoah

2. Daniel

b: 17 VII 1713

★ 3. Rudolf

b: 27 I 1715

To Carolina - 1739

○ Jos Bachman

born: 3 VIII 1657

No church baptism

d: 19 VIII 1736

Also known as Jodocus

and Oswald

& Regula Treichler

A widow from Horgen

b: 1646

d: 26 I 1706

(m: 12 II 1678)

1. Georg

b: 3 III 1679

2. Heinrich

b: 14 V 1682

3. Elsbeth

b: 10 VIII 1683

4. Hans Heinrich

b: 14 II 1685

⊗ 5. Hans Georg

b: 2 V 1686

At Ibersheim &

Saucon Township

OTHER BACHMAN HOUSEHOLDS FROM THE PARISH OF RICHTERSWIL: 1634-1705

Canton Zürich Archive Record E II 224; LDS microfilm No. 1185150

From Old Castle	From Old Castle	From Löchli	Household 92
Johannes Martin Bachman b: ca. 1580 & Sophia Hauser ✦ 1. Jacob (1602) ✦ 2. Andreas (1608) 3. Anna (1618) 4. Magdalena (1622) — From Old Castle Household 93	Hans Jacob Bachman b: ca. 1592 d: 13 XI 1683 "Meister" & Magdalena Bachofer 1. Barbal (1612) 2. Elsbeth (1614) 3. Sophia (1618) 4. Elsbeth (1620) 5. Hans (1621) 6. Hans Jacob (1622) — Household 79	Heinrich Bachman b: ca. 1595 & Elsbetha Rusterholtz ✦ 1. Hans Jacob (1618) 2. Hans Heinrich (1619-1666) 3. Walti (1622) 4. Urban (1624) 5. Andreas (1626-1705) 6. Verena (1627) 7. Magdalena (1629) 8. Margaretha (1630) — From Bergli Household 163	Heinrich Bachman b: ca. 1598 & Anna Schär 1. Magdalena (1619) — Barbal Bachman b: ca. 1602 "Both Anabaptists" & Hans Thailin 1. Jacob (1622) 2. Margareta (1625) 3. Heinrich (1629) 4. Magdalena (1632) — Georg Bachman b: ca. 1610 & Anna Blattman (m: ca. 1631) 1. Barbali (1632) 2. Ita Hiestand (1608) —
✦ Jacob Bachman b: 1602 & Anna Züricher 1. Ulrich (1627) & Anna Strickler 1. Barbal (1648) 2. Hans Heinrich (1630) 3. Elsbeth (1633) — From Old Castle Household 102	Conrad Bachman, b: ca. 1605 & Barbal 1. Anna (1627) 2. St—— (1630) 3. Elsbeth (1631) 4. Gallus (1633) 5. Barbal (1638) 6. Heinrich (1645) 7. Cathali (1646) — Verena Bachman, b: ca. 1612 "Anabaptist" & Andreas Wild 1. Hans — Hans Rudolf Bachman b: 1628 d: 1704 A blacksmith at the Sihl River — By Eselhof	► Heinrich Bachman b: ca. 1610 Also known as Haini, the old Provost, who left for Alsace in 1660 & Margaretha Hiestand 1. Anna (1635) 2. Andreas (1638) 3. Jacob (1645) 4. Hans Heinrich (1647) Possibly the Elder of Heideolshiem — From Bergli Household 161	Hans Bachman b: 1619 Apprentice to household of Conrad Äschman in 1634 — Hans Bachman Laborer to household of Jodocus Bruppacher in 1634 — From Richterswil
✦ Andreas Bachman b: 1608 & Margareta Treichler d: 1634 1. Urban (1632) 2. Elsbeth (1634) & Elsbeth Huber 3. Barbal (1635) 4. Verena (1637) 5. Hans (1641) 6. Peter (1643) 7. Anna (1644) 8. Hans Rudolf (1646-1714) 9. Margaretha (1660) — Household 98	Verena Bachman b: 1619 d: 11 I 1683 & Heinrich Ringger b: 1611 d: 2 III 1684 1. Dorteia (1652) ► 2&3. Heinrich & Klaus (1654) 4. Elsbetha (1657) 5. Susanna (1659) 6. Elsbeth (1662)	Peter Bachman b: ca. 1617 & Barbal Rusterholtz 1. Andreas 2. Conrad 3. Hans Peter (1645) 4. Hans Conrad (1648) — From Löchli	Felix Ringger Gallus Schneider "Anabaptists" ca. 1640
✦ Hans Jagli Bachman b: 1618 d: 1681 son of Heinrich & Anna Züricher 1. Rudolf (1644) 2. Anna (1648)		Andreas Bachman b: 1626 d: 1705 & Anna Zingin b: 1631 d: 1713 (m: 1659)	

<i>From Hütnerbach</i>	<i>From Old Castle</i>	<i>From Schwanden</i>	<i>From Old Castle</i>
Hans Rudolf Bachman b: 1634 <i>Blacksmith</i> & Agatha Hauser b: 1627 d: 30 V 1699 (m: 1653) 1. Hans Jacob ➤ 2. Hans Rudolf (1669) 3. Regula (1672) 4. Catrina — <i>From Hütnerbach</i> ➤ Hans Rudolf Bachman b: 6 VI 1669 d: 21 I 1746 <i>son of Agatha Hauser</i> & Anna Bär b: 1667 d: 21 VII 1751 1. Barbara (1693) 2. Lisbeth (1695) 3. Johannes Rudolf (1698) — <i>From Schwanden</i> Hans Heinrich Bachman b: 28 VI 1657 d: 30 VIII 1709 & Margaretha Treichler (m: ca. 1684 <i>unrecorded</i>) 1. Hans (1685) — Heinrich Bachman & Barbara Goldschmidt <i>Daughter of the Provost</i> 1. Susanna - <i>Spuria</i> b: 19 IV 1698 d: 15 IX 1702 — Hansenman Bachman & Barbara Goldschmidt 1. Jacob - <i>Spuria</i> b: 24 III 1703 —	Ulrich Bachman b: 1647 d: 1709 & Elsbeth Burkhard b: 1652 (m: 1675) — <i>From Hirzel</i> Hans Ulrich Bachman b: 1652 d: 1725 & Elsbeth Treichler b: 1656 d: 1730 (m: 1680) — <i>From Schwanden</i> Regula Bachman b: 1658 <i>Living alone at age of 31</i> — Hansenman Bachman & Anna Horger b: 1671 d: 2 II 1706 (m: 9 I 1700) <i>Gravida</i> 1. Anna Maria (1703) 2. Hans (1706) <i>Died Immediately after Baptism</i> — Hans Rudolf Bachman b: 1 V 1685 — <i>From Nürensdorf</i> Rudolf Bachman & Verena Leinbacher 1. Felix b: 18 XII 1701 ➤ 2. Susanna b: 20 VIII 1707 <i>Step-mother to Jacob Rinker</i> —	Peter Bachman b: 1641 d: 1711 & Barbara Rusterholtz b: 1639 d: 1715 (m: 1677) — <i>From Old Castle</i> Georg Bachman b: 1654 & Regula Widmer (m: 1680) — Heinrich Bachman b: 1659 d: 1729 <i>Dies as "Der Meister"</i> & Anna Burkhard b: 1666 (m: 1684) — Hans Rudolf Bachman & Barbara Burkhard 1. Hans Heinrich (1686) — <i>From Richterswil</i> Hans Hiestand & Regula Strickler ➤ 1. Conrad 2. Jacob (1673) ➤ 3. Kleiann b: 10 I 1675 <i>Wife of Hans Jacob Brubacher and neighbor of the Bachman children at Ibersheim</i> 4. Barbara (1677) 5. Jacob (1679) — Johannes Bachman <i>No recorded death of a wife</i> 1. Elisabetha b: 15 VII 1704 d: 16 VIII 1704	Johannes Rudolf Bachman b: 1646 d: 1714 & Verena Thailer b: 1654 d: 1719 (m: 1676) 1. Verena (1689) 2. Felix (1692) 3. Regula (1694) 4. Hans Heinrich (1695) — Heinrich Bachman b: 1656 & Elsbeth Strickler b: 1653 (m: 1677) — Hans Jacob Bachman b: 1667 & Anna b: 1658 (m: 1687) — Anna Bachman b: 24 IV 1686 d: 23 VIII 1760 & Hans Danner b: 25 XII 1686 (m: 13 I 1709) 1. Hans Heinrich (1715) 2. Hans Heinrich (1722) 3. Heinrich (1723) — <i>From Schwanden</i> Hans Bachman <i>The miller, baptized in Dühren</i> d: 1692 & Engal Rusterholtz (m: 1675) 1. Hansenman (1682)

APPENDIX B

The Zürich Song

by Hans Rycher, lyrics written circa 1686-1709

English translation by Klaus Wüst, 1996

Performed to the folk tune "Tannhäuser," which dates to the 13th Century

♩ = c. 80

The musical score for 'The Zürich Song' is presented in eight staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#). The tempo is indicated as c. 80 beats per minute. The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes), rests, and accidentals. A triplet of eighth notes is marked with a '3' in the fifth staff. The score concludes with a double bar line in the eighth staff.

The Zürich Song
by Hans Ryher³²⁰

*Performed to the tune of "Tannhäuser"
a song honoring the German knight and poet
famous for his pilgrimage to Rome
where he hoped to be forgiven for his sins.*

First-known English translation, by Klaus Wüst and J. Ross Baughman, 1996.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Oh men, the time has come to wake
on earth where we are living.
The Final Reckoning's on its way,
your piece of silver given.*</p> | <p>1. <i>O Mensch wach auf in dieser Zeit,
wol hier auf dieser Erden,
wann nun die letzte Rechnung seig,
dass dir der Groschen werde.</i></p> |
| <p>2. The sun it surely will not set
before the worst fiends race
and kill together everyone,
though your life be replaced.</p> | <p>2. <i>Dass die Sonnen nicht undergang,
ehe dass dein Feind mögest vertilgen,
und tödten allesamt,
und dein leben verneueren.</i></p> |
| <p>3. There's a Lord in heaven's kingdom
Who calls us lovingly
and says to us to come to Him
with voice so clear and sweet.</p> | <p>3. <i>Es ist ein Herr in Himmelreich,
der thut uns lieblich ruffen,
uns spricht wir sollend zu ihm kohn,
mit heller Stimm so süsse.</i></p> |
| <p>4. All of you now come to Me
who are so full of burden.
If you trust Me happily,
wounds shall cease their hurting.</p> | <p>4. <i>Er spricht, komt alle her zu mir,
die ihr hier sind beladen,
und thind auch frölich trauen mir,
so heil ich euren Schaden.</i></p> |
| <p>5. To the Lord, whoever comes
escaping safely every one,
sparkling like the stars above,
bright shining like the sun.</p> | <p>5. <i>Wer nun zu diesem Herren kommt,
der ist gar wol entrunden,
wird leuchten wie die Sternen rein,
auch wie die helle Sonnen.</i></p> |
| <p>6. If you want to join this Lord,
you must be cleanly dressed
with bright and all new clothing
shedding sin, when you confess.</p> | <p>6. <i>Wilt du zu diesem Herren kon,
so must dich sauber zieren,
mit einem hellen-neuen Kleid,
und alle Sünd verlieren.</i></p> |
| <p>7. That clothing is the New Birth
as Saint John taught every one.
It does not spring from flesh and blood.
From God, the Lord, it comes.</p> | <p>7. <i>Diß Kleid das ist die neue Geburt,
wie uns Johannes lehret,
die nicht herkomt vom Fleisch und Blut,
sondern von Gott dem Herren.</i></p> |
| <p>8. Once you put on all these clothes
you will soon perceive
the devil's plan and clever ways
of catching those who leave.</p> | <p>8. <i>Wann du das Kleid anzogen hast,
so wirst du bald vernemmen,
deß Teuffels Tück und kluge List,
damit er dich will fahen.</i></p> |
| <p>9. He becomes the dreadful dragon
roaring like a lion.
He throws you in his sack
trembling and crying.</p> | <p>9. <i>Es ist ein ungeheurer Drack,
er brület wie ein Löwe,
dass er dich bring in seinem Sack,
und thut dir heftig dröwen.</i></p> |

10. The dragon spews filth from his mouth
in a gruesome thunder;
Lord protect us at all hours
from the bitter sunder.
11. A flood of water, strong enough
could pious folk all drown —
Lord watch us at all hours
lest we should also founder.
12. The ocean waves are running high
and rage so cruelly.
Lord God, our thanks are just as great.
You shield us thoroughly.
13. Whoever now accepts Thy word
must also keep the same.
This weather blows upon them
just to split them from Thy frame.
14. The final blow will sharply fall
on those who God makes fearful.
Lord God will surely see to it
that limbs will never falter.
15. That we'll not fall into the noose
when now the time has come,
that we shall know the meanest blows
but not lie on the ground.
16. The tempest is so strong.
Lord God must know our cries,
how prison and the jailer's glee
have cost so many lives.
17. There is a town in Switzerland —
the truth is now released —
known by all as Zürich
where the pious folks were seized.
18. It robbed them of their property
and swallowed all with lust.
Every one felt horrified
who Christian Rule entrust.
19. In one old convent nunnery,
Ödenbach by name,
they endured through every strife
long trapped by heavy chain.
20. Until the Lord led them away,
as all have later learned,
their misery stayed the longest time —
for twenty years it burned.
10. *Der Drack der scheisst aus seinem Mund,
ein grausam Gewitter:
Erhalt uns Herr zu aller Stund,
der Streit wär sonst gar bitter.*
11. *Ein Wasser-Strom, der also gross,
die Frommen zu erträncken,
Herr wach ob uns zu aller Stund,
das wir nicht thünd.*
12. *Die Meeres-Wällen die lauffen an,
und thun so grausam wüten,
Herr Gott wir wend dancken drum,
du thust uns wol behüten.*
13. *Wer jetzt dein Wort hat gnommen an,
dasselbig thut behalten,
die während dieses Wetter an,
und will sie von dir spalten.*
14. *Der Endchriſt laſst ſich mit ſchärpfſſe auf
über die ſo Gott fürchten,
Herr Gott du wolteſt ſehen drauf,
und deine Glieder ſtärcken.*
15. *Dass wir nicht fallen in den Strick,
wann nun die Zeit wird kommen,
dass man uns dann verfolgen wird,
dass wir nicht ligen unden.*
16. *Das Ungewitter iſt ſo groſs,
Herr Gott dir thun ichs klagen,
mit Rauben Gefängnuß ohne Maaß,
hat manchen koſt ſein Leben.*
17. *Es iſt ein Stadt im Schweitzerland,
da iſt ſolches ergangen,
mit ihrem Nahmen Zürich genandt,
ſie hand die Frommen gefangen.*
18. *Hand ihnen geraubet Gut und Haab,
hands mit Wolluſt verſchlemmet,
es möcht wol jemand grausen drab,
dass ſie ſich Chriſten nennen.*
19. *In einem alten Nuppen-Hauſs,
Ödenbach iſt ſein Nahmen,
iſt ihnen fürkommen manchen Strauß,
und ſind gar lang gefangen.*
20. *Biß ſie der Herr von dannen führt,
wie man es hat erfahren,
die Trübsal währt ein lange Zeit,
wohl ben den zwanzig Jahren.*

21. That many in this time
had bodies villified
pulled through the dragon's hate and envy,
some of hunger died.
22. The well-known Felix Lansgan
and also Rodolf Sommer
both lingered in this prison
and suffered from such hunger.
23. All they had for all week long
was water, nothing more,
nor ladle to even dip it out
but fingers cupped for more.
24. Their bodies were so weakened
that even water to their lips
worn by such duress and strife
could barely take a sip.
25. But they could freely still avow
"We shall escape this hell."
And with all their tribulations,
yet they both did fare so well.
26. If they could find life-giving food
no longer they partook,
and soon prepared themselves
starvation's deadly look.
27. Since both departed life in peace,
we should thank God for it.
He kept their spirits to Himself
and did not let them slip.
28. Freed by their own blood,
they professed this truth:
When Christ shall come again,
our Joy will flow as proof.
29. At just that moment, food arrived
but they by Death were found.
We hope that in their heaven above
the food and drink abounds.
30. That they had tried to feed them,
I cannot deny,
but only so they could not go
and from their hunger die.
31. Oh, blind world, how mad you are
to mislead God, your father.
You, so full of lust and want,
will lose it all forever.

21. Dass ihrer viel in dieser Zeit,
an ihrem Leib verdorben,
wohl von des Drachen Hass und Neid,
sind etlich Hunger gestorben.
22. Der Felix Landsgan wol bekandt,
und auch der Rodolf Sommer,
die hand in dieser Gefängnuß,
glitten ein solchen Hunger.
23. Hand ihnen wol ein Wuchen lang,
nichts gän dann lauter Wasser,
dass sie hat dunckt sie müssen schier,
ab ihren Händen essen.
24. Da sind sie bend so schwach gesien,
dass sie das lutter Waffer,
schier nicht mehr können zu ihm nän,
in diesem Zwang so grosse.
25. Nothhaben sie gar fren bekant,
so wir der Höllen entrinnen,
allhier in solcher Trübsal so gross,
ist ihnen gar wohl ergangen.
26. Also sind sie der leiblichen Speiß,
nicht mehr theilhaftig worden,
und da man ihnen bereitet hat,
sind sie bald Hungers gestorben.
27. Auch beyd im Frieden gescheiden hin,
Gott sollen wir drumb dancken,
dass er die hat erhalten sein,
dass sie nicht thäten wancken.
28. Sie haben frey mit ihrem Blut,
die Wahrheit thun bekennen,
wann Christus wieder kommen thut,
so werden sie sich freuwen.
29. Zulest wölten sie ihnen yessen gähn,
da sind sie bald gestorben,
wir hoffen sie haben im Himmelreich,
viel Speiß und Tranck erworben.
30. Da sie ihnen nach hand zessen bracht,
das kann ich nicht verschweigen,
dass sie haben Hungers tödt,
das wölten sie nicht leiden.
31. O blinde Welt wie bist so doll,
wilt du noch Gott vexieren,
die du bist Freud und Wollust voll,
du wirst es bald verlieren.

32. What do you think will be the word
on the Judgment Day
to him who used his neighbor
and by hunger let him die?
33. If you will not then turn away
from this gruesome rage,
I fear that on the Judgment Day
you'll lose God's grace and Golden Age.
34. In this town where I refer
for the sake of Truth
in hospital and Ödenbach
a day's work most pursued.
35. They walked the prophets' path
where Christ had also gone.
They left their wordly things behind
as captives for so long.
36. That many died along the way
in violent storms that shatter,
Please hear us Lord, our moans denounce
the strife so very bitter.
37. A Pfister and Ulrich Schneider, too,
along with Jacob Erni,
Rudolf Bachman and many more
forgotten on the journey.
38. For the sake of Truth
they all gave up their lives;
and every wordly thing they had
that God reclaims on high.
39. They sowed the ground with their own tears
and now the Lord will come
with Joy, returning pious hearts
and seeds they bring along.
40. For those who did not perish
persecution brought their dread,
robbed of all their wordly goods
and driven out instead.
41. The book of Esther clearly shows
in the Lord's own words
who His chosen enemies are
and so all men can learn.
42. Just from where the storm arrived
now you understand
it's lasted several thousand years
in almost every land.
32. Was meinst was wird am Jüngsten Tag,
dem für ein Antwort werden,
der seinen Nächsten brauchen thut,
und lasst ihn Hunger sterben.
33. Wann du dich nicht bekehren wirst,
von deinem grausamen Wüten,
ich fürchten du werdest am jüngsten Tag,
verlieren Gottes Güte.
34. In dieser obgemeldten Statt,
handt und der Wahrheit willen,
im Spithal und im Ödenbach,
viel ihren Tagwerck erfüllet.
35. Sie giengen auff der Propheten Weg,
da Christus auch ist gangen,
sie haben verlassen Haab und Guth,
und sind gar lang gefangen.
36. Das ihren viel gestorben sind,
in diesem Ungewitter,
O Herre Gott wir klagens dir,
der Streit ist her gar bitter.
37. Der Pfister und Ulrich Schneider auch,
dazu der Jacob Erni,
der Rudolf Bachman und andere mehr,
die ich nicht all kan nennen.
38. Die haben um der Warheit gut,
ihr Legen da verschlissen,
daran gewendt ihr Haab un Guth,
Gott sey es unverwiesen.
39. Sie haben mit wäinen säyen thun,
von nun der Herr wird kommen,
mit Freuden werden sie wieder kon,
und bringen ihren Saamen.
40. Die da nicht gar gestorben sind,
die haben sie geplaget,
auch ihnen graubet Haab und Guth,
und aus dem Land ver jaget.
41. Desgleichen zeigt der Esder an,
des Herren Wort so klare,
wer seine Auserwehlten Feind,
kan man hierbey erfahren.
42. Wo komt das Ungewitter har,
das hast du wol verstanden,
hat nun gewährt etlich tausend Jahr,
fast schier in allen Landen.

43. It says within the Book of Wisdom
that they shall lament —
all who spurn the pious folk
with force, and ne'er repent.
44. This violent storm in our fair town,
what made it start off here?
I've not read exactly yet
what made it first appear.
45. Oh Lord, my God, we pray to you:
Don't charge it all to them.
They know not what they do so wrong
but block Thy word's fulfillment.
46. I ask every woman and man
who will hear this song
misunderstand it not
but fear God's name anon.
47. I ask of you, all young and old,
with fearful hearts to ease,
the Lord to keep and save you,
and please pray to God for me.
48. That the Lord has saved me
in this circle, til the end
and through His spirit taught me
to remain as one with Him.
49. He who life has newly made
again began to sing,
"An old man lived a world of sorrow
turned by God to newer things."
43. *Man finds im Buch der Weisheit stahn,
dass sie sehr werden klagen,
die den Frommen hey Gwalt und Unrecht thon,
unds nicht erkennen haben.*
44. *Diss Ungewitter hat in dieser Statt,
also viel angefangen,
dass ichs nicht viel gelesen hab,
daß also sey ergangen.*
45. *O herr mein Gott wir bitten dich,
thus ihnen nicht zurechnen,
weil sie nicht wissen was sie thun
und wider dein Wort fechten.*
46. *Ich bitt euch alle Weib und Mann,
für die das Lied wird kommen,
ihr wolt mirs nicht für übel han,
und fürchten Gottes Nammen.*
47. *Ich bitt euch alle jung und alt,
die Gott von Herzen fürchten,
Ich wünsch dass euch der Herr erhalt,
thund auch Gott für mich bitten.*
48. *Dass mich der Herr zu seinem Kreiß,
Biß an das End erhalten,
durch seinem Geist mich underweiß,
von ihm bleib ungespalten.*
49. *Der uns das Leib hat neu gemacht,
von neuem hat gesungen,
das hat gethan ein alter Mann,
Gott wohl ihm wenden Kummer,*

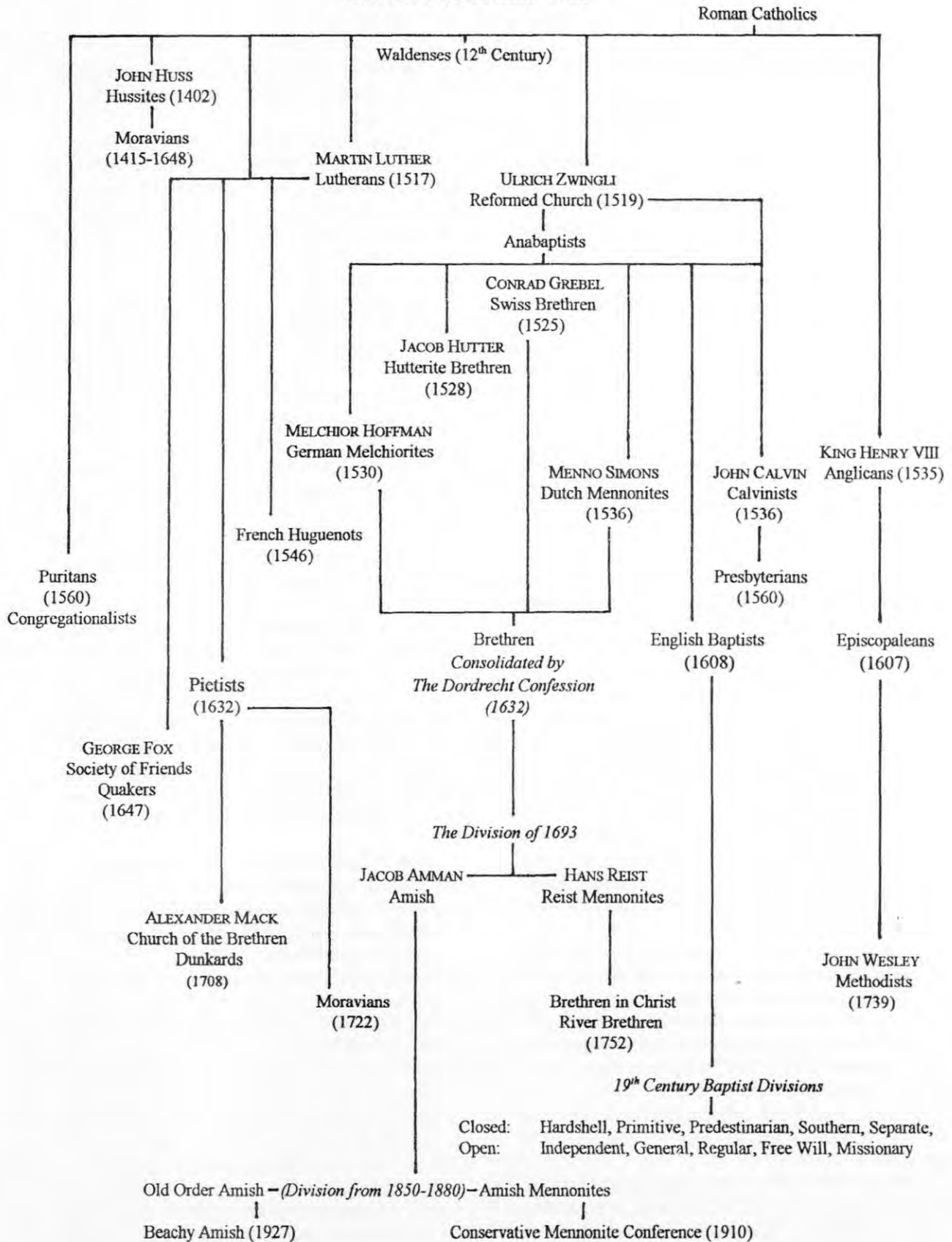
Amen.

Amen. ■■■



* A Biblical parable on The Piece of Silver. *Groschen* in Luther's Bible.

APPENDIX C THE PROTESTANT FAMILY TREE



APPENDIX D

BACHMANS WHO STAYED BEHIND IN EUROPE

NUMEROUS BACHMANS CAN STILL BE FOUND living around Lake Zürich, many descended from the prolific families at Richterswil and Wädenswil. A branch of them moved west to Canton Bern, embracing government service and the state's Reformed Church between the 17th and 19th centuries.³³⁰ Of even greater fascination though is the community in Alsace that had been poised to leave with Kindig's group, but chose to stay in the Rhineland. Their reasons remain a mystery and only a little about them is known, but they make an intriguing mirror image of the Pennsylvania settlers — living a parallel life on the other side of the ocean.

Around 1712, Hans Bachman left Heidolsheim and arrived in the duchy of Zweibrücken in southwestern Germany, where Mennonites were allowed to keep to their same austere ways. Still enforced were quotas aimed at suppressing their number in any town below 20.

A glimpse of their meetinghouse in Zweibrücken came from a French traveler. "One Sunday I went into their temple, but it is nothing more than a big hall. In the background a wooden Cross was raised, and benches took up the whole area of the hall. Before the elder's chair stood a table with a Bible on it. That was all there was inside. A sign in big letters stood outside over the entrance: 'Enter the House of Our Father on High' [*'Zum Haus des grossen Vaters'*]"^{325:51}

In 1737, the Mennonites approached Johannes Mengert, a typesetter and printer in Zweibrücken, to publish a hymnal. Because the Mennonite verses included overt and untactful criticism — especially of the Roman Catholics — Mengert feared that his princely privileges to print other prayer books would be jeopardized. The brethren went on to a competing printer in nearby Durlach at Kaiserslautern, and in the end, their project harvested the praise of the most senior Zweibrücken authorities in the Reformed and Lutheran churches.^{325:50}

The Bachman family continued to mediate between the conservative Amish and the more worldly Mennonites. In 1745 and 1746, one local church caretaker, Heinrich Bachman slogged through a protracted dispute over which groups would pay certain small but overdue bills at the Tschifflicker Hofe. A general harmony prevailed, and by 1752, the congregation quotas were forgotten. The brethren faithful gathered in bigger and bigger meetings at Essinger.

On 25 September 1757, the Anabaptists Bachman and Koller paid 2,000 guilder for impressive piece of real estate at Truppacher Hof near Zweibrücken. It had descended down through an aristocratic family named

Follenius, but the wife of the late Inspector-General of the district who lived there could no longer hold the property by herself.

Prominent elders within the Zweibrücken brethren then included Ulli Bachman in 1759, and 20 years later, Jacob Bachman, Jacob Dettweiler and Jacob Steinman. Johannes Schnebele was the Mennonite community's lay elder and preacher at Zweibrücken in 1770. These were the years of growth and influence for them, as the business records of the region reflect.^{325:52}

Keeping to the trade of Hans Bachman, their patriarch, the Zweibrücken Bachmans invested in creek-side mills for their livelihood. Fully half of their Mennonite brethren did the same. On 19 December 1778, the Mennonite family of Barbara and Johannes Bachman bought the mill on Bickenasch Creek from Mrs. Amtmann of Azenheim, just outside of Zweibrücken, but sold it the following year to Jacob Lehman and three others for 2,625 guilder.^{325:63} For the rest of the 18th Century, these holdings continued to prosper. Mennonites were even able to buy up the entire estate and holdings of the late Duke Charles through his widow the Duchess Amalia.^{325:62}

Some of the hard feelings between the Amish and Mennonite communities softened after 111 years in Zweibrücken. At a widely attended wedding in 1804, one observer noted "the groom himself is a *Häflern* [an Amish wearer of hooks and eyes], but the bride, however, to the *Knöpfeln* confesses [a button-wearing Mennonite], and in such events their own preachers cannot make a marriage. Instead they took a vote and chose the pastor from Offweilerhof, Joseph Stalter, who agreed."^{325:58}

A late 18th century census of the Zweibrücken Mennonites included the following:

- Anna Maria Bachman, daughter of Ulrich at Tschifflicker Hof e (Recorded in the Lutheran church-book at Battweiler)
- Christian Bachman, a Mennonite from Bundenbach, in 1761 served as administrator for his brother-in-law, Jacob Lehman, also a Mennonite from Kirchheimerhof.
- Daniel Bachman, Mennonite, son of Johann of the Gersbergerhof, married the widow of Johann Jacob Müller from the Dusenbrücker mill (Recorded in the Lutheran Consistory Protocol of 1796)
- Elisabeth Christine Bachman, also an Anabaptist; married to Johann Jacob Finger
- Friedrich Bachman, Mennonite of the Bundenbach Hof
- Heinrich Bachman, Anabaptist, the son of Ulrich; named manorial supervisor at Tschifflicker Hof in 1747

- Heinrich Bachman, of Rohrbach, son of the deceased Ulrich Bachman and Katherina Weiss, Anabaptists out of Tschifflicker Hof; married on 19 September 1786 at St. Ingbert's Church to Katharina Hellenthal, widow of Heinrich Appel of Rohrbach.
- Jacob Bachman, Mennonite, of Ringweiler Hof, appeared in 1778 with Christian Hauser as guarantor for Johannes Bachman at the purchase of the mill on Bickenasch Creek; served as elder to the community at Hirschberg as late as 1787.
- Johann Bachman, administrator of the old Hofe at Hassel (Recorded in the Reformed Consistory Protocol)
- Johannes Bachman, Mennonite, and his wife Barbra, owners of the Bickenasch Creek mill.
- Johannes Bachman, Baptist, and his wife Katharine Martin at Kirschbacherhof obeyed the government order to baptize their three daughters:
 Elisabeth, born 1 March 1784
 Susanna, born 4 January 1789
 Katharina, born 11 March 1790
 (Recorded in the Reformed Church Register)
- Johann Bachman, Mennonite, married Maria Siegel, also Mennonite, in 1797. (Recorded in the Lutheran Consistory Protocol)
- Ulrich (Ulli) Bachman, son of Heinrich, chief supervisor at Tschifflicker Hof, 1747; attends the gathering at Essinger; deceased before 26 March 1764. (Recorded at the State Archive in Speyer)
- Among the other families in the district at Zweibrücken were the Anabaptist Lehman at Alzey, Johann Nikolaus Eyer (1744), Hans Habecker, Jacob Moserman (1768), Jacob and Rudolf Schmitt (1771), Ulrich (1730) and Johann Nicholas Schnebeli (1734), and Jacob Steinman (1742).^{325:76}

Bachmans of the Established Order

THIS FAMILY SHARED THE IDENTICAL COAT-OF-ARMS to the Bachmans of Wädenswil and Richterswil, but chose the opposite path during the Protestant Reformation, siding with the authorities instead. The detail of their early genealogical record is impressive, but the last keeper of the family name was the unmarried Miss Sophie Bachman (1813-1858).

The oldest known father for them was Ulrich Bachman, who appeared in 1458 as a member of the Catholic Church at Diessbach close to the Bernese town of Thun. A Peter Bachman was born around 1460 in this same community. In 1475, Conrad Bachman began his apprenticeship to an area blacksmith and the family name continued in this trade throughout the next century.

A different Conrad, perhaps descended from the blacksmith, was chosen to join the Great Council in 1537, taking the role of Harbor Manager in 1546. He died however the next year.

Born in 1594, Niclaus Bachman became the court scribe at Aarburg, and in 1623 at Trachselwald. He joined the Great Council in 1629 and became mayor of Thun in 1638. During his administration there, the farmers rose up in a brief insurrection, but Bachman settled it in a relatively short time. He next served as Chief Magistrate of Biberstein in Canton Aargau from 1649 until his death seven years later. Bachman married for the first time in Trachselwald on 27 May 1616 to Catharina im Hag, and again on 19 February 1629 to Catharina Bullinger. Numerous children survived him, including four sons.

His eldest boy and namesake, Niclaus (1620-1684), followed in the footsteps of government service: as scribe to the courts at Friesenberg in 1650, Thun in 1656, and a member of the Great Council in 1657 before he moved to Zweisimmen in 1665.

Another son, Abraham (1630-1689), became a church choirmaster in 1670, but had spent his life as a blacksmith and blade maker, becoming the head of his local guild. His only own son, Abraham (1658-1721), continued a family dynasty in blade-smithing that continued for over 130 years.

The two other boys, Samuel and Franz Ludwig, both became well-known pastors in the Reformed Church at Thun. Samuel gave sermons about strict vigilance against French and Dutch moral decadence, while Franz Ludwig spent his time translating theological books from English into German.^{330:32-33}

From the town of Näfels in Canton Glarus, a distinguished military family of Catholic Bachmans rose to prominence between 1474-1684. Their ties to Lake Zürich are also intriguing, but their coat-of-arms bears no resemblance to the Richterswiler Bachmans. It features instead three green mountains on a red field, and overhead between two stars a falling golden moon.

The earliest person claimed by their line was a citizen in Zürich named Walter Bachman of Sendelbach. In 1280, he testified there about a small matter at the castle of Uster. Zürich banished Walter's son, Hugo (1306-1369), after he was implicated with the Earl of Rapperswil as part of a treasonous conspiracy in 1350. Walter's grandson Johannes (1356-1445) established himself as a free man of Uster, Rümlang, Fehraltorf and Benken in the Gaster. Johann Hugo Bachman (born 1390) was a nobleman in the retinue of Sigismund at the Council of Konstanz. With a trace of too much enthusiasm, a genealogy of Johann Hugo Bachman was prepared by the Freiburger Abbot Jean-François Girard and the Glarner priest Johann Rudolf Steinmüller, describing him as a "freeman of Uster, Minister to the Earl of Toggenburg, the Duke of Austria and the titled Lady Schänis, as well as heir of rights to the best taken from any swamps, rivers and brooks of Lake Greifen."

APPENDIX E
 Declaration of Trust
 George Bachman Etc.
Vor das versamlung Haus
 [For the meetinghouse property]

6/8

Entered in the office for Recording of Deeds at Easton
 in and for the County of Northampton in Book H, Vol:1, page 227 Etc.

The 27th day of December 1792

Witness my Hand and Seal of Office

[signed] John Arndt, Recorder

TO ALL PEOPLE TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL come, we George Bachman, Phillip Geissinger, John Reefer, Samuel Newcommer and Samuel Bechtel, All of or Adjacent to the Township of Upper Sawcunk in the County of Bucks in the Province of Pensylvania, yeomen, Send Greeting. WHEREAS John Yeoder of the said Township of Upper Sawcunk, Yeoman, by Certain Indenture of Lease & Release Dated the third & Fourth days of June Anno Dom: 1751 for the Consideration therein Mentioned did Grant & Convey A Certain piece of parcel of Land Situate in ye sd Township of Upper Sawcunk BEGINNING at a post 30 perches Distant north from a White Oak Sapling A Corner of ye sd John Yoders Land in a line of George Bachmans Land thence North by it along Nineteen perches & one fifth to a Post thence East by the sd John Yoders Land 25 perches to a post thence South by the Same 19 1/5 perches to a stone thence West 25 perches to the place of Beginning, Containing three Acres TOGETHER with the Appurtenances TO HOLD to us our heirs & Assigns forever as by the Recited Indentures, relation thereunto being had Doth it charge appear. NOW KNOW YE that we, ye sd George Bachman, Phillip Geissinger, John Reefer, Samuel Newcommer, Samuel Bechtel Do hereby Acknowledge & Confess that ye sd Indenture & Estate thereby Granted it so inside & taken in Our Names only upon Trust for the only proper Use and School of the people Called Menonists in or near the Township aforesaid or Such of them as at this time use it or at any time hereafter Shall be in Religious Fellowship with them & do & shall constantly Attend their Meetings for the publick worship of God & are intended & received by the Congregation of the sd people Called Menonists to be Members of their Christian Society AND for the intent & Purpose hereafter Expressed THAT is to say for the better Accomodation of ye sd people with a piece of Parcel of Land for the decent Buriall of their dead, Erecting or Building of Meeting Houses, School Houses, & other Necessary Buildings AND we, ye sd George Bachman,

Phillip Geissinger, John Reefer, Samuel Newcommer & Samuel Bechtel, for Our selves our Heirs Exect Adm & Assigns & for every one of us Do Covenant, Promise & Grant that we Shall & will from time to time & at all times hereafter Suffer & permit if sd People called Menonists on the sd piece or parcel of Land above herin particularly Set forth & Described to make Grave Yards, Erect & Build Meeting houses, School Houses & quietly and peaceably to Enjoy the Same without the Lawfull let Mollestation, hinderance & Interruption or Disturbance of Use if sd George Bachman, Phillip Geissinger, John Reefer, Samuel Newcommer & Samuel Bechtel, or Heirs, Exect Admin or Assigns or of any other person or persons whom same by or with our, or any of our Means purity consent Act of Default or procurement AND Also in case that any of us that are for the sd Trust Should remove from ye sd place or in Case of the Death or any of us, or that any of us shall so misbehave our Selves as to be Disowned or Ecommunicated by the Congregation of ye sd people called Menonists we do hereby as much as in us here Give & Grant full powere & Authority unto the sd Congregation to Nominate, Elect, Constitute & Appoint others in their Stead or place of such so Removing or Excommunicated or Dying [] so which Shall be as Effectual in Every respect as if Such of us had been continued in the Trust. And the Trust Reposed in Such of Us that Shall so remove or be Excommunicated or Dying Shall Cease, Terminate and be Extinct AND in like Case [] same Reasons the sd Congregation of ye People Called Menonists Shall by virtue hereas be Enabled to Elect, Constitute & Appoint other in Same Trust as we are now Institued in from time to time. And at all times hereafter Forever. IN WITNESS whereof, we the sd George Bachman, Phillip Geissinger, John Reefer, Samuel Newcommer & Samuel Bechtel have herewith Set our hands & Seals Dated the Fifth day of June Anno Domini One Thousand Seven Hundred & Fifty One — 1751

Scaled & Delivered
 in the presence of us
 George Ackerman
 Christian Eschbach, Samuel Foulk

Samuel Neicommt
 Samuel Bechtel

Görg Bachman
 Phillip Geissinger
 Samuel Rifin

The Twenty first Day of December A Dom. 1792 before me Phillip Bahl one of the Justices of the Peace in & for the County of Northampton personally appeared Samuel Foulk one of the Witnesses to the Execution of the above written instrument of writing who on his Solemn affirmation did Depose & say that he was present & saw the above-named George Bachman, Phillip Geissinger, Samuel Newcomer & Samuel Bechtel, Severally Sign, Seal & [] deliver he above declaration of trust, and that the name George Ackerman & Christian Eschbach & the other witnesses of their own handwriting subscribed in his presence.

o o o
Release

John Yoder to George Bachman, Etc.
For 3 Acres

Diet Zum Das Samlung Hausz
[Deed To The Meeting House]

Entered in the Office for Recording of Deeds at Easton
In and for the County of Northampton in Book H, Vol. 1, page 218
Etc. the 13th day of December A.D. 1792
[Signed] John Arndt, Recorder

THIS INDENTURE MADE THE FOURTH DAY OF JUNE in the twenty third year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George the Second, King of Great Britain etc. and in the Year of Our Lord & Savior One Thousand Seven Hundred & Fifty One BETWEEN John Yoder of Upper Sawcunck in the County of Bucks Co. & Province of Pennsylvania, Yeoman, of the one part and George Bachman, Phillip Geissinger, John Reefer, Samuel Newcomer and Samuel Bechtel, All of the Same Place, Yeomen of the other part. WHEREAS there is a certain piece or parcel of land Situate in the sd Township of Upper Sawcunck BEGINNING at a post 30 perches Distant north from a White Oak Sapling A Corner of ye sd John Yoders Land in a line of George Bachmans Land thence North by it along Nineteen perches & one fifth to a Post thence East by the sd John Yoders Land 25 perches to a post thence South by the Same 19 1/5 perches to a stone thence West 25 perches to the place of Beginning, Containing three Acres being part of a parcel of One Hundred & Sixty Four acres Granted Unto the sd John Yoder by Deed of Lease & Release from William Allen, Esq. of Philada. & Margaret his Wife bearing the Date the Twenty first & Twenty second Days of January Anno Dom: 1735 being part of Ten Thousand acres which William Penn Esq. Chiefe proprietary & Governor of the province, then by his Last Will & Testament, Divise Unto his grandson Springet Penn, his Heirs & Assigns which Ten Thousand Acres the sd Springet Penn did Grant unto his youngest Brother William Penn in fee by Indenture of the Tenth day of April Anno Dom: 1729. And sd William Penn the grandson by Indenture bearing date of Sixteenth day of April Anno Dom: 1729 on record in Philada. In Book F, Vol. I, page 8 Did Grant the same Ten Thousand acres to ye sd William Allen,

Esq in Fee As by the said Indenture Doth at Large appear. NOW THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH that the sd John Yoder for & in Consideration of the Sum of Thirty Shillings Current money of the old Province to him in hand paid by the sd George Bachman, Phillip Geissinger, John Reefer, Samuel Newcomer and Samuel Bechtel the receipt whereof the sd John Yoder doth hereby Acknowledge & thereof doth Acquit forever discharge the sd George Bachman, Phillip Geissinger, John Reefer, Samuel Newcomer and Samuel Bechtel their Heirs & Assigns by the presents, HATH Granted, Bargained, Sold, released & Confirmed and by the present Doth Grant, Bargain, Sell, Release & Confirm unto the the sd George Bachman, Phillip Geissinger, John Reefer, Samuel Newcomer and Samuel Bechtel, all the sd three Acres of Land and the Same is above set forth & described TOGETHER with all the Woods, Ways, Waters, Rights, Liberties, Priviledges, Hereditaments & Appurtenances whatsoever, there unto belonging or in any wise appertaining and the Reversions, Remainders, Rent spaces & Profits thereof And all the Estate Right Title Interest Property Claim & Demand whatsoever of him the sd John Yoder of in & to the Same ALL which sd Three Acres of Land Heriditaments & Premises hereby Granted & released Are in the Actual Possession of the sd George Bachman, Phillip Geissinger, John Reefer, Samuel Newcomer and Samuel Bechtel by virtue of One Indenture of Bargain & Sale for Year bearing Date ye Day Next before the day of the Date of theses presents And by force of the Statute made for Transferring uses into Possession TO HAVE & TO HOLD the sd Three Acres of Land, Hereditaments & Premises hereby Granted, Released or Mentioned to Granted & released Unto the sd George Bachman, Phillip

Geissinger, John Reefer, Samuel Newcomer and Samuel Bechtle their Heirs & Assigns & to the only proper use & behoof of the sd George Bachman, Phillip Geissinger, John Reefer, Samuel Newcomer and Samuel Bechtle their Heirs & Assigns Forever AND the sd John Yoder & his Heirs the sd Three Acres of Land, Hereditaments & Premises hereby Granted & Released with the Appurtenances Unto the sd George Bachman, Phillip Geissinger, John Reefer, Samuel Newcomer and Samuel Bechtle their Heirs & Assigns Against him & sd John Yoder & his Heirs & Against Every other Person or persons Lawfully claiming or to Claim by from or under him them or any of them shall & with Warrant & forever Defend by these presents AND the sd John Yoder for himself his heirs, Exa Adm & Assigns Doth hereby Covenant Promise & Grant to & with the sd George Bachman, Phillip Geissinger, John Reefer, Samuel Newcomer and Samuel Bechtle & their Heirs that the sd

John Yoder his Heirs Exa Adm & Assigns shall & will at any time hereafter at request cost & charges in Law of the sd George Bachman, Phillip Geissinger, John Reefer, Samuel Newcomer and Samuel Bechtle their Heirs or Assigns make, do, Execute, Acknowledge & Suffer or cause so to be all & every such further & other act or Acts, Device or Devices in Law for the further & Better: Conveying & Assuring of the sd Three Acres of Land, Hereditaments & Premises hereby & Granted with the Appurtenances Unto the sd George Bachman, Phillip Geissinger, John Reefer, Samuel Newcomer and Samuel Bechtle their Heirs & Assigns. As by them or Any of them their or any of their Council in that behalf Learned in the Law shall be Reasonably Devised, Advised or required. IN WITNESS whereof the sd parties herunto have to these presents Interchangeably set their hands & seals Dated the day and year first Above written.

Sealed and Delivered
in the presence of us
Jacob Musselman
Samuel Foulk
Ann Yoder

his
John [H] Yoder
mark

The Sixth Day of October A Dom. 1792 before me Phillip Bahl one of the Justices of the Peace in & for the County of Northampton personally appeared Samuel Foulk one of the Witnesses to the Execution of the above written instrument of writing who on his Solemn affirmation did Depose & say that he was present & saw the above-named John Yoder Sign Seal & as his act & Deed deliver the above written Indenture, & that the name Samuel Foulke thereto Subscribed was of his own hand writing and also that he saw Jacob Musselman the other Witness subscriber his name thereto. In witness wherof I have hereunto Set my hand & seal the Day & year aforesaid

Phillip Bahl

APPENDIX F
FOLKTALES FROM THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY
GATHERED BY JOHN L. HEATWOLE

A wonderful collection of oral history from the Shenandoah Valley has been preserved in the 1995 book *SHENANDOAH VOICES: FOLKLORE, LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS OF THE VALLEY*, released by the Rockbridge Publishing Company in Berryville, Virginia. Here is but a quick taste relating to the peoples and places in this book. Specific page numbers from Mr. Heatwole's highly recommended book are cited after one or more anecdotes.

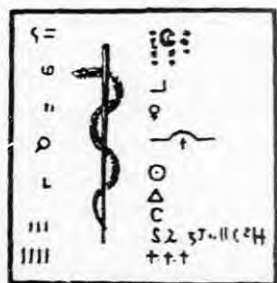
Witchcraft & Superstition

Anyone involved in the Dark Arts, to use the phrase of German-Americans, "could do more than eat bread." Their way of doing things went well beyond the daily existence of most people.

Near the village of Jerome, just west of John Baughman's grant by Saumsville, it was said that some people plugged up their keyholes to keep witches from entering their houses.

In the area of Saumsville was a house that had a hole drilled in the doorsill. An oxen's tail stood up in the hole to ward off witches. It was thought to be an old-world custom brought to the Valley by Germans. ^{256:76}

Little pieces of carefully inscribed parchment, or thin sheets of metal called *anghansli* or *zauber-zettel*, protected the holder from very specific injury, accident, illness or disaster. Such small charts of hieroglyphs and astrological symbol were thought to have been handed down from ancient times. The mystical symbols on one clipped rectangle were said to trace back to the Breastplate of Aaron, guaranteeing that no harm could penetrate the armor of that heroic Old Testament defender.



ANGHANSLI

INCLUDING THE BREASTPLATE OF AARON, AT RIGHT

Seasons of the Year

To celebrate New Year's Day, Valley Germans celebrated by "shooting the anvil." "Young men carried two blacksmith's anvils into a field. The first one was placed upside down. The hollow pocket in its base was filled with gunpowder, and a fuse was inserted in it. The second anvil was stacked right-side-up on top of the first one.

The fuse was lighted, and everyone ran for their lives. There would soon be an explosion that made everything within a country mile tremble." ^{256:29}

"As the sap in the maples rose in the spring, it was collected and boiled down to make maple syrup. At one point in the cooking process there was an extra-thick, syrupy layer in the bottom of the kettle. Children were allowed to dip a little of this out, and they poured it into a cup of cold water, where it firmed up like a gum ball. The children loved the little bits of sweet candy and called them 'clinkers.'" ^{256:30}

Freckles can be washed away on the first of May. If they are washed in morning dew, they will be transferred to the hands, which can be dried on another part of the body and transferred there and become permanent.

Shortly after the first of May, the first sheep is sheared. The old timers say that a cold rain will follow within a few days of the shearing — a sheep rain. People used the sheep rain as a date to plan other events around. "Let's register that deed at the courthouse before the sheep rain" or "We'll be married after the sheep rain."

A summertime sport for German boys in Bridgewater, Virginia, during the 1880s, according to E.W. Furry. "Toads has a powerful hunger for fireflies, and they ate all they could hold. Boys caught lots of each critter in boxes and glass jars and put them together. The old hoppers were so full of the luminous insects that their bodies became transparent. The modern x-ray is a tame affair in comparison." The greatest pleasure was releasing the toads and watching them take out across the meadow trying to hide. ^{256:38}

Children

If a baby smiles in its sleep, "the child is talking to the angels."

Here are the instructions for an old game called "Poor Pussy Wants a Corner": five children were needed to play, and a good sized room. One in the center and the rest took themselves a corner, the object was to be a corner cat. The child in the middle turned to one wall and called out in a sad voice, "Poor pussy wants a corner," and then turned to say the same to the opposite side.

When the Poor Pussy's back was turned, the children behind him took their chance to change corners. Of course, the center child tried to get to a corner first, and the left-over one had to take his place in the middle.

Firearms

Each new owner bestowed a nickname for the old German rifles made by Henry Spitzer of New Market. Some of the more well-known ones were called Old Preacher, Black Snake, Bull of the Woods and Sun Perch.

When a rifle wouldn't shoot straight, this problem was often attributed to a hex. Some early gunsmiths engraved a circular design, called a 'witches' ring,' around the bore opening of the rifle.

It was believed that a hex could also be removed by visiting Clamper Spring in the Hills of Judea in southern Rockingham County. A flaxen swab dipped in its water could be ramrodded down into the barrel and pulled back out to instantly wipe away the bad luck.

The Spirit World

Where travelers crossed the South Fork of the Shenandoah, in sight of the old White House, folks often claimed to see the restless spirit of a woman, lost since the French & Indian War. A large chestnut tree was the only reminder of a pretty little log cabin attacked by Indians while the man of the house was away hunting. His wife and children were all killed.

The branches of the old chestnut tree stretch out over

the road, and when people pass beneath, their horses often become skittish and refuse to go any farther. At dusk, a woman appears out of the darkness and offers the traveler a pie. If a gesture of acceptance is made, then she disappears with a peculiar sound, something like a sigh.^{256:78}

Mrs. Abigail Coffman was able to keep Yankee raiders from burning her barn during the Civil War by declaring, "I am a first cousin of Abraham Lincoln!" Her father, Captain Jacob Lincoln was the brother of Abraham, President Lincoln's grandfather, who settled in Rockingham County in 1768. Abraham moved his family — including his young son Thomas, the president's father — to Kentucky in 1781. Although scholarship discounts the notion, early Virginia record books suggested that the elder Lincoln was a Valley German whose name had been Anglicized from Linkhorn.^{256:117}

A young boy from Rockingham County related one tale in a shy and believable manner. It seems that his parents had recently brought up from the basement an old glass-paned cupboard. "It was dusted and the little windows cleaned so that they sparkled. Within a day or so, the boy noticed out of the corner of his eye as he passed it the face of an old woman. One moment the image was there, and in the next gone. He caught glimpses of the face often, and each time, just for a moment, it was clear and distinct.

Eventually, the boy told his mother, and she asked him to describe the face, which he did in as much detail as he could. His mother took him by the hand to an old trunk, from which she took out a few old photographs.

She handed one to the boy who immediately recognized the face as the same one that had appeared in the glass. His mother revealed that he was holding a photograph of his great-grandmother, and that the cupboard had been hers. She also explained how the woman had died the same week when the boy was born, and that he was very much like her in many small ways.^{256:123} ■ ■ ■

APPENDIX G

OTHER DESCENDANTS OF THE PEOPLE OUR FOLKS KNEW

THOMAS JEFFERSON STUDIED THE ROMAN historian Tacitus and was particularly impressed by the notion of "Germanic democracy," whereby ancient rivals of the empire had the new idea of electing their own leaders. Writing before 1774 in his *Commonplace Book*, Jefferson argued for a federal design in government quoting Germanic precedent. Just before he became Secretary of State, Jefferson took a voyage down the Rhine in 1788, and made special note of his sidetrip to the castle at Heidelberg, calling it "the most noble ruin" he had ever seen. Meeting people in the Rhineland, and thinking of Germans already in America, Jefferson wrote that "this place... has been to us a second mother country."

The first protest against American slavery came from Mennonites in 1688 when they presented their views before a Quaker assembly in Germantown, Pennsylvania. The first Declaration of Independence in America was signed on 27 August 1774 when the mostly Palatine community of Tryon, in present-day Montgomery, New York, made up their minds nearly two years before the rest of the colonies.

Out of the Andreas Huber family that moved to America in 1738 came President Herbert Hoover. Dwight D. Eisenhower's name had hardly changed at all from Eisenhauer, iron miners who had moved from Switzerland to the Kraichgau. General Eisenhower's mother, Ida, came from the Stovers in Augusta County, Virginia — Mennonite stock that could never have imagined how their descendant would one day return from America to German soil as it's conqueror. Friedrich Pförschin would have felt the same way had he known the destiny of his heir, General John J. Pershing.

All sorts of leaders have sprouted out of the colonial German-American soil. Our Constitution's Bill of Rights owes the colonial journalist John Peter Zenger credit for his fight over the free press. The Böhne family bore the legendary Daniel Boone. All kinds of role models came from their seed — from the peace activist David Dellinger to the Supreme Court Justice David Souter and Republican Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich. Lynn Nofziger, who descended from the Nafsigers, influenced the Reagan White House, as did George Schultz, formerly of the Bechtel Corporation.

The Middle Atlantic States are full of little towns that immortalize their founding families. Pennsylvania has Bachmanville in Lebanon County, and the Treichlers from Zürich started Trexlertown, in

Lehigh County. The Hörschi family started the town of Hershey and became famous for their candies. The Musselmans sold apple sauce and juice; H. Johannes Heinz made pickles; the Borden, Gerber, Guilden, Kraft, Stauffer and Stuckey companies also sold well-loved foods. The names Anheuser-Busch, Coors, Miller, Pabst, Schlitz and Strohs all have German roots. The Germans and Swiss have even supplied some leaders behind the scenes: Richard G. Landis has long been the president of Del Monte brands.

Johannes Jacob Astor was born in the Kraichgau in 1763. He moved here as a young man — with little more than his wits — and became one of America's most famous self-made tycoons, amassing an unprecedented fortune in those days of \$20,000,000 and endowing New York's public library. Our old folks may well have known the progenitors of the Studebaker coach company who had started off making Conestoga wagons. These craftsmen also chose a strongly woven fabric called jean cloth to top their wagons, and at the end of a trip westward, pioneer women cut it up to make long-lasting work clothes called blue jeans. A German who arrived much later, Levi Strauss, made a fortune selling sold Gold Rush miners all the tough trousers they needed.

Among colonial "Dutchmen" were ancestors of those who made Westinghouse air brakes, Hoover vacuum cleaners and Bausch & Lomb glass lenses. As sons of 18th century German-Americans in Pennsylvania, Henry C. Frick and Charles Schwab made their fortunes in Pennsylvania's young steel industry.

A pioneer of America's space program, Chuck Yeager, is descended from the Jäger family. NASA's early team of Apollo astronauts included John L. Swigert Jr. and one of their top astrophysicists is Michael Mumma. The dean of New York University's College of Dentistry is Richard Dietrich Mumma Jr.

Musicians as different as Dave Brubeck, Pete Seeger and Andreas Vollenweider must all point to Swiss German roots. New York City eventually attracted the creative talents of the painter Julian Schnabel, the art teacher Jon Gnagy and the photographers Alfred Eisenstaedt, Gjon Meili, Weston Naef, Ernst Haas, Bill Wegman, Claudio Edinger, Len Lehman and Vera Lenz.

The journalist Bill Moyers, who is also an ordained Baptist minister, can trace his family back to Anabaptist beginnings. The Stähli family of Canton Zürich gave us Dick Stolley, who founded *People* magazine and ran *LIFE* in the 1980s.

Even Hollywood adopted the great grand-children of early German Americans: the director John Landis, and

actors such as Jack Lemmon, Roseanne Barr, Peter Falk, Blythe Danner, Amy Brenneman, John Ritter, Helen Shaver and Larry Hagman — proof today of how all together clever and life-loving the old folks must have been.

Though rubbed out over and over, Cherokee seed persisted into the 20th Century, and they are now the largest Native American tribe in America. The humorist Will Rogers was born out of the Cherokee reservation in Collinsville, Oklahoma; and for many years the chairman of the board of Phillips Petroleum was William W. Keller, who simultaneously served as the principle chief of the Cherokee Nation.

Among all of the Mennonites from dozens of nations around the world, those from Switzerland and southern Germany are strikingly more withdrawn from the larger world.^{324:25} By tradition, Mennonites have held little interest in taking charge of the world and trying to make it righteous.^{324:55}

Throughout the last two centuries, Mennonites in America continued to press their two key issues — non-violence and non-conformity. John F. Funk denounced the Civil War as “legalized murder and robbery” in 1863. Protesting the Spanish American War, Daniel Kauffman argued that “the doctrine of peace is inseparably connected to the religion of Jesus... It makes the Christian peaceable in his home, in church, in society, in business circles. It restrains him from abusing his family, being overbearing in his dealings with his fellow-man, indulging in ill-natured criticism of any kind, engaging in violent political discussions, murmuring against his government, and resisting by carnal means evil of any kind.”^{324:32}

A Mennonite should be “the most submissive citizen on earth,” wrote Bishop Jacob Brubacher in 1914, but “we ought to obey God rather than man.”

Putting these goals to work did not guarantee consistency among the Mennonites. Some still believed in spanking their children, being rough on their livestock, and hunting animals for sport. But the comprehensive and steadfast theology of non-violence led other Mennonites to discard all “No Trespassing” signs, and to avoid ever saluting the American flag, out of concern that it might imply a willingness to serve in the army.^{324:34}

Anti-German feelings in America during the First and Second World Wars put the Mennonites under special prejudice, since many outsiders thought a refusal to fight could be some treasonous loyalty to their Germanic roots. Dozens were imprisoned for disobeying the draft laws, while others who were inducted faced court-martial for refusing to fight. Several hundred American Mennonites fled to

Canada.^{324:65}

The peace convictions held by earlier generations — even to the point of death — were dropped by their children and grandchildren. To the dismay of their elders, some of the young heeded the calls of patriotism and war.^{324:30} While most spent the war in civilian work program camps, 40 percent of the young Mennonite men drafted ended up in military service. Only ten percent of young men in the Church of the Brethren opted for conscientious objectors’ exemption between 1941-1945.^{324:36} Becoming a soldier was no longer grounds in many brethren communities for automatic excommunication.^{324:58} As recently as 1947, however, the U.S. Supreme Court was obliged to rule after a long, drawn-out case in favor of peace activists with the familiar names of Burkhardt and Landis.^{324:19}

In general though, resorting to the courts was always avoided, since even a righteous cause would then be upheld by coercion, and potentially by forceful imprisonment of others. Even answering a summons to jury duty caused erosion among the brethren, due to Jesus’ admonition that people should not judge “lest ye be judged,” and that only one completely free of sin should ever “cast the first stone” of punishment.^{324:31}

As recently as 1936, almost 85 percent of Mennonites in the U.S. lived in rural, agricultural settings and seldom received more than an eighth-grade education. By 1972, 89 percent had left the farm, a third had gotten higher education, and all of these had bypassed blue-collar work for professional careers.^{324:46-48} ■■■

APPENDIX H
THE BAUGHMAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PROGRESS REPORT

REGIONAL REUNIONS OF THE BAUGHMAN FAMILY have been held for quite a few years, notably in Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas and Arkansas.

To celebrate the 240th anniversary of a land survey issued to Henry Baughman by Lord Fairfax, the first national reunion was called for Father's Day weekend at the Ramada Inn at Luray, Virginia:

"In June 1994, descendants of Henry Baughman will gather again on the edge of his land. The songs that he would have known will be heard again. Stories that he would have recognized will be told again. His children's children will walk on the same paths he followed, pacing off the boundaries just as he did with Lord Fairfax's surveyor on 19 June 1754.

"The moderator for this reunion weekend will be J. Ross Baughman, who will preview several new chapters' worth of information from his last four years of research. Going well beyond the 1989 book *Some Ancestors of the Baughman Family in America*, many refinements and reinterpretations will round out our sense of the Baughmans, Moyers, Suttons, Huffs and other new-found family branches.

"The entire content of Henry Baughman Jr.'s colonial Virginia household has been duplicated with antiques from both auction and the best private and public collections of Swiss and German-American folk art. Each handwrought tool, hearthside vessel, leatherbound book, pewter plate, every last knife, fork and spoon can now be put into context. A sample of these artifacts will be displayed, and the question of a future Baughman History Museum will be taken up.

"A tour will be possible of Shenandoah Valley sites that old Henry would have known: the 1754 Inn at Narrow Passage, the Zirkle Grist Mill (ca. 1760) in nearby Forestville and the ruins of a French and Indian War fort in Edinburg. Detailed maps will be available for other family history spots in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Tennessee and Missouri that some may wish to add to their summer plans.

"A farewell ceremony will be shared on Sunday morning, June 19th, at the rededication of the Baughman Plantation Burial Ground. German and English prayers will be offered to honor the 240th anniversary of our ancestors' first home in the New World.

Some cousins may want to venture on to the nearby Civil War battlefield and museum at New Market. The Valley has plenty of other fun things to explore, such as

huge caverns or tasty tours of local vineyards. Besides the gorgeous mountain scenery, another good reason for the trip might be the chance to visit Colonial Williamsburg, with its excellent museum of 18th century American folk art.

"Shenandoah County is a two-hour drive from either Dulles airport, near Washington D.C., or from the capitol airport; or is about one hour north from the Shenandoah Valley Regional airport, near Mt. Sidney in Augusta County, that is served by the commuter services of Delta and USAir. A good-sized contingent of cousins from the Dallas, Texas, area is planning to charter a bus. It may be possible to team up with them by contacting Barbara Heck, P.O. Box 111, Tioga, TX 76271 (817) 437-2324, or Betty Greffett, P.O. Box 249, also in Tioga, (817) 437-2378. Parking in the Valley will always be easy.

"Any heirlooms, artifacts or pictures for display during the reunion would be heartily welcome; please let us know early so that extra display tables can be tallied. If you are planning to attend and can bring along a set of walkie-talkies or other mobile communications, they might turn out to be very helpful; so could any reasonably powerful bullhorn for addressing our group out in the field."

After this original invitation went out, plans got even better. Saturday morning was spent at Mauck's Meetinghouse, an 18th century Mennonite church in Hamburg, west of Luray, that our Baughmans probably knew. After talks and songs, a love feast picnic celebrated the old Swiss German tradition of Seven Sweets and Seven Sours.

There was also old-time country fiddle music from the Pritchards, a tour of the Page County Heritage Association Museum conducted by Gary Bauserman, and a visit to the German-American architecture of Fort Egypt which was built in 1758 by Jacob Strickler. Getting around would have been quite a challenge if it hadn't been for big travel bus brought from Texas by the McKnights.

Despite terrible heat and humidity in the 90s, the climax of the weekend came Sunday at noon at the Baughman Plantation Burial Ground near Forestville. For most of those in attendance, it was the first chance to see the recently restored stone wall and iron gate that face the old cemetery, and the historical marker put up in 1992, made of a natural limestone slab and a 14 x 11 inch bronze plaque. It reads:

THE BAUGHMAN PLANTATION

HEINRICH BACHMANN FROM SWITZERLAND HOLDING A LAND GRANT SURVEY FROM LORD FAIRFAX, SETTLED THIS PLACE IN 1754. HIS FAMILY'S PROPERTY GREW TO 657 ACRES DURING THE NEXT 30 YEARS. BACHMANN, KNOWN TO THE ENGLISH AS HENRY BAUGHMAN, DIED NEAR HERE IN THE AUTUMN OF 1779.

Noted Valley historian M. Ellsworth Kyger, one of the few people left in the world familiar with and able to speak "Valley Dutch" — the dialect of Alpine German that our ancestors spoke — recited two prayers in a voice that seemed to be whispering from beyond.

First was the Lord's Prayer:

"Unser Vater! der du bist im Himmel, geheiliger werde dein Name. Zu uns komme dein Reich. Dein Wille geschehe auf Erden wie im Himmel. Unser täglich Brot gib uns heute. Und vergib unsere Schuld, wie wir vergeben unsern Schuldigern. Und führe uns nicht in Versuchung; sondern erlöse uns von dem Uebel. Dann dein ist das Reich, und die Kraft, und die Herrlichkeit, in Ewigkeit. Amen."

Then came the 23rd Psalm:

"Der Herr ist mein hirt, mir wird nichts mangeln. Erwendet mich auf einer grünen aue, und führet mich zum frischen wasser. Er erquicket meine seele, er führet mich auf rechter strassen, um seines Namens willen. Und ob ich schon wandert im sinstern thal, sörchte ich kein unglück; Dann du bist bei mir, Dein stecken und stab; trösten mich. Du bereitest für mir einen tisch gegen meine seinde, Du salbest mein haupt mit öle, und schenckest mir voll ein. Gutes und barmherzigkeit werden mir solgen mein lebenlang, und werde bleiben im hause des Herrn immerdar."

Our honored guests at the reunion, Maxine and Blair Zirkle unlocked the old mill on Holman's Creek for a peek. Because it is one of the last remaining 18th century buildings in the area, and avoided the torch during Sheridan's march through the Valley, it bears a plaque from the National Register of Historic Landmarks.

Besides bringing along official reunion t-shirts, our Texas cousins also took on responsibility for assembling a time capsule. They brought an eight-inch-wide-by-two-foot-long section of pale green, indestructible P.V.C. pipe. Everyone enjoyed autographing the outside of it with permanent black ink and filling it with stories and personal mementoes. A small sample of Baughman D.N.A. was also placed inside. Afterwards it was sealed and buried at the southwest, outside corner of the stone wall. Shortly thereafter, a small bronze plaque marked

the spot:

SO THAT OUR DESCENDANTS MAY
KNOW US BETTER IN 2194 A.D.,
A BAUGHMAN FAMILY

TIME CAPSULE

MARKING OUR REUNION ON 19 JUNE 1994
WAS BURIED IN FRONT OF THIS PLAQUE
AS DEEP AS THIS WALL IS HIGH,
IN HONOR OF
LUVENA BAUGHMAN MCKNIGHT

The tombstone marked "B L-M 1788" found at Benjamin Layman's burial ground, was recessed into a larger fieldstone marker and returned to where it was found. The cost was underwritten in honor of Floyd Ezra Baughman by his daughters.

The next year, cousins gathered in Harrison from Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Indiana, Kansas, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon and Texas. Following this get-together, an article in the *Harrison Daily Times*, a local newspaper appeared under the headline "Reunions Reported":

"The Baughman family held their reunion July 28-30 at the Holiday Inn.

"The oldest person present was Virgie Baughman, age 87. Betty and Doug Williamson of Eugene, Ore., traveled the greatest distance.

"Others attending, included...

"From Harrison, Glenn Baughman and wife, Duveen Baughman Norton and husband, Clifford Baughman and wife, Clyde and Leona Miller, Janis Harding Carlton and husband, Esta Baughman, David, Robert E. Baughman and wife, John and Shirley Baughman, Betty Baughman Brisco, LaVonna Wood and husband, Lee and Wilma Baughman, Ellenora Tomlinson, Mrs. Roy Cantrell, Margaret Reger, Lolita Belle Baughman Rogers, Tina Renee Baughman, Wanda Geraldine Massengale, Robert and Laura Massengale and four children, Virgie Baughman, Emma Harding, Dennis James, Marie Baughman, James McElty and Joanne Mounce.

"Others from Arkansas included Tom Click and two children of Cabot; Veneta Faye Baughman Dixon of Lead Hill; David Duff of Hot Springs; Roger Lee Massengale and wife of Jasper; and Paul and Susan Baughman and child of Fayetteville.

"Those from Texas were F.E. Baughman of Lancaster; Dorris Baughman Harris of Waxahachie; Luvena Baughman McKnight, Betty McKnight Gressett, Edna Baughman Hilliard, Ethel Baughman Burchett, Barbara McKnight Lintner and Charlene Robinson, all of Tioga; Lonnie and Jerry Ridinger of Lewisville; and Earl Wayne Baughman of Denison.

"From Missouri were John F. Baughman of Independence; Connie Shelton of Diamond; Helen B. Baughman Avants of Sarcosie; Mary Wolfe and husband of Forsyth; and Kim Baughman of Springfield.

"From Oklahoma were George and Fay Ketchum and Arlis Wayne Hart, all of Eufaula; Ann Cleary of Bartlesville; Larry Weldon Baughman of Mead; Riley McElroy; Nealia Combott and two children and Joshua McElroy, all of Claremore; Tommy and Doris Barris of Atoka; and Fonda Middlebrook and two children of Hominy.

"From other states were Brenda Baughman of Greensboro, N.C.; Barbara Drake Ritter and husband of Hoisington, Kans.; Ruth Baughman Click of Tucson, Ariz.; Carl L. Baughman of Littleton, Colo.; Doug and Betty Williamson of Eugene, Ore. And James Baughman of Lake Station, Ind."

Betty Williamson wrote a Baughman/Baughman Newsletter on 6 July 1996 giving further details:

"We went to many cemeteries which provided me with lots of data. I also did research at the Boone County Courthouse and Library. They have a very good genealogy room in the library. We visited the 130-year-old Baughman homestead, built in 1866, one year after the Civil War ended. We also saw the Jacob Baughman schoolhouse (now used as a barn to store hay). We visited the Boone Co. Historical Museum, the Milam Cemetery, Patton and Davidson Cemeteries. Other cemeteries were visited by various other smaller groups.

"Descendants of six siblings of Henry Baughman IV were at the three-day Harrison reunion: Peter, Lewis Sr., John Wesley, Joseph Henry, Seaburn and George Washington.

"At the banquet, Jim Baughman of Indiana and Barbara McKnight Lintner of Texas generously offered their computers & computer program for recording family histories. Jim gave an update on the Henry I genealogy, the museum that was established during the 1994 reunion in Virginia and information regarding Henry II and the history of another Henry Baughman's stone house. The attendees were entertained at the banquet by Mary Baughman & some other ladies playing folk music on heirloom musical instruments, including dulcimers. A committee was formed to plan future reunions. There is so much Baughman history in Boone Co. It was really an emotional and exciting reunion for me."

"Baughman
Family Group
October 4th and 5th, 1996

"Dear Cousins,

"A Baughman Reunion will be held at the Harrison,

AR Holiday Inn... We will start meeting around the pool at 2 p.m. Friday. Bring your family history and any old pictures you have.

"Saturday morning, meet at the Holiday Inn at 9 a.m. to go the Milam Cemetery. We have a military marker for John (War of 1812)... We need to be at the cemetery by 9:30 a.m., as the color guard of the Civil War Reenactors will be there at that time.

"On Saturday afternoon, visiting will begin at 4 p.m. in a conference room at the Holiday Inn with a buffet at 6 p.m. (Buffet cost is \$12.00 per person.)

"For out-of-town relatives who would like to stay at the Holiday Inn, call 1 (501) 741-2391 and ask for the Baughman Reunion, price is \$50.00 + tax per night.

"We hope you can attend. If you have any suggestions for activities, etc., call or write Glenn E. Baughman at 9 Grandview, Harrison, AR 72601, 1 (501) 741-2462.

"SEE YOU IN OCTOBER!"

The real highlight at the 1996 gathering was a newly developed, comprehensive computer data base of 2,275 descendants of Henry Baughman II. Jim Baughman of Indiana and Glenn Baughman invested countless hours of their time to develop it. By year's end, Glenn offered bound copies of this effort for sale as very useful book, *The Descendants of Henry Baughman Jr., 1750-1807*. It is dedicated to the late Walsie Baughman Ruble "who started us all on our search for information on our ancestors."

An general invitation to our membership has been extended from The Baughman Burying Ground Association of Bart Township, which was formed on 9 July 1983 in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. These are the descendants of Felix Baughman who lovingly restored the cemetery on his 1739 homestead. See page 93 They hold their reunions in the heart of Pennsylvania Dutch country every year around the Fourth of July weekend. Interested visitors should contact Clyde L. Groff, 713 Columbia Avenue, Lancaster Pennsylvania 17603. (717) 392-8252

An informal family reunion came together in Harrison, Arkansas, over the weekend of 17-18 May 1997. Native son G. Vaughn Baughman had died on 13 December 1996 in San Jose, California, but his family brought a portion of his ashes home to the Milam Cemetery for burial. A special service held at the St. John Episcopal Church was entitled "G. Vaughn Baughman: A Celebration of His Life." A reception and buffet dinner immediately afterwards welcomed all the cousins at the Holiday Inn. ■■■



AN ENCOUNTER BETWEEN AN EAGLE AND A DEER

MATCHING AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT BY PETER W. BAUGHMAN NEAR OREGON FLAT IN THE 1850S (BOOK 1:76-77)

Reference Section
 ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO
SOME ANCESTORS OF THE BAUGHMAN FAMILY & HARVEST TIME

WITH A FULL EXPLANATION OFFERED ON PAGE 46 of this book, the most significant correction to earlier research follows as a page suitable for careful removal (or photo copying) and insertion in place of pages 125 and 126 of *Some Ancestors of the Baughman Family in America* (1989), referred to hereafter in this article as Book 1. Refer to page 268 of *Harvest Time* (Book 2) for the most complete account of the children of Henry Baughman [I].

Another improvement of a family group sheet appears in this book at the bottom of the next leaf following — for the family of John Baughman of Hempfield Township. This leaf may be substituted for Book 2's pages 267-268.

Another serious genealogical correction is required to the first full paragraph at the top of the second column of page 49 in Book 2. When corrected, it will match with the family group sheet information in Book 2, page 267.

"Following John Baughman's death in 1763, his second child, Barbara, married a Mennonite named Benjamin Layman. Their eldest child, Mary Layman was wed to Henry Baughman Jr., although a bloodtie between the elder John and the younger Henry remains unestablished."

The family covered in the estate settlement of John Baughman described at the close of chapter 3 in this book has been added to the following improved family group as an insertable leaf for Book 2.

The map of John Baughman's 219 acres in Hempfield Township (Book 2:288) could well have included modern Route 30, which runs east to west and crosses it, and by the Mountville exit to College Street which is the dark, wavy diagonal road indicated but unnamed on our map.

Several maps (Book 1: p. 143, 146; Book 2:286 and 289) need these new names

VIRGINIA

Route 42 = Senado Road

[Earlier called The Wagon Road or The Old Back Road]

Route 720 = Crooked Run Road

Route 600 = Saumsville Road

Route 652 = Jadwyn Road

Route 642 = Swartz Road

Route 623 = Back Road [Layman cemetery is at 7714 Back Road]

Route 767 = Quicksburg Road

Route 730 = Pinewoods Road [Cemetery at Baughman Plantation on Holmans Creek is at 950 Pinewoods Rd.]

Route 731 = Shaeffer Road

Route 695 = Turkey Knob Road

Route 782 = Apple Tree Lane

Route 614 = South Middle Road

Route 613 = North Mountain Road

Route 612 = Mill Creek Road [Address for center of Jacob Moyer's land is 2201 Mill Creek Road]

Route 726 = East Hepner Road

MISSOURI

Route E near Marble Creek branches south to Route 131, but visitors to the grave of Dorthea Moyer Baughman should stay on E, past County Road 112. Turn east on 111 which hooks around to "The Old Red Schoolhouse" (now white) and just north of it to a lane back up the hill. The Old Baptist Cemetery sits behind the first house (on the left/north) on the way up the hill.

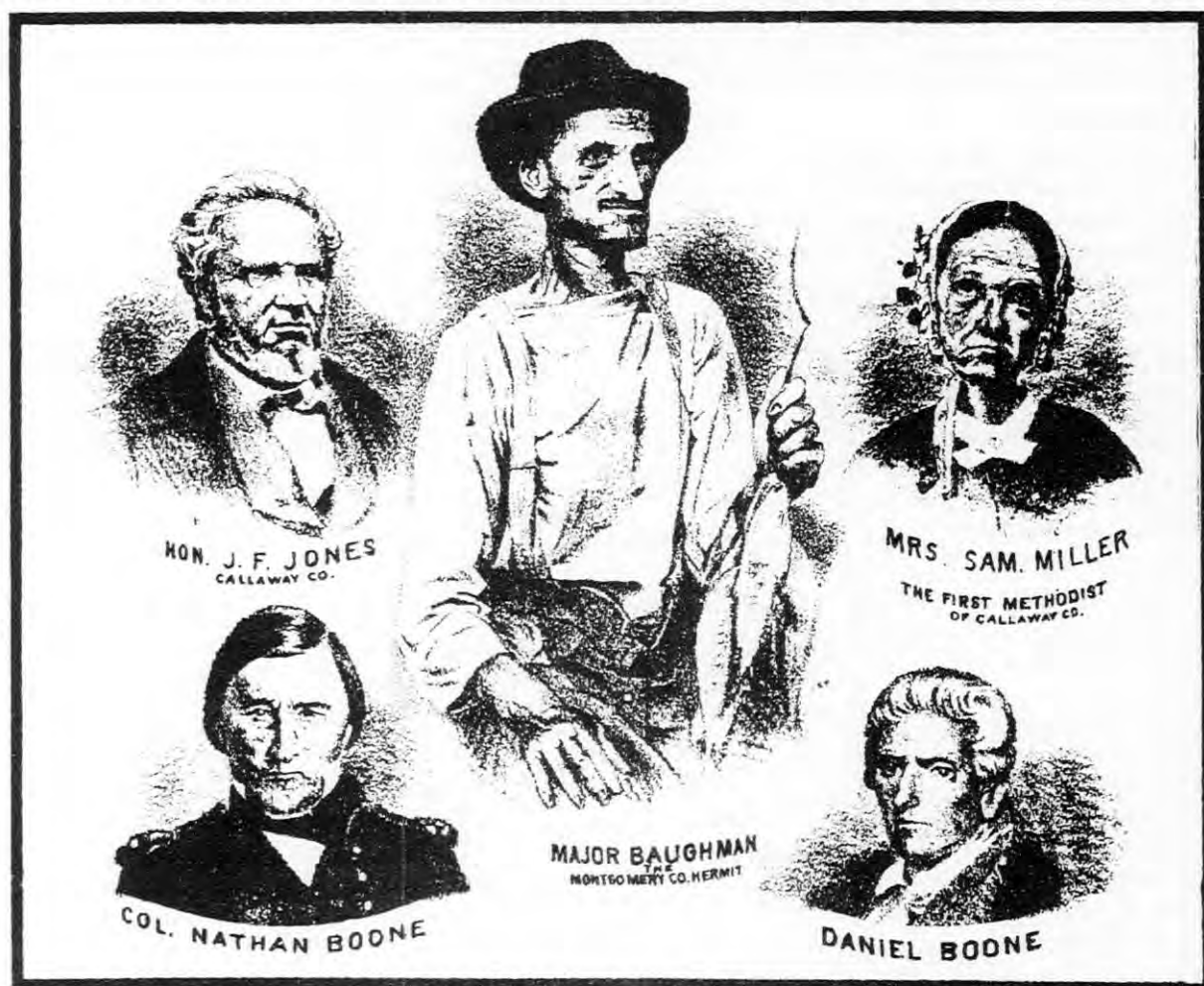
New telephone area codes: in the Shenandoah Valley (540), and in the Arkansas Ozarks (870).

In Book 2, speculation about the Confederate service of John Wesley Baughman, commonly known as Little John and sometimes Black John, has been confirmed by a 1928 affidavit in application for his Arkansas veteran's pension. In the earliest days of the war, he enlisted in Company G, 14th Arkansas Infantry. A neighbor said that John's commander was Captain Bill Pace.

His daughter Evelyn Dees swore that "I have often heard him talk of his service in the Civil War and tell of his experiences in the War; I know from these conversations that he spent his entire service in the Civil War in the Confederate Army and was never in any other Army; his term of enlistment expired shortly before the close of the war and he went to [Ironton] Missouri where his parents had moved while he was in the army. He went to visit his mother who was then on her death bed. After his mother died which was shortly after he arrived there, he traveled over the northern states, but was never in the northern army as he only got out of the Confederate Army a short while before the close of the war."

The identities of John Sutton Jr. and his wife Elizabeth Huff (Book 2:262) have been refined as follows:

He was born in 1780 in Virginia and died 31 March 1856 (or 1858?) in Reynolds County, Missouri. She was born ca. 1777 in Virginia/Tennessee and died 24 September 1858 in Reynolds/Iron County, Missouri. They were married in Newport, Cocke County, Tennessee. Their son Joseph was born on 2 May 1806, and their son John was married for the second time on 7 August 1831 to Elizabeth Strickland, who died 1875 in Iron County, Missouri. ■■■



THE FRONTISPIECE OF WILLIAM S. BRYAN'S *PIONEER FAMILIES OF MISSOURI* (1876)

In a lonely, desolate hillside, a short distance from Danville... is a small cavern, formed by a shelving rock in the side of the hill."

Major George Baughman, the hermit of Montgomery County, Missouri, has made his home there since about 1852, having built up a wall of stone and formed himself a rough doorway. Inside the cave is "smoky and dirty, and a more gloomy, desolate place could hardly be found." Along with a small crop of corn and a few peach trees nearby, he lives off the fruits of his fishing tackle and a gun "of the most antique pattern, long and ungainly, like himself, and showing the effects of age and constant use, being held together by numerous strings and bands. He dresses in a style peculiar to himself... and his shoes are composed of rough leather, tied to soles of clapboard; he discards socks entirely."

Beside his den, he has cut two shafts out of nearly solid rock, some 25 to 30 feet deep. Relying only on primitive tools and a rickety ladder, he searches for gold, patiently bringing up the debris in the bosom of his shirt.

His grandfather was a Henry Baughman of

Pennsylvania, a veteran of the Revolution and an early settler of Stark County, Ohio. Henry had a son named George, born about 1775, who married Mary McIntire and resettled in Carroll County, Ohio, by around 1800. Their children were Jacob, Joseph, Emanuel, William, James, Henry, George Jr. (the subject of this profile, who was born 3 December 1814), Polly, Esther and Rachel.

In 1836, George received 80 acres of land in Washington County, Illinois, from his father, but traded it 11 years later for a farm in Christian County, Missouri. After revisiting his father in Ohio, George returned to Missouri on an ox cart in 1852 along with one of his young nephews. At Loutre Lick in Montgomery County, one of the oxen wandered off and a month was wasted in search. The boy stayed through severe destitution, but neighbors intervened after several years and sent him back to Ohio. George refused to leave, having become obsessed with the notion that gold and other buried treasure waited for him nearby.

The hermit is a gentleman in his manners; and despite his seclusion and eccentricities is well-liked.

HENRY BAUGHMAN JR. [II], born 1750; died December 1807 in Botetourt County, Virginia,
married:

MARY LAYMAN, daughter of Benjamin and Barbara Baughman Layman; and their children, most likely all born at
Holman's Creek, Shenandoah Valley, Virginia, are:

- » 1.) JOHN, born December 1774 at Holman's Creek; died January 1857 at Crooked Creek, Carroll County,
Arkansas [later renamed Harrison in Boone County],
who married Dortha Moyer, born 25 December 1787 in Botetourt County, Virginia;
died 14 September 1873 at Marble Creek, Iron County, Missouri.
- 2.) BARBARA, BORN 1767
who married Matthew Howard on 20 March 1802 in Botetourt County, Virginia.
- 3.) POLLY
who married William Cooper on 29 December 1801 in Botetourt County, Virginia.
- 4.) HENRY [III]
who married Elizabeth Manners on 1 July 1809.

o o o

JOHN BAUGHMAN, born December 1774 at Holman's Creek, Shenandoah County, Virginia; died January 1857 at
Crooked Creek, Carroll County [renamed Harrison, in Boone County], Arkansas, and was buried nearby at the
Old Milam/Liberty Cemetery in a grave that is no longer identifiable. He was married on 21 January 1805 in
Botetourt County to:

DORTHEA MOYER, nicknamed Dolly, born 25 December 1787 in Botetourt County, Virginia to Jacob Moyer Jr. and
Sarah; died 14 September 1873 at Marble Creek [redistricted from Madison County], Iron County,
Missouri and was buried there. Their children, all born in Jones Cove Valley, Sevier County, Tennessee, were:

- » 1.) HENRY [IV], born 1809; died 1882 at Harrison, Arkansas,
who married Charity Sutton, born 1810 in Tennessee; died 1864 at Crooked Creek, near Harrison, Arkansas.
- 2.) AMANDA, born 1811; died 25 August 1831,
who married Nicholas Thomure on 2 June 1831 in Madison County, Missouri.
- 3.) JACOB, born 1813,
who married Lenix McClard on 10 June 1830 in Madison County, Missouri [by Baptist Minister Peter
Williams].
- 4.) SARAH, born 7 September 1814; died 16 October 1878,
who married John Joseph Sutton, born 2 May 1806 to John Sutton Jr.; died 10 May 1872.
- 5.) ELIZABETH, born 1816; died 1858,
who married Leonard Sutton, son of John Sutton Jr.
- 6.) JOHN W., born 1818; died ca. 1858,
who married Mary Sutton, daughter of John Sutton Jr.
- 7.) WILLIAM, born 1820,
who married Mahala Freeman, born in Indiana.
- 8.) GIDEON, born 27 December 1821; died 1898 at Harrison, Arkansas.
who married Elizabeth Harriet.
- 9.) ELIZA P., born 1826,
who married John Leach.

o o o

BENJAMIN LAYMAN, born c.1723; died between 9 January 1787 and 28 February 1788 in Shenandoah County, Virginia, was first married in 1747 to

BARBARA BAUGHMAN, born c.1726 to John Baughman of Hempfield Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania; died sometime before October 1782. Their children were

- 1.) MARY, born circa 1748; died sometime before December 1807, who married Henry Baughman Jr., born 1750; died December 1807 in Botetourt County, Virginia.
- 2.) BARBARA, born circa 1750, who married Christian Funkhouser on 21 June 1774 in Shenandoah County, Virginia
- 3.) JOHN, born circa 1752; died June 1821, who married in 1786 to Barbara Baughman, daughter of Henry and Barbara Baughman; who died 7 November 1828 in Shenandoah County, Virginia.
- 4.) ELIZABETH, born circa 1754, who married Jacob Shireman before January 1787.
- 5.) ISAAC, born circa 1756, who married Mary before 1785, and lived with her in Highland County, Ohio between 1806-1817.
- 6.) BENJAMIN JR., born circa 1758; died before 24 January 1821,
- 7.) JOSEPH, born circa 1760, who married Barbara Whitsel on 15 January 1789 in Shenandoah County, Virginia.
- 8.) CATHERINE, born circa 1762, who married Godfrey Wilkins on 12 June 1786 in Shenandoah County, Virginia.
- 9.) ANNA, born circa 1764, who married Philip Wilkins on 24 April 1788 in Shenandoah County, Virginia.
- 10.) SUSANNAH, born circa 1766, who married first to John Black on 30 June 1787 and later to John Swart
- 11.) CHRISTINA, born circa 1768, who married Daniel Keller on 8 October 17__.
- 12.) ROSANNAH, born circa 1770, who married John Kibler on 14 January 1808 and lived in Highland County, Ohio between 1806-1817.
- 13.) SARAH, born circa 1772, who married Runyan Huffman after 1787 and lived in Highland County, Ohio between 1806-1817.

Benjamin remarried for the last few years of his life, to

CATHERINE __, born c.1726; died before 31 October 1788 in Shenandoah County, Virginia.

° ° °

JOHN BAUGHMAN, born c.1704; died intestate prior to 2 June 1763 in Hempfield Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, was married to

ANN ____, who survived her husband. Their children were

- 1.) JOHN, "his eldest son"
- 2.) ____, a son
- 3.) ALICE, who married George Mumma, yeoman of Hempfield Township; died prior to 2 June 1763.
- 4.) BARBARA ANN, born c.1726; who married Benjamin Layman Sr.; died before October 1782
- 5.) MARY, who married Nicholas Bower, yeoman of Hempfield Township; died prior to @ June 1763.
- 6.) ANNA, who married Sebastian Weidman, a literate yeoman of Hempfield Township; died prior to 2 June 1763.
- 7.) ELISABETH, who married Joseph Charles, a literate yeoman of Lancaster County
- 8.) CHRISTINA, who married on 6 March 1759 at Trinity Lutheran Church in Lancaster to Nicholas Young, a literate blacksmith, of Hempfield Township.

HEINRICH BACHMANN, anglicized to Henry Baughman in Philadelphia, born 13 October 1711 in Richterswil, Canton Zürich, Switzerland; died shortly before 25 November 1779 at Holman's Creek, Shenandoah County, Virginia. He immigrated to America on 7 February 1739. He was married to BARBARA ____, died c.1798 at Hudson's Cross Roads, Shenandoah County, Virginia, and was buried there near to her second husband, John Glick St. Her children with Heinrich were

- 1.) JOHN, born 31 December 1748; who married in 1774 to Ann Brennemon; died c.1802 in Shenandoah County, Virginia.
- » 2.) HENRY [II], born 1750; who married in 1773 to Mary Layman; died December 1807.
- 3.) JACOB, who married Catherine Neff; died before November 1813.
- 4.) ANN, who married on 4 June 1785 to Mark Fox; died apparently before 1805.
- 5.) BARBARA, who married in 1786 to John Layman.
- 6.) ABRAHAM
- 7.) ELIZABETH, who married first to __ Eastep, and remarried, to John Glick Sr.
- 8.) __, a daughter, who married to Jacob Hunseger.
- 9.) __, a daughter, who married to Christian Coffman.
- 10.) __, a daughter, who married to William Duggan.

o o o

CHRISTIAN VAUGHT, born c.1720 in the Germanic Kingdom of Prussia
was married to

HANNAH CRUM, born c.1730 to Gilbert Crom and Martha Johnson. Their children were

- 1.) SIMEON
- 2.) HANNAH, who married on 4 May 1795 to Thomas Body.
- » 3.) JOHN, born 15 December 1761 in Hagerstown, Washington County, Maryland; who married Elizabeth Martin; died 15 June 1813 in Muhlenberg County, Kentucky.

o o o

JOHN VAUGHT, born 15 December 1761 in Hagerstown, Washington County, Maryland; served as a private in Captain William Wilson's Company from Cumberland County, Pennsylvania during the Revolutionary War (DAR No.652088: Mary Shirer); died 15 June 1813 in Muhlenberg County, Kentucky; was married to ELIZABETH MARTIN, born 10 February 1768 in Hagerstown to John Everhard Martin and Jacobena Elizabeth Wonderly; died 2 December 1843 in Muhlenberg County, Kentucky. Their children were

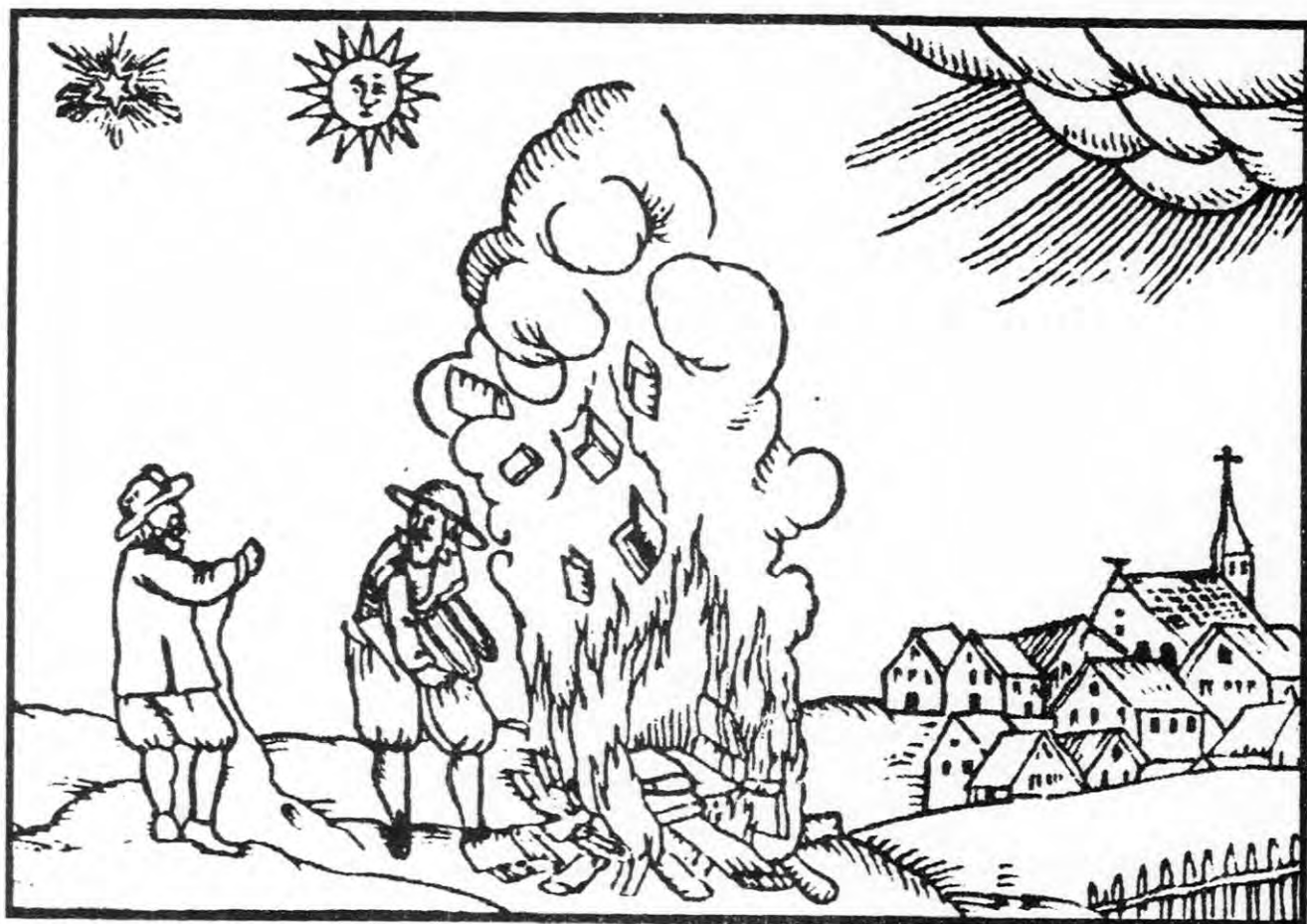
- 1.) MARGARET, born 15 February 1785 in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania; who married September 1803 in Muhlenberg County, Kentucky to Elias Smith; died c.1823.
- 2.) ABRAHAM, born 31 July 1787 in Mifflin County; who married on 12 June 1808 to Elizabeth Bell; died on 15 July 1876 in Burnt Prairie, White County, Illinois, and is buried there at the Salem Cemetery.
- 3.) ELEANOR, born 1 October 1789 in Mifflin County
- » 4.) JOHN B., born 14 February 1792 in Mifflin County; who married Polly Hunsinger; died 11 September 1872.
- 5.) DANIEL, born 25 June 1794 in Fayette County, Pennsylvania
- 6.) MARY, born 4 November 1797 in Jefferson County, Kentucky; who married on 5 June 1827 in Muhlenberg County to Moses L. Glenn.
- 7.) FRANCIS, born 23 May 1800 in Muhlenberg County; who married there on 26 June 1828 to Elizabeth Graves.
- 8.) SIMON, born 22 February 1803 in Muhlenberg County; who married there on 5 December 1833 to Elizabeth Deering.
- 9.) MARTIN, born 29 September 1805 in Muhlenberg County.
- 10.) SAMUEL FUBBIN, born 11 January 1808 in Muhlenberg County.
- 11.) CHRISTOPHER MARTIN, born 21 December 1810 in Muhlenberg County; who married there on 9 May 1835 to Marion L. Poag.

Rudolf Bachmans des
 Schmids sel. Jaab und Grot
 Altes Dienstherrn des bayer.

Von N^o. 1640. Damals, was der selbige Altes
 Dienstherrn Prædication bezeugen. Bis N^o. 1653.
 Da er in dem Spital selbst gestorben, und
 mit seinen Leber, ganzlich abgelaufen
 hat worden.

248. Th. 5. p. - Ist der N^o. 1640. Bis N^o. 1653.
 An der selbigen für die selbigen Leber
 und sonst auch der einen gewissen, nach
 mehr gewandten, in die Prædication
 selbst, selbst, da er selbst in dem
 Spital gestorben, und mit seinen Leber
 ganzlich abgelaufen: auch die in dem
 gesunden, 105. Th. Längst, selbst, selbst
 selbst in dem Spital, selbst, selbst, selbst
 Müllstall, dem, das, dem, dem
 nicht, und, der, der, der, der, der
 selbst, und, selbst, selbst, selbst, selbst
 Prædication, mehr, gemacht, worden.

Summa des gesamten 7. p.
 gegeben



A BOOK BURNING DURING THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY

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AN INDEX
TO PEOPLE, PLACES & EVENTS
WITHIN A PART FROM THE WORLD

The term (also as...) Signals the reader that variations on a proper noun exist in the text. Years appearing in parenthesis refer to dates of birth for individuals, or as dates of sole citation. Within the Bachman/Baughman families, each individual has been indexed separately. In other families, people with matching first names appear under one listing. Women are usually indexed by their maiden names.

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