

Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage



Volume IX, Number 2

Canadian Migration Issue

April 1986



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too numerous to mention in formal footnotes. A member of the Kitchener-Waterloo House Church, she formerly served as a teacher with Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities in Honduras and as a secretary to the Mennonite Board of Missions workers in France. She has also been employed by Provident Bookstore in Kitchener and by the library and the German and Romance languages departments of Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo.

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THE COVER

When the Pennsylvania German settlers cleared their lands, they extracted the stumps and used them for fences, a few of which were still in existence in Ontario, Canada, until the mid-1940s.

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Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage (ISSN 0148-4036) is the quarterly magazine of the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, 2215 Millstream Road, Lancaster, PA 17602. It focuses on the historical background, religious thought and expression, culture, and genealogy of the Mennonite-related groups originating in Pennsylvania. Articles appearing in this magazine are annotated and indexed in *Historical Abstracts*, *America: History and Life* and *Genealogical Periodical Annual Index*. Second class postage paid at Lancaster, Pa.

Single copies, \$5.00 each ppd. Regular, annual membership, \$20.00. Five-year cumulative index, 1978-1982, of authors-subjects and titles, every name, and errata-addenda, \$12.95 ppd. Address changes, including old and new addresses, should be forwarded to Lancaster at least six weeks in advance.

Direct editorial mail to 2215 Millstream Road, Lancaster, PA 17602. The editor will be pleased to consider unsolicited manuscripts and photographs sent for publication but accepts no responsibility for manuscripts not accompanied by return postage. Phone: (717) 393-9745.

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Two hundred years ago, in 1786, the first Mennonites migrated to Canada from eastern Pennsylvania.

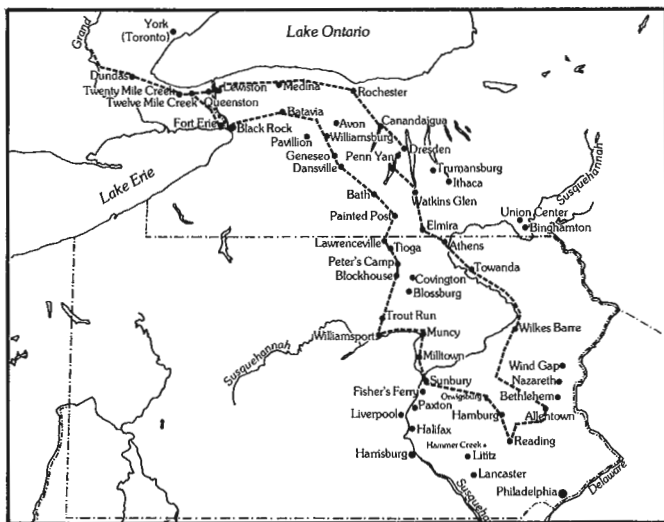
Early Mennonite Migrations From Pennsylvania And Subsequent Settlements In Canada

by Lorna L. Bergey

This year (1986) Mennonites in Canada will observe the two hundredth anniversary of the arrival of the first Mennonites in Canada in 1786. They settled in three main areas between 1786 and 1830—in the Niagara Peninsula, in the Waterloo County district, and in the York County area.

Coming mainly from Montgomery, Bucks, and Lancaster counties and adjacent areas in Pennsylvania, most of the Pennsylvania German Mennonite settlers in Canada shared a common Swiss European background. Many were children and grandchildren of Mennonites who had moved from Switzerland to the Palatinate and then to Holland for a brief sojourn before migrating to America during the first half of the eighteenth century in search of religious freedom and economic opportunity.

From 1786 to 1850 there was considerable migration of the plain, nonresistant people from Pennsylvania to Canada. These pacifist groups included Mennonites, River Brethren (soon known in Canada as Tunkers and later as Brethren in Christ), German Baptists, Amish, and Quakers. Except the Quakers who were of English ancestry, most members of the nonresistant sects were descendants of European immigrants designated as Palatine Germans who had affirmed their allegiance to the British Crown upon or after their arrival in America.



This map shows the migration routes of early settlers from Pennsylvania to Upper Canada. Joseph Bauman's (1796-1864) diary records his trip from Reading, Pennsylvania, on September 4, 1817, to Waterloo Township, Ontario, on October 2, 1817, using the western route (429 miles). In 1819 he returned to Reading, Pennsylvania, for a visit by taking the eastern route (458 miles) from Erb's Mill (Preston), Ontario, with \$22.53 for "spending money."

The migration of the Quakers coincided with the mass exodus of an estimated fifty thousand United Empire Loyalists from the independent thirteen colonies to Canada between 1783 and 1786. The Loyalists received generous land grants for supporting the Loyalist cause during the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783).

Although the Quakers had adopted a position of strict neutrality during the war, the testimony of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting stated that the principles of the Friends were "to discountenance and avoid every measure tending to excite disaffection to the King as supreme magistrate or to the legal authority of his government."¹ Because the Quakers did not rebel, many had their property confiscated, and they migrated to Canada as early as 1783.²

Early Mennonite Arrivals in Niagara Peninsula

The first group of Mennonites known to have settled in Canada included the families of Jacob Culp, Tilman Culp (a brother to Jacob), and Frederick Haun. All these families settled along the shoreline of Lake Ontario several miles west of the Twenty Mile Creek in Clinton Township, Lincoln County, Province of Upper Canada. Their historic wilderness journey in 1786 eventually led to the existence of the first permanent Mennonite settlement in Canada.³ These early settlers retained their nonresistant convictions but not their Mennonite fellowship.⁴

Welland County Settlement

Between 1788 and 1799 Mennonite and Tunker families located in Welland County in the southern portion of the Niagara Peninsula and on unsurveyed lands farther west which now comprise part of Haldimand County.

Jacob Zavitz/Sevitz came with his wife and children and took up residence in Bertie Township in 1788.⁵ Two of his

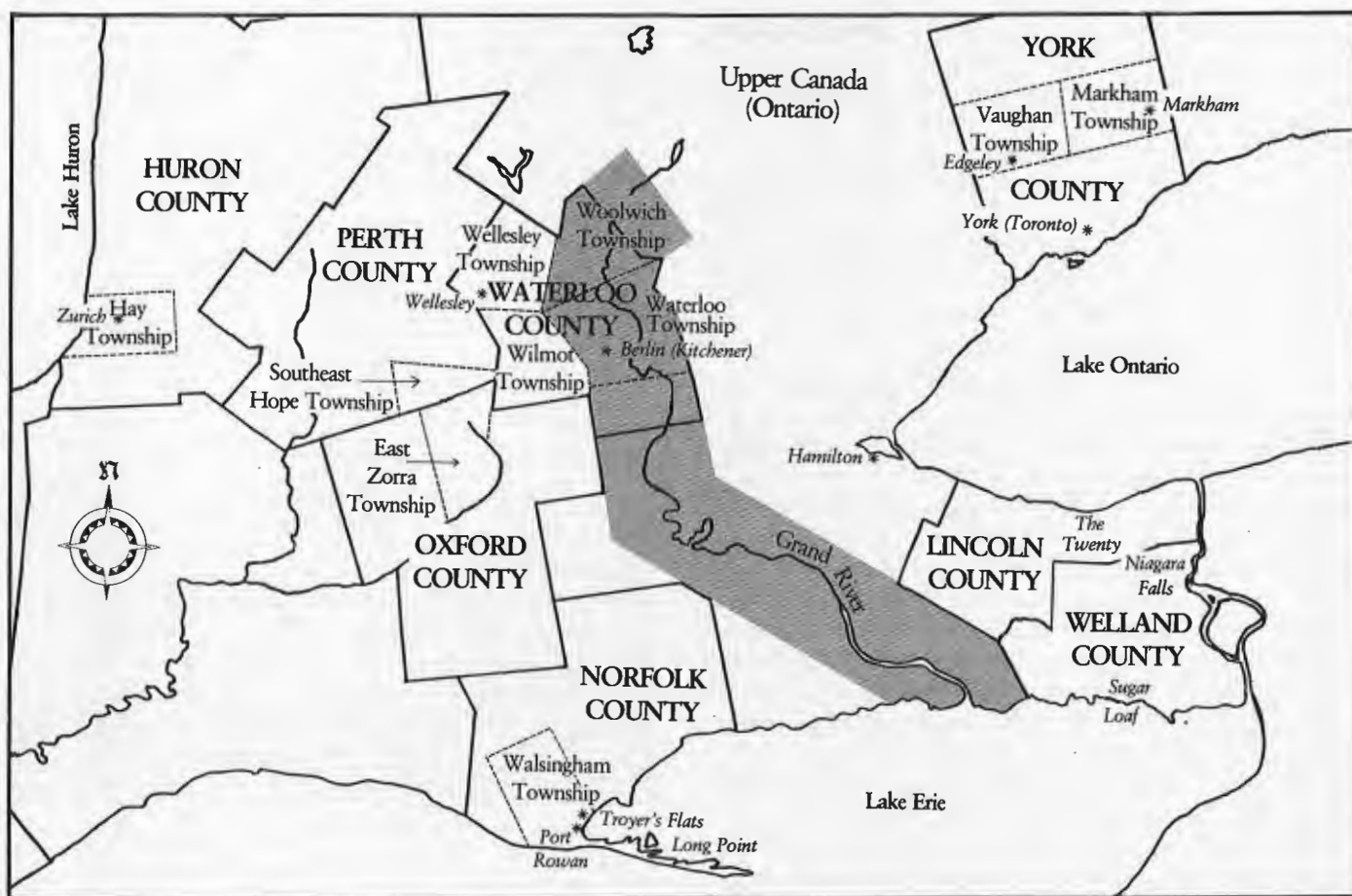
¹James P. Lovekin, "The Quakers of Western Ontario," a paper read at the 1956 annual meeting of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society of Ontario, *Canadian-German Folklore* 1 (1961): 64.

²J. C. Fretz, "The Early History of the Mennonites in Welland County, Ontario," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 27 (January 1953): 55.

³Gary M. Kulp, "Dielman Kolb, of Tinicum Township," *Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania Newsletter* 11 (September 1984): 4.

⁴John L. Ruth, *Maintaining the Right Fellowship: A Narrative Account of Life in the Oldest Mennonite Community in North America*, Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, no. 26 (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1984), p. 162.

⁵Fretz, "Mennonites in Welland County": 58.



This map of Ontario shows the early Mennonite settlements in Upper Canada, or Ontario. The solid lines generally follow the 1851 boundaries, and the shaded area indicates the six blocks of Indian land grants six miles on each side of Grand River.

sons, George and John, were later ordained to serve the Mennonite pioneer congregations at Sherkston and Black Creek at Riverside.⁶

That same year Hans/John Winger, a minister of the River Brethren in Pennsylvania, came with his wife; two brothers, Henry and Abraham; Jacob Sider and his wife, Catherine Winger; and three Damude brothers (Henry Damude later married John Winger's sister Anna)⁷ and settled in Pelham Township near Fonthill. In 1799 Winger left Fonthill and relocated on 200 acres of land near the Black Creek.⁸ Niagara Christian College, a Brethren in Christ secondary school located on the banks of the Niagara River, is only a few miles from the Winger homestead.

In 1790 Abraham Neaf/Neff settled in Sugar Loaf Township (now Humberstone Township), adjacent to Bertie Township. A petition read in Legislative Council on July 10, 1793, states "that near 100 families are now settled in that quarter (round the point called Sugar Loaf above Fort Erie)." Among these petitioners were names of Mennonites and Quakers.⁹

The following list of property holders in Bertie Township in 1865 reflects the Mennonite, Brethren in Christ, and Quaker mosaic found in Welland County: Barnheart, Beam, Bearss, Bender, Bowman, Carver, Doan, Haun, Hershey, House, Huffman, Johnson, Knissley, Learn, Martin, Miller, Morningstar, Neff, Overholt, Sevitz/Zavitz, Shirk/Sherk, Shoup/Shupe, Simmerman/Zimmerman, Winger, and

Wintemute.¹⁰ Additional names listed in the 1837 assessment rolls for Willoughby Township include Baker, Blily, Boyer, Cider/Sider, Climenhaga, Danner, Flag, Lapp, Lee, Neigh/Nigh, Pickhart, Waggener, Werner, and Whisler.¹¹

Haldimand County Settlement

When John Troyer and his brother Christian arrived with their families about 1789, they were granted permission to settle on any unsurveyed lands in the province. They went sixty miles west of the mouth of the Grand River to Long Point Bay, a distance of one hundred miles west from Bertie Township. In 1797 John petitioned the government to build a dock to accommodate a vessel, carrying about thirty tons, which he was building in order to transport produce from this settlement to other parts of the province.¹²

⁶L. J. Burkholder, *A Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario...* (Mennonite Conference of Ontario: 1935), p. 314.

⁷A. W. Climenhaga, *History of the Brethren in Christ Church* (Nappanee, Ind.: E. V. Publishing House, 1942), pp. 91-92.

⁸Abbie Sider, "A Historical Sketch of the Bertie Congregation," presented at the 1980 annual meeting of the Mennonite Historical Society of Ontario, Mennonite Historical Society of Ontario Collection, archives of Conrad Grebel College, Waterloo, Ont. Hereafter referred to as MHSO Collection.

⁹Fretz, "Mennonites in Welland County": 58.

¹⁰*Ibid.*: [61].

¹¹*Ibid.*: 75.

¹²Burkholder, *Mennonites in Ontario*, p. 38.

Jacob Hoover from near Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, with nine members of his family, including six sons—Abraham, Benjamin, David, Christian, Daniel, and Henry—arrived in Haldimand County sometime between 1790 and 1793. They purchased 2,500 acres of land in Rainham Township close to Lake Erie.¹³ Besides the Hoovers, families bearing the surnames Shank, Swartz, Strickler, Byers, and Miller lived in the colony.¹⁴ Some years later several families came from “The Twenty” (Vineland) and from Bertie and also took up land in Rainham and Cayuga townships.¹⁵

Lincoln County Settlement

As noted earlier, several families with Mennonite surnames arrived in 1786 from Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and located along the shoreline of Lake Ontario several miles west of Twenty Mile Creek. Between 1799 and 1802 another thirty families left Bucks County and traveled to the Jordan-Vineland area called “The Twenty.” This land was located along Twenty Mile Creek. Three men of this party—Amos Albright, Abraham Moyer, and Jacob Moyer—came from Bucks County on foot to scout out this locality in 1799 and secured 1,100 acres of land at \$1.50 to \$2.50 per acre. The land was secured on a deposit of \$40.¹⁶

The “Twenty” settlement was composed of people who had the following surnames: Albright, Althouse, Culp, Fretz, Gehman, Grobb, Hahn, Hoch/High, Houser, Hipple, Hunsberger, Kratz, Martin, Moyer, Nash, Overholt, Rittenhouse, Seivenpipher, Swartz, and Winger.¹⁷ In 1801 a congregation was organized, and the first leaders were chosen by lot. Valentine Kratz was ordained as minister, and John Fretz, as deacon. This action was taken after members had sought counsel from their ministers back home in Bucks County, Pennsylvania.¹⁸

A flourishing Mennonite settlement in the Niagara district did not materialize. Today all that remains of the early organized Mennonite congregations in the Niagara Peninsula are the First Mennonite Church at Vineland, the Reformed Mennonite Church in Stevensville, and the Rainham Mennonite Church at Selkirk. As a result of church divisions, inadequate leadership, and intermarriages, the names of many descendants of the pioneer families are found on the membership rolls of the Brethren in Christ, Missionary, United Brethren, and United churches in the area.

It is quite likely that many Mennonites in Bertie Township became River Brethren because there was a dearth of strong church leadership among the Mennonites whereas John Winger, the first River Brethren bishop in the area, was capable and energetic. Where there was mingling and intermarriage between the Mennonites and River Brethren in the Niagara district, the result was affiliation with the Brethren in Christ.¹⁹

Inland Settlement Begins

Until 1800, settlement in Ontario, then designated as Upper Canada, was generally confined to the shores of the Great Lakes system. The British government bestowed generous land grants upon loyal subjects who assisted their cause during the American Revolutionary War. Many early settlers in the Niagara Peninsula purchased land from a



This Pioneer Tower, erected in 1925 along the Grand River on the farm of pioneer Samuel Betzner near Doon, Ontario, commemorates the arrival of Pennsylvania Mennonite pioneers in Waterloo County, Ontario. Betzner and Joseph Shirk were the first to settle on their properties, which were purchased from Richard Beasley a month later than Bechtel and Bean/Biehn purchased their tract.

British soldier or a United Empire Loyalist who was eager to turn his large holdings into cash.²⁰ As these lands became settled, newly arrived settlers looked farther afield for available lands.

Indian Lands Along Grand River

Mennonite settlers arriving in Canada at the turn of the nineteenth century were informed of a large block of land along the Grand River located thirty miles inland from Dundas, a port situated at the head of Lake Ontario. This land was reported to be available at a reasonable price from Richard Beasley, a Loyalist who had purchased block 2 of Indian lands in 1798.

This tract was one of six blocks of land purchased by the British government from the Mississauga Indians and granted to the Six Nations Indians from upper New York state for

¹³Mary Hoover Dawson, a paper presented at the 1977 annual meeting of the Mennonite Historical Society of Ontario, MHSO Collection.

¹⁴Burkholder, *Mennonites in Ontario*, p. 33.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 58.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 43.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 31.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁹Harold Nigh, “Mennonite History in the Southern Niagara Peninsula,” paper presented at the 1980 annual meeting of the Mennonite Historical Society of Ontario, MHSO Collection.

²⁰Burkholder, *Mennonites in Ontario*, p. 31.

their loyal support during the American Revolution. In 1784 the Six Nations—composed of Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras²¹—received a grant of land six miles on each side of the Grand River from Lake Erie to its sources.²² Within four years the Indians were located in a village they named New Oswego on the banks of the Grand River near Brantford.²³

By the time an official survey of the six blocks was completed, the Indian chief, Joseph Brant, decided that one block was sufficient for their reservation. He persuaded his people to grant him authorization to sell or lease the remaining land and invest the proceeds in a trust fund to make provision for their women, old men, and children.²⁴

However, the deed for the granted land prepared in 1793 by order of Governor John Graves Simcoe gave title to the Six Nations “only so long as they chose to inhabit it.” The grant was “nothing but a license of occupation.”²⁵ Brant expressed to Simcoe his “expectations of having the lands granted to the Indians as fully as to the Loyalists”²⁶ without restrictions. Thus, under Brant’s influence the Six Nations council rejected the deed.

Governor Simcoe insisted that selling any of the Six Nations lands would “annul the intent of his majesty’s Government in making a permanent provision for the maintenance of the Indians.”²⁷ Simcoe’s interpretation of the intent of the grant issued by His Majesty’s government was supported by his superior, the governor in chief of Quebec, Lord Dorchester, who further stated that “it would be very improper to suffer this Tract to get into the hands of Land Jobbers. If it must be resold, the Crown should repurchase it.”²⁸ Considerable wrangling took place during the next few years between Chief Brant and government officials as to whether the Indian lands were at the disposal of the Indians.

Chief Brant insisted that the tract on the Grand River was too confined for hunting purposes and too extensive for their own cultivation to maintain themselves. Therefore, they could not relieve the distressed condition of some of their people unless they were permitted to dispose of some of their land.

After a number of years of agitation chiefly by Chief Joseph Brant, the Six Nations Indians, who had been settled on lands in the Grand River Basin as wards of the government, were granted the power of selling or leasing portions of their land subject to the approval and complete control of three trustees appointed by the executive council of Upper Canada. . . . On May 10, 1798, a mortgage was executed for Block No. 2, said to contain 94,012 acres by Richard Beasley, James Wilson and John Baptiste Rousseau, to secure payment of 8,887 pounds, the whole of the purchase money.²⁹

Interest calculated at the rate of six per cent per annum was to be paid annually to the appointed trustees.³⁰

Block 2 of Beasley Tract

Richard Beasley and his two partners were considered persons of good repute. Rousseau and Wilson eventually transferred their interest to Beasley.³¹ Coming to Canada as a Loyalist, Beasley was entitled to a generous land grant. He

became engaged in trading, owned a flour mill, and enjoyed a successful venture in political affairs as a member of the Legislative Assembly. He also served as lieutenant colonel, commanding the Second Regiment of the York Militia.

Unfortunately, Beasley’s venture in land speculation led to serious financial difficulties. Purchasing over 90,000 acres of land with no down payment on the principal left him with a sizable annual interest payment which he was unable to raise aside from selling portions of the tract. However, the mortgage agreement for the Beasley tract did not permit any subdivision of the block before the entire purchase price was paid to the appointed trustees for the Indians.

Nevertheless, between July 18 and October 10, 1800, Beasley sold over 8,000 acres of land to Mennonite settlers from Chester, Franklin, and Montgomery counties in Pennsylvania. For this sale of land Beasley received cash in full.



Jacob Bechtel, deacon in the first Mennonite congregation in the Waterloo settlement, moved to Canada in 1800 at the age of thirty-one. His father, Abraham Bechtel, accompanied him. Jacob built the left wing of this house of stone in 1817 at Blair, Ontario.

Mennonite Settlers Arrive on Beasley Tract

George Bechtel purchased a 3,150-acre tract from Beasley. John Biehn, accompanied by his family, four of whom were already married, purchased a tract of 3,600 acres. These two families came from Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. Family names found in the list of arrivals in 1800 include Biehn/Bean, Bechtel, Betzner, Kinzie, Rosenberger, Sherk, and Wismer.

²¹E. A. Cruikshank, “The Reserve of the Six Nations on the Grand River and the Mennonite Purchase of Block No. 2,” *Waterloo Historical Society Annual Report* 15 (1927): 340.

²²*Ibid.*: 303, 306.

²³*Ibid.*: 303-304.

²⁴*Ibid.*: 306.

²⁵Mabel Dunham, *Grand River* ([Toronto]: McClelland & Stewart, 1945), p. 75.

²⁶John Graves Simcoe to Lord Dorchester, December 1793, quoted in Cruikshank, “Reserve of the Six Nations”: 307.

²⁷Simcoe to Henry Dundas, secretary of state, September 20, 1793, quoted in Cruikshank, “Reserve of the Six Nations”: 309.

²⁸Lord Dorchester to Simcoe, January 27, 1794, quoted in Cruikshank, “Reserve of the Six Nations”: 309.

²⁹J. Boyd Cressman, “History of the First Mennonite Church of Kitchener, Ontario,” *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 13 (July 1939): 161. See also Cruikshank, “Reserve of the Six Nations”: 321.

³⁰Cruikshank, “Reserve of the Six Nations”: 321.

³¹*Ibid.*: 321.



This memorial cairn in the Blair Cemetery was erected over the gravestone of nine-year-old John Bricker, son of John and Annie Bricker, who died in 1804 and whose burial was the first in the Waterloo settlement.

A year later, in the summer of 1801, the first settlers from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, arrived. Abraham Gingrich came with his family of ten children, including several married daughters and a married son, David.³² David was ordained as deacon by the River Brethren after his arrival in Canada.³³ In 1802 John and Samuel Bricker arrived on the tract. Samuel Bricker would play a significant role in the arrival on the tract of a large group of Mennonites migrating from Lancaster County several years later.

Within a short time trees were felled, log houses and barns erected, land cultivated, and rough wagon roads constructed. Prospects of a flourishing Pennsylvania German Mennonite settlement in the wilds of Upper Canada were emerging as more kinfolk back home became interested in relocating their families. However, a dark cloud arose over the new settlement when Richard Beasley, after receiving cash payments for lots he sold to the settlers, was unable to provide the new land owners on the Beasley tract with clear titles.

Mortgage Problems on the Beasley Tract

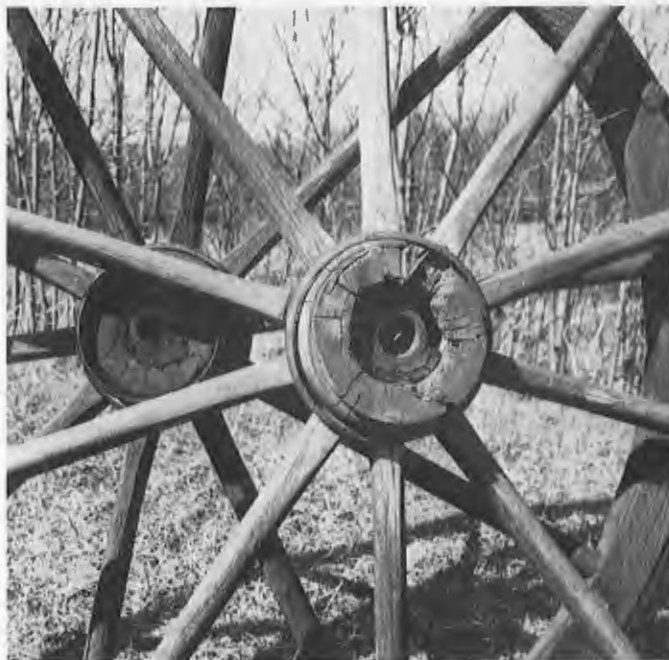
In early 1803 Chief Joseph Brant in a formal petition to the Legislative Council complained that the Indians had not received the anticipated funds for land which they had sold to Beasley and others, and therefore the Indians had no way of relieving their wants. Furthermore, Brant blamed this sad state of affairs on the government due to the restrictions placed in the mortgage agreement, which prohibited partial discharge of the mortgage.

Upon investigation of these complaints the Executive Council reported that because Beasley had paid only £600 to the trustees and because the interest was in arrears, legal action should be taken to force Beasley to honor the

mortgage agreement. Further investigation revealed that, though the trustees had received only one payment of interest, Beasley made several payments to Chief Joseph Brant which contravened the original agreement.³⁴

Certainly Beasley's unwise decision to digress from the terms of the mortgage agreement caused an unpleasant situation for himself, the Indians, and the Pennsylvania German Mennonite settlers. Beasley was now on the brink of receivership. The Indians were not receiving the anticipated trust funds to meet the needs of their community. The Pennsylvania German settlers, after paying cash in full for their purchases, learned that the titles issued by Beasley were defective because of the existing mortgage.³⁵ The mortgage agreement did not permit partial discharges of the mortgage on the parcels of land sold "lest the choice parcels be picked up and the remainder left as waste."³⁶

Some of the distressed settlers in the early summer of 1803 entertained thoughts of returning to Pennsylvania while others applied for a grant of Crown land, which could be secured free of charge in Markham, Vaughan, and Whitchurch townships in York County. That grant had been made possible by an order-in-council passed December 31, 1802. Six settlers on the Beasley tract were each granted 200 acres in Whitchurch Township on June 21, 1803. Due to the subsequent success of further negotiations with



These "buggy" wheels on exhibit at Doon Pioneer Village south of Kitchener, Ontario, belonged to the light two-horse wagon which Samuel Bricker and Daniel Erb used to bring 20,000 silver dollars from Pennsylvania to Ontario to pay off the first installment of the Beasley mortgage.

³²Ezra E. Eby, *A Biographical History of Early Settlers and Their Descendants in Waterloo Township* (Berlin, Ont., Canada: 1895-96; reprint ed., [Kitchener, Ont.]: Eldon D. Weber, 1971), p. 168.

³³Climenhaga, *Brethren in Christ*, p. 121.

³⁴Cruikshank, "Reserve of the Six Nations": 323-324.

³⁵Burkholder, *Mennonites in Ontario*, p. 35.

³⁶Eby, *Early Settlers in Waterloo Township*, reprint ed., p. N-2.

Beasley, the Pennsylvania German Mennonite settlers did not take up residence in Whitchurch and thus forfeited their grants with the land reverting to the Crown.³⁷

The offer from the government to relocate settlers elsewhere and the cessation of migration into the tract caused Beasley and Brant considerable concern. They no doubt had visualized the potential of a steady migration of Pennsylvania German Mennonites prepared to pay cash for large acreages of land. Fortunately for Beasley, the Indians interceded with the trustees on his behalf. In their compassionate petition the Indians stated, "We wish to give [Beasley] one year more to endeavour to extricate himself from the difficulty. . . . The sums he has already paid are too great for an Individual to lose, and too great for us to gain from that unfortunate Individual."³⁸

Solution to Beasley Tract Mortgage Problem

Late in November 1803, in a final attempt to raise the funds required to pay debts accruing from the interest on the mortgage plus the principal owed on block 2, Beasley entered into an agreement with Samuel Bricker and Daniel Erb, representatives of the Mennonite settlers with whom he evidently had been negotiating for some time.³⁹ If Bricker and Erb could raise £10,000 to pay the principal of the mortgage plus the back interest owing to the trustees for block 2, Beasley would release his claim to an additional 60,000 acres of undeveloped land to the Pennsylvania German Mennonites and thus give a clear title to all lands purchased previously from him by the Pennsylvania German settlers.

Permission was later granted by the Executive Council to proceed with the proposed terms of the agreement. The Pennsylvania Germans made this payment in two installments with the final payment to be made on June 28, 1805. In this manner they extricated Beasley from his obligations to the Indians and gained for themselves the respect of the Indians with whom they had friendly relations.⁴⁰

Regarding events surrounding the above transaction, Bishop Benjamin Eby in 1841 wrote that

several families. . . moved from Pennsylvania to Waterloo township on the Grand River, about 20 miles west of Dundas, where they bought virgin land and settled. They did not know however that the whole township was mortgaged and that they were therefore in danger of losing their land. When they became aware of this they turned to their brethren in Pennsylvania for help, who regarded the matter in such a Christian mind that they came to the conclusion to help their brethren in their calamity, to organize a company to buy about 60,000 acres of land, (which was enough to clear the whole township, . . .) of the mortgage. . . . This transaction was not for gain, but to help their brethren.

After the land was surveyed and most of it found good, many of the shareholders themselves or their children came to dwell on their land, and in the year 1806, another company was formed in Pennsylvania which bought 45,000 acres in the township of Woolwoch [sic], bordering [on the north of] Waterloo Township. Through these purchases many in various districts of Pennsylvania were induced to move here.⁴¹

Mennonite Settlement in Waterloo Progresses

Benjamin Eby as a young man was probably present when Samuel Bricker on behalf of the settlers on the Beasley tract appealed to their friends and relatives in Pennsylvania for financial assistance. He no doubt was acquainted with the twenty-six subscribers who formed an association, often referred to as the German Company, as a vehicle of mutual aid to the distressed settlers. His involvement with this settlement in Upper Canada became a lifelong affair.

In 1841 Eby was not aware that the landowners in Woolwich Township were yet to face uncertainties regarding the validity of title to their lands purchased from William Wallace in 1807. Wallace, who conveyed over 45,000 acres of land to the German Company, "omitted to supply the bar to the dower of Mrs. Wallace." Fifty-two years later, in 1859, "heirs-at-law of Wallace took steps to enforce their claim; those steps had the effect of intimidating a few [owners] into an adjustment of differences, and compromises followed. Emboldened thus, the possession of the remainder of the large settlement was attacked, and with some show of success." At this point M. H. Foley, who represented the North Riding of Waterloo in Parliament, interposed and succeeded in procuring passage through the Legislature of a bill quieting all titles.⁴² Fortunately for the landowners of the German Company tract in Woolwich Township, the German Company's agents, Jacob and John Erb, had paid to the trustees of Indian lands the full purchase price, for which they were given the deed and release of the mortgage on May 1, 1807.⁴³

By 1825 the population of the Waterloo settlement was about 1,600. Family names included Bearinger, Binkley, Bomberger, Bowman, Brech, Bretz, Brubacher, Clemens, Clemmer, Cressman, Eby, Erb, Eshleman, Good, Groff, Hagey, Histan, Hoffman, Honsberger, Horst, Huber/Hoover, Kolb, Kraft, Latschaw, Livergood, Martin, Master, Miller, Moyer, Musselman, Pannebecker, Rife/Reif, Reichert, Rudy, Salsberger, Sararas, Scheifle, Schlichter, Schneider, Schuh, Schwartz, Shantz, Sherk, Shiry, Shupe, Stauffer, Unger, Wanner, Weber, Witmer, and Ziegler. Some of these names indicate Tunker or River Brethren affiliation.

The dairy of Elias Eby (1810-1878) indicates that Tunkers were attending services in the Waterloo County Mennonite meetinghouses and that one of their ministers, Niels Holm, preached frequently at regular Sunday meetings

³⁷I. C. Bricker, "The History of Waterloo Township up to 1825," *Waterloo Historical Society Annual Report* 22 (1934): 87-88.

³⁸Cruikshank, "Reserve of the Six Nations": 326.

³⁹Ibid.: 327.

⁴⁰Eby, *Early Settlers in Waterloo Township*, reprint ed., p. N-3.

⁴¹Benjamin Eby, *Kurzgefasste Kirchen Geschichte und Glaubenslehre der Taufgesinnten-Christen oder Mennoniten* (Berlin, Canada: Heinrich Eby, 1841). Translated under title of *A Concise Ecclesiastical History and Doctrinal Theology of the Baptists or Mennonites* (Elkhart, Ind.: Mennonite Pub. Co., 1901), pp. 95-96.

⁴²*Waterloo Historical Society Annual Report* 49 (1961): 36-37, quoted from *Sutherland's County of Waterloo Gazetteer and Directory*, 1864.

⁴³Dunham, *Grand River*, p. 118.

and assisted in Mennonite funeral services.⁴⁴ In the Waterloo settlement the Mennonites were in the majority, and under the leadership of Bishop Benjamin Eby twelve organized congregations had erected meetinghouses by 1841. On the other hand, the Tunker families were rather scattered and fewer in number. Through intermarriage many of their group were assimilated into Mennonite congregations. Most of the Mennonite families who settled on the German Company tracts came from Lancaster County. However, representation from Montgomery County was strong enough to warrant the inclusion of sixty hymns from the Franconia Conference hymnbook in *Die Gemeinschaftliche Liedersammlung*, a hymnbook compiled by Bishop Benjamin Eby in 1836.

Destined to become one of the first successful inland settlements in Canada, the Waterloo settlement became the largest concentration of Pennsylvania German Mennonites in Ontario. This in turn attracted other newly arrived German immigrants to the community.

Erb Family Contributions to Waterloo Settlement

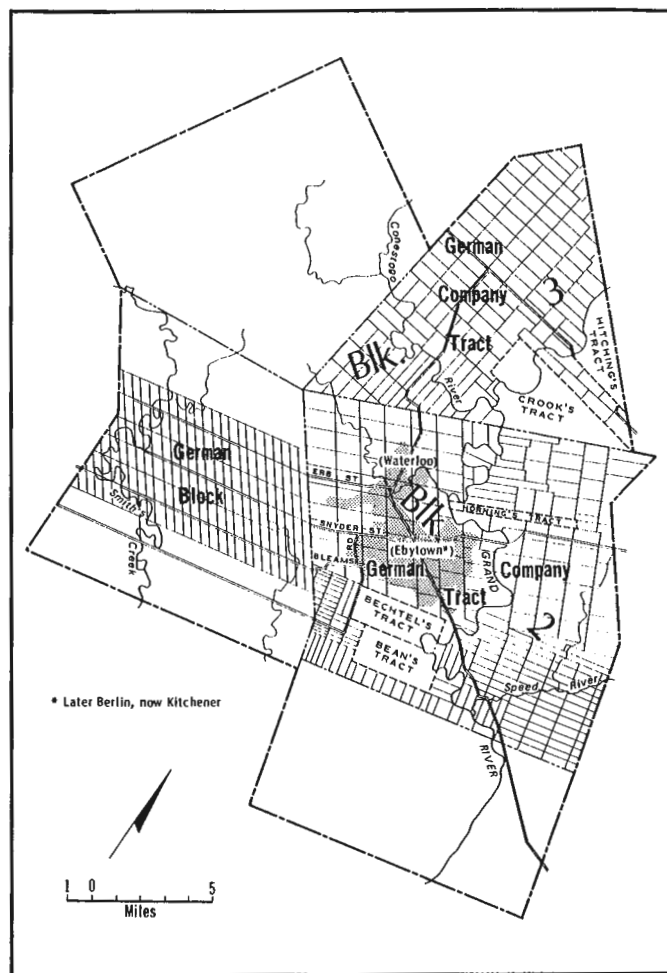
Recognition of the contribution made by members of the pioneering Erb family, who provided over one-third of the capital funds to meet Beasley's offer, is long overdue. Susannah Erb Brubacher, her three brothers—Abraham, Jacob, and John Erb—and two of their cousins, Daniel and Peter Erb, acquired possession of 26,533 acres of land. When the tract was surveyed, it was divided into 128 farms of 448 acres each and thirty-two small farms of 83 acres each so that "the farms should be numbered and lots cast so that the division of the property should be fair to each and all."⁴⁵ Thus the Erb family's holdings were scattered throughout the tract and included considerable swamp land and sand hills.

Daniel and Jacob Erb were the official agents for the German Company who in 1805 transferred the title deeds to the twenty-six shareholders. In 1807 Jacob and John Erb acted in the same capacity for the purchase and disposal of tract number two of the German Company in Woolwich Township located directly north of Waterloo Township.

Jacob Erb and his brother Abraham along with Samuel Eby and Jacob C. Snider administered the initial purchase and settlement of the German block, located along the west side of the Waterloo settlement. When Christian Nafziger, an Amish immigrant from Bavaria, received permission from Governor Maitland to locate Amish families on over 63,000 acres of Crown and Clergy Reserves to the west of Waterloo Township, the tract was surveyed in 1824 and designated the German block.⁴⁶

Between 1824 and 1829 the above-named committee conducted considerable correspondence with government officials on behalf of German block settlers whose land titles were intended to include the fifty acres of land promised to each of the settlers for clearing a road allowance in front of their property.

The road building accomplishments of the German block landowners aided the rapid growth of the area. Clearing a two-rod strip of road allowance fronting their properties, the early Amish settlers created three main roads: Erb's Road,



This map shows the German block and German tracts in Waterloo County, Ontario, as they appeared about 1830.

known locally as the *Oberstrasse* (Upper Street); Schneider's Road, known as the *Mittelstrasse* (Middle Street); and Bleams Road, known as the *Unterstrasse* (Lower Street). These three roads connected with the extension of the Dundas Road, constructed through the German Company tract in block 2 by fifty Pennsylvania German settlers in 1810-11, thus providing access from this inland settlement to Dundas, a port on Lake Ontario and the nearest place of commerce.⁴⁷

Although Christian Nafziger's arrangements for settlement on the German block were made on behalf of Amish families still living in Europe under extreme privations, a number of Amish families who migrated to Pennsylvania several years earlier arrived in Canada before direct migration from Europe began.⁴⁸ Concerned for the spiritual welfare of

⁴⁴*Diary of Elias Eby*, ed. Isaac R. Horst ([Mount Forest, Ont.: 1984]).

⁴⁵Bricker, "History of Waterloo Township": 90-91.

⁴⁶Wilmot Survey Records, Ontario Provincial Archives, Toronto, Ont.

⁴⁷Lorna L. Bergey, "Lands and Peoples of Wilmot Township," *More Than a Century in Wilmot* (a centennial publication compiled by a local historical committee in 1967), p. 15.

⁴⁸Lorraine Roth, "Goldsmith, Brennehan, Kropf: First Amish Ordinations in Canada," *Mennogespäch* 2 (September 1984): [1].

the new colony, Bishop John Stoltzfus of Pennsylvania ordained two ministers, Jacob Goldschmidt and John Brenneman, and a deacon, Jacob Kropf, to assume the spiritual oversight of the new settlement. The Amish community was never complete without ordained leaders.⁴⁹

York County Settlement

During the years that mortgage problems pertaining to the Beasley tract were being resolved, incoming Pennsylvania German Mennonite settlers became attracted to the unsettled lands in York County, located eighty miles east of the Waterloo settlement north of Lake Ontario near York (now Toronto).

Henry Wideman, a Mennonite minister, and his family from Bucks County, Pennsylvania, arrived in Markham Township in 1803. The following year they were joined by Hoovers, Reesors, Stauffers, and Sherks. Wideman died in 1810; his death was caused by a falling tree while he was clearing his land.⁵⁰

Christian Reesor, who came from Lancaster County in 1804, was also killed by a falling tree in 1806 while he was supervising the clearing of his land.⁵¹ The residence of his son Peter was used for congregational services by the pioneer community. Peter's birthday fell on Christmas day, and a regular Christmas day meeting was held in his home. The neighbors usually attended, and the whole group remained for dinner.⁵²

By 1826 some thirty Mennonite families located in York County. Most of them settled in Markham Township. Names found in this group were Barkey, Boyer/Byer, Burkholder, Groff/Grove, Hare/Herr, Kreider, Lehman, Neighswander, and Ramer. The Ramers were detained at the Niagara River during the War of 1812 and came soon afterward.⁵³

In 1803 Peter Musselman from Pennsylvania moved to Vaughan Township. Other pioneer family names appearing in this settlement included Burkholder, Hoover, Lehman, Mishler, Snider, Schmitt/Smith, Shunk, and Troyer. Jacob Schmitt/Smith, Sr., who arrived in 1815, donated one acre of land at Edgeley Village in 1823 to be used as a cemetery and for a meetinghouse. The meetinghouse, built that same year, is "the oldest log meetinghouse in Ontario" and has been moved to nearby Black Creek Pioneer Village at Steele's Avenue and Jane Street, Toronto Northwest.⁵⁴

Membership in this congregation peaked at fifty in 1855 and declined gradually thereafter. The group suffered leadership losses throughout the 1850s, when the minister, Christian Troyer, allied with the Daniel Hoch group and his successor, Daniel Brundage, moved away in 1859. Only a few members remained after the liberal/conservative division in the Ontario Conference. Their location sixteen miles from other Mennonite communities resulted in socializing and intermarriage with non-Mennonites. Services held only every sixteen weeks by a visiting minister were not conducive to congregational growth. Numerous families were attracted to Methodist church activities, and others joined local Brethren in Christ (Tunker) and Mennonite Brethren in Christ congregations.⁵⁵

Only three of the eight congregations organized by Mennonite settlers in York County remain. They meet at the Cedar Grove, Wideman, and Reesor (Steele's Avenue) meetinghouses.

In 1804 the first River Brethren (Tunkers) from Pennsylvania arrived in Markham Township and settled near the village of Gormley. According to the Heise family history, leaders in this migration were John Doner and Christian Steckley, ministers, and Christian Heise, a deacon. Peter Cober, son of a convert, Nicholas Cober, became an influential leader in that denomination. Ordained as bishop in 1840, he is reported to have made five trips to Pennsylvania in connection with his church activities, and for thirty years he attended all love feasts in the Ontario district.⁵⁶ The Cober meetinghouse in Vaughan Township, built by the River Brethren in 1888, is used frequently but not regularly by a small congregation of Old Order Dunkards.⁵⁷

In the census of 1841 the townships of Etobicoke, York, Whitchurch, Vaughan, Markham, and Pickering, list over 1200 persons as Mennonites and Tunkers. Most of them came from Pennsylvania. Their settlement was not in a block as in Waterloo County, so some aspects of their distinctive culture did not survive into the 20th century. However the virtues they stressed; neighborliness, thrift, sound agrarian methods and determination coupled generally with mutual respect for each other and reverence for God, have withstood the tests of time.⁵⁸

Reasons for Migration to Canada

What motivated these Mennonites and related groups from Pennsylvania to travel north some four hundred miles to settle in Canada while other families from their home state were forming new settlements to the south in Virginia and as far west as Ohio? Three main reasons for the migration from Pennsylvania to Canada have been recorded by Ezra Eby and L. J. Burkholder. They state that Mennonites migrated from Pennsylvania to Canada in search of economic opportunity, religious freedom, and political stability.

⁴⁹Orland Gingerich, *The Amish of Canada* (Waterloo, Ont.: Conrad Press, 1972), pp. 29-30.

⁵⁰Norman E. Wideman and Enoch Martin Wideman, *The Wideman Family in Canada and United States* ([Burlington, Ont.: 1955]), p. 1.

⁵¹*The Reesor Family in Canada: Genealogical and Historical Records, 1804-1950* ([Markham, Ont.: 1950]), p. 11.

⁵²Burkholder, *Mennonites in Ontario*, p. 111.

⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 40.

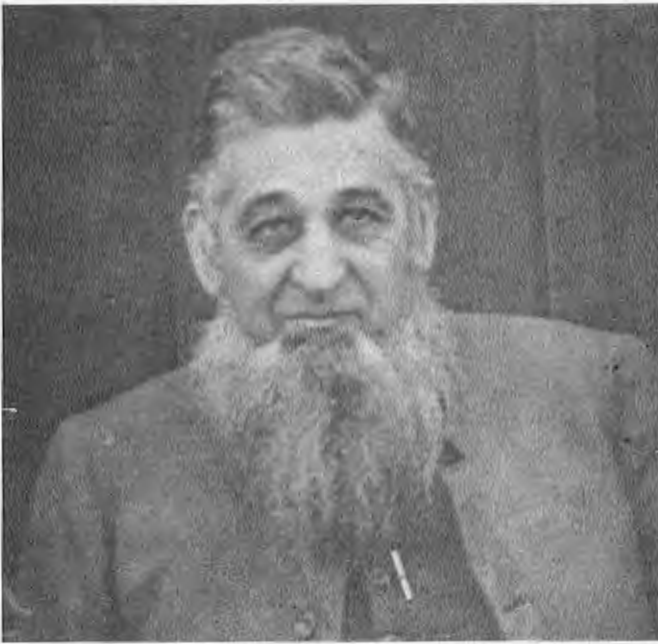
⁵⁴"The Plain Folk," a pamphlet produced by Black Creek Pioneer Village.

⁵⁵Paul Burkholder, "The Mennonite Community in Edgeley," paper presented at the 1978 annual meeting of the Mennonite Historical Society of Ontario, MHSO Collection.

⁵⁶E. Morris Sider, "History of the Brethren in Christ Church in Canada" (M.A. dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1955), p. 71.

⁵⁷"The Cober Dunkard Church in Vaughan," unsigned paper presented at the 1978 annual meeting of the Mennonite Historical Society of Ontario, in possession of author.

⁵⁸Paul Burkholder, "Pioneer Hamlets of York" (foreword), *Canadian-German Folklore* 6 (1977): 6.



Peter Shirk (1839-1919), son of Christian Shirk and Elizabeth Hoffman of Churchtown, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, moved to Waterloo Township, Ontario, in 1862.

In 1895 Ezra Eby, a grandson of pioneer Bishop Benjamin Eby, regarding the economic reason for migrating, wrote that because the counties of Lancaster, Berks, Franklin, and Montgomery “had become so populous that it was impossible for all to obtain land at home, some families from Bucks and other counties, decided to emigrate to the wilds of Canada, where it was reported there were excellent tracts of land for farming purposes.”⁵⁹

On the same subject L. J. Burkholder, the noted historian of the Mennonite Conference of Ontario, wrote, “Good land [in Pennsylvania] was becoming relatively expensive, and in the early part of the nineteenth century, sold for more than \$100.00 per acre. The population pressure was one of the reasons for the move to Canada.”⁶⁰

A further examination of statements made by Eby and Burkholder regarding motives for migrating to Canada reveals that a concern for the guarantee of religious freedom, interwoven with a desire for political stability, also prompted the Pennsylvania Mennonites to move to Canada in their quest for economic opportunity.

Burkholder, referring to the first migration of Mennonites from Pennsylvania to Canada in 1786, wrote, “That this group came just three years after the Peace of Paris which concluded the struggle between the American colonies and Britain, helps to confirm the view that British laws and her religious liberty attracted these settlers.”⁶¹

Eby wrote,

Although these people did not take any part in either side of politics, yet their sympathies leaned toward the Crown during the Revolutionary War. . . . The cause of this may have been the great faith they had in the British Government in fulfilling their promise, made to them over one hundred years previously, in granting them exemption from taking the oaths. All these things had a tendency to

give them attachments to the countries ruled by Britain, and finally may have been the principal cause of their’ [sic] settling in Canada.⁶²

Following are excerpts of a letter written by David Sherk (1801-1882), a Mennonite minister, and addressed to members of Parliament:

We have understood by some of our brethren that have conversed with you on the subject of our exemptions . . . it appears that you are not fully acquainted with that point of the Militia law of our country.

The letter contains a summary of the persecutions suffered by Mennonites in Europe for their nonresistant stance and of their subsequent migration to Pennsylvania where they were privileged

to enjoy . . . liberty of conscience under the British government . . . and were strongly attracted to the British government . . . and when the time came that the Colonies revolted against their government, the Mennonites were very much grieved about it but according to their principles kept still and had hopes that the Colonies would not succeed but at length their hope was gone.

Then after the Continental war was over, as I heard my father frequently tell when I was a boy “the British government issued a Proclamation by Governor Simcoe of Canada that all those kind of people that would like to live under British protection should come to Canada . . . and their liberty of conscience would be protected in the full sense of the word.” . . . My father emigrated to this part of the country in 1799. . . . Some more followed . . . until there was a good many of these people in Canada and in 1812 when the War commenced between Canada and the United States . . . the Promise of the Crown was held good for there was no one of these people troubled to take up arms . . . so we have reasons to thank God and our government this far.⁶³

The letter was also signed by another Mennonite minister, Moses S. Bowman; Deacon David Eshelman; and four lay persons from various congregations in the townships of Waterloo and Wilmot—John Bean, Sr., Cornelius Pannebecker, Jacob Y. Shantz, and Joseph Erb. That these sons of the early settlers were aware of their fathers’ pro-British sentiment is indeed significant. Mennonites in Canada have continuously reminded their government’s representatives of their expectations for consideration on the part of the government regarding their military exemption status.

The loyalty of Mennonites to the British Crown is supported by Donald F. Durnbaugh. Christopher Sauer III, a King’s printer in Germantown, Pennsylvania, who engaged in intelligence work for the Loyalists during the Revo-

⁵⁹Eby, *Early Settlers in Waterloo Township*, reprint ed., p. 3.

⁶⁰Burkholder, *Mennonites in Ontario*, p. 21.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁶²Eby, *Early Settlers in Waterloo Township*, reprint ed., p. 3.

⁶³David Sherk [et al.] to the “Honourable Members of Parliament for Waterloo and Adjacent County,” 1865, letter collection, archives of Conrad Grebel College.

lutionary War, forwarded the following statement in a document to his superior in which he mentioned that the “Mennonists and German Baptists (the latter in derision called Dunkers) in the different parts of Pennsylvania, have long wished to know from authority how to conduct themselves during the present rebellion, that they not give offence [*sic*] to His Majesty or to his representative in America.”⁶⁴ Durnbaugh has perceived that “their neutrality did not mean that they had no preference in the struggle. They had a definite pro-British—that is, Loyalist or Tory—leaning. In modern diplomatic parlance we could say that they ‘tilted’ toward the crown.”⁶⁵



A prized heirloom of the Reesor descendants is a natural-hide-covered document box—sixteen inches wide, eight inches high, and ten inches deep. Initialed “C.R.” and secured with an iron lock, the interior is lined with an 1828 newspaper printed in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania.

This tilt toward the Crown surfaced in my family history as late as 1862, when my grandfather, Peter Shirk—son of Christian Shirk, the tanner—left his home in Churchtown, Pennsylvania, and with his sister Barbara came to Canada. His expressions of respect and gratitude for the stability of the British Crown have been transmitted to his descendants of the third and fourth generation. Was it merely a coincidence that this young Mennonite, living not far from the Mason-Dixon Line, decided at the age of twenty-three to move to Canada during the American Civil War, or was his move to Canada an expression of preference for British law and government?

Harold Nigh has suggested that Mennonites and River Brethren “found the climate created by the American Revolution hostile to their tenets of nonresistance. . . . British law which assumes that a person has freedoms unless those freedoms are specifically denied by law was being replaced by a system borrowed from the French in which a subject has freedoms only when they are guaranteed by law.”⁶⁶

Whatever their reasons for migrating to Canada, these Pennsylvania German settlers by diligent application of their knowledge and skill in land and animal husbandry made a major contribution to the economic development of Canada. Thrift and industry, combined with their stalwart Christian faith, laid a firm foundation upon which succeeding generations have built the thriving communities of today.

Commitment to God and to the spiritual welfare of the community was reflected in their concern to organize congregations and to arrange for the ordination of leaders from within the community who provided spiritual nurture to members on the frontier settlement.

Among their treasured possessions was the family Bible, which usually contained the register in which births, marriages, and deaths in each generation were duly recorded. A German Froschauer Bible, printed in 1560, arrived on the Canadian frontier in pioneer Jacob Schneider’s Conestoga wagon. Purchased in 1564 by Hannes Schneider, who was born in 1534 in the Canton of Bern, Switzerland, the flyleaf in this old Bible contains handwritten accounts of the pilgrimage of succeeding generations from Switzerland to Spiers, located near Heidelberg, Germany, in 1653; eighteen years later to Zweibrücken; and after 1695 to Holland, where they located twelve miles west of Amsterdam.

Thirty-nine years later Jacob Schneider, a sixth-generation descendant of the original owner, recorded the information that he received the Bible of his “grandfather’s grandfather.” This was two years prior to his emigration from Europe to Pennsylvania in 1736. His grandson, Jacob Schneider, brought the Bible when he migrated to Canada, where he settled at the Ox Bow of the Grand River in 1806. He was ordained deacon on November 27, 1809, at the Grand River settlement on the same day that Benjamin Eby was ordained minister.⁶⁷

In the ninth generation, ownership of the Bible passed to a nephew, Jacob, son of pioneer Christian Schneider, brother of pioneer Jacob and grandfather of Elias W. B. Snider.⁶⁸ Sixteen generations of Hannes Schneider’s descendants are inscribed in the family register of this treasured old Bible.⁶⁹

Canadian Settlement Ties to Pennsylvania

Old letters and diaries confirm that ties between the new settlements in Canada and the home communities in Pennsylvania were maintained. In the fall of 1826 Christian Reesor, the twenty-one-year-old son of Peter Reesor in Markham, accompanied by his mother, traveled to Pennsyl-

⁶⁴*The Brethren in Colonial America: A Source Book on the Transplantation and Development of the Church of the Brethren in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Donald F. Durnbaugh (Elgin, Ill.: Brethren Press, 1967), p. 407.

⁶⁵Donald F. Durnbaugh, “Religion and Revolution: Options in 1776,” *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 1 (July 1978): 6.

⁶⁶Harold Nigh, “Southern Niagara Peninsula.”

⁶⁷Recorded in the Bishop Jacob Moyer Bible, housed at the Jordan Museum of the Twenty, Jordan, Ont. See also [Isaac Horst], “The Jacob Moyer Bible: Translation of its Contents,” *Mennogespräch* 3 (March 1985): 4-5.

⁶⁸E. W. B. Snider and D. B. Detweiler, grandson of Preacher Jacob Detweiler, pioneer from Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, along with Sir Adam Beck, M.P.P., have been acclaimed as “The Fathers of Ontario Hydro.”

⁶⁹A picture of the Hannes Schneider family Bible and reproductions of pages from the family register can be seen in Miriam Helen Snyder, *Hannes Schneider and His Wife, Catharine Haus Schneider: Their Descendants and Times, 1534-1939* (Kitchener, Ont.: Compiler, 1937), pp. 1-6.



Henry B. Cassel poses with his wife, Mary Ann Bricker, granddaughter of Samuel Bricker. At the age of fourteen Henry moved to Canada in 1849 with his parents, John and Sarah (Biehn) Cassel.

vania to visit their relatives. On their return journey they contracted typhoid fever. Both died after reaching Lewiston, New York, where they were buried. During the winter of 1827 Peter had the bodies exhumed and transported the coffins by sled to Markham for burial in the Cedar Grove Cemetery. A memorial stone on their grave records the tragic story.⁷⁰

A letter written by Dilman Meyer/Moyer from Vineland to Jacob Groff/Grove in Markham tells of the visit of a Lancaster County preacher, Peter Nissley, to several churches in Ontario in the spring of 1853.⁷¹

In 1854 John Eby Reesor, a young minister from Ontario, visiting relatives and friends in Pennsylvania, wrote to a friend back home that his transportation to Pennsylvania was provided by boat, rail, stagecoach, canal barge, and (street) cars. He reported seeing more corn during a seventy-five-mile journey in Lancaster County than he would find if he were to travel through the whole of Canada and that farms at Manheim, Pennsylvania, were equal to any farms in Canada. He declared he would require three months to visit all of his relatives who wanted to entertain him in their homes.⁷²

Preacher Moses S. Bowman's diary records a visit to Pennsylvania in 1875 in which he traveled by street cars from Preston, Ontario, to Buffalo, New York, and by rail from Buffalo to Souder Station in Pennsylvania. Spending about

equal time visiting Montgomery and Lancaster counties, he preached at meetings for the congregations at Boyertown, Vincent, Coventry, Bowmansville, Mellinger, Strasburg, and Landisville.⁷³

Henry B. Cassel, who came to Canada from Montgomery County in 1849 as a lad with his parents, John and Sarah (Biehn) Cassel, returned for a visit in 1897. His wife, Mary Ann Bricker, kept a diary of that trip. Leaving New Hamburg, Ontario, by train at 9:00 A.M. on September 7, they made their first stop at Bangor, north of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where they arrived at the Abraham Oberholtzer home the next morning in time for 8:00 breakfast. Here they rested for the remainder of the day in preparation for the next day's forty-mile trip with a team via the Water Gap to Stroudsburg and back to Bangor via Wind Gap. The cryptic entry in the diary after that trip was "uphill and downhill."

Upon their arrival at Lansdale on September 11, they were guests of the Enos Cassels, who took them to the Plains meeting and Sunday school the next day. During their stay here they visited the families of Isaiah Moyer; John Clemmer; John Clemens; Joe Krup; Henry Godshall; William Shoemaker; Henry Bean; H. Garges; David, Jacob, and John Bergey; and Abraham Kratz. They attended meetings at Towamencin, Franconia, and Souderton and visited the old Cassel homestead. On their way to Lancaster they stopped at Germantown to visit Daniel K. Cassel.

Henry Cassel's daughter Susannah and her husband, Noah S. Shantz, accompanied them on this trip, which then included a stop at Pottstown to visit the homestead of Noah's great-grandfather, Isaac Shantz, on the banks of the Schuylkill River. Their stay in the Manheim area included visits with David Webers, Daniel Erbs, Levi Rissers, John Brickers, and Christian Baumbergers. They stopped at the old Erb graveyard, attended Sunday school at the Erb meetinghouse, and "gave the children presents." Cassel was a strong promoter of the Sunday school movement in the Mennonite Conference of Ontario. After spending six weeks of continuous socializing with their friends and relatives in Pennsylvania, Mrs. Cassel recorded that "they left the good Old land for Sweet Canada."⁷⁴

Although more than eighty years have elapsed since those words were penned, visits to the "good old land" continue as descendants of those Pennsylvania German Mennonites who chose to migrate to Canada become engrossed in the search for their roots. □

⁷⁰Reesor Family in Canada, pp. 11-12.

⁷¹L. J. Burkholder letter collection, archives of Conrad Grebel College.

⁷²Letter collection, archives of Conrad Grebel College. Reesor's diary was published as "John E. Reesor's Trip to Pennsylvania," *Mennonite Research Journal* 5 (January 1964): 1-2, 9. He was a son of Peter Risser (1775-1854), who was a grandson of Pennsylvania immigrant Peter Risser (1713-1804); his mother, Esther Eby (1779-1826), was a cousin to Bishop Benjamin Eby.

⁷³Moses S. Bowman Collection, archives of Conrad Grebel College.

⁷⁴Diary of Mrs. Henry B. Cassel in possession of great-granddaughter, Lorna L. Bergey.

*The authors highlight those Amish families
who migrated from Pennsylvania to Canada from 1785 to 1835.*

Canadian Amish Mennonite Roots In Pennsylvania

by Lorraine Roth and Marlene J. Grant

The bicentennial of Mennonites in Canada is an occasion for Canadian Mennonites to consider their roots—from where they came, how they arrived here, and under what circumstances they came. The first Mennonite settlers in Canada came from Pennsylvania. Among those who came about 1786 was at least one settler who was Amish or had strong Amish leanings. Although the Amish in Canada are largely the result of European migrations between 1825 and 1850 or of much more recent settlements from various parts of the United States, we propose in this article to highlight those Amish families who came from Pennsylvania during the first fifty years (1785-1835).

Troyers on Lake Erie and in York County

The Amish family who came before 1790 was that of Christian Troyer, son of immigrant Michael Troyer and Magdalena Mast. Christian was born in Pennsylvania in 1755 or 1756, probably in Lancaster County, but the family later moved to Somerset County. Christian married Barbara Yoder and purchased a farm in Bedford County on which he was located at the time of the 1779 and 1783 censuses.

The first formal indication of Christian Troyer's presence in Canada appears in 1788 at Sugar Loaf, located between Fort Erie and Port Colborne on Lake Erie. Because the early settlers took possession of unoccupied land and applied for grants or deeds after they could prove they were industrious and serious settlers, we can assume that Christian arrived in Canada no later than 1786 and perhaps even earlier. By 1788 or 1789 Christian had also brought other settlers to Canada, including his brother John. At that point the Troyers went still farther west to Long Point Bay. At that time Christian also brought his family. A land petition states that he arrived with four children. We know of only three—Magdalena, David, and Maria. After the death of Barbara in 1789 Christian married Elizabeth Becker, and she gave birth to Christian's three youngest children—Jacob, Catherine, and Christian, Jr.

Christian Troyer, it is said, returned to Pennsylvania twelve times and brought other settlers back with him. A petition for land in 1809 credited Christian with bringing thirty-five settlers to Upper Canada. Their names were recorded on the petition. Among them were John Troyer and several other Amish names such as Curtz, Fisher, Becker, Holly, Christner, Spiger, Mishler, Miller, and Berky, to name only the most obvious ones.

John Troyer settled permanently on lot 20, concession 1, of Walsingham Township in Norfolk County. John was married to Sophronia Reichenbach, and they had two known children, Barbara and Michael. John is considered to



John (1753-1842) and Sophrona Troyer's (1753-1821) gravestones stand in a family cemetery at Troyer's Flats east of Port Rowan in Walsingham Township, Norfolk County, Ontario.

have been Brethren in Christ (Tunker), but at what point he identified with this group is not known. In a 1795 petition he stated:

Your Petitioner has Suffered much by the Rebellious Americans, as they made no scruple to take all he had; and he came with his Wife and Family to this Province in Order once more to enjoy Peace under His Majestys Good Laws—

Your Petitioner prays that your Excellency and the Honourable Council will please to have compassion on him, and if it is against the Tenets of his Profession to bear arms, he has no objection to employ his Team in any service of Government either civil or Military.¹

John also petitioned for extra land on the waterfront for the purpose of building a dock to transport the produce of his settlement. He operated a gristmill and blacksmith forge at what became known as "Troyer's Flats." He probably grew the first orchard in that area with seeds and plants brought from Somerset County.

John Troyer was a colorful figure among the early settlers. He became known as "Dr. John Troyer of Long Point" because of his knowledge of herbal remedies and his willingness to use his skills in the service of his community.² A number of artifacts are found in the Eva Brook Donly Museum at Simcoe, Ontario, pertaining to his life in that

¹"Petitions of Grants of Land, 1792-1796," *Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society* 24 (1927): 142-143.

²George Laidler, "John Troyer of Long Point Bay, Lake Erie," *Ontario History* 39 (1947):15-39.

area. In later life he seems to have been quite eccentric and superstitious, and many stories about this interesting person have been preserved in the local community.³

Born on February 3, 1753, in Pennsylvania and the oldest son of Michael and Magdalena (Mast) Troyer, John died at Long Point on February 28, 1842, at the age of eighty-nine years. Both he and his wife are buried in a family cemetery on the west bank of the valley known as Troyer's Flats in Walsingham Township. Long ago this cemetery was vandalized, and the stones scattered. Michael Troyer, son of Dr. John, constructed the first cider mill in Walsingham Township. He served as deacon in the Port Rowan Baptist Church for thirty-three years. Whether Barbara had any descendants is not known.

Although Christian Troyer's signature still appears on a 1793 petition at Sugar Loaf,⁴ he was probably already residing on lot 21, concession 1, in Walsingham Township beside his brother John. No doubt the three youngest children were born there.

In 1804 Christian decided to move to York County (lot 5, concession 3, in Vaughan Township). His petition, dated March 25, 1809, besides listing the settlers he was instrumental in bringing to Canada, states that he was an "honest and industrious man."

The British government had promised military exemption to Quakers, Mennonites, and Tunkers, but during the War of 1812 many of them had been pressed to supply teams and even teamsters to haul supplies. Evidently Christian refused even to offer his team. In the minutes of the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace in the Home District, dated March 19, 1814, Christian was charged along with John Oister, Michael Kiffer, John Shank, John Snider, and Joseph Michler and ordered to show cause "why they have not sent forth their Teams with Sleighs, as regularly impressed and directed so to do, for Government Service."

Perhaps because of this court case or because of the search for other land, Christian and his son David returned to the United States, possibly as early as 1815. Christian and Elizabeth lived with David's family in Holmes County, Ohio. Elizabeth is buried on the family farm (Cemetery 0-26),⁵ now the Mervin Shetler farm north of Farmerstown, Ohio. Christian, who died in 1839, is probably buried there also.⁶ The Canadian Troyer family archives committee members in conjunction with Amish relatives in Ohio have erected a memorial to the memory of Christian Troyer in this cemetery.

Family of Christian Troyer

Magdalena Troyer (1780-1851) married Joseph Heise, son of John and Barbara (Yordy) Heise of Lebanon County, Pennsylvania. Joseph, two brothers, and a sister arrived at Markham in 1803. Joseph's first wife was Anna Wideman. They resided on lot 26, concession 8, in Markham Township in 1803 and on lot 19W½ in 1808.

David Troyer (1784-1871) was first married to Catherine Hooley (1783-1847). David and Catherine moved to Holmes County, Ohio, where he was known as "Canada Dave." He and Catherine had nine known children. Catherine was buried on the family farm (Cemetery 0-26).⁷

David and his second wife, Mary Aish (1807-1869), moved to Indiana and are buried in the Miller Cemetery at Middlebury. David's family was Amish, and many of their descendants still adhere to the Amish way of life.

Maria Troyer (1789-1884) married Christian Hoover of Markham, Ontario. They settled on lot 23, concession 4, located west of Yonge Street in what was then the town of Elia. Their home is now part of the York University grounds and is being preserved by the university. Maria and Christian had seven children and are buried in the Edgeley Mennonite Cemetery at Vaughan, Ontario.

Jacob Troyer (1793-1868) married Catherine Oster (1802-1886) in 1819. They had twelve children and are buried in the Zion Evangelical Lutheran Cemetery at Sherwood, Ontario.

Catherine Troyer (1794-1886) married Henry Burkholder (1790-1860) in 1814. They had three children and are buried in the Edgeley Mennonite Cemetery.

Christian Troyer, Jr. (1798-1883), married in 1822 Magdalena Cober (1802-1888). Christian farmed lot 5, concession 3, after his father left and also lots 1 and 2, concession 3. The latter were left to his youngest son, Samuel, who built a round barn that is now preserved in the Agricultural Museum at Milton, Ontario (adjacent to Highway 401). Christian and Magdalena had ten children. Christian served as minister in the Edgeley Mennonite



This photograph depicts the Edgeley Mennonite meetinghouse in its original setting at Edgeley (now Vaughan) before it was moved to Black Creek Pioneer Village.

³Another work on this topic besides those cited above is Egbert Americus Owen, *Pioneer Sketches of Long Point Settlement* (Toronto: 1898), p. 31.

⁴Quoted in J. C. Fretz, "The Early History of the Mennonites in Welland County, Ontario," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 27 (January 1953): 59, from Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, vol. 24.

⁵Number of cemetery from Leroy Beachy, *Cemetery Directory of the Amish Community in Eastern Holmes and Adjoining Counties in Ohio* ([Millersburg, Ohio: Compiler], 1975), p. 144.

⁶A family tradition says that Christian traveled back to Canada in later life to visit his children. According to a rumor, Christian in his old age sent a letter to the United States when on a visit. No definite proof exists of such a letter or of Christian's death in Canada rather than in Ohio.

⁷Beachy, *Cemetery Directory*, p. 144.

Church. The date of his ordination is not known. According to L. J. Burkholder,⁸ Christian aligned himself with Daniel Hoch of Jordan, who led a more evangelical faction in the church. Magdalena is buried in the Edgeley Mennonite Cemetery at Vaughan, but the place of Christian's burial is not definitely known.

Amish Affiliation of the Troyers and This Early Settlement

It is difficult to assess the Amish affiliation of Christian Troyer and any other families he induced to migrate to Upper Canada. From his association with his son David, who either remained in or reverted back to the Amish faith, one surmises that Christian Troyer, Sr., probably considered himself Amish.

According to Paul H. Burkholder,⁹ Christian Troyer, Sr., must also have been a minister in Vaughan Township, but there is no clue that he might have been Amish. No records have been found suggesting that the Troyers and their fellow settlers organized an Amish congregation in Norfolk County. Because they erected no church buildings and because the families dispersed (they left Canada or assimilated into the surrounding culture), they possibly could have had an organized, functioning congregation of which all trace has been lost.

In York County there is no indication that an Amish congregation was organized even though a thriving Mennonite community persists there to the present. The disappearance, however, of most of the Amish names from even the Mennonite church roster causes one to ask what happened. Did they return to the United States? L. J. Burkholder suggests that the Mackenzie Rebellion of 1837 caused some of them to leave.¹⁰ One branch of the Troyer family continued in the Amish tradition but returned to the United States and became part of a larger Amish settlement rather than trying to establish or maintain one in Canada. Perhaps this is true of some of the other families as well. Schisms and other denominations siphoned off many members of the Mennonite community in York County. In Norfolk County no record exists of any formal organization of an Amish, Mennonite, or Tunker congregation. John Troyer's son became a Baptist. What happened to other Amish, Mennonite, or Tunker families has not been researched by the authors.

Stoltzfus Land Claims in Waterloo County (Woolwich)

The next hint of an Amish presence in Upper Canada was the purchase of land in the German Company tract (now Woolwich Township) by the Amish bishop, Christian Stoltzfus of Lancaster County. Christian purchased lots 10, 18, and 30—a total of 1,050 acres. Bishop Stoltzfus must have had immigration in mind—if not for himself, then for his children or other fellow members. No record has been found that Bishop Christian Stoltzfus ever set foot in Canada. In 1819 he sold lot 18 to Peter Martin, who migrated from the Weaverland Valley of Lancaster County,

Pennsylvania. At the death of the bishop in 1835 his heirs sold lot 19 to Christian, Jr., and lot 30 to Christian, Jr., and Jacob Steinman. Philip Breckbill purchased lot 19 in 1839, and Elias Snider, lot 30 in 1845. Thus the Stoltzfus name quietly disappeared from the records of Waterloo County.

In the 1820s the Amish from Europe began migrating to Canada, usually through Pennsylvania. Some of them spent a few years there, and others, much less time. Joseph Goldschmidt, the John Brenneman family, and the Jacob Kropf family arrived in Pennsylvania between 1819 and 1821. Joseph Goldschmidt married Elizabeth Swartzendruber, also a recent immigrant, and the three couples went to Canada in 1824 probably as a group. These families settled in what was to become Wilmot Township. Also in 1824 Bishop John Stoltzfus, son of Bishop Christian Stoltzfus, ordained Joseph Goldschmidt and John Brenneman as ministers and Jacob Kropf as deacon to serve the Amish church in Canada.¹¹ Because no Amish bishop lived in Canada until the arrival of Bishop Peter Nafziger (known as the "Apostle") in 1826, Bishop John Stoltzfus or someone else probably came periodically between 1824 and 1826 to serve communion.

At least one Amish family did settle in Woolwich Township—that of Joseph and Barbara (Kandel or Kennel) Zehr. The date of their arrival and why they settled so far from the rest of the Amish community is not known. Joseph died in 1845 and is buried at the Martin meetinghouse. The children married young people from Wilmot. In 1855 Barbara sold her two acres of lot 54 (formerly owned by Bishop Benjamin Eby), and the Amish presence in Woolwich Township disappeared completely.

With the exception of the Troyers none of the Amish families who had come to America before the American Revolution produced any immigrants to the wilds of Upper Canada. As has been noted, however, the Troyers established no continuing Amish community. The Goldschmidts, Brennemens, and Kropfs had all spent a few years in Pennsylvania, but other well-established Amish families did not allow themselves to be uprooted.

The Schwartzentruber-Schmucker Family

One exception to this phenomenon was Catherine Schmucker, married to Jacob Schwartzentruber. Catherine was born in Pennsylvania, but Jacob was also a relatively recent arrival. We can assume that as a woman Catherine obediently went to Canada when her husband decided to go. Of course, she had some daughters there so that perhaps she was as willing to go as Jacob.

⁸L. J. Burkholder, *A Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario* (Mennonite Conference of Ontario: 1935), p. 309.

⁹Paul H. Burkholder, "Highlights of Mennonite History in the Markham Community," a paper presented at the 1970 annual meeting of the Mennonite Historical Society of Ontario.

¹⁰Burkholder, *Mennonites in Ontario*, p. 41.

¹¹For a more complete discussion of these three men and their ordinations, see Lorraine Roth, "Goldsmith, Brenneman, Kropf: First Amish Ordinations in Canada," *Mennogespräch* [Mennonite Historical Society of Ontario] 2 (September 1984): [9]-11.



Catherine (Smucker) Schwartzentruber was reared by John and Barbara (Stoltzfus) Schmucker in Wyomissing in this house, now called the "Stone House" and used as a recreational center. It remained in the family for seventy-five years.

Catherine Schmucker's grandparents, Christian Schmucker and Catherine Hesster, had arrived in Pennsylvania in 1752.¹² Her parents were John Schmucker and Barbara Stoltzfus. Barbara Stoltzfus came to Pennsylvania with her father, Nicholas, in 1766.¹³ Her brother Christian would later become the bishop who purchased the land in Woolwich Township. Catherine Schmucker grew up in Berks County, Pennsylvania, and spent most or all of her childhood in the "Stone House," now used as a recreational center in Wyomissing, a suburb of Reading, Pennsylvania.

Jacob Schwartzentruber (1771-1841), son of Christian and Magdalena (Schoenbeck) Schwartzentruber, came from Selbach, principality of Waldeck, Germany, to Pennsylvania around 1800. He married Catherine Schmucker, and they purchased about 94 acres of the Jacob Lapp tract along Tulpehocken Creek in Bern Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania, located at the present northern city limits of Reading. On April 1, 1807, Jacob and Catherine sold this land to their neighbor, Casper Wobensmith. Wobensmith then sold 57¾ acres to Daniel Epler,¹⁴ and Jacob Schwartzentruber was called in to sign a quitclaim on April 7, 1808. Probably the Schwartzentruber-Wobensmith transaction had not been properly registered in 1807. In fact, on March 31, 1824, Mathias Richards again declared that he had witnessed the writing of the indenture of 1807;¹⁵ thus it must still have been questioned.

On April 22, 1807, Jacob Schwartzentruber purchased about 125 acres in Strasburg Township (now part of Paradise Township) in Lancaster County. Catherine and Jacob's oldest daughters, Veronica and Barbara, were born in Berks County, and the four younger children—Catherine, Jacob, John, and Christian—were born in the Lancaster County home.¹⁶ This parcel of land lay to the southwest of the Paradise post office.

In 1820 and 1821¹⁷ Jacob and Catherine sold this land to George Lefever, who sold the northern portion, including the buildings, to George Beiler. The buildings have since then fallen into disuse, and only parts of foundations are still visible. Either a son or grandson of George Lefever built a

beautiful stone house at the southern end of the property. A deed to an Amish burial ground on the Jacob and Magdalena Weaver property in Leacock Township, dated November 21, 1812, also bears Jacob Schwartzentruber's signature and indicates he was from "Strasburgh Township" on that date.

Little documentation exists for the Schwartzentruber family's whereabouts between 1821 and the early 1830s. The 1830 Leacock Township census lists a Jacob "Swartzentruber" family whose ages fit roughly our Jacob Schwartzentruber family (only the number of males and females in certain age brackets is given). The Schwartzentrubers apparently were tenants in Leacock Township because they do not appear in the courthouse index. Thus far their place of residence in this township has not been found.

Schwartzentrubers Come to Waterloo County (Wilmot)

In the 1820s the Amish were coming in fairly large numbers directly from Europe. Many of them stopped in Pennsylvania only long enough to purchase supplies, or in some cases to receive supplies from their fellow believers if they were too poor to buy them, and then move on to the new settlement in Upper Canada. Probably the first European Amish family to reach Canada was that of Michael Schwartzentruber, brother of Jacob. According to their story, they headed directly north along the Hudson River to Albany and then west. It is difficult to believe that Michael would not have contacted Jacob before going on to the new frontier, but no stories or documentation of such a visit have been preserved.

People of all ages were making the trip to the New World—old men and women with their children and grandchildren, young married couples, and single young people. Many of these were young men of military age who were fleeing conscription. Some of them stopped in Pennsylvania not only to purchase or earn supplies but also to court a wife. Two such persons were John Erb, known as Hans, and his brother, Christian Erb. According to family tradition, they landed at Baltimore in the fall of 1825 and

¹²Jane L. S. Davidson, *Christian Schmucker, a Colonial Pennsylvania Farmer* (Downingtown, Pa.: Chester County Trade Talk, 1976), pp. 34-43.

¹³Samuel S. Wenger, "Nicholas Stoltzfus in Europe and America," *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 4 (April 1981): 16.

¹⁴Because Daniel Epler's name appears on an 1804 map but not in the list of owners of the Jacob Lapp tract, it is assumed that he was already occupying the 57¾-acre tract but probably only as a tenant.

¹⁵For several years it was assumed that 1824 was the date on which Jacob and Catherine sold their Berks County property. We have learned in the meantime to be more discerning in the reading and interpretation of documents.

¹⁶Amos Gingerich, *The Fred and Sarah (Yoder) Swartzentruber History: A Story of Their Faith and Life* ([Parnell, Iowa: 1958]), says Frederick visited a son of Jacob in Reading, Pennsylvania. To date we have not found any other documentation for such a son.

¹⁷Lancaster County Courthouse Deeds 4-21-430, 432, 435, Lancaster, Pa., record the Schwartzentruber transactions. The 1807 purchase is not recorded until the April 2, 1821, sale. It is difficult to sort out exactly when the sales were made and how much land was involved each time.

found their way to the Schwartzentruber home.¹⁸ By January of 1826 Veronica, the oldest daughter of Jacob and Catherine (Schmucker) Schwartzentruber, was busily weaving and sewing a wedding shirt for her husband-to-be. On February 6 John Erb and Veronica Schwartzentruber were married by Catherine's cousin, Bishop John Stoltzfus. John Erb's brother Christian married Maria/Polly Miller (names of parents and date of marriage unknown).

It may well be that the honeymoon trip of these two couples was their trek to Canada. John and Veronica, it is believed, made the trip in the spring of 1826. By 1830 John and Christian had cleared a roadway in front of their lots, had cleared an additional ten acres, and had built suitable log cabins in the German block (now part of Wilmot Township) just west of the Waterloo Mennonite settlement. John and Veronica Erb had chosen lot 11 on North Snyders Road, and Christian and Maria were on lot 12.¹⁹

Barbara Schwartzentruber, second daughter of Jacob and Catherine, was married in March 1831 to a recent immigrant named John Schmidt. It is believed John was a Lutheran. John and Barbara were members of the Amish community but settled just north of Wilmot Township in what was popularly known as the "Queen's Bush." This was a clergy reserve and not officially open for settlement. The British government and the Church of England had hoped to establish the state church in Canada as was the custom in England—hence the clergy reserves. However, it soon became apparent that with the large influx of many nationalities and faiths this was not going to be possible. In the 1830s a few people had moved into the reserves. These were known as squatters. Fortunately, they were able to claim and buy their properties when the idea of the clergy reserve was dropped and the land was released for settlement. John and Barbara Schmidt had "squatted" where the village of Wellesley now stands. Early settlers called it Schmidtsville, and, when a post office was established, they requested the name Smithsville. However, there was already a post office by that name in Ontario so that it received the name Wellesley instead. Local residents, especially when speaking Pennsylvania German, are still apt to call it Schmidtsville.

The arrival date of the Schwartzentruber family in Canada is not known. If Barbara married in Lancaster County in March 1831 and Jacob, Jr., married in Wilmot Township in Waterloo County in October 1835, they probably arrived sometime between those two dates. Jacob and Catherine Schwartzentruber never claimed land in Canada, but in the 1838 assessment record they were residing on the same lot as John and Veronica Erb. Jacob and Catherine had only one cow and one horned animal whereas John and Veronica, for their household of nine, had two horses, two oxen, three cows, and four horned cattle.

On June 11, 1841, the local newspaper, *Der Deutsche Canadier*, reported Jacob Schwartzentruber's death on May 30. On February 15, 1850, the same paper carried the announcement of Catherine's death on February 10. She left behind six children and thirty-five grandchildren. It is believed that Jacob and Catherine were buried in the Kropf family cemetery a short distance west of the Erb-

Schwartzentruber homestead. This cemetery was later deeded to a group of trustees and designated as a community cemetery. It was badly neglected and vandalized several years ago. Presently it is kept well trimmed by Walter Hammer, whose wife is a descendant of John and Veronica Erb. Few tombstones remain—none for Jacob and Catherine. The cemetery is located at the east end of the village of Baden.

Veronica's and Barbara's marriages and location of residence have already been described. Catherine, the third daughter, married Joseph Jacobs and settled on lot 20 about a mile west of Baden. Jacob Schwartzentruber, Jr., married Catharine Roth, daughter of Michael and Magdalena (Lichti) Roth. They first farmed as tenants in Wilmot Township and then moved to South Easthope Township in Perth County. Jacob died of smallpox at the age of forty-five. The family purchased the South Easthope farm after Jacob's death. His widow was later remarried to John Eiman.

John Schwartzentruber first married Barbara Birky, daughter of Jacob Birkey. She and their oldest daughter both died of typhoid fever in 1848. John subsequently married Catherine Erb, daughter of Christian and Elizabeth (Schultz) Erb. John and Catherine farmed in Hay Township in Huron County but moved to the United States in the late 1860s or 1870s. John is buried in Daviess County, Indiana.

Christian Schwartzentruber married Magdalena Schultz, daughter of George and Magdalena (Erb) Schultz, and took up farming in East Zorra Township in Oxford County. Christian died at the age of forty-two, leaving five children. His widow then married Henry Schumm, had several more children, and continued to farm lot 33W½, concession 16, in East Zorra Township.

Thus Catherine (Schmucker) Schwartzentruber provides the Canadian Amish with a link to the Amish of colonial Pennsylvania. Probably other such persons have not been found or documented. For example, who was Maria Miller, wife of Christian Erb, brother of John Erb? We also have a number of more recent Amish immigrants to Canada—among them Troyers. Some of these would certainly have roots in Pennsylvania prior to the Revolution. These stories remain to be found and told.

Probably the only branch of the Schwartzentruber family with members among the Old Order Amish is the Schmidt family. A number of Catherine and Jacob's family joined the Reformed Mennonites. Most of the Schwartzentruber clan who remain in the Mennonite faith are members of the Western Ontario Mennonite Conference, which until 1964 was known as the Ontario Amish Mennonite Conference. □

¹⁸Story told at a family reunion and reported on July 14, 1960, probably in the *Milverton Sun*. Because other items in the story have been proven partially incorrect, one must read these stories with a great deal of discernment.

¹⁹An 1830 report, made by Samuel Street Wilmot, can be found in the National Archives in Ottawa, Ontario. *Sesquicentennial of the Amish Mennonites of Ontario* (Mennonite Historical Society of Ontario and Western Ontario Mennonite Conference: [1972]), pp. 26-27, contains a map based on this report, which listed all settlers in the German block and indicated how many of the requirements they had met in order to be eligible for their grant of 50 free acres.

"An Israelite . . . in whom there was no guile . . . sincerely pious, humble, exemplary, practical and nonsectarian, and eminently successful in his day and generation."

The Years Of Benjamin Eby, Pioneer Mennonite Leader In Ontario, Canada

by Lorraine Roth

The Early Years

Benjamin Eby was born on May 2, 1785, to Christian and Catherine (Bricker) Eby. Along with Benjamin's parents there were nine brothers and sisters to welcome him. Benjamin was quite special because the family had lost two-year-old Maria two years previously. Another daughter was born two years after Benjamin, and they also called her Maria. Benjamin and his younger sister, no doubt, were "brought up" or "spoiled" (depending on the point of view) as much by their older brothers and sisters as by their parents and had as their playmates their young nieces and nephews.

The family home was located along the Hammer Creek in Elizabeth Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, about three miles north of Lititz. The massive stone house was built in 1754. Fireplaces, serviced by a central chimney, were found in nearly every room. Benjamin would also have been familiar with every corner of the 99-foot-long barn, built this length in order not to offend a neighbor who had recently built one 100 feet long.¹

Father Christian Eby was already over fifty years of age when Benjamin was born. Mother Catherine was forty-three. Christian was a deacon in the Mennonite congregation in the Hammer Creek district. Worship services were held in homes and rotated among the various areas of the district. The Eby home was a central meeting place for special services.²

Part of the ministry of Deacon Christian and the rearing of his family coincided with the Revolutionary War period. Christian probably was involved in the discussions that led to the drafting of a petition presented to the Pennsylvania Assembly in November 1775. The Mennonites declared their willingness to help those in need and distress and to pay taxes but stated that they were not at liberty in conscience to take up arms against their enemies. In 1777 an act required all able-bodied men between eighteen and fifty-three years of age to enroll in the Pennsylvania Militia.³ Did Christian pay fines for failure to drill or in lieu of a tour of duty in the Third Battalion? According to family tradition, foraging parties at one time carried off some of their horses and cattle as well as large quantities of flour and grain from the mill. On another occasion Catherine's pewter dishes and spoons and an ovenful of baked bread and pies met the same fate. While the American army was encamped at Valley Forge,



Benjamin Eby's birthplace, built in 1754 by his grandfather, Christian Eby (1698-1756), stands at the intersection of Snavely Mill and Reifsnyder roads in Elizabeth Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Note the deer antlers mounted under the eaves to the left of the datestone.

Christian and his neighbors were required to supply the disabled soldiers quartered in the Lutheran church near Brickerville with milk and other supplies.⁴

Benjamin Eby was the recipient of a legacy of over seventy years of the Eby family sojourn in America. His great-grandfather Theodorus left his native Switzerland in 1704, and after brief stays in the Palatinate and Holland he arrived in Lancaster County in 1712. He owned land which is part of present Lancaster city from 1718 to 1724. Then he purchased a tract on Mill Creek in Earl Township and built a mill. His family built a chain of mills on the outskirts of civilization in the Lancaster County of their day.⁵

¹Ezra E. Eby, *A Biographical History of Early Settlers and Their Descendants in Waterloo Township* (Berlin, Ont., Canada: 1895-96; reprint ed., [Kitchener, Ont.]: Eldon D. Weber, 1971), p. 135.

²Martin G. Weaver, *Mennonites of Lancaster Conference . . .* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Mennonite Pub. House, 1931), pp. 170-177.

³Rollin C. Steinmetz, *Loyalists, Pacifists, and Prisoners*, Lancaster County During the American Revolution, no. 7 (Lancaster: Lancaster County Bicentennial Committee, 1976), pp. 23, 25.

⁴Eby, *Early Settlers in Waterloo Township*, p. 135.

⁵Franklin Stanton Aby, *The Swiss Eby Family, Pioneer Millwrights and Millers of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago: 1924), p. 11.

Theodorus and his sons knew the Pennsylvania of William Penn, a land where Christians were allowed to practice their variety of beliefs and where Mennonites and Quakers could affirm their testimony rather than swear oaths. The way of nonviolence was the official position. The land had yielded to industry and hard work so that the Mennonites of Swiss descent became for the first time in their 250-year history a people of comfortable means. Some of them were even rich. In fact, their life was so comfortable that people had difficulty instructing their children in their distinctive religious beliefs.⁶

A number of incidents of violence by and to the Indians as well as rumors of wars marred the otherwise idyllic life of the Mennonites in colonial Pennsylvania. Many of these skirmishes took place in counties other than Lancaster. The war between England and France caused great concern. The Mennonites feared that their young were not being instructed in the way of nonresistance. They were able to secure the services of the Seventh-Day Baptists in Ephrata to translate from Dutch to German and to print the *Martyrs' Mirror*, an anthology of stories of pacifist martyrs from the time of Christ to the seventeenth century. The Ebys also must have been appalled at the news of the assassination of Conestoga Indians by the Paxton Boys in 1764 a few miles south of Christian Hershey's farm and then in the Lancaster prison, where the remainder had been housed for protection.⁷ These, however, were only forebodings of worse things to come.

Although the Revolutionary War was not part of Benjamin's experience, these were the first stories that fell on his ears. These experiences fanned the desire for looking farther afield for suitable places to settle. Discussions on these topics were his constant companions in his own family and in conversations with hosts of relatives, friends, and religious fellowships which met in the Eby home.

Benjamin, called "Bennie" in his childhood days, was probably of slight physique. People would say of him, "*Aus 'em Bennie gebts ka Bauer, er muss Schulmaster were*" (Bennie will never be a farmer, he must become a schoolteacher). Bennie attended the common school built by his older brother near the mill and learned the trade of barrelmaking in his father's cooper shop. Evenings were spent poring over his father's and his brother's books.⁸ Among them was probably the 1748 edition of the voluminous *Martyrs' Mirror*.

Deacon Christian Eby was almost the sole spiritual leader at Hammer Creek during Bennie's formative years. Bishop Christian Burkholder served the congregation in the observance of baptism, communion, and marriage. His visits, though infrequent, probably were influential. In 1804 he wrote or compiled his *Useful and Edifying Address to the Young*.⁹ This booklet was printed the second time in 1804 and reprinted more than ten times since then, sometimes along with Gerrit Roosen's *Conversation on Saving Faith* The first English translation appeared in 1870.

About 1800 Benjamin's brother Peter was ordained a minister in the Strasburg congregation and several years later

was ordained bishop for the Pequea District. A description of Peter's ministry, quoted in part, may help us somewhat to visualize the influence that molded young Benjamin:

[Peter's] fame as a preacher was widely known, and served to fill the houses to their utmost capacity wherever he was known to officiate. . . .

. . . When he slowly arose, all noise subsided into an almost painful expectation. Then he would break the silence with a kind and fatherly greeting to his hearers, and glide gently into the course marked out for himself. Proceeding step by step, describing, explaining, illustrating and sustaining his points as he went along, with copious quotations from the Scriptures, for all of which he drew upon his extraordinary memory, he would gradually warm up in his theme, and, when under full sway, his discourse moved along like a deep, clear stream, rolling oceanward, without a break or ripple, grand, majestic, and irresistible.¹⁰

Benjamin's brother John, or Hannes, was also a leading figure in the community. He served as director of road building and built the first schoolhouse on his farm at his own expense and hired the teachers.¹¹ His understanding of the faith and its meaning for the Christian community will be seen later. From this perspective in time it is impossible to assess all of the forces at work in the community in which Benjamin was growing up, but one cannot help but note a strong spiritual influence in the Eby family and a dedication to the Mennonite expression of Christian faith.

A new wind was blowing during Bennie's youth, and that was talk about going to Canada. In fact, it was more than mere talk. Albright, Hahn, and several Kulp families from Bucks County had settled in the Niagara Peninsula as early as 1786.¹² In the fall of 1799 Joseph Schörg/Sherk and Samuel Betzner went on a scouting trip into the interior of Upper Canada and returned to report on their impressions of what was later to become Waterloo County. Both men brought their families to this wilderness in the spring of 1800. Reicherts, Gingrichs, Bechtels, Kinzies, Rosenbergers, Biehns, and Bears soon followed.

While these families were packing and blazing the trail to Richard Beasley's tract, from which they had purchased their land, the Eby home was bursting with conversation. Sam Bricker, a nephew of mother Catherine, was a frequent visitor in the Eby home. His dreams of going to Canada

⁶John L. Ruth, *'Twas Seeding Time: A Mennonite View of the American Revolution* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1976), pp. 34, 41.

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

⁸Eby, *Early Settlers in Waterloo Township*, p. 135.

⁹Christian Burkholder, *Nützliche und erbauliche Anrede an die Jugend, von der wahren Busse von dem seligmachenden Glauben an Jesu Christo, und der reinen Liebe zu Gott und seinem Nächsten; Nebst der Gehorsame der Worte Gottes, und der reinen übergab der Seelen, an die Hand Gottes; Vorge stellt in Frag und Antwort* (Ephrata, Pa.: 1804).

¹⁰Alexander Harris, *A Biographical History of Lancaster County: Being a History of Early Settlers and Eminent Men of the County* . . . (Lancaster, Pa.: Elias Barr, 1872), pp. 179-180.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 182.

¹²L. J. Burkholder, *A Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario* . . . (Mennonite Conference of Ontario: 1935), p. 43.



Translated, Benjamin Eby's elaborately illustrated family Bible flyleaves read as follows: [Left page; rectangle:] Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: for the end of that man is peace. Psa. 37:37. [Background:] May God, our God, bless us. May God bless us, and may all the world fear Him. Be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves. The righteous, pious man perishes, and no one takes it to heart; and saints are swept away, and no one notices it. And then [he] said, peace to all mankind and salvation, without which no one shall see the Lord. [Center:] This Bible belongs to me, Benjamin Eby. Written February 19, in the year of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, Anno 1823. [Bottom left:] Teach me thy way, O Lord; I will walk in thy truth: unite my heart to fear thy name. Psa. 86:11. [Bottom right:] As long as you live, keep God before your eyes and in your heart, and watch carefully that you do not sin willfully and commit sin against God's commandments.

[Right page:] How shall I repay the Lord for all the good deeds he has done to me? [Small circle:] Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right. Honour thy father and mother; (which is the first commandment with promise;) That it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth. And ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath: but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Eph. 6:1, 2, 3, 4. [Large circle:] I Benjamin Eby, son of Christian Eby, and Catharina Eby, was born May 2, 1785, in Warwick Township, Lancaster County, in the state of Pennsylvania at 10:00 in the evening. Baptized May 21, 1804, by Christian Burkholder, bishop of the Mennonite Church. Came the first time to the province of Upper Canada on May 24, 1806. Left this place again on November 4, 1806. Married February 25, 1807, to Maria Brubacher, daughter of the deceased Jacob Brubacher and widow Susanna Brubacher in Warwick Township, Lancaster County, in the state of Pennsylvania. Came the second time to the province of Upper Canada on June 21, 1807. Settled on lot no. 2 in Waterloo Township, Halton County, on June 30, 1807. Ordained to the ministry on November 27, 1809. Ordained bishop or full minister [Aeltesten oder Volligen Diener] October 11, 1812. Benjamin Eby, 1823. [Bottom border:] Abraham Latschar, 1823.

found a sympathetic ear both in his Uncle Christian and in his Eby cousins. Another interest that brought him there was his attraction to Rebecca Eby, who was living with her Uncle Christian's family. By 1802 Sam's discussions and dreams culminated in marriage and in the departure of him and his new wife to Canada with his brother, John Bricker, and Joseph Bechtel and their families.

Sam and his fellow pioneers were busily clearing and building when Sam, on a business trip to York (Toronto), made the discovery that a mortgage was outstanding on their land. Joseph Sherk and Sam were chosen by the group to go back to Pennsylvania to try to raise £10,000 to buy 60,000 acres from Beasley so that he could pay off the mortgage and thus clear their titles.

The year 1804 was a momentous one for Benjamin. He decided to make his commitment to Jesus Christ and the Mennonite church through baptism. Bishop Christian Burkholder was concerned about the condition of the church and that young people be properly instructed. We can be sure that the exhortations found in his book were used on his baptismal candidates. Benjamin did not lack teaching in the tenets of the faith.

In addition, excitement of Sam's report about the outstanding mortgage in Canada was evident. Because they had been unable to create any interest among their kinspeople in Cumberland and Franklin counties, Joseph was sure it would be the same in Lancaster. He returned to Canada. Sam, however, would not give up, and once more the Ebys gave him a listening ear. A meeting was called in Hannes Eby's home to discuss the matter. Sam presented his case, but everyone was fearful of making an investment in such a doubtful cause. At this point Hannes got up and said they were looking at the matter in the wrong way. If they were seeking to enrich themselves, this project would probably be the wrong one. However, they should look at this situation as a duty to help their brothers and sisters in distress. In addition, perhaps the Lord would bless them for it in a way they did not expect. This speech changed the course of events, and the participants made arrangements for another meeting to discuss how to meet this need.

The second meeting was also held at Hannes Eby's home. A company which would come to be known as the German Company was formed. Young Benjamin was chosen as secretary. Father Christian became one of the shareholders.¹³ With the organization of the German Company, preparations for leaving Pennsylvania resumed in many families. Benjamin's cousins, Sam and George Eby, left yet that year. John Erbs left in 1805.

In the spring of 1806 Benjamin became twenty-one years of age. He was now ready to strike out on his own. Benjamin and his friend, Henry Brubacher, who later would become his brother-in-law, set out on horseback for the wilds of Upper Canada. On May 24 they arrived at Cousin George's cabin on lot number one of the German Company tract. Barbara (Wenger) Eby must have been delighted with the arrival of the guests and news from home. Was she also apprehensive about how to feed the extra people from their meager supply? Their only sources of provisions were their own produce and the stores in Dundas or Ancaster which required a long journey along the Grand River to present-day Paris and the Governor's Road to Dundas due to the impassable Beverly Swamp, which lay directly between the settlement of the Mennonites and Dundas. How did they plan for guests who stayed six months?

Sometime in June, George, Ben, and Henry set out on horseback even farther north into the wilderness. They headed toward the area where the village of St. Jacobs now stands. As they reached the river just south and east of the present bridge, Benjamin remarked that this stream with its beautiful rising on the north resembled their Conestoga Creek in Lancaster County. To this George is said to have

replied, "Then this stream shall be called 'The Conestogo.'" Crossing the river, they continued north until they came to the next one, which they named "Kanaçachi" after a stream four miles north of the Conestoga in Pennsylvania.¹⁴

In July 1806 Ben laid plans for his own farm. He registered a deed on July 25 for lot two between cousin George on lot one and cousin Sam on half of lot three. Each of these lots contained 448 acres. Ben's lot, purchased from shareholder John Eby, contained a number of sand hills and swampy areas, but it still contained many acres of good farm land. Also, Benjamin had other things in mind besides farming. He set to work and made a clearing and built a log cabin. He was now the owner of property in Upper Canada.

With their curiosity satisfied and business completed, Ben and Henry returned to Pennsylvania. It did not take Ben long to persuade young Mary Brubacher that they should wed and make their home in Canada. No doubt Mary idolized young Ben and was not hard to convince. On February 25, 1807, the wedding took place.

Besides wedding plans and preparations to go to Canada, Ben probably found some time to spend with his brother Peter. Peter preached the main sermon at the first worship service held in the Paradise Mennonite meetinghouse early in February.¹⁵ Did Ben and other members of the Eby family attend this special service? Ben must have been proud of his older brother—if a Mennonite is allowed to be proud—and would some day look to Peter as his model.

Another matter which occupied some of Benjamin's time was his effort to organize the purchase by the German Company of block number three, or what later would become Woolwich Township. At least sixty family heads invested in this new tract of over 45,000 acres.

A Home in Canada

By the spring of 1807 several young couples and a few single men were prepared to make the trek to Canada. Ben and Mary; Joseph and Barbara (Eby) Schneider (Barbara was Ben's sister); cousins David, Daniel, and Samuel Eby; Peter and Daniel Erb; and Abraham Weber were among them. Christian Eby's children left with their father's blessing. Did they suspect that in three months they would receive the news of his death?

The company had four wagons and fourteen horses. They were so heavily loaded that the people, including the women, had to walk most of the way. One of Ben's horses took sick and delayed them several days. In order to pass the time the men and boys began to pitch horseshoes. Peter Erb was accidentally hit on the head. For a while they feared for his life. They were able to secure the services of a doctor, who dressed the wound, and they were able to continue. Another

¹³Eby, *Early Settlers in Waterloo Township*, pp. 5-6. See Lorna L. Bergey, "Early Mennonite Migrations from Pennsylvania and Subsequent Settlements in Canada" in this issue for the details of this story.

¹⁴Eby, *Early Settlers in Waterloo Township*, pp. 7-8. Eby used the spelling "Conestogo" for both the Canadian and the Pennsylvania streams. This is the Canadian spelling. "Kanaçachi" is also spelled Canagigue.

¹⁵Weaver, *Mennonites of Lancaster Conference*, p. 84.

matter which caused a great deal of concern was the large amount of money which they carried in order to buy block three. Since Mennonites were known to carry cash to buy land, they could easily fall prey to gangsters when traveling in small companies—especially if they were also known to be pacifists. At any rate, this company became aware that they were suspected of carrying money and felt that on more than one occasion they barely escaped from being robbed.

On June 21 the travelers arrived again at the home of George Eby.¹⁶ News from home and the improvements since last year were the subjects of conversation. Benjamin and the Erbs lost no time in purchasing the land for which they had brought a half-barrel of gold and silver coins. William Wallace, who had purchased the land from the Indians, deeded 45,195 acres to Augustus Jones, the surveyor, and to John and Jacob Erb for £16,364. A draft of a map was sent to Pennsylvania, and the land selection was probably made by lot as in the case of the Beasley tract.¹⁷

Joseph and Barbara (Eby) Schneider purchased lot seventeen from Benjamin Hershey. Abraham Weber settled on lot sixteen, owned by his father, Henry Weaver/Weber. Where these lots and Ben and Sam Eby's lots two and three meet is the center of present downtown Kitchener. The proprietors of some of Canada's most valuable real estate were now in place. None of their wildest dreams could have foreseen the future. They were completely unaware that they had begun the founding of a prosperous city.

No doubt Mary and Ben spent some time with the George Eby family until their own cabin could be readied. Ben's work in the cooper shop gave him the necessary skills to make their simple furnishings. In a little more than a year, on July 30, 1808, their first son was born, and they called him Isaac. Ben and Mary's home was probably seldom occupied only by them and their children. Cousin Daniel is supposed to have lived with them until he married. Cousin Joseph also lived there periodically after he arrived in 1818. These people usually added their own contribution to the welfare of the family. Joseph was the shoemaker.¹⁸ Visitors from Pennsylvania, especially Susannah Brubacher, Mary's mother, who came in 1807 and again in 1816, were always welcome. The second time she stayed two years.

Ben and his fellow settlers were busy clearing land for cultivation and adding buildings in which to house the animals which they brought and were raising. They planted orchards and built fences. They cleared roadways between their various clearings. On Sundays they gathered for worship, conversation, and fellowship.

Benjamin Eby, Minister and Teacher

As early as 1804 Joseph Bechtel, who had migrated in 1802, was ordained minister in the settlement on the Grand River. He was probably ordained by the bishop from the Niagara District (usually referred to as the "Twenty").¹⁹ Bishop Peter Eby, either through personal interest or more formal appointment, took some responsibility for the bishop oversight of this colony. On November 27, 1809, Peter ordained his young brother, Benjamin, to the ministry.²⁰ No record of the ordination has been preserved.



This drawing is an artist's interpretation of the first Mennonite meetinghouse, known as "Ben Eby's," erected in 1813 in Waterloo County, Ontario.

Was Benjamin chosen by acclamation or by lot? Cousin Samuel Eby probably was ordained deacon at the same time. Jacob Bechtel was also a deacon at that time, but he may have been ordained before migrating to Canada. Thus the foundation for the organization of the Mennonite church in what would be known as the Waterloo District was also laid.

According to Ezra Eby, Benjamin began to encourage the building of a meetinghouse. Even though he was accustomed to services in homes during his boyhood at Hammer Creek, he must have had other reasons for his desire for a special place of meeting. Because his brother Peter was involved in building meetinghouses in the Pequea District, some encouragement must have come from him. By 1809 about seventy families lived in the Grand River community. Although worship services alternated between at least two or three locations, the log dwellings would still have been inadequate for the gathering of a large number of people.²¹ In 1810 Joseph Eby sold part of lot one to Jacob Shantz. At that time a plot was reserved adjacent to lot two and on the north side of the road which would eventually become King Street. However, the construction of a building was delayed. Perhaps this was due to opposition from some members, as suggested by Eby. They may have felt unable or unwilling to build a meetinghouse while they were struggling to get roofs over their own heads. Perhaps they were aware that nonconformist religious groups could not at that time hold title to real estate, but they may have learned that only if they had proceeded to acquire it.

Benjamin had plenty of other things with which to occupy his time and his mind. Having left post-

¹⁶Eby, *Early Settlers in Waterloo Township*, p. 8.

¹⁷Burkholder, *Mennonites in Ontario*, p. 42.

¹⁸Eby, *Early Settlers in Waterloo Township*, p. 142.

¹⁹J. Boyd Cressman, "History of the First Mennonite Church of Kitchener, Ontario," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 13 (July 1939): 167.

²⁰Harris, *Biographical History of Lancaster County*, pp. 180-181.

²¹Cressman, "First Mennonite Church": 170, lists seventy-three heads of families as charter members. Sixty-nine of these had arrived by 1809. These people would have been charter members of the Waterloo District rather than of the First Mennonite congregation.

Revolutionary War Pennsylvania, the settlers still had to contend with government regulations which were not entirely in their favor. On producing a certificate of membership signed by four people including at least one minister, young men in the Mennonite and "Tunker" (Brethren in Christ) churches could claim military exemption. The certificate allowed the holder to pay \$4.00 per year in lieu of military drill in times of peace and \$20.00 instead of military service in case of war. The custom to baptize only adults caused some problems because young men of military age were not always baptized church members.

In February 1810 T. B. Gough, representative for the East Riding of York and Simcoe, presented a petition to the Legislative Assembly requesting that certificates be granted to sons of members until the time of baptism or age twenty-one. The petition also asked for consideration to lessen the amount of the commutation money in light of the financial difficulties of the large pioneer families. This document was signed by two preachers, two elders, and thirty-five members of the "Society of Mennonists" and "Tunkers."²² It would seem that Benjamin would have been the likely author and certainly one of the signers. At least the first of these requests was granted by a legislative act in the same year.²³

In the early part of 1810 Benjamin was occupied with domestic matters. On February 22 a second son was born. They named him Elias. In March they received the news that mother Catherine had died on the 16th. In May cousin David Eby married Elizabeth Bechtel, daughter of Preacher Joseph Bechtel. On this occasion Benjamin and his colleague were painfully aware of their limitations. The nearest Mennonite bishop resided in the Niagara District, but even if a bishop were available in the Grand River area, the law did not extend to nonconformist clergy the right to perform marriages.²⁴ David and Elizabeth probably had to go to Dundas to have their marriage ratified by a justice of the peace.

Among the non-Mennonite early arrivals in the area was John Beatty, an Irish man, whom Benjamin, George, "Indian Sam" Eby,²⁵ Joseph Schneider, and Jacob Erb hired as teacher from October 1809 through the next three or four years. He used an unoccupied building near "Indian Sam's" home.²⁶ Available sources do not specify which language was taught. Because Beatty was Irish, however, he probably introduced the children of the Pennsylvania settlers to an education in the English language. A school is supposed to have been built near Blair as early as 1802 with a Rittenhouse as teacher. A school had also been opened northeast of Preston in 1808 by David Strohman.²⁷ These marked the first efforts to provide the children of the pioneers with the basics in education.

Until 1842 schools in Upper Canada were conducted on the initiative of the settlers themselves. Individuals or communities erected their own buildings or used any other available shelter. Those who built schools also hired the teachers according to their own standards and requirements. The teachers' salaries came directly from the fees the pupils

paid. Because schools operated only during the winter months, the teachers were usually engaged in other occupations as well.²⁸

The second Friday in October 1810 Benjamin Eby probably found himself in the company of his fellow ministers at the Twenty.²⁹ The ordained Mennonite leaders from the three districts—York County, the Niagara Peninsula, and the Grand River—probably met annually after this for consultation and mutual admonition though no reports of proceedings of these conferences survive—if, indeed, they ever were recorded.

The first years of the second decade were relatively quiet. The Pannebecker, Wanner, and Jacob and Christian Shantz families came in 1810. Except for the David Bauman family, who came in 1812, no Pennsylvania German settlers reported their entry into Canada during 1811-13. Once more the Mennonites found themselves in a country at war on both sides of the conflict between the United States and Great Britain. In spite of the military exemption in Upper Canada the farmers on the Grand River were required to lend their teams and wagons to transport goods to Detroit. Sometimes they were pressed into acting as teamsters as well. By the close of 1813 the war had subsided along the Canadian border, and the farmers submitted a list of their losses. The only Eby on the list was Joseph, who reported a loss of £120.³⁰

We know of one visit from Pennsylvania to the Beasley tract during the time of the conflict—that of Bishop Peter Eby. On October 11, 1812,³¹ he ordained Benjamin to the office of bishop. Perhaps the war precipitated the felt need to have a fully organized church in this new settlement. Travel between Canada and Pennsylvania was certainly restricted and was probably difficult between Niagara and the Grand River as well. A time of crisis highlighted the need for fully ordained leadership.

In 1813 Benjamin Eby was able to realize his vision of a meetinghouse for his bishop district. It was apparently built in the easterly corner of the plot reserved for this purpose.

²²The petition appears in full in Cressman, "First Mennonite Church": 168.

²³Burkholder, *Mennonites in Ontario*, pp. 350-351.

²⁴Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1974), pp. 95-96.

²⁵Eby, *Early Settlers in Waterloo Township*, p. 114. Samuel Eby received this designation because of his interest in learning and interpreting Indian language and culture.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 136.

²⁷Thomas Pearce, "School History, Waterloo County and Berlin," *Waterloo Historical Society Annual Report* 2 (1914): 33.

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹A note in Jacob Moyer's Bible gives this as the date for the first annual conference in Canada. See E. Reginald Good, "Jacob Moyer's Mennonite Church Records: An Interpretive Sketch," *Mennogespräch* 3 (March 1985): 3, for a discussion of this.

³⁰Harold S. Bender, "New Source Material for the History of the Mennonites in Ontario," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 3 (January 1929): 44-46.

³¹In his letter to Europe Benjamin gave 1811 as the year of his ordination. Did his memory play a trick on him, or did later historians err?

George Eby, who originally settled this lot, sold the larger portion of it to his brother Joseph in 1807. On June 1, 1810, Joseph sold 136 acres to Jacob Shantz and at this time reserved one-half acre for a church building and a graveyard. This parcel of land is the southeastern corner of the present First Mennonite Church property in Kitchener. This area is now entirely covered by burial plots. It is probably correct to surmise that the actual building as well as the idea was very much engineered by the new bishop. Benjamin probably began using the building for German classes, which he taught almost every winter for many years. Sometime during the next five years he built an annex to the meetinghouse with a moveable partition between the two. This allowed



Bishop Benjamin Eby's communion cup and plate.

more space when crowds were large. From that time the annex was used for the classes.³² In addition to the new meetinghouse at present-day Kitchener, John Erb, Mary Eby's uncle, built a brick meetinghouse near present-day Preston soon after the war. This building was designated "free for the use of all denominations."³³ Benjamin's home community of Hammer Creek, however, did not build a meetinghouse until 1819.

Benjamin Eby's bishopric during these years covered all of block two, and the settlers were scattered over a wide area. The earliest ones had chosen land in the southeasterly corner, but "Yoch"/Jacob Schneider/Snyder had settled within a few miles of the northern border at present-day Bloomingdale. The Eby and Erb settlers were located between the northern and southern settlements but somewhat farther west. Benjamin's ministerial colleagues represented all of these areas. Preachers Joseph Bechtel and Martin Baer and Deacon Jacob Bechtel lived in the southeastern area. Deacon Samuel Eby was Benjamin's neighbor. In 1815 Abraham Clemens from the southeast and possibly Jacob Snyder from the north were ordained deacons. We can assume that Benjamin probably performed the ordinations. In 1816 Preacher Joseph Bauman migrated from Berks County, Pennsylvania, and settled in the southern limits of the block

at present-day Blair. Although there were a meetinghouse near Ben Eby's home and a schoolhouse near Blair, the members no doubt followed the custom of rotating Sunday worship services in homes in the outlying areas. Each area may have had a service every four to eight weeks. The more able-bodied or devout would attend services more regularly in neighboring communities.

Like those of his brother Peter, Benjamin's appointments also filled the meetinghouses and homes to capacity. A contemporary of Benjamin described his preaching thus:

He was deservedly considered one of the best, if not rather the very best, preacher of his age, among the Mennonites. His sermons were full of good sense, judicious, close and very intelligible; his language was masculine but not bombastic; his ideas for the most part were very clear, lying parallel with the understanding of attentive hearers. All listened to his preaching with delight. . . . He had a great dexterity in expounding Scripture by Scripture, for, like Apollos of old, he was "a man mighty in the Scriptures." The Bible was his treasury. . . .³⁴

The year 1816 was both a difficult year in the new settlement and an active one. For Benjamin and Mary the birth of Maria, their fourth child, occurred in March. Spring came that year, but snow and frost persisted. On June 1 the frost was so severe that the ice in the swamps could carry teams and wagons. Snow fell on June 21. A total of seven heavy frosts fell in June and July. Needless to say, the settlers harvested no crops of grain and few, if any, fruits and vegetables.³⁵

Migration, resumed in 1815, gathered momentum in 1816. One company of thirty-three people and twenty-eight horses included Mary Eby's mother and her brother John. How did the settlers manage to survive with the influx of new families with no crops to replenish the storehouses?

In February Jacob Shantz sold an acre adjoining the one-half acre already reserved in 1810 by Joseph Eby to the elders of the Mennonist Society for £5. The "elders" in this case were the trustees, John Cressman and Jacob Snyder. Benjamin gave three-fourths of an acre of his lot adjoining the church property on lot one in October. It was noted above that the John Erb meetinghouse was designated for the use of all denominations. This had been an effort to get around the law that only the Church of England could hold property in Upper Canada. No such designation appeared in the case of the Eby meetinghouse. Perhaps the lack of Anglicans in the Eby settlement made it possible to get away with this irregularity.

The year 1816 also saw the erection of several mills in the Grand River community. Abraham Erb, who had built a sawmill in present-day Waterloo a year or two previously,

³²Cressman, "First Mennonite Church": 172.

³³Ivan Groh, "Pennsylvania German Pioneers of Waterloo (1799-1889)," *Canadian-German Folklore* 4 (1971): 87-88, 113.

³⁴Ezra E. Eby, *A Biographical History of the Eby Family, Being a History of Their Movements in Europe During the Reformation and of Their Early Settlement in America . . .* (Berlin, Ont.: Hett & Eby, 1889), pp. 27-28.

³⁵Eby, *Early Settlers in Waterloo Township*, p. 10.

now added a gristmill. Absalom Shade rebuilt a mill which had been abandoned and began selling lots in present-day Galt, just south of the southernmost Mennonite settlement. Joseph Schneider built a sawmill on the creek which ran through his property and which now bears his name. (However, at the location of the former Schneider property the city has turned it into a covered drain.) Thus, this difficult year for the colonists also marked definite steps in the growth and development of several communities in the making.

The following year did not greatly relieve the distress in Upper Canada because the summer was again a cold one. A few Pennsylvanians dared to come. Among them were cousin Samuel Eby, later distinguished as "Saddler Sam," and Benjamin Weber.

The influx of settlers into Upper Canada after 1800 made imperative the subdivision of the territory into smaller units. The settlement on the Grand River was originally part of the District of Nassau, then the District of Home and York County, and later the District of Gore. Block two became Waterloo Township, named after the famous battle at Waterloo, where Napoleon was defeated by Wellington in 1815.

In February 1818 Mary Eby gave birth to her sixth child. They named him Benjamin E. Eby. Migration picked up again in full force in the spring. Christian Burkholder and cousin Joseph Eby came. Joseph remained unmarried and was from then on an occasional member of the Benjamin Eby household. Other family names represented among that year's arrivals were Good, Bauman, Martin, Burkhardt, Huber, Bechtel, Musselman, and Masters.

In the summer of 1818 John Erb and David Schneider started a store in the vicinity of John Erb's mills. This greatly facilitated obtaining supplies. Each family no longer had to stock such a large supply in order to avoid frequent trips to Dundas. Petitions for official road surveys also began to appear.

The day before Christmas in 1818 cousin Daniel Eby and his wife had a son. They named him Benjamin. On September 23, 1819, the Benjamin Eby family lost seven-year-old Susannah. No documentation remains to give the cause of her death. Death of children and people of any age was not uncommon in the lives of the pioneers or even for those in better circumstances back in Pennsylvania. Also, grief is bitter no matter how frequent the experience.

The wilderness of the Grand River was slowly being changed into cultivated fields and mushrooming villages which demanded improved roads and bridges across the rivers and streams. In 1819 the first bridge across the Grand River was built at Shade's Mills. Up to this time people, supplies, wagons, and animals had to be taken across by raft. Animals no doubt were often forced to cross on foot and swim where the water was too deep. The same year the road which joined the settlers' dwellings was declared a public highway. Today it is known as King Street. The following year a toll bridge was built between John Erb's mills and the Eby settlement. This made travel much easier in Waterloo Township, especially for those who lived on the western side, because this river had to be crossed every time the

settlers took produce to market or brought in supplies. They could not even visit their friends and relatives on the other side without the inconvenience of fording this stream of water. Only in the winter, when the ice was hard enough to hold both team and sleigh, was it possible to cross with ease. At this time of year most of the marketing of grain and purchasing of supplies was conducted. The coming of the Geigers, Abraham Martin, and Peter Burkhard and the visit of Jacob S. Shoemaker was a continuation of the migration pattern of previous years but could hardly have been an indication of the boom that was to follow in the next few years.

In 1820 Abraham Erb built a little log schoolhouse near his mills and engaged Jonathan Good as a teacher. His German is said to have been good, but not his English. Benjamin Burkholder also was one of the early teachers.

Joseph Schneider, who had built his sawmill in 1816, built up his supply of sawed lumber and replaced his log cabin with a frame house of considerable dimension.³⁶ The 1820s probably saw a large number of log structures replaced by more substantial buildings of wood and stone. These larger houses must have been a great asset in the entertaining of the many strangers who made their way into this community during this decade.

The Dettweilers and Hallmans arrived in Canada in 1822 and settled south of Waterloo Township in what is now North Dumfries. Hageys, Clemmers, Bergeys, Beckers, Hubers, and Groffs were some of the other immigrants. Among the Pennsylvania immigrants and visitors appeared a lone figure on a borrowed horse. This was Christian Nafziger, an Amish man from Bavaria. He had come to Pennsylvania looking for a possible place for people of his religious persuasion in Europe to settle. In Pennsylvania they counseled him to go to Canada, and someone lent him a horse. It was August when Christian appeared in Waterloo Township. He consulted the principals of the German Land Company, and they suggested that he look at the land west of Waterloo. It was a Crown reserve, and he would need to inquire about its availability and the terms for its acquisition with the governor at York. Christian scouted out land which would later be part of Wilmot Township and liked what he saw. He went to see Governor Maitland at York, who assured him that the land was available and made an offer that the government would give the settlers 50 acres free on 200-acre lots in return for clearing a roadway in front of their lot provided that they clear a certain number of acres and build a cabin of specified dimensions. Nafziger was overjoyed at these prospects, but the story of the problem the Mennonites had with Beasley made him uneasy about this promise. Nafziger returned to his home via England, where he sought an audience with King George IV in order to confirm the promise of the governor. The king assured him the governor would comply with his terms.³⁷ Nafziger

³⁶"Joseph Schneider and His Home," a flier published by the Waterloo Regional Heritage Foundation. The house has been restored and was opened to the public in 1981.

³⁷*Canada Museum* (Berlin, Ont.), April 28, 1836 (obituary of Christian Nafziger).

spread the word among the Amish community in continental Europe, and plans to migrate were quickly set in motion.

The Napoleonic Wars had left Europe in a bad state. Napoleon had conscripted young men into his army and had not granted the nonresistant Amish and Mennonites any exemption. The German states were left divided among a number of ruling princes who were often admirers of Napoleon and who continued his policies in their own kingdoms. For this reason the Amish and Mennonites were again looking toward the possibility of emigrating in an effort to find the religious freedom they desired. The economic and political situation was particularly hard on the peasants in general, not only on Mennonites. Consequently, in the 1820s began a flood of German immigrants to North America. Most of these migrated to the United States, but a surprisingly large number found their way into the Grand River settlement. German Lutherans and Catholics as well as Amish found work and hospitality with Benjamin Eby and his fellow Mennonites. The children of some of these immigrants said many years later, "He [Benjamin Eby] was a good man. Without him we would have starved. And we weren't members of his church either."³⁸ The year 1822 turned out to be a prosperous one in Waterloo.

On November 21, 1823, son Abraham was born into the Benjamin Eby family. In 1824 word came that Benjamin's brother Christian had died at the age of sixty-one years. Preacher Valentine Kratz in the Niagara District also died, and Jacob Moyer, Jr., was later ordained to replace him. There were events which took the time and energy of the bishop of Waterloo.

A few Pennsylvania Mennonite immigrants came in 1824—namely, Peter Mosser, Henry Schuh, and Abraham Miller. This was also the year when the Amish settlers began to arrive. According to Michael Schwartzentruber family tradition, they stayed with Benjamin Ebys while their home was being constructed in the wilderness.³⁹ Bishop John Stoltzfus, whose father, Christian, had purchased three lots in block three, came from Pennsylvania to help to organize the Amish congregation. He ordained Joseph Goldschmidt and John Brennehan as ministers and Jacob Kropf as deacon. Relations between the Amish and Mennonites were amiable but also distant. Whether Benjamin Eby was involved in these ordinations is doubtful, but he certainly was not ignorant of them and probably followed the events with a great deal of interest.

It was now almost twelve years since Benjamin had been ordained bishop. He was responsible for all baptisms as well as the oversight of the catechetical instruction of all those who came into the Mennonite church in the Waterloo District. Benjamin was concerned not only that the young people learn to read but also that they have something to read. Neither the Pennsylvania Mennonites nor even the Europeans apparently could satisfy Benjamin's demand for printed materials. Benjamin chose a catechism printed the first time by the Mennonites in Elbing, Prussia, in 1783 and the second time by the Hessian and Waldeckian churches in 1797. In 1823 he ordered a quantity of these booklets

printed by Joseph Bauman in Ephrata, Pennsylvania. On October 27 he sent off a new foreword for this edition. "Our purpose hereby," he wrote,

is that the dear youth he trained to follow Christ in their tender childhood. Let us all occupy ourselves in instructing the youth, and by the grace of God work at their souls in order that we can trust that the Lord, our God, will bless in such a manner that we may enjoy the fruit of it in time and eternity.⁴⁰

Thus in 1824 the shipment of the new catechisms arrived, probably in the wagon of one of the immigrant families.

It was a time of general economic depression in Pennsylvania. Wages and prices were exceptionally low. The years 1825 and 1826 brought in many new Pennsylvania immigrants—at least sixteen families in 1825 and fourteen in 1826 as well as several single men. On October 8, 1825, the John Christner family arrived at Ben Eby's home. How long they stayed we do not know, but in 1826 John Keller and his wife and Magdalena Shuh resided with the Ebys for the summer. On March 24 son Jacob was born. This growing family was constantly augmented by other members of the community who had no home of their own, such as cousin Joseph, and by new immigrants who needed shelter while they put up their cabins.

The Amish also were arriving in substantial numbers in 1824 and 1825, but Christian Nafziger's family was not among them. He had no finances left to bring his family. His friends in Waterloo sent payment for his passage to Philadelphia. Finally in October 1826 Christian, his wife, and five children arrived. We have no record of who sent the passage money, but one suspects it was the Ebys and/or the Erbs. As land to the west was opened and surveyed, Mennonite speculators also laid claims to lots not immediately taken by the Amish. More recent Mennonite immigrants now found a new frontier, and Benjamin's bishop district extended into this area as well.

The years 1827 and 1828 saw few Pennsylvania immigrants. Michael Myers, who later became township clerk in the Amish settlement and Jacob S. Shoemaker, who was to build another set of mills at present-day Bridgeport, came in 1827 and 1828, respectively. Benjamin's youngest son, Peter, was born on February 28, 1828.

It must have been about this time that Samuel Bowers and his apprentice, John Hoffman, decided to form a partnership and manufacture furniture. A likely place to set up shop would be near a mill site where people naturally would come for purposes of trading. According to the story,

³⁸J. Boyd Cressman, "Bishop Benjamin Eby," *Waterloo Historical Society Annual Report* 25 (1942): 155.

³⁹Peter Swartzentruber, *Christian Schwartzentruber, Magdalena Shoenbeck, 1743-1956, Progenitorial Parents* ([Westmoreland, N.Y.: Peter Swartzentruber], n.d.), p. 15. Swartzentruber's version of the story is that the Ebys were still living in Hamilton when the Schwartzentrubers arrived and that Benjamin and Michael went into the woods together to build their cabins.

⁴⁰*Katechismus, oder kurze und einfältige Unterweisung aus der heiligen Schrift, in Frage und Antwort, für die Kinder zum Gebrauch in den Schulen* (Ephrata: Joseph Bauman, 1824).

they first went to Abraham Erb, who did not want to part with any of his land. Then they went to Jacob Shoemaker, who gave the same response. After being rebuffed the third time by David Schneider at the toll bridge (Freeport), they stopped off at Benjamin Eby's home, thoroughly discouraged. Upon hearing their story, Benjamin told them to go up the road, choose a site, and build their factory.⁴¹ David Miller also opened a store in the neighborhood. These humble beginnings along with Varnum's blacksmith shop on the northeastern corner of Joseph Schneider's land, formed the nucleus of what would be an incorporated town at the close of Benjamin's life.

A central committee for Upper Canada was appointed to collect information concerning the number of persons belonging to the various denominations in the province. In 1828 a chart was prepared, naming the ministers of each denomination in each district, their birthplace, number of years in Canada, the number of members, and the number of hearers. The Mennonite ministers listed were: Benjamin Eby, Joseph Bechtel, Joseph Bowman, Martin Baer, H[enry] Shoe/Shuh, and H[enry] Weaver/Weber. The total Mennonite community numbered 1,200, including 600 members.⁴² It would have included the unbaptized members of Mennonite families. Perhaps it included some German immigrants who attended Mennonite services because there were no other German services to attend. With a parish of 1,800 people spread throughout much of Waterloo Township and north into Woolwich, west into Wilmot, and south into North Dumfries, Bishop Eby had to cover a large circuit with few roads and bridges other than the ones which the settlers themselves had managed to construct. The report of this committee showing the large number of adherents of denominations other than Anglican or Catholic was probably responsible for bringing about legislation to give nonconformist clergy the right to perform marriages and to allow their congregations to hold exclusive rights to their places of worship and burial grounds.

In 1829 Abraham Erb sold his mills to Jacob C. Snider. The following year Abraham died, leaving his widow and foster son and daughter. Abraham and Magdalena had only one son of their own, and little Benjamin died at the age of seven. Barnabas Devitt, the foster son, married and took his widowed mother into his home until she found another home of her own.

Until this time and even into the late 1830s the Eby settlement had few municipal officials. According to oral tradition, Benjamin Eby served as an unofficial magistrate. People naturally came to him because of his leadership abilities.⁴³ John Erb was appointed justice of the peace at his settlement, and in my opinion Eby probably would have received such an appointment also if his office of bishop in the Mennonite church had given him the freedom to accept. Mennonites considered it part of their way of life to discipline each other as well as to help each other. Differences were to be settled within the community rather than members' resorting to use of the law. Thus discipline in Eby's largely Mennonite parish was known to be administered by the church. The following is an example:

A certain church member, it is said, had unusually large measures. Then, in buying from a neighbor, he packed the commodity down as much as he could. The non-church member, being dissatisfied, brought the matter to the attention of the "Gemaeh" [congregation] which presumably disciplined the member.⁴⁴

We know little about Benjamin's ability as a farmer. The following description would indicate a well established enterprise:

A fine lawn surrounded a large frame house with spacious veranda between the house and King Street. There was a large barn and east of it a cider mill operated by Ely Eby, son of the Bishop. . . . There was a large orchard between the farm buildings and the Mennonite Meeting House and cemetery.⁴⁵

Instances of his generosity also suggest that he had some means. No doubt he received a certain amount of inheritance, which may have made possible his purchases of land. Mennonite bishops, ministers, and deacons were not salaried. At best they might receive gifts for services rendered and surplus produce if they appeared to be financially in distress. Benjamin probably gave more of monetary value to the church than he ever received from it. We can only conclude that he must have been sufficiently successful at farming in order to do this.

Benjamin like many others probably made some gains on his land. Although he gave a little of it gratis, such as the church property and that of Hoffman and Bowers, he sold many lots, large and small. Some of them must have been sold at a substantial profit, but these sales did not take place during the early years. In Waterloo his original purchase was lot two, consisting of 448 acres. We have no record of any sales in which he received payment until 1832. Benjamin had purchased several lots, containing a total of 1,750 acres, in 1807 in block three. He sold only one of these 350-acre lots before the 1840s. Whatever gains he made on this land would not have been realized until later in life and would have served as inheritance for his family rather than adding to his own livelihood. From 1820 to the end of his life Benjamin did a great deal of business in real estate. More than 2,000 acres in Waterloo Township passed through his hands. Most of this would have been purchased at current prices, and much of it was sold to his children or to other relatives. Again, the bulk of this activity took place toward the end of his life.

A letter written by Philipp Lautenschlager, a recent German immigrant, in November 1831 to his father in Germany gives an excellent description of conditions in Waterloo Township.

⁴¹Eby, *Early Settlers in Waterloo Township*, p. 15. This source gives the names as Hoffman and Bowman. Other sources say Bowers, which is probably correct.

⁴²Bender, "New Source Material": 51.

⁴³Cressman, "Bishop Benjamin Eby": 155.

⁴⁴Cressman, "First Mennonite Church": 175.

⁴⁵Jacob Stroh, "Reminiscences of Berlin (Now Kitchener)," *Waterloo Historical Society Annual Report* 18 (1930): 197.

Here I am working for a cooper. In the winter months I earn 9 dollars a month, but more in the summer. This is when a cabinet maker earns 1 dollar a day. . . . A blacksmith makes 15 to 16 dollars a month. . . . A tailor gets 5 dollars for a formal suit. . . . A farmhand earns 110-120 dollars a year. A woman makes 4-5 dollars a month. Women do not dress over here as they do over there. They all dress as highranking people in Germany. If you want to come over, then you must have yourselves one or two sets of clothes made, because yours are no longer in style. The women are lucky, they do not have to work in the fields. They do not have to cook food for the livestock, either. . . . On the farm the food is good; we can have meat three times a day. . . . Bread over here is as the finest pastry in Germany.

A farmer will slaughter 7 or 8 pigs and a steer, then there is plenty of meat to eat. The average farmer has 20 to 24 head of cattle and between 8 and 10 horses. . . . Some farmers in Canada have 100 acres, others 200, 300, even 400. Everyone lives by himself and tends to the fields around him. The acre yields 25 to 30 bushels of wheat. . . . A farmer here has few expenses or taxes. He pays 4 to 5 dollars a year, depending on the size of house he owns. Cattle fetch a good price. A good horse costs 100 dollars. . . . A cow costs 15 to 18 dollars, a pair of oxen 40 to 50 dollars. . . . Barley, rye, oats and feed grain they do not plant much over here, mostly wheat. For threshing they use horses, even machines which are worked by 4 horses. They manage to thresh 100 bushels a day. That's much better than your manual threshing. Their houses they erect in the middle of the field; they are not constructed as your half-timbered houses. They place one log upon the other, as one weaves bird-baskets. They stop piling when they come to the roof. The roof is covered with shingles; they are better than clay tiles.

Their fields are not as beautiful as yours, because there has not been enough bush-clearing. There are still a lot of stumps in the fields. When they plough, they do not have to work the land with the hoe. The ploughs are different from yours. They harness the oxen by the neck which allows their heads free movement. . . . When horses pull the harrow, the farmer sits on them which saves him walking. They fell trees in the winter and leave them for the summer to burn.

In the fall they plant and do their sowing. Land is very cheap. An acre only costs 2 to 3 dollars. There is still a lot of bush and forest around. . . .

If you want to come, then you must take your horse and wagon and drive to Bremen. . . . Take your wagon along to America. . . . A wagon costs 70 to 80 dollars. In America, coat tails are in style now, men all wear them, even on weekdays. . . . All wear their collars down. . . . The farmers do not walk very often. Whenever they want to go somewhere they ride horseback or in a buggy. Everyone has a buggy for pleasure-rides.

. . . . We do not have to be afraid of war over here. Everyone is free. Much money can be earned; you can make money easily as you can make hay, if only you want to work for it.⁴⁶

This letter gives some interesting comments on the clothing worn by the settlers. One wonders at the "high-

ranking" styles these Mennonites must have worn. A description of Benjamin Eby is as follows:

In appearance Benjamin Eby was of medium size, wore side whiskers, had his hair combed straight down and trimmed off. He wore brownish grey clothes, the coat having a straight collar and cut back over the hips. His face was rather long, his eyes bright, and his countenance pleasant.⁴⁷

So Benjamin probably did wear coat tails!

The year 1831 produced a change in the life of the Eby family. Son Isaac married a daughter of Jacob Shoemaker. They married in October, and in November they moved to their farm one-and-one-half miles east of Isaac's parental home. It was in 1831 that nonconformist ministers were given the right to perform marriages. Was Benjamin's first marriage ceremony that of Isaac and Mary, did he defer to uncle John Eby, or did Isaac and Mary go to Dundas as so many of the earlier couples had to do? Perhaps the latter was the only way to enjoy a honeymoon. That year also brought with it the death of Preacher Jacob Moyer, Jr., at Niagara. Daniel Hoch/High was ordained shortly afterward to take his place. Benjamin no doubt made a trip to Niagara on both occasions.

In 1832 word was received that Benjamin's oldest sister, Elizabeth (Eby) Bucher, had died at the age of seventy. Benjamin was reminded that life was speeding onward. Those of his own generation were already reaching old age, and death was moving in to claim them. Mary Eby's uncle—John Erb, the miller—died on June 2, leaving a vacancy in that settlement.

Late that same year a young man by the name of Henry William Peterson made his appearance in the Eby community. He was a German Lutheran and a lay preacher. For his time he was well educated in both German and English. For Sunday, November 18, 1832, he noted the following in his diary:

Stayed all day at Benjamin Eby's, went with him and his family to the meeting at church. He prayed and preached well. He is Bishop of the Mennonite Society of Waterloo. He is a good man.⁴⁸

Eby and Peterson must have enjoyed each other's company and shared each other's interests, for we shall see the fruit of their cooperation later.

In February 1833 Catherine Eby was married to David Weber, son of Benjamin and Veronica (Martin) Weber. This caused a flurry of land exchanges. Benjamin bought the half of lot three which cousin Samuel had never purchased and sold 219 acres of it to his son-in-law.

⁴⁶Gottlieb Leibbrandt, *Little Paradise: The Saga of the German Canadians of Waterloo County, Ontario, 1800-1975* (Kitchener, Ont.: Allprint, 1980), pp. 30-32. The original letter is deposited in the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ont., and is reprinted in its entirety by Leibbrandt.

⁴⁷Oscar Burkholder, "Bishop Benjamin Eby," *Fifty Mennonite Leaders*, no. 14, *Gospel Herald* 22 (April 18, 1929): 61. Burkholder does not give the source of his information.

⁴⁸A. E. Byerly, "The Peterson Diary," *Canadian-German Folklore* 1 (1961): 113.

Later that same year Benjamin must have been delighted to hear the news that his nephew, Benjamin Eby, son of his deceased brother, Christian, was ordained minister at Hammer Creek. No one seems to have recorded that Benjamin ever made a return trip to Pennsylvania. One wonders whether occasions such as this caused some tension between his desire to go back to the old homestead and the need to remain at his post. In the Niagara District the death of Bishop Jacob Moyer at this time brought about the ordination of Jacob Gross for the office of bishop. The three main Mennonite districts in Upper Canada after 1812 always maintained a full ministerial team—one bishop, one or more ministers, and one or more deacons. If a vacancy



The second Eby Mennonite meetinghouse was erected in 1834 in Berlin (now Kitchener), Ontario.

occurred, it was filled within the year. Was this due to Benjamin's concern, or would others have seen to it that authorized leadership was always provided?

By 1833 several more skilled workers had joined the Hoffman and Bowers furniture manufacturers. Among them were Jacob Hailer, who made chairs and spinning wheels, and Fred Gaukel, who opened a hotel. Benjamin Eby and others signed a petition for the survey of a road through his land from the main road (King Street) to intersect with the road leading to Glasgow Mills, or Bridgeport.⁴⁹ Up to that time this industrious little community had no official name. It was usually simply referred to as "Ben Eby's," or sometimes, "Sand Hills." "Ebytown" has also been ascribed as an early name. The story is told that on a rainy day in May a number of Germans were gathered in one of the carpenter shops. Benjamin Eby and Joseph Schneider entered and found them in animated conversation. Ben inquired what the discussion was about, and one asked, "What is to be the name of our new hamlet?" Knowing that several of them were from Berlin, Germany, or its environs, Benjamin replied, "Call it Berlin." This met with immediate approval,⁵⁰ and the fame of the new settlement spread even more rapidly.

Then came the year 1834. Probably in the spring and summer a new frame meetinghouse was erected closer to the western end of the Mennonite Society's plot. The building is reported to have cost \$800 with a seating capacity of seven

hundred.⁵¹ This was still the only church building in Berlin. The log meetinghouse was moved to the Cressman (now Breslau) location, where it was used for worship services until 1856. The frame annex to the log meetinghouse remained at its location in Berlin at the eastern end of the Mennonite Society's plot and continued to be used as "the Red School House."

The above building project may not have been complete when tragedy struck the Waterloo area. Shade's Mills had grown much more rapidly than Berlin and had been named Galt in 1827 in honor of John Galt, an important figure in the Canada Company. The businessmen had invited a traveling menagerie which was touring Upper Canada to put their village on the itinerary. It was late July and very hot. One of the employees became ill, but the show went on. The illness turned out to be cholera, and within sixty-three hours sixty people died. One-third of the population of Galt succumbed to the disease.⁵² We have no figures as to how many people in Berlin and other neighboring areas were affected, but we do know that Mary (Brubacher) Eby, aged forty-five, was one of the victims. She died on August 18. Benjamin had many times tried to comfort the dying and the bereaved, but now he was to experience the pain of separation from his own helpmate. Since daughter Catherine had married the previous year, eighteen-year-old Maria was left alone to maintain the household. Peter, the youngest, was only six years old. In September cousin George Eby's wife, Barbara, died at the age of fifty-four. How well Benjamin could sympathize. However, life did go on. In 1835 daughters were born to both sons, Isaac and Elias, and both of them were named Mary.

Benjamin Eby, Writer and Publisher

H. W. Peterson added his contribution to the industrious little Berlin in the form of a printing establishment in 1835. Benjamin Eby, H. W. Peterson, and many other members of the community consulted with each other in the spring and formed a plan. The citizens would buy one or more shares (or parts thereof) of \$20.00 each. This would be lent to Peterson for a period of five years without interest. After that he would have the option to buy the shares or begin to pay interest. In April Peterson purchased an acre of land from Benjamin. The printing press was hauled into the settlement that summer by a team of oxen, and by August it was ready to begin operation. Peterson printed the first issue of the *Canada Museum und Allgemeine Zeitung* on August 27, 1835. In the first three issues of the weekly paper the terms, described above, and the shareholders were listed. Benjamin Eby, Anton Van Egmond, and Jacob E. Schneider (Benjamin's nephew) each purchased two shares. Over fifty others bought lesser amounts. At least half of these were

⁴⁹Eby, *Early Settlers in Waterloo Township*, p. N-26.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 12. Eby gives the year as 1826, but the name Berlin is first found in land transactions in 1833.

⁵¹James Sutherland, *County of Waterloo Gazetteer and General Business Directory for 1864* . . . (Toronto: Mitchell, 1864), p. 88.

⁵²Mabel Dunham, *Grand River* ([Toronto]: McClelland & Stewart, 1945), pp. 104-105.

Mennonites. The subscription rate was \$2.00 per annum, of which \$1.00 was to be paid in advance and \$1.00, at the end of six months. Peterson expressed special thanks to Benjamin Eby and Jacob S. Schumacher, who from the beginning supported him with *Rath und That* (counsel and action). From that date one can more easily document the history of the Waterloo community.

The first issue of the *Museum* reported twenty-five houses in Berlin and listed the following tradesmen: one spinning wheel maker, one chair maker, one hat maker, four cabinetmakers and carpenters, one potter, one smith, two stores, two boot and shoemakers, one tailor, one mason, one wagon maker, one innkeeper, and others. For Waterloo the *Museum* reported that Jacob C. Schneider was planning to bring a steam engine to his mills. Besides the mills Waterloo boasted the following: a nice store, post office, hotel, hat maker, shoemaker, tailor, smith, brick-burning kiln, and others. On September 3 the editor apologized for failing to report the third store in Berlin and the presence of Dr. Scott. Dr. Scott was in Galt during the 1834 cholera epidemic but soon afterward came to Berlin. What attracted this Scot to predominantly German Berlin is not known, but here he stayed and served the medical needs of the community and later filled several political offices as well. He was Waterloo County's first warden when that office was formed in 1849.⁵³ How much Benjamin Eby relied on home remedies and how much he sought the services of Dr. Scott we do not know. We have no record of any interchange between these two men.

In October Isaac Schantz used the *Museum* to announce a meeting at "Benjamin Eby's Meetinghouse" for Saturday, November 14, to discuss the building of a fence around the graveyard. He hoped that more people would attend than were at the last meeting and that those who did not attend would afterward be satisfied with the decisions made. A report later in the month stated that Samuel Eby, Sr., Isaac C. Schantz, and Barnabas Devitt had been appointed to oversee the building of the fence. The front was to be of stone, be 380 feet long, and have strong posts and boards on the other three sides. Two years later the fence was completed, and a list of subscribers was printed in the paper. Benjamin Eby, Isaac C. Schantz, and Christian Schantz, Jr., each gave \$16.00. Most other donations ranged from \$.50 to \$4.00. Many of the patrons were non-Mennonite members of the community. Benjamin also donated a day for hauling stones and three days for leveling off the area between the fence and the road. Thus the bishop's donations in time and money for these projects equaled those of the most generous contributors in the congregation.

On November 5 the editor of the *Museum* announced the plan to print a small collection of songs for the use of the "Baptist Brotherhood"—that is, those who practiced adult baptism, not the denomination by that name. His friend, Johannes Esch, the Amish bishop from Wilmot, had been sent to Philadelphia for new type, and the paper had been ordered from Mr. Crook's paper mill. Peterson asked for two hundred advance subscribers but required no advance payment. This hymnbook was printed the following year.⁵⁴

It bore the imprint of H. W. Peterson as printer. The foreword, dated at Berlin in Upper Canada on September 24, 1836, was not signed. Thus a bit of uncertainty exists about whether Eby or Peterson was the compiler. This hymnbook was reprinted three times during Benjamin's lifetime; it has been reprinted a total of twelve times and is still being used by Old Order Mennonites in Canada and Indiana and by the Weaverland Mennonite Conference in Pennsylvania.

Benjamin Eby evidently planned to do his best to keep the young printer in business because on November 19 the *Museum* announced that the *Calendar* of services for the Mennonite congregations in Halton County (later Waterloo) for 1836⁵⁵ was now off the press and available from Benjamin Eby. These calendars listed the places—meetinghouses or homes—where worship would be held each Sunday of the year. For places with no resident ministers a minister was appointed for specific Sundays. Communion and counsel meetings and the small and large (semiannual and annual) conferences were also listed. Thus every family could obtain a schedule and would know when Sunday services would be held in their own neighborhood and everywhere else in the entire county.

In November and December 1835 tragedy struck in several homes in Berlin. Two children died of scarlet fever in the Daniel Levan home, and four children in the John S. Roat/Roth family. These children were all buried at the Mennonite cemetery at Berlin, and once more Benjamin faced death with some of his parishioners. Another death which affected Benjamin was that of his colleague, Bishop Abraham Grove of the Markham District. Less than three weeks later Jacob, Abraham's son, was ordained minister. Adam Wideman and John E. Reesor were ordained ministers the same year as Jacob Grove and perhaps on the same day.

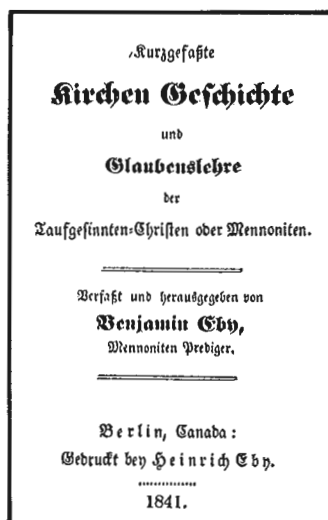
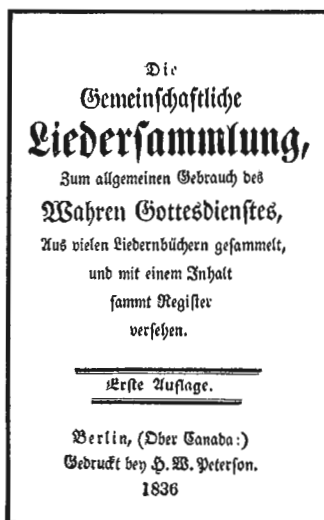
Another immigrant to Berlin began advertising his services as bookbinder. With the coming of the printing press his skill was a necessary addition to the list of tradesmen. Christian Enslin also filled several other functions, including that of editor, for a time after Peterson left Berlin. He bought a half-acre from Benjamin in 1836 and another small piece in 1843.

On Thursday, October 13, 1836, the editor announced that the next day the Great (annual) Conference of Mennonites would begin at the meetinghouse at Benjamin Eby's. He proposed to put two questions to them: (1) Were they interested in a monthly periodical of Christian and helpful articles? and (2) Did they wish to support such a periodical and gather subscriptions in their congregations? The monthly would have sixteen pages and would be published at the beginning of each month for \$1.00 a year

⁵³Biography of Dr. John Scott, *Waterloo Historical Society Annual Report* 25 (1941): 197.

⁵⁴*Die Gemeinschaftliche Liedersammlung, zum allgemeinen Gebrauch des wahren Gottesdienst . . .* (Berlin, [Ober Canada]: H. W. Peterson, 1836).

⁵⁵A copy of the 1837 *Calendar* has been preserved, but to date an 1836 issue has not been found.



Left: This title page appeared on the first edition of the Mennonite hymnbook published in Berlin, Upper Canada, by H. W. Peterson in 1836. Right: Benjamin Eby's *Concise Church History and Doctrinal Teaching of the Baptism-minded Christians or Mennonites* appeared in 1841.

without postage and \$1.25 with postage. If this plan pleased them, they were to let the publisher know, and with God's help the first number should appear the following January. Evidently the support was not forthcoming, for nothing more was heard of the matter. Was this periodical Benjamin's idea without the support of his colleagues, or was it primarily Peterson's idea without the enthusiasm or encouragement of his friend Benjamin? Whichever the case, the idea was quite ambitious for the Mennonites of this new settlement to entertain. After all, no such periodical existed at this time in any other Mennonite community in America.

After the conference was over, Benjamin had to think about school again, and on December 1 the trustees—Benjamin Eby, Jacob Benner, and H. W. Peterson—advertised for a teacher, male or female, for the village school. Scarlet fever again played havoc in several families. David Sherk lost three children to the disease in four days in early December. Samuel Clemens also lost a two-month-old son.

The year 1837 brought with it open rebellion. Only a few grievances of the non-Anglican population had been resolved. Many problems, such as the land question, remained. In Upper Canada the uprising was led by William Lyon Mackenzie. The remote township of Waterloo apparently was involved relatively little in the skirmish. One wonders, though, whether these events influenced Benjamin Eby in any way in his spurt of writing and publishing in the next few years.

On the surface the years of 1837 and 1838 for Benjamin seemed very routine—births, marriages, deaths, and ordinations. Among the births were two of Benjamin's grandchildren. How many marriages he attended we do not know, but, according to the newspaper, he performed at least eight of them. We do not know how many funerals he attended, but several of them would have required his presence if not his participation. The first one would have been that of Preacher Henry Shuh. He and his wife were on a pastoral visit to Lake Huron, where he died of a stroke at the

age of fifty-two years, the same age as Benjamin. Henry was buried at the Eby meetinghouse. Two other funerals were those of relatively young women.

On June 4, 1837, Benjamin Eby and Jacob Gross from Niagara ordained Jacob Grove as bishop in the Markham District, and on July 2 Benjamin ordained David Sherk, son of the first immigrant, as deacon in his own district. That same summer the Wanner congregation erected a brick meetinghouse. The 1837 *Calendar* listed thirteen meeting places. Among them were Martin, located in Woolwich; David Eby, west of Waterloo village; Geiger, near New Hamburg; Hallman, in North Dumfries; and the ones more centrally located in the area of Berlin and Preston. This was also the year the village at Erb's Mills was named Preston. At that time it was larger than Berlin, and for many years the two hamlets closely watched and compared each other's assets.

The newspaper editor announced the opening of a post office in Woolwich and complained that Berlin was still without one. The government finally sent someone to check into the need for a post office, but the best it could do was to have the postal carrier leave a bag at Peterson's office on his way from Preston to Waterloo and pick it up again on his return. If they could not have a full-fledged post office, this was a decided improvement. Thus Benjamin Eby's address at the end of 1837 was: Berlin, Preston Post Office, Gore District, Upper Canada (later named Canada West and finally Ontario at the time of Confederation in 1867). The residents of Berlin would need to wait until 1842 for their own postal service.

In April 1838 Preacher Joseph Bechtel died, and in June Deacon Jacob Bechtel also died. In December Benjamin ordained David Sherk and John Baer as ministers in order to maintain adequate spiritual leadership for the growing congregations. Traditionally Benjamin Eby has been characterized as a "progressive" church leader. Others considered him rather negligent.⁵⁶ Judging him from the perspective of post-revival and modern times and in light of multipurpose meetinghouses and meetings scheduled almost every day or evening of the week and with full-time, salaried ministers and many more volunteer workers, his program was certainly inadequate. However, one must judge him in his setting and outlook. The kind of church organization and pastoral leadership which he tried to maintain was the kind on which he was reared. His own father had managed to maintain a strong congregation and was invested only with the office of deacon. Given the pioneer conditions in Upper Canada, Benjamin was really quite active in a teaching and preaching ministry. It is probably true that the outlying areas suffered because he could not be everywhere. Perhaps his family also suffered because he tried to be everywhere. However, ordaining a bishop in other areas would not necessarily have improved the situation. The office would not have changed the men who held it.

One must remember that Mennonites were not oriented toward maintaining meetinghouses and preachers though

⁵⁶Groh, *Pioneers of Waterloo*, pp. 95-97.

they assembled and had designated leaders. Their genius lay in community and brotherhood. They also strongly emphasized voluntarism. Children were nurtured but not manipulated into the church. This posture was sometimes abused by those in the church by lack of concern and by those outside who accused the church of being dead and unspiritual. No doubt Benjamin had to deal with these elements in the last two decades of his life. He was probably somewhat unprepared for the pressures of "the world," which began to press in on him.

For the first thirty years Mennonites in Waterloo had few outside influences other than the natural elements and a few laws of government. In the 1830s this began to change drastically. In March 1837 English preaching was announced in the Township House. A German evangelical preacher also advertised for a job as preacher or teacher. A Baptist service was held in the home of a Mr. Watson in June 1837. A Lutheran cleric by the name of F. W. Bindemann had also arrived in the community and was active in establishing the Reformed church in the area. He provided young couples with quick and easy marriages. He is said to have married over two thousand couples. Some of these were Mennonites who had not yet joined the church and therefore would have been refused by Eby until they had first taken the step of church membership in their spiritual pilgrimage. Eby and the Mennonites had little difficulty in tolerating other religious persuasions, but their problem centered on how to give and receive tolerance and friendship but at the same time to maintain their disciplined community.

On October 7, 1839, daughter Mary married William Bomberger at Dundas. Had Mary not yet joined the church, or was the marriage against Benjamin's wishes? We do not know the date of Benjamin's marriage to Abraham Erb's widow, Magdalena. Did they marry before Mary and give cause for Mary's escape to Dundas with her sweetheart, or was Mary's leaving the reason Benjamin sought a wife to help him to maintain his household? Benjamin's difficulty in bringing his own family into the church was probably beginning to manifest itself.

Evangelical missionaries were appearing in Waterloo and reported about the settlers: "They were in fearfully benighted condition and walked for the greater part in dense darkness because they did not have the light of life."⁵⁷ Mennonites as well as the rest of the population would have been included in this description, for they also manufactured and used alcoholic beverages—and sometimes to excess. They did not express their Christian experience in the same terms as the Evangelicals or Methodists. Benjamin Eby no doubt also deplored the "benighted condition," but his way of solving the problems and the way of the Evangelicals were somewhat at odds. Evidently a group of "Millerites" flourished in Berlin who were expecting the end of the world in 1835 and had sold their property in preparation for the event.⁵⁸

All of these happenings in Eby's new village caused him grave concern and thought. He had been teaching German classes nearly every winter, but he was dissatisfied with the content of the available textbooks, which were difficult to



Three editions of Benjamin Eby's ABC books appeared between 1839 and 1869.

obtain in sufficient quantities. People had to learn to read, but what they read was equally important.

By 1839 Benjamin was ready to provide Peterson with two manuscripts. One of them was a new *ABC Book* for writing and reading.⁵⁹ The size of this little 3½-by-5½-by-½-inch booklet belied its variety of content. It began with syllables, words, and phrases and then continued with grammar, punctuation, mathematical tables, a brief dictionary, samples of letters, prayers, books of the Bible, and the Ten Commandments, and more. The 144 pages contained all basic elements of an education. It proved to be so useful that it went through at least seven reprints, three of which were produced during Eby's lifetime. Later he prepared a little primer (*Fibel*) of thirty-one pages as an introduction to reading.⁶⁰ In May 1839 a Sunday school was announced for Sunday, June 9, at 8:30 A.M. Students were to bring their *ABC Books* and Testaments. This Sunday school probably was held in the village by the Evangelicals or Baptists. Did they use Benjamin's *ABC Book*?

The second manuscript was not Benjamin's own composition except for an "After-Notice" (*Nach-Erinnerung*). The first part was Gerrit Roosen's *Christian Spiritual Conversation on Saving Faith*.⁶¹ General doctrinal questions and answers were followed by personal questions and answers for those seeking baptism and membership. This was followed by the *Dordrecht Confession of Faith*. The fourth part was Christian Burkholder's *Useful and Edifying Address to the Young*, published in 1804 by the bishop who baptized Benjamin. Then came Benjamin's epilogue and an index.

In Benjamin's family and church life the year 1839 brought with it the marriage of son Benjamin to Elizabeth Cressman and the birth of Elias' son, who was named

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 105.

⁵⁸Stroh, "Reminiscences of Berlin": 182.

⁵⁹*Neues Buchstabil- und Lesebuch, besonders bearbeitet und eingerichtet zum Gebrauch Deutscher Schulen. Enthaltend das A B C, Und vielerley Buchstabil- und Leseübungen* (Berlin, Ober Canada: Heinrich Wilhelm Peterson, 1839).

⁶⁰*Fibel zu den ersten Lese-Übungen*, 2. Aufl. (Berlin, Canada: Heinrich Eby, 1843). The date of the first edition is not known.

Benjamin. Word was also received that “Uncle Hennie” Brubacher had died in April. Henry, who had accompanied Benjamin on the first trip to Canada, remained in Pennsylvania and never married. Joseph Hagey was ordained minister in the Hagey (now Preston) congregation. Joseph had married Samuel and Rebecca (Eby) Bricker’s daughter Sophia.

H. W. Peterson announced at this time that the *Museum* was the only German newspaper in British North America. He was also looking for a boy, aged twelve to sixteen and able to read German, to work in the printery. Henry Eby learned the trade of printing from Peterson. Perhaps he was already working for Peterson at this time, and this was an advertisement for a second helper.

Benjamin Eby did still another piece of writing in 1839. This was a letter to the Mennonites in Europe. Considerable correspondence had been maintained between 1800 and 1838. Various Mennonite leaders in North America and Europe evidently were writing to each other and asking about the state of and customs in their respective religious communities. Benjamin’s letter was printed in 1854 in the *Mennonitische Blätter*, published in Danzig.

A summary of Eby’s description of the Mennonite Church in Canada is as follows: (1) There are about 3,000 souls. (2) They came from Switzerland to the Palatinate in 1670, from the Palatinate to Pennsylvania in 1709, and to Canada in 1800. Others also came from Switzerland, Alsace, Baden, and Prussia. (3) Most people are landowners. They are not only tolerated but also protected by the government. They pay \$4.00 annually for military exemption. (4) Children may be sent to school, but they need to pay for it. Religious instruction is not uniform. Parents who have the gift and foresight instruct their own children. (5) There are four bishops, who live sixty to one hundred miles apart, and there are twelve meetinghouses. There are fourteen ministers, or teachers, and twelve deacons. (Then he described the district “near Toronto” and the Niagara District.) Once a year there is a gathering of all teachers and superintendents from all districts to strengthen each other. (6) Instruction for baptism is given according to the Dordrecht Confession of 1623 [*sic*]. There is no specific number of instruction sessions. (7) Footwashing is practiced by many.⁶²

In 1840 Benjamin Eby ordained John Stoeckle/Steckle for the congregation located at Strasburg, southeast of Berlin. Evidently son Isaac and Jacob M. Oberholtzer were also ordained in Berlin during this year, but neither of them was a very able speaker, and little is known of their ministry. Henry printed a number of the letters which his father and others had received throughout the years.⁶³ On March 28 and April 4, 1840, the *Museum* carried the announcement and report on a meeting of the “Waterloo Deutsche Gesellschaft.” Benjamin Eby was the chairman, and Christian Enslin, the secretary. What may have been the purpose of this society, and what was its fate?

Sometime during 1840 H. W. Peterson decided to move to Guelph, where he continued in public service and in the publishing business. In the last issue of the *Museum* in

December 1840 Peterson announced that in January Henry Eby would begin printing *Der Deutsche Canadier*. Henry had already printed the letters of his father, mentioned above, in his own name in 1840.

During this time Benjamin was also preparing his next major piece of writing. Almost one hundred years previously his ancestors were concerned that their young people were not acquainted with the faith of their fathers. The *Martyrs’ Mirror* was translated and printed to meet that need. That effort had no doubt left its imprint on succeeding generations. However, now again lived a generation of people who knew not their heritage of faith. Benjamin decided that a new, condensed version of the story needed to be made available.

In 1841 Henry Eby had the privilege of printing his father’s new work, *Concise History and Doctrine of the Baptist-minded Christians or Menmonites*.⁶⁴ In his preface Benjamin stated the reason for writing the little volume:

Here, in this land our religious denomination is not generally known, for I have been asked about it by many. This finally prompted me to give a written statement according to the instruction of Peter. . . 1 Peter 3:15.

This history and doctrinal theology also serves the youth of our own religion not only with regard to historical information, but much more for the all important right acknowledgment of the Almighty God and His holy will, and the way to blessedness through which the living faith is strengthened and grounded on our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ (in whom alone we can receive forgiveness of our sins), and which leads to an upright obedience in imitation of Him.

Benjamin relied heavily on the *Martyrs’ Mirror* for his early history of the church and then used excerpts from Menno Simons’ writings. Benjamin’s stress on believers baptism, nonresistance, and nonswearing of oaths indicates that he sensed the need to defend these doctrines which Mennonites were in danger of losing as they made peace with “the world” around them. Little accounts of the churches in Fresenburg (where Menno found shelter), Prussia and Russia, Poland, Switzerland, Denmark, and the United States and Canada gave an up-to-date story of the church. Benjamin, of course, relied upon the correspondence with European Mennonites for these brief descriptions. In 1854 the editor of the *Mennonitische Blätter* reprinted Eby’s description of the Mennonites in the United States from this book. Thus Eby became the spokesman for all North American Mennonites at that particular time.

After the historical descriptions Eby included the *Dordrecht Confession of Faith* and a number of “Orders of Service” for such occasions as baptism, communion, and

⁶¹*Christliches Gemüths Gespräch vom seligmachenden Glauben, für die Jugend, in Fragen und Antworten . . .* (Berlin, [Ober Canada]: H. W. Peterson, 1839).

⁶²*Mennonitische Blätter* 1 (May 1854): 27-28.

⁶³*Briefe an die Mennonisten Gemeinde, in Ober Canada* (Berlin: Heinrich Eby, 1840).

⁶⁴*Kurzgefasste Kirchen Geschichte und Glaubenslehre der Taufgesinnten-Christen oder Mennoniten* (Berlin, Canada: Heinrich Eby, 1841).

marriage ceremonies. This booklet also became useful as a “Ministers’ Manual.” The second printing appeared in Lancaster the year of Eby’s death. It has been reprinted at least seven times in German and once in English. No doubt this little volume helped to define Mennonite identity during the next decade, which saw the erection of five churches of different denominations in Berlin—Wesleyan Methodist and Evangelical in 1841, Swedenborgian in 1847 (they had been meeting at Christian Enslin’s already in 1842), and St. Paul’s Lutheran in 1848. A Baptist church was erected a year after Benjamin’s death but had been meeting much earlier.

In 1841 Henry Eby printed the second edition of the *Liedersammlung*, first published in 1836, and a second letter from Denmark. This letter acknowledged Benjamin’s letter of 1839. Carl Justus van der Smitten, who wrote to Benjamin, was happy to know that the church in Canada had not only the form but also the spirit of the forebears. He listed thirteen books or writings of which he was sending one or more copies. Among these were a concordance, the Palatine Mennonite hymnbook, a church history, and books on salvation and discipleship.⁶⁵ Other books in Benjamin’s library included biblical history, sermon collections, devotional books, and a book of political events in Germany.⁶⁶

In April 1841 a Sunday school was announced in the *Deutsche Canadier*. It was to commence on Sunday at 1:00 P.M. in the Red Schoolhouse. The notice was signed by Elias Eby, Joseph E. Schneider, and Christian Enslin. It is difficult to evaluate the success of this endeavor. A number of people claimed to have attended Sunday school at Ben Eby’s during the 1840s. Other sources say Benjamin did not approve. The tradition-minded Mennonites probably did not approve, and Benjamin, who was getting older and had practiced in his German school what others might have done in Sunday school, did not see the need for it. In any case, his preaching appointments throughout the district would not have allowed him to be involved in a Sunday school program himself. The Wanner and Bechtel congregations were having Sunday school on alternate Sundays as early as 1840 and reported a good attendance.⁶⁷ According to the *Deutsche Canadier*, Elias Eby took responsibility for the German classes in the fall of 1841. One must remember that the subject matter in these classes, where applicable, was also of a religious nature.

In 1842 Abraham and Dilman Moyer, sons of Jacob, were ordained to the ministry at Niagara. The stage was now set for what may have been Benjamin’s greatest grief in the Mennonite church during his time of office. The Weber congregation built a church at Strasburg, six miles south of Berlin, and Henry Shantz was ordained bishop. He lived in the southern part of the Mennonite community and helped to relieve Benjamin of some of his responsibilities. The congregations in Waterloo were gradually gaining stability, calling out leaders, and erecting permanent places of worship. Son Henry published a second edition of the *ABC Book* and Heinrich Nissly’s circle letter to his family and friends.⁶⁸

Changes in education were coming to Upper Canada, and their effects were reaching into Waterloo. By 1842 thirteen schools functioned in Waterloo Township. There were still

no incorporated towns or villages. In 1843 the first Common School Act came into force. The townships were divided into school districts (later called sections), trustees were elected, school rates levied, schools built, teachers examined and licensed, curriculum prescribed, and government grants made to rural schools. The first meeting to examine teachers was held in December 1843 at the “Toll Bridge” (Freeport). Among the candidates were Elias Eby and Benjamin Burkholder, who received their certificates. At that time Guelph was the county town of Halton County (Wellington, Waterloo, and Grey counties combined).⁶⁹

The early 1840s were also filled with domestic happenings and business transactions. Eight grandchildren were born in four years. Sons Christian, Abraham, and Henry were married. Among the deaths were those of Benjamin’s brother Peter, aged seventy-eight years, and the daughter of cousin George, aged twenty-nine. Benjamin had the power of attorney for the estates of Jacob Hershey and Jacob Hackman, and these needed to be settled during this time.

On April 8, 1844, the Waterloo District Conference was held at Benjamin Eby’s meetinghouse. Henry Eby printed the report, which is the earliest preserved report of conference deliberations.⁷⁰ Besides the resolutions concerning time of meeting and printing the proceedings, the Conference dealt with three concerns. One was the question of temperance societies. It was resolved that the Word of God, the Lord’s church, and the Holy Spirit were adequate to keep church members orderly in all things. Members should be counseled against signing their names to temperance lists and joining temperance societies. Preachers should use every opportunity to persuade members to refrain from the habitual use of strong drink. The second concern was attendance at animal shows. These would bring with them sacrilegious play, pride, violence, and other foolishness. Was this reminiscent of the 1834 circus in Galt which brought in an epidemic of cholera? The third concern was the tendency of the youth to put on fashionable clothing and unnecessary ornamentation. Resolutions were passed that the preachers should counsel their members to refrain from these activities.

During 1844 Henry Eby also printed *An Order of Well-being and Grace According to the Gospel* as set forth by David Hollaz. This had first appeared in 1741. It was a series of doctrinal and biblical questions concerning the Christian life. The questions were posed by a hearer and answered by a teacher.⁷¹

⁶⁵*Zweyter Brief aus Dänemark an die Mennonisten Gemeinde* (Berlin, Canada: Heinrich Eby, 1841).

⁶⁶Cressman, “First Mennonite Church”: 180.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*: 183.

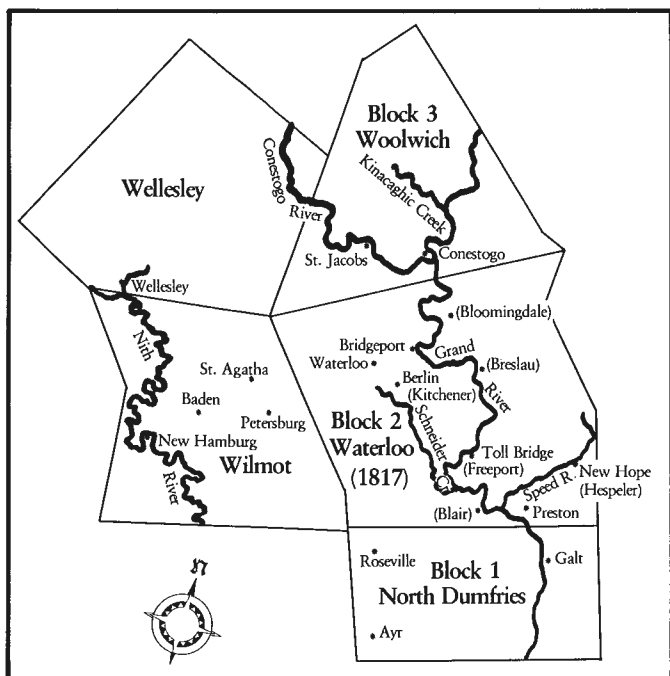
⁶⁸*Geistliches Sendschreiben des christlichen Lehrers und Predigers Heinrich Nissly* (Berlin, Canada: Heinrich Eby, 1842).

⁶⁹Pearce, “School History”: 33-34.

⁷⁰*Verhandlungen der Zusammenkunft der Prediger und Almosenpfleger der Mennoniten Gemeinden des Waterloo Bezirks, gehalten am Montag den 8th April, 1844, in Benjamin Eby’s Versammlungshaus* (Berlin: Heinrich Eby, 1844).

⁷¹David Hollaz, *Die Heils und Gnaden Ordnung nach dem Evangelium in vier Gesprächen vorgestellt* (Berlin, Canada: Heinrich Eby, 1844).

In January 1844 Deacon Samuel Eby died at the age of fifty-eight years. Elizabeth (Bechtel) Eby, wife of cousin Daniel, died at the age of fifty-six. Three more grandchildren were born during 1844, and the *Deutsche Canadier* listed eight marriages performed by Bishop Eby. The postmaster at Petersburg reported the prices of one-quarter-ounce letters as follows: to France, 2 shillings and 8½ pence (33½ cents); to Switzerland, 3 shillings and 11 pence (48½ cents); to Bavaria, 5 shillings (62½ cents). In the days when a farmer paid from \$2.00 to \$4.00 for an acre of land, Eby's correspondence must have cost him several acres of land.



This map shows Waterloo County in 1850 with parentheses indicating names given after Benjamin Eby's time. In the last decade the Regional Government has again made changes which are not shown here.

In January 1845 Preacher Martin Baer of the Wanner congregation died, and in July Ludwig Koch was ordained minister to serve the Woolwich congregations at Martin, Conestogo, and Elmira. Mennonites lost members to other churches, but persons from other persuasions also joined the Mennonite church. Some of them became leaders. Ludwig Koch, a German immigrant, was one of these. George R. Schmidt was another. Others such as William Hembling and Jacob Woolner from England were ordained after Benjamin's time.

Among the Eby publications in 1845 were a small catechism,⁷² Johannes Risser's *Doctrine and Teaching Concerning the Baptism of the Mennonites in Germany*,⁷³ and a reprint of the *Conversation on Saving Faith*. In September son Jacob Eby married Lucy Kauffman, and grandchildren continued to be added to the family—six during 1845 and 1846.

In 1847 the Ebys published the third edition of the *ABC Book*. Benjamin ordained George R. Schmidt of Wilmot; buried his ten-year-old grandson, Josiah, son of Elias, in August; and attended the funeral of "Potter Sam" Eby in

New Hamburg in October. Son Peter married Susan Sparrow on November 30. It is difficult to document exactly which of the Eby children joined the Mennonite church; but certainly a few did not, and Peter must have been one of them.

In 1848 five grandchildren were born, and a few marriages were performed. This might have been a quiet year except for the gathering storm in the Niagara District. Bishop Jacob Gross was interested in the temperance movement, Sunday schools, and prayer meetings. Because these were not generally accepted by Mennonites, he withdrew and joined the Evangelical Association. This meant that the congregation would need to choose a bishop, and Daniel Hoch and Dilman Moyer were the preachers from whom they could choose. Daniel Hoch was inclined toward Jacob Gross's position, especially with regard to prayer meetings, but he wanted to remain in the Mennonite church. The conference of 1847 had sanctioned prayer meetings, but the problem did not go away. Both sides probably lacked charity, and, even though the conference of 1849 examined Hoch and found him to be in scriptural order, Dilman Moyer and the congregation refused to accept him. Eby evidently had the duty of excommunicating Hoch. Hoch felt that Eby was really on his side but had allowed his judgment to be perverted. Years later Daniel Hoch was still writing in his own defense. He recalled that Bishop Benjamin Eby, "my judge, who had publicly passed sentence upon me, advised me, when I stood by his death-bed—'continue where you have begun; you can work out your own salvation where you are.'"⁷⁴ Hoch also recalled that Eby on his deathbed had told him, "I hope the difficulties which exist between us on earth will not hinder us from meeting in the better country."⁷⁴ Benjamin Eby had no choice except to side with Moyer and the "old way" of expressing Christian faith. Another, greater rift would occur in the Mennonite church in Waterloo, led by another Eby, before the church would be able to assimilate the experiential emphasis into its faith and life.⁷⁵

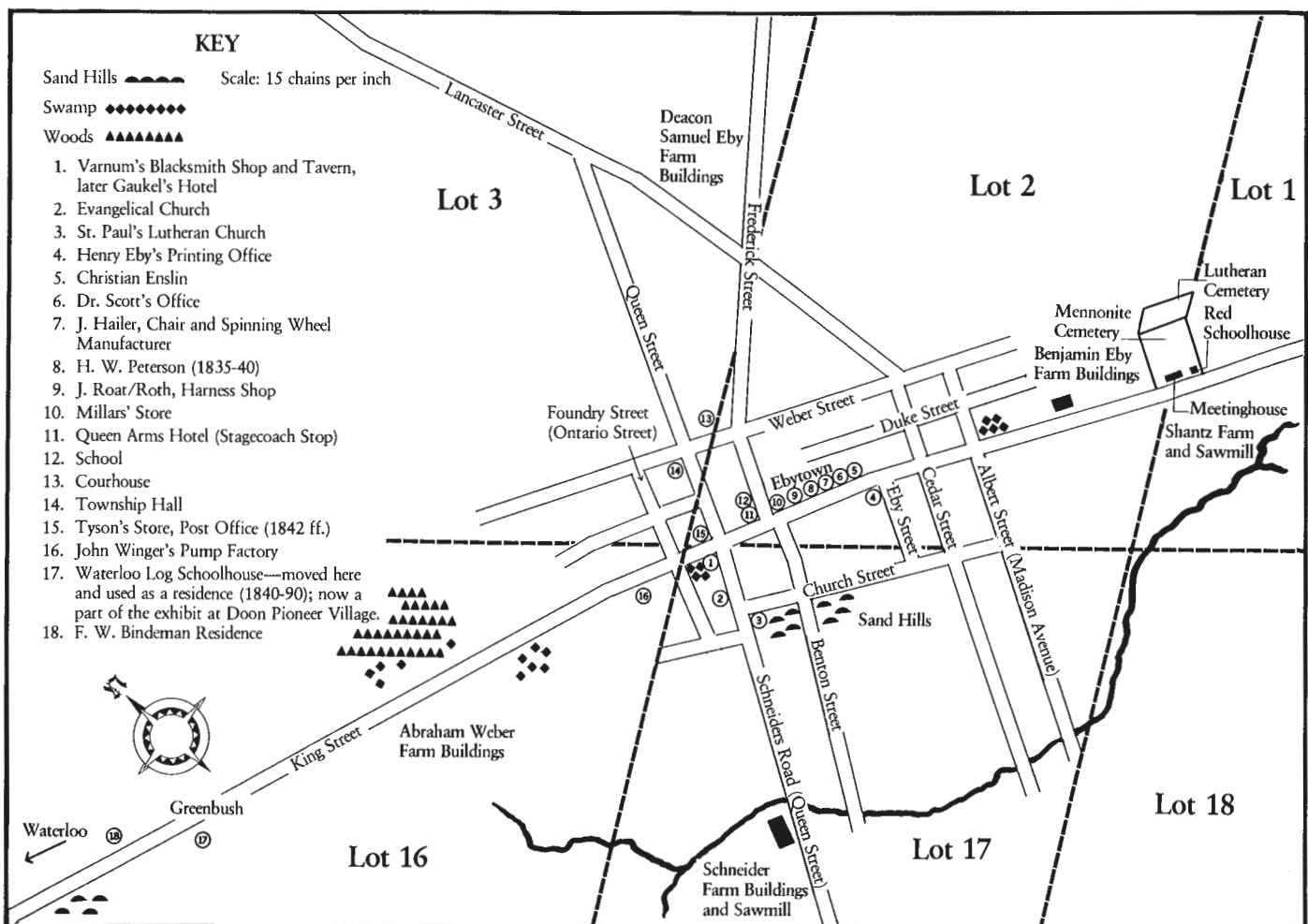
The same year as the Hoch division Benjamin counseled a brother in the Markham District to be firm in the decision of the congregation to ask only a confession of a certain brother. Even if some thought the punishment was too light, they should not overthrow the original decision but lay the matter down and embrace each other in love and forgiveness. Benjamin then went on to say that if he understood the matter correctly and his counsel seemed reasonable, he

⁷²Kleiner Katechismus, oder kurzgefasste Unterweisung aus der Heiligen Schrift in Fragen und Antworten zum Gebrauch für Kinder. Herausgegeben von der Mennoniten Gemeinde (Berlin, Canada: Heinrich Eby, 1845).

⁷³Johannes Risser, *Glaube und Lehre von der Taufe der Mennoniten in Deutschland* (Berlin: Heinrich Eby, 1845).

⁷⁴Daniel High, *Matters of Fact, or a Defence of His Views of the Gospel* (St. Catharines: E. S. Leavenworth's Book & Job Printing Establishment, 1870), pp. 13, 20.

⁷⁵Solomon Eby, grandson of cousin George, led the "New Mennonite" (now Missionary Church) division in Ontario in the 1870s.



This map of Berlin (now Kitchener), Ontario, at the time of Benjamin Eby's death in 1853 was developed from one drawn in 1857-58 and certified as correct by the executors of the Benjamin Eby and Joseph Schneider estates; from a later, undated map of Berlin; from information recorded in the 1854 assessment records; from Stroh and Snyder's "Reminiscences of Berlin (now Kitchener)," *Waterloo Historical Society Annual Report*, 1930; and from consultation with Eldon D. Weber. Street names in parentheses indicate later name changes. The list of eighteen locations is not exhaustive. About 145 family heads were listed on the assessment record.

should share his letter with Jacob Graf/Grove, and if not, "then keep this letter at home. So that I with my good intentions might not do harm."⁷⁶

In 1850 Dilman Moyer was finally ordained bishop in the Niagara District to replace Jacob Gross. Daniel Hoch and his following identified with the Oberholtzer group in the Franconia area of Pennsylvania. The semiannual conference held in September 1850 in Waterloo authorized the ordinations of a bishop, a minister, and several deacons. In a letter dated February 14, 1851, Benjamin reported to Bishop Jacob Groff/Grove of Markham that Abraham Weber had been ordained preacher "with us," and Joseph E. Schneider, Jacob J. Schneider, and Johannes C. Schantz, deacons at David Eby's (Waterloo), Schneider's (Bloomington), and Wilmut, respectively. They still needed to ordain a bishop, and Benjamin asked for Grove's assistance in this ordination on May 31. Joseph Hagey was the one on whom the lot fell. Was Benjamin preparing to pass on the mantle of leadership?

In 1851 two meetinghouses were built—one for the Conestogo congregation in Woolwich and the other at David Eby's (now Erb Street) west of Waterloo. In March 1852 another Susannah, two-year-old daughter of Benjamin

E. Eby, died. Four more grandchildren were born during the next twelve months; one of them was Peter's son, Benjamin Theodore. Benjamin also received the news of the deaths of his sister Anna and brother-in-law, Jacob Wissler, at Hammer Creek.

During 1852 son Peter, who at this time was also beginning his printing career, printed a collection of sermons by Carl J. van der Smitten and Berend Karl Roosen from Denmark and Hamburg-Altona, respectively.⁷⁷ No doubt Benjamin followed with interest the debate on the location of the county seat of the recently formed county of Waterloo. Was he pleased that little Berlin won the honor? The village had now reached sufficient population for incorporation as a town, but Benjamin would miss that occasion by about six months.

⁷⁶Benjamin Eby to John Reesor, Oct. 17, 1849, L. J. Burkholder Collection, Hist. Mss. 1.4.3, archives of Conrad Grebel College, Waterloo, Ont.

⁷⁷*Sammlung von Predigten von Carl J. van der Smitten, Prediger der Mennoniten Gemeinde in Friedrichstadt, Dänemark, und Berend Karl Roosen, Prediger der Mennoniten Gemeinde zu Hamburg und Altona* (Berlin: Peter Eby, 1852).

Epilogue

On June 28, 1853, Benjamin Eby, aged sixty-eight years, answered the call of death. On July 7, 1853, his old friend, H. W. Peterson, reported the funeral in the *Guelph Advertiser*. It was held on July 1, 1853, with more than one thousand persons in attendance. David Sherk and Joseph Hagey preached the sermons with John Weber also assisting. Of Eby, Peterson wrote:

The writer . . . can truly say of him that he was "an Israelite indeed in whom there was no guile," and that he was sincerely pious, humble, exemplary, practical and nonsectarian, and eminently successful in his day and generation.⁷⁸

Another testimony of his character came from someone who knew him personally:

He was . . . friendly and obliging, and always ready to serve his friends . . . and this he always did freely and generously, without having any indirect designs by which to serve himself or to make himself popular. . . . He had the virtue of embellishing and gracing all his other virtues and perfections by being very humble in his whole deportment.⁷⁹

Eby's legacy of accomplishments has already been enumerated. Harold S. Bender summarized the stature of the man as follows:

There was no one in the entire church, either on the U. S. or Canada side of the line, who was as active in furthering the literature and music of the church during his time, that is about 1800 - 1860, as Benjamin Eby. The nearest to this is Joseph Funk of Virginia, a layman. I would take old Heinrich Funk, Benjamin Eby, and J. F. Funk as the outstanding Literary men of the church from the beginning down to our time [1929].⁸⁰

Benjamin Eby left behind ten children and forty-eight grandchildren at the time of his death. Son Christian was ordained the following year and had a fruitful ministry, cut short by his death in 1859 at the age of thirty-eight years. Henry died in 1855. Peter, who published four newspapers simultaneously for a few years, left Berlin for Buffalo in 1856. Widow Magdalena died in 1858.

Ezra E. Eby, son of Isaac, born three years before Benjamin's death, undertook the monumental task of collecting the historical and biographical material of all of the Mennonite settlers of Waterloo Township. Because of his efforts when people's memories could still bridge the gap, we can today reconstruct this story.

The Benjamin Eby Family

The following outline notes the Ebys who migrated to Canada and gives the family of Benjamin Eby to the fourth generation. Bishop Benjamin Eby (1785-1853) of Canada descended from immigrant Theodorus Eby (1663-1737), his great-grandfather, who fathered at least seven children by several wives, whose names are unknown:

- A. Peter Eby, 1689/91-1748
 - m.(1) Anna Mylin
 - m.(2) Barbara Groff
- B. Hannes Eby
- C. Jacob Eby
- D. Barbara Eby, d. ca. 1744
 - m. John Henry Bear, d. ca. 1738
- E. Christian Eby, 1698-1756
 - m. Elizabeth Mayer
- F. David Eby, b. 1701
 - m. Maggie Davis
- G. Ann, Elizabeth, or Ann Elizabeth

A Peter Eby above had a son John, who married Mary Gerber. John and Mary's son David (1785-1860) went to Canada along with Benjamin and Mary (Brubacher) Eby and Joseph and Barbara (Eby) Schneider. David married Elizabeth Bechtel (1787-1844). They resided in Waterloo County. C Jacob Eby's son Peter had five known children, of whom two daughters came to Canada: Susanna Eby (1792-1871) married John Winger (1789-1864), and they resided in Berlin; Mary Eby married Sebastian Fryfogel (1791-1873), and they established an inn on the Huron Road in Perth County.

E Christian Eby above was the grandfather of Bishop Benjamin Eby, whose story precedes this section. The family listing below is based on Ezra E. Eby, *Biographical History of Early Settlers and Their Descendants in Waterloo Township* (Berlin, Ont., Canada: 1895-96) and on *The Wenger Book: A Foundation Book of American Wengers*, ed. Samuel S. Wenger (Lancaster, Pa: Pennsylvania German Heritage History, 1978), pp. 1054-57. Further details on the family of IV Barbara Eby appear in Jane Evans Best, "Three Bears of Earl Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and Other Early Bears," *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 4 (October 1981): 12. Families below who migrated to Canada are marked with an asterisk.

- 1 Christian Eby, 1734-1807
 - m. Catherine Bricker
- 11 Elizabeth Eby, 1762-1832
 - m. Joseph Bucher
- 12 Christian B. Eby, 1763-1824
 - m. Veronica Hershey, 1766-1826
- 13 Peter Eby, 1765-1843; Mennonite bishop.
 - m. Margarette Hess, 1764-1846
- 14 John/Hannes Eby, 1767-1845
 - m. Mary Witwer, 1773-1856
- 15 Andrew Eby, 1769-1809
 - m. Elizabeth Stauffer
- 16 Catharine Eby, 1771-1856
 - m. Abraham Burkholder, 1768-1840

⁷⁸Miriam Helen Snyder, *Hannes Schneider and His Wife, Catharine Haus Schneider: Their Descendants and Times, 1534-1939* (Kitchener, Ont.: Compiler, 1937), p. 176J. I have not found a copy of the *Guelph Advertiser* for July 7, 1853, but a copy of Peterson's article appeared in the source herein cited.

⁷⁹Eby, *Biographical History of the Eby Family*, pp. 27, 29.

⁸⁰Harold S. Bender to Oscar Burkholder, Jan. 25, 1929, Oscar Burkholder Collection, Hist. Mss. 1.6.1, archives of Conrad Grebel College, Waterloo, Ont.

- *17 Barbara Eby, 1774-1843
m. Joseph Schneider, 1772-1843
- 18 Anna Eby, 1777-1853
m. Jacob Wissler, 1776-1853
- 19 George Eby, 1779-1793
- 10 Maria Eby, 1781-1783
- *1a Benjamin Eby, 1785-1853; Mennonite bishop.
m.(1) Mary Brubacher, 1789-1834
m.(2) Magdalena (Erb) Erb, 1780-1858
- 1a1 Isaac Eby, b. 1808
m. Veronica Shoemaker, 1815-1894
- 1a11 Menno Eby, b. 1833
m. Elizabeth Sophia Maria Becker
- 1a111 Eva Magdalena Eby
m. George Erb
- 1a112 Sophia Marie Eby. Died in infancy.
- 1a113 Louisa Matilda Eby
- 1a114 Alexander Eby
m. Nellie Watson
- 1a115 Ilda Isabella Eby
- 1a116 Leander Eby. Died young.
- 1a117 Menno Eby. Died at age 20.
- 1a118 Nellie Grace Eby
- 1a12 Mary Eby, 1835-1890
m. Abraham Groff, 1829-1885
- 1a121 Susannah Groff, 1854-1856
- 1a122 Levi Groff, b. 1854
m. Nancy Brubacher
- 1a123 Leah Groff, b. 1856
m. Franklin Shantz
- 1a124 Ezra Groff, 1858-1961
- 1a125 Maria Groff, b. 1861
m. Amos Weber
- 1a126 Lydia Ann Groff, b. 1862
m. Silas Bauman
- 1a127 Matilda Groff, b. 1865
m. Ira Bauman
- 1a128 Isaac Eby Groff, b. 1867
- 1a129 Hannah Groff, b. 1870
- 1a120 Emma Groff, b. 1872
- 1a12a Abraham Groff, b. 1873
- 1a12b Benjamin Groff, b. 1876
- 1a12c Jacob E. Groff, b. 1878
- 1a13 Isaac S. Eby, b. 1837
m. Elizabeth Stauffer
- 1a131 Maria Eby
m.(1) Noah Woolner
m.(2) Joseph Nevezeral
- 1a132 Fannie Eby
m. George Rush
- 1a133 Harriet Eby. Died young.
- 1a134 Isaiah Eby
m. Louisa Sagemiller
- 1a135 Martha Eby
m. John G. Jutzi
- 1a136 Angeline Eby
m. Philip Stier
- 1a137 Lizzie Eby. Died young.
- 1a138 Neander Eby. Died young.
- 1a139 Jemima Eby
- 1a130 Benjamin S. Eby
- 1a14 Daniel Eby, 1840-1867
m. Frances Myers, d. 1869
- 1a141 Emma Zalena Eby
m. August Israel
- 1a142 Theophilus Eby. Died young.
- 1a143 Effa Zilpha Eby
m. Charles Meyer
- 1a15 Christian Eby, b. 1842
m. Catharine Clemens
- 1a151 Lydia Ann Eby
- 1a152 James Edward Eby
- 1a153 Isabella Eby
- 1a154 Jacob Foster Eby
- 1a155 Isaac C. Eby. Died young.
- 1a156 Christian Eby
- 1a16 Theodore Eby, 1846-1873
m. Susannah Reist
No children
- 1a17 Barnabas Eby, 1848-1870; single.
- 1a18 Ezra E. Eby, b. 1850
m. Mary Ann Clemer
- 1a181 Ira Eby. Died at age 14.
- 1a182 Odo Eby
- 1a183 Ion Eby
- 1a184 Leo Eby
- 1a185 Ina Eby
- 1a19 Benjamin S. Eby, 1853-1881
m. Helen Ziegler
No children
- 1a10 Lydia Ann Eby, 1856-1875; single.
- 1a2 Elias Eby, 1810-1878
m. Anna Weber
- 1a21 Mary Eby, 1835-1855
- 1a22 Josiah Eby, 1837-1847
- 1a23 Benjamin W. Eby, b. 1839. Lived at Caledonia, Mich.
m. Hannah Kraft
- 1a231 Norman Eby
- 1a232 Lydia Ann Eby
- 1a234 Albert Eby
- 1a235 Laura Eby
- 1a24 Magdalena Eby, b. 1841
m. Isaac E. Shantz
- 1a241 Josiah Shantz
m. Eliza Shantz
- 1a242 Tilman Shantz. Died young.
- 1a243 Edmund Shantz
m. Susannah Groff
- 1a244 Elmina Shantz
m. Christian Miller; minister.
- 1a245 Mary Ann Shantz
m. Amos Groff
- 1a246 Milton Shantz
- 1a25 Veronica Eby, 1843-1885. Lived at Winnipeg, Man.
m. Aaron E. Shantz
- 1a251 Nettie Shantz. Died young.
- 1a252 Malinda Shantz. Died young.
- 1a253 Jacob Shantz. Died young.
- 1a254 Adaline Shantz
- 1a255 Edwin Shantz. Died young.
- 1a256 Ida Shantz
- 1a257 Elsie Shantz. Died young.
- 1a258 Edith Shantz
- 1a26 Annie Eby, b. 1845
m. Benjamin Reesor
- 1a261 Harry Reesor
- 1a262 Walter Reesor

1a263 Fannie Reesor
 1a27 Elias W. Eby, 1848-1883
 1a28 Tobias Eby, 1850-1872
 1a29 Christian Eby, 1853-1855
 1a20 Moses Eby, 1855-1855
 1a3 Susannah Eby, 1812-1819
 1a4 Catharine Eby, 1814-1867
 m. David Weber, d. 1877
 1a41 Elias Weber, 1834-1909; Mennonite bishop.
 m. Mary Shoemaker
 1a411 Sarah Weber. Died young.
 1a412 Simon Weber. Died young.
 1a413 Lovina Weber
 m. Jacob Woolner
 1a414 Leah Weber. Died young.
 1a415 Nancy Weber
 m. Aaron Schiedel
 1a416 Lydia Weber
 m. David Reist
 1a417 Amos Weber
 m. Rosilla Wambold
 1a418 Israel Weber
 1a419 Mary Weber
 1a42 Susanna Weber, 1836-1863
 m. John Shuh, b. 1828. He later married Magdalena Hoffman.
 1a421 Franklin Shuh, b. 1858
 m. Catharine Shantz
 1a422 Levi Shuh, b. 1861
 m. Lovina Schwartz
 1a423 Mary H. Shuh, b. 1865
 1a43 Andrew Weber, b. 1838. Lived at Didsbury, Alta.
 m. Veronica Shantz
 1a431 Malissa Weber. Died young.
 1a432 Ellen Weber. Died young.
 1a433 Sabina Weber
 1a434 Ephraim Weber
 1a435 Manasseh Weber
 1a436 Elsie Weber
 1a437 Edwin Weber
 1a438 Ivan Weber
 1a44 Mary Weber, b. 1841
 m. Moses Devitt, b. 1841
 1a441 Albert Devitt
 1a442 Edwin Devitt
 1a443 Malinda Devitt
 1a444 Malissa Devitt
 1a445 Noah Devitt
 1a446 Mary Devitt
 1a45 Peter E. Weber, b. 1843
 m. Magdalena Clemens, 1844-1874
 No children
 1a46 Magdalena Weber, 1846-1884
 m. Amos Weber, b. 1844. He later married Margaret (Kaufman) Bender.
 1a461 Mary Ann Weber
 1a462 Ida Weber
 1a463 Allan Weber
 1a464 Albert Weber
 1a465 Lucinda Weber
 1a466 Menno Weber
 1a467 Solomon Weber
 1a47 Veronica Weber, b. 1848
 m. Jacob D. Kinzie, b. 1844

1a471 Elam Kinzie
 1a472 Rosetta Kinzie
 1a473 Isaiah Kinzie
 1a474 Agabus Kinzie
 1a475 Luanna Kinzie
 1a476 William Bruno Kinzie
 1a477 Eber Edgar Kinzie
 1a478 Priscilla Kinzie
 1a48 Theodore Weber, b. 1850
 m. Sarah Woolner
 1a481 Susannah Weber
 1a482 Simon Weber. Died young.
 1a483 Celina Weber
 1a484 Hannah Weber
 1a49 Henry E. Weber, b. 1853
 m. Anna Zeller
 1a491 Ada Cecilia Weber
 1a492 Laura May Weber
 1a493 Alpheus Weber
 1a40 Lucinda Weber, b. 1855
 m. Eli C. Shantz, b. 1854
 1a401 Velina Shantz
 1a402 Sylvester Shantz
 1a4a Matilda Weber, b. 1855
 m. Casper Schmidt
 1a4a1 Harvey Schmidt
 1a4a2 Milton Schmidt. Died young.
 1a4a3 Isaiah Schmidt
 1a4a4 Minerva Schmidt
 1a4a5 Leander Schmidt
 1a5 Maria Eby, 1816-1861
 m. William Bomberger, 1816-1886
 No children
 1a6 Benjamin E. Eby, 1818-1872
 m. Elizabeth Cressman, 1818-1889
 1a61 Mary Eby, b. 1840
 m. John Erb
 1a611 Angelina Erb
 m. Abraham Henry Wambold
 1a612 Sarah Erb
 1a62 Amos Eby, b. 1842; Mennonite Brethren in Christ minister.
 m. Hettie Moyer
 1a621 Allan Eby
 m. Clara Snider
 1a622 Louisa Eby
 1a623 Matilda Eby
 1a624 Norman Eby. Died young.
 1a625 Josiah Eby. Died young.
 1a626 Ida Eby
 1a63 Leah Eby, b. 1844
 m. Moses Kenzie
 1a631 Simon Kenzie
 m. Sarah Kraft
 1a632 Lavina Kenzie
 1a64 Sarah Eby, 1847-1880
 m. David S. Moyer
 1a641 Lucinda Moyer. Died young.
 1a642 Urias Moyer. Died young.
 1a643 Lizzie Moyer
 1a644 Adaline Moyer. Died young.
 1a645 Phoebe Moyer
 1a646 Ida Moyer
 1a647 Sarah Moyer

- 1a65 Susannah Eby, 1849-1852
- 1a7 Henry Eby, 1820-1855
m. Elizabeth Bowers, b. 1825. She later married Robert Cowan.
- 1a71 Julia Anna Eby, b. 1844
m. Richard C. Cowan
- 1a711 Robert Henry Cowan. Lived in Australia.
- 1a712 William Craig Cowan. Lived in South Africa.
- 1a713 Charles Edward Cowan
- 1a714 Walter Richard Cowan. Died young.
- 1a715 Thomas Albert Cowan
- 1a716 Maria Louisa Cowan
- 1a717 Richard Eby Cowan
- 1a718 Frederick Harold Cowan
- 1a719 Alice Olga Cowan
- 1a72 Harriet Eby, b. 1846. Lived at Port Huron, Mich.
m. Isaac B. Burkholder
- 1a721 Arthur Henry Burkholder. Died young.
- 1a722 Daniel Fairford Burkholder
- 1a723 Alfred Burkholder
- 1a724 Mary Alice Burkholder
- 1a73 Adelaide Eby, 1848-1877
m. Daniel E. Bowman
No children
- 1a8 Christian Eby, 1821-1859; Mennonite minister.
m. Mary Cressman, 1820-1867
- 1a81 Tobias Eby, 1858-1858
- 1a82 Mary Eby, 1859-1859
- 1a9 Abraham Eby, 1823-1885
m. Lucy Hembling, b. 1822
- 1a91 Hannah Eby, b. 1844
m. Jonas B. Detweiler
- 1a911 Louisa Jane Detweiler. Died young.
- 1a912 Lucy Ann Detweiler
- 1a913 Adelaide Matilda Detweiler
- 1a914 Mary Etta Detweiler
- 1a915 Irwin Detweiler. Died young.
- 1a916 Hannah Detweiler. Died young.
- 1a917 Magdalena Detweiler. Died young.
- 1a918 Harvey Detweiler. Died young.
- 1a92 Magdalena Eby, b. 1845. Lived in Kansas.
m. John Auman
- 1a921 Edward Leander Auman
- 1a922 Lucy Malinda Auman
- 1a923 Henry David Auman
- 1a924 Ida Elenor Auman
- 1a925 Charlotte Anna Auman
- 1a926 John Oscar Auman
- 1a927 Angelina Auman
- 1a93 Tilman Eby, 1847-1850
- 1a94 Phoebe Eby, b. 1849
m. Henry Lachman
- 1a941 Lucy Etta Lachman
m. Henry Schmidt
- 1a942 Charles Edward Lachman
- 1a943 Mary Ann Lachman
- 1a944 Albert Lachman. Died young.
- 1a945 Isaac Oscar Lachman
- 1a946 Leah Elizabeth Lachman
- 1a947 William Henry Lachman
- 1a948 Abram Odo Lachman
- 1a949 Milton Lachman. Died young.
- 1a940 Charlotte Ina Lachman
- 1a94a Phoebe Elenor Lachman
- 1a95 Herman Eby, b. 1851
m. Mary Ann Heiseman
- 1a951 Lily Eby. Died young.
- 1a952 Allan Alexander Eby
- 1a953 Adelaide Matilda Eby
- 1a954 Estella Eby
- 1a955 Hermenia Eby
- 1a956 Stanley Eby
- 1a96 Edward Eby, 1853-1859
- 1a97 Noah Eby, b. 1857
m. Susan Hilborn
- 1a971 Abraham Eby
- 1a972 William Edward Eby. Died young.
- 1a973 Charlotte Eby
- 1a974 Emma Eby
- 1a975 Della May Eby
- 1a976 Lucy Dorcus Eby
- 1a98 Charlotte Eby, b. 1859. Lived in Iowa.
m. Charles Van Pelt
- 1a981 Clarence Van Pelt
- 1a982 Fay Morris Van Pelt
- 1a983 Lucille Maria Van Pelt
- 1a984 Ruth Van Pelt
- 1a99 Dianna Eby, 1861-1862
- 1a90 William Eby, b. 1862
m. Susannah Göler
- 1a901 Edward Eby
- 1a902 Henry Eby
- 1a903 William Eby
- 1a904 Anna Eby
- 1a905 Emma Eby
- 1a9a Isaac H. Eby, b. 1865
m. Bertha Limpert
- 1a9a1 Ivah Eby
- 1a0 Jacob B. Eby, 1826-1882
m.(1) Lucy Kauffman, 1830-1877
- 1a01 Franklin Eby, b. 1846. Lived in Michigan.
m. Hulda Butler
No children
- 1a02 Andrew Eby, b. 1847
m. Magdalena Soeder
- 1a021 Oscar S. Eby
- 1a022 Herbert A. Eby
- 1a03 Amelia Eby, b. 1849. Lived in Winnipeg, Man.
m. Hugh Street
- 1a031 Lucy Amelia Street
- 1a032 Charles Franklin Street
- 1a033 Mary Beatrice Street. Died young.
- 1a034 Nancy Eby Street
- 1a035 Hugh Russell Street
- 1a04 Blandina Eby, b. 1850. Lived at Shoal Lake, Man.
m. William Brydon
- 1a041 Andrew Eby Brydon
- 1a042 Charles William Brydon
- 1a043 Ida May Brydon
- 1a044 Emma Maud Brydon
- 1a045 Walter Henry Brydon
- 1a046 Allan Alexander Brydon
- 1a047 James Lloyd Brydon
- 1a05 Magdalena Eby, b. 1852. Lived at Shoal Lake, Man.
m. Charles Findlay
- 1a051 Jacob B. Findlay
- 1a052 Angus Lance Findlay
- 1a053 James Lloyd Findlay. Died young.

- 1a054 Charles Stanley Findlay
 1a055 Ella Caroline Findlay
 1a056 Urias Irwin Findlay
 1a06 Nancy Eby, 1854-1877
 1a07 Caroline Eby, 1856-1876
 1a08 Urias Eby, b. 1857. Lived at Shoal Lake, Man.
 1a09 Henry Eby, 1859-1886
 1a00 Daniel Eby, 1861-1864
 1a0a Allan Eby, b. 1863. Lived at Winnipeg, Man.
 1a0b Ida Eby, b. 1864. Lived at Owosso, Mich.
 m. George Steed
 1a0b1 Ivah Steed
 1a0c Emma Eby, b. 1866. Lived at Victoria, B.C.
 m. Albert Ziegler
 1a0d Albert E. Eby, b. 1867. Lived at Newark, N.J.
 1a0e Jacob Eby, 1870-1870
 1a0 Jacob B. Eby, m. (2) Elizabeth Schill
 1a0f Jacob B. Eby, b. 1879. Lived at Grand Rapids, Mich.
 1aa Peter Eby, 1828-1891. Lived at Buffalo, N.Y.
 m. Susan Sparrow, 1826-1888
 1aa1 Isidore E. Eby, b. 1848
 m. Agnus Stoddard
 1aa11 Mary Florence Eby, b. 1876
 1aa12 Lillian Margaret Eby, b. 1878
 1aa13 Albert Henry Eby, b. 1879
 1aa14 Kate Norma Eby, b. 1882
 1aa2 Albert Milton Eby
 m. Julia Clark
 1aa3 Benjamin Theodore Eby, 1852-1853
 1b Maria Eby, 1787-1864
 m. Jacob Brubacher, 1782-1854
 2 John Eby, 1737-1794
 m. Rebecca Hershey
 *21 Daniel Eby, 1773-1820
 m.(1) Catherine Brech
 m.(2) Delilah Moxley
 *22 Joseph Eby, 1778-1855
 23 Jonas Eby, 1780-1831
 m. _____ Hershey
 *24 Rebecca Eby, 1781-1861
 m. Samuel Bricker, 1776-1868
 25 Sophia Eby, b. 1784
 26 Elizabeth Eby, b. 1787
 *27 "Saddler" Samuel Eby, 1790-1878
 m. Elizabeth Brigel
 3 Barbara Eby, 1740-1816
 m. Jacob Hershey
 31 Anna Hershey
 32 Mary Hershey
 4 Peter Eby, 1742-1819
 m. Fronica Hershey
 5 Anna Eby, 1745-1826
 m. Christian Stauffer
 51 Elizabeth Stauffer, 1765-1828
 m. Daniel Brubacker, 1762-1821
 52 Barbara Stauffer, 1767-1787
 m. Jacob Eshleman
 53 Anna Stauffer, 1769-1843
 m. Peter Reist, 1761-1842
 54 Christian Stauffer, 1771-1853
 m. Veronica Hurst, 1772-1835
 55 Magdalena Stauffer, 1773-1846
 56 Jacob Stauffer, 1776-1805
 m. Susanna Weidler, 1778-1846
 57 John Stauffer, 1780-1856
 m. Barbara Charles, 1776-1850
 58 Peter Stauffer, 1783-1851
 m. Magdalena Baer, 1784-1855
 6 Andrew Eby, 1747-1830
 m. Barbara Yungstutter, 1754-1806
 61 Johannes Eby, 1775-1806
 m. Eva Bixler
 62 Catharine Eby, b. 1777
 63 Abraham Eby, b. 1779
 64 Christian Eby, b. 1782
 7 George Eby, 1748-1800
 m. Barbara Sensenig, 1750-1787
 71 Christian Eby
 m. Catharine Schaff
 *72 "Indian" Samuel Eby, 1772-1858
 m. Magdalena Erb
 73 David Eby
 *74 George Eby, 1776-1858
 m. Barbara Wenger
 *75 Joseph Eby
 m. Elizabeth Hershey
 76 Anna Eby
 m. Frederick Boyer
 77 Esther Eby, 1779-1826
 m. Peter Risser, 1775-1854
 78 Elizabeth Eby
 m. _____ McKane
 79 Susanna Eby
 m. Jacob Summy
 8 Elizabeth Eby, 1751-1835
 m. Jacob Hershey, 1747-1819
 81 Christian Hershey, 1773-1834
 m. Elizabeth Musselman, 1771-1840
 82 Jacob Hershey, 1777-1835
 m.(1) Maria Long
 m.(2) Maria Engle
 83 Ann Hershey
 m. Benjamin Long
 84 Mary Hershey, 1781-1861
 m. Jonas Mumma, 1772-1847
 85 Magdalena Hershey, 1783-1831
 m. Abram Long, 1778-1849
 86 Susanna Hershey, 1780-1843
 m. Christian Hershey
 87 Barbara Hershey, 1788-1853
 m. John Nissley, 1788-1823
 88 Fronica Hershey, d. 1830
 m. Martin Musser, d. 1851
 89 Esther Hershey
 m. Jacob Shaub
 9 Samuel Eby
 m. Elizabeth Hershey
 0 Michael Eby, b. 1755
 m. Barbara Bar
 01 Christian Eby
 02 Jacob Eby
 03 Hannes Eby
 04 Benjamin Eby
 05 Joseph Eby
 *06 Samuel Eby, 1785-1844; Mennonite deacon.
 m. Elizabeth Brech
 07 Michael Eby
 08 George Eby□

A window into centuries past, this small hillside cemetery reflects the culture and values of previous generations whose lives intertwined with the dramas of the migration from Pennsylvania to Ontario.

The Eby Cemetery Along The Hammer Creek In Elizabeth Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania

by Richard A. Eby

Descendants of the immigrant Theodorus Eby, who came to America from Switzerland about 1715, were a part of the group of Mennonites who migrated to Waterloo County, Ontario, Canada, during the very early 1800s. Among those that migrated was Bishop Benjamin Eby (1785-1853), whose parents and grandparents lived, died, and are buried in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. The cemetery in which they are buried stands in a hillside field behind the home built by Christian Eby (1698-1756) and his wife, Elizabeth Mayer. The datestone reads: "Christian Ebi [and] Elizabetha 1754." The home sits along Hammer Creek at the junction of Reifsnyder and Snavely Mill roads in Elizabeth Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and is believed to be the second Eby home in America. Both Christian and Elizabeth are buried there along with their son and his wife, Christian Eby (1734-1807) and Catherine Bricker.

Most of the graves, surrounded by an iron grill fence, are marked by simple limestones along with a few red sandstones and several unmarked field stones. In one corner are piled approximately a dozen broken foot stones. However, the cemetery is regularly mowed and trimmed by Eby descendants as a result of a perpetual care fund.



The Eby Cemetery stands in a field behind the 1754 house built by Christian Eby (1698-1756) along the Hammer Creek in Elizabeth Township.

Cemetery Record

Row 1

1. Eby, Johannes. Zum / Andenken von / Johannes Eby. / Er war Geboren den / 23ten October / 1767, / und Starb den 25sten / May 1845. / brachte sein alter auf / 77 Jahre 7 monate / und 2 tage [Son of Christian Eby (1734-1807) and Catherine Bricker].

2. Eby, Maria. Zum / Andenken von / Maria / Ehefrau von / Johannes Eby. / Geboren den 25sten / August 1773. / und Starb den 29sten / August 1856. / sie brachte ihr alter / auf 83 Jahre und / 4 tage [Wife of John Eby above].

3. Eby, Christian. Zum Andenken / Von / Christian Eby Ist Ge / storben den 27 August / 1824 / Sein Alter War 60 / Jahr 10 Monat Und / 13 Tag [Great-grandson of immigrant Theodorus Eby].

4. Eby, Veronica. Zum Andenken / Von / Veronica Eby Sie Ist / Gestorben den 4 Februar / 1826 / Ihr Alter War 59 / Jahr 2 Monat Und / 15 Tage [Wife of Christian Eby (1763-1824)].

5. Field stone [unmarked].

6. Eby, G. G. Eby, 1793 [George Eby (1779-1793) was an unmarried son of Christian Eby (1743-1810) and Catherine Bricker].

7. ———. [Illegible].

8. Field stone [unmarked].

9-12. Eby, Christian and Elizabeth M.; Eby, Christian and Catherine B. Eby / I Christian / 1698 - 1756 / Elizabeth M. / c 1708 - 1787 / Eby / II Christian / 1734 - 1807 / Catherine B. / 1743 - 1810 [Son and grandson of Theodorus Eby with their wives, Catherine Bricker and Elizabeth Mayer, respectively. These stones were erected in 1971].

13. Memorial Stone. Our immigrant forefather / Theodorus Eby / 1663 - 1727 / Born in Switzerland and Buried / on his homestead in Leacock / Township Lancaster County Pa. / We thank Theodorus for coming to this / great country where his descendants / have been able to practice religious / freedom. / Erected by a grateful posterity [The home of Theodorus Eby stood at the corner of Hollander and Peters roads south of New Holland in Earl Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and he is evidently buried in the nearby field cemetery in Leacock Township. This stone was erected in 1982].

Row 2

14. E., J. J. E. [Placement suggests that this may be a large footstone for Johannes Eby, no. 1].
15. E., M. M. E. [Possibly a large footstone for Maria Eby, no. 2].
16. H., C. C. H.
17. Field stone [unmarked].
18. Field stone [unmarked].

Row 3

19. Eby, **Henrich W.** zum andenken / von Henrich W. / Eby sohn von / Benjamin und / Veronica Eby, / geboren den 9 / October 1840 / und starb den 28 / September 1852 / Alter 11 Jahr / 11 Monat 19 tag.
20. Eby, _____. Hier Ruhig / Ein Sohnlein Von / Benjamin U. Feronica / Eby / Ist Geboren den 27 / Sept. 1831 [unnamed].
21. Eby, **Sem.** Zum Andenken Von / Sem Eby / Ein Sohnlein Von / Benjamin U. Feronica / Eby / Geboren den 10 Febru. / 1829 / Starb den 22 August / 1832 / Sein Alter War 3 Jah. / 6 Monat und 12 Tag.
22/ **Witwer, Jonas.** Zum Andenken von / Jonas Witwer. / Geboren 24 Febru. 1763. / Starb 12. May. 1845. / Alt 82 J. 2 M. & 18 T [Father of Veronica, wife of Benjamin Eby, who was a son of Christian Eby (1763-1824)].
23. **Witwer, Veronica.** Zum Andenken von / Veronica Witwer / Geboren 17. April. 1763; / Starb 25. Juni 1842. / Alt 79 J. 2 M. & [8 T.-illegible because of mending] [Wife of Jonas Witwer; her maiden name was Reiff].
24. Field stone [unmarked].

Row 4

24. Field stone [unmarked].
26. **Nies, Justina.** Justina Nies / died Sept. 2, 1862 / aged 4 months / & 4 days.
27. **Frank, Michael.** Hier Ruhig / Michael Frank / Ist / Geboren den 10ten May / 1757 / und Starb den 8ten Merz / 1836 / Sein Alter War 78 Jahre / 9 Monat Und 29 Tage / [Illegible line].
28. **Frank, Mary.** In memory of / Mary, / wife of Michael Frank / Born July 12, 1770 / Died January 9, 1856 / Aged 84 years 5 months / and 27 days.

Row 5

- 29-30. **Eitneier, Allen C. and Martha G. Eitneier** / Allen C. / Born / Oct. 8, 1851 / Died / May 11, 1885 / Aged 33 Y. 7 M. 3 D. / Martha G. / Born / Sept. 5, 1847 / Died / Oct. 20, 1925 / Aged 78 Y. 1 M. / 15 D.
31. **Eitneier, Willie.** Willie / Son of / Allen C. & Martha G. / Eitneier / Died July 19, / 1875 / Aged 4 mos. & 24 / days.

Row 6

32. **Eitneier, Abraham.** My Husband / Abraham Eitneier / Born Feb. 22, 1811. / Died Sept. 12, 1888. / Aged / 77 Years 6 mo. / & 20 ds.
33. **Eitneier, Elizabeth.** Elizabeth Eitneier. / Born / June 18, 1815 / Died / April 8, 1891 / Aged 75 yrs. 9 mo. & 20 da.

34. **Eitneier, Anna B. Anna B.** / Daughter of Abraham & / Elizabeth Eitneier / Born April 6, 1840 / Died June 21, 1862. / Aged 13 years 2 months / and 15 days.

35. **Eitneier, Aaron.** Aaron / Son of Abraham & / Elizabeth Eitneier / Born June 2, 1860 / Died November 8, 1861 / Aged 1 year 5 months / and 6 days.

36. **Eitneier, Elias C.** In memory of / Elias C. / son of Abraham / & Elizabeth Eitneier / Born March 30, 1837 / Died Nov. 19, 1852 / aged 15 years 7 / months and 19 days [This stone now stands with others along the fence at the southern edge of the cemetery but clearly belonged at this location, according to earlier readings of the cemetery].

37. **Eitneier, Simon A.** Zum Andenken des / Simon A. / Sohn von Abraham u. / Elizabeth Eitneier / Geb. den 30ten Nov. / 1834 ge[st.] den 26sten / Jan. 1852 alt. 17 Jahr / 1 Monat u. 26 Tage.

38. **F., M. M. F.** [Placement suggests that this may be a footstone for Mary Frank, no. 28].

39. **Eitnier, Jacob.** Jacob Eitnier. / Died June 21, 1844. / Aged 70 Years.

40. **Eitnier, Maria.** Maria, / Wife of Jacob Eitnier. / Born Hoffer / Died June 21, 1871 / Aged 88 Years 8 month / & 8 days.

Row 7

41. **Spoonhower, Henry.** In / memory of / Henry Spoonhower / Born April 13, 1817. / Died Aug. 27, 1887. / Aged / 70 years 4 months / & 14 days.

42. **Spoonhower, Catherine.** In / memory of / Catherine Spoonhower / Born Nov. 10, 1811. / Died May 27, 1891. / Aged / 79 years 4 mo. & / 17 days.

Along Fence

The following stones along the fence at the southern edge of the cemetery are stacked loosely and no longer stand at their original locations:

43. Field stone [unmarked].
44. Field stone [unmarked].
45. **E., H. W. H. W. E.** [Footstone for Henrich W. Eby, no. 19?]
46. **E., S. S. E.** [Footstone for Sem Eby, no. 21? Not very legible; possibly C. E. or G. E.]
47. **W., J. J. W.** [Footstone for Jonas Witwer, no. 22?]
48. **W., V. V. W.** [Footstone for Veronica Witwer, no. 23?]
49. **N., J. J. N.** [Footstone for Justina Nies, no. 26?]
50. **E., A. A. E.** [Footstone for Abraham Eitneier, no. 32?]
51. **E., E. E. E.** [Footstone for Elizabeth Eitneier, no. 33?]
52. **E., A. B. A. B. E.** [Footstone for Anna B. Eitneier, no. 34?]
53. **E., A. A. E.** [Footstone for Aaron Eitneier, no. 35?]
54. **E., C. E. E. C. E.** [Footstone for Elias C. Eitneier, no. 36?]
55. **E., S. A. S. A. E.** [Footstone for Simon A. Eitneier, no. 37?]
56. **E., J. J. E.** [Footstone for Jacob Eitnier, no. 39?]
57. **E., M. M. E.** [Footstone for Maria Eitnier, no. 40?]
□

Readers' Ancestry

Each Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage issue features a member of the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society who has traced his or her ancestry at least six generations. Readers with questions and/or additions are encouraged to write to the Society member to exchange information.



Lorraine Roth

Lorraine Roth was born near Tavistock, Ontario, of Amish Mennonite ancestry who migrated to Canada between 1824 and 1850 from Alsace and Lorraine in France and from Waldeck and Bavaria in Germany. Active in Ontario Mennonite historical and genealogical interests, she has compiled and published or assisted with at least ten genealogies and various other historical booklets and articles. As part of her research on all Amish Mennonite families who immigrated to Canada she spent the

summer of 1985 doing research in Europe. She will be pleased to correspond with interested family historians and genealogists, who may write to her at 37 Ahrens Street West, Kitchener, Ont. N2H 4B6.

1. ROTH, Lorraine, b. Feb. 25, 1930, Perth Co., Ont., Canada.

2. ROTH, Sidney, b. Aug. 19, 1900, Oxford Co., Ont.; d. Jan. 26, 1975, bu. East Zorra Mennonite Cem., Oxford Co., Ont.; m. Sept. 26, 1923, Violet Brenneman.
3. BRENNEMAN, Violet, b. May 5, 1905, Perth Co., Ont.; d. Oct. 22, 1975, bu. East Zorra Mennonite Cem.

4. ROTH, Peter S., b. June 29, 1864, Oxford Co., Ont.; d. Nov. 12, 1918, bu. East Zorra Mennonite Cem.; m. Dec. 13, 1892, Mary Schrag.
5. SCHRAG, Mary, b. Jan. 26, 1873, Waterloo Co., Ont.; d. Sept. 19, 1936, bu. East Zorra Mennonite Cem.



Sidney (no. 2) and Violet (Brenneman) Roth (no. 3) pose in 1973 on their fiftieth wedding anniversary.

6. BRENNEMAN, Peter Z., b. Sept. 11, 1876, Perth Co., Ont.; d. Dec. 27, 1954, bu. East Zorra Mennonite Cem.; m. Nov. 21, 1899, Mary Oesch.
7. OESCH, Mary, b. Feb. 25, 1872, Huron Co., Ont.; d. Feb. 8, 1951, bu. East Zorra Mennonite Cem.

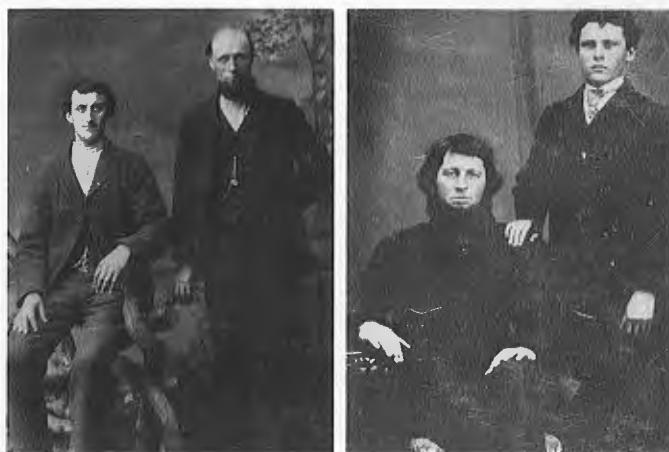
8. ROTH, Peter K., b. Aug. 11, 1832, Europe; d. Feb. 2, 1909, bu. East Zorra Mennonite Cem.; m. Feb. 12, 1861, Magdalena Schwartzentruber.
9. SCHWARTZENTRUBER, Magdalena, b. Sept. 15, 1838, Waterloo Co., Ont.; d. June 20, 1922, bu. East Zorra Mennonite Cem.
10. SCHRAG, Christian, b. Jan. 30, 1843, Perth Co., Ont.; d. Feb. 1, 1901, Perrysburg, N.Y., bu. East Zorra Cem. (19th Line), Oxford Co., Ont.; m. Feb. 23, 1864, Veronica Kennel.



Mary (Schrag) Roth (no. 5) 1873-1936) appears as third from left in this group photograph, taken in the early 1900s.

11. KENNEL, Veronica, b. Aug. 25, 1845, Waterloo Co., Ont.; d. May 22, 1914, bu. Maple View Mennonite Cem., Waterloo Co., Ont. She m. (2) George Schultz.
12. BRENNEMAN, Daniel L., b. Oct. 30, 1847, Perth Co., Ont.; d. Dec. 28, 1916, bu. East Zorra Cem. (19th Line); m. Nov. 30, 1869, Magdalena Zehr.
13. ZEHR, Magdalena, b. Oct. 23, 1846, Perth Co., Ont.; d. May 25, 1895, bu. East Zorra Cem. (19th Line).
14. OESCH, John, b. Mar. 5, 1828, Waterloo Co., Ont.; d. Feb. 23, 1901, bu. Blake Mennonite Cem., Huron Co., Ont.; m. Feb. 18, 1855, Barbara Gascho.
15. GASCHO, Barbara, b. June 25, 1831, Europe; d. Nov. 16, 1875, bu. Blake Mennonite Cem.

16. ROTH, Joseph, b. Mar. 2, 1796, Feldbach, Alsace, France; d. 1873, bu. East Zorra Cem. (15th Line); m. in Europe, Anna Kauffmann (1851 immigrants).
17. KAUFFMANN, Anna, b. Mar. 29, 1808, Levoncourt, Alsace, France; d. July 18, 1886, bu. East Zorra Cem. (15th Line).



Left: Peter S. Roth (no. 4) (1864-1918) on the left sits beside his uncle, Menno Schwartzentruber (right). Right: Christian Schrag (no. 10) (1843-1901) poses beside an unidentified boy.

18. SCHWARTZENTRUBER, Jacob, b. Apr. 16, 1814, Lancaster Co., Pa.; d. Feb. 10, 1859, bu. East Zorra Mennonite Cem.; m. Oct. 1835, Catharine Roth.
19. ROTH, Catharine, b. Oct. 1815, France; d. Jan. 1890, bu. East Zorra Mennonite Cem. She m.(2) John Eiman.
20. SCHRAG, Daniel, b. Apr. 1813, Koesching, Bavaria, Germany; d. Nov. 1, 1891, bu. East Zorra Cem. (19th Line) (1838 immigrant); m.(1) June 1, 1840, Elizabeth Gingerich; m.(2) Magdalena Steinman.
21. GINGERICH, Elizabeth, b. July 27, 1825, Atlantic Ocean; d. Nov. 26, 1854, bu. East Zorra Cem. (19th Line).
22. KENNEL, Christian, b. Mar. 16, 1800, Sotzeling, Lorraine, France; d. May 12, 1876, Maple View Mennonite Cem.; m. June 12, 1823, Magdalena Jantzi (1833 immigrants to N.Y., 1838 to Canada).
23. JANTZI, Magdalena, b. Dec. 23, 1801, Bistroff, Lorraine, France; d. Feb. 28, 1881, bu. Maple View Mennonite Cem.
24. BRENNEMAN, Jacob, b. ca. 1813, Germany; d. June 14, 1888, bu. East Zorra Cem. (19th Line); m. ca. 1840, Lydia Leonard.
25. LEONARD, Lydia, b. ca. 1825, Ireland; d. ca. 1882-1886, bu. East Zorra Cem. (19th Line).
26. ZEHR, "Doctor" Peter, b. May 2, 1808, France; d. Jan. 2, 1898, bu. East Zorra Mennonite Cem.; m. in Europe, Barbara Roth (1835 immigrants to N.Y., 1836 or 1837 to Canada).
27. ROTH, Barbara, b. Nov. 21, 1812, France; d. Sept. 21, 1888, bu. East Zorra Mennonite Cem.
28. OESCH, John, b. 1792, Erlenbach, Palatinate, Germany; d. Mar. 12, 1850, bu. Blake Mennonite Cem.; m. Feb. 20, 1820, Rothsee, Bavaria, Germany, Barbara Schultz (1824 immigrants).
29. SCHULTZ, Barbara, b. 1803, Europe; d. Jan. 18, 1881, bu. Blake Mennonite Cem.
30. GASCHO, Joseph, b. 1792, Europe; d. Jan. 17, 1882, bu. Blake Mennonite Cem.; m. Magdalena Ingold (ca. 1851 immigrants).
31. INGOLD, Magdalena, b. ca. 1799, Europe; d. Feb. 21, 1891, bu. Blake Mennonite Cem.

* * *

32. ROTH, Johannes, b. ca. 1744, France; d. Feb. 7, 1802, Dornach, near Mulhouse, France; m.(1) Verena Kaufmann; m.(2) July 12, 1778, Verena Stucky.

33. STUCKY, Verena, b. at Grandvillars, France; d. Feb. 10, 1817, France.
34. KAUFFMANN, Michael, b. ca. 1751, Europe; d. probably in France; m. Anna Ummel.
35. UMMEL, Anna, born and died probably in France.
36. SCHWARTZENTRUBER, Jacob, b. 1771, near Waldeck, Germany; d. May 30, 1841, Waterloo Co., Ont. (ca. 1800 immigrant to Pennsylvania); m. ca. 1803, Catherine Schmucker (1833 or 1834 immigrants to Canada).
37. SCHMUCKER, Catherine, b. 1778, Berks Co., Pa.; d. Feb. 10, 1850, Waterloo Co., Ont. Catherine³ (Schmucker) Swartzentruber; John² Schmucker and Barbara Stoltzfus; Christian¹ Schmucker and Catherine Hester (1752 immigrants to the United States).
38. ROTH, Michael, b. Aug. 16, 1790, Montbeliard, France; d. Apr. 7, 1868, Perth Co., Ont.; m. in Europe, Magdalena Lichti (1827 immigrants).
39. LICHTI, Magdalena, b. Sept. 3, 1794, France; d. after 1871, Perth Co., Ont. Magdalena² (Lichti) Roth; Johannes¹ Lichti and Magdalena Yoder (probably 1827 immigrants).
40. SCHRAG, Jacob, b. July 1753, probably in Palatinate, Germany; d. Apr. 25, 1838, Waterloo Co., Ont. (1838 immigrant); m. Magdalena Holly.
41. HOLLY, Magdalena, born and died probably in Germany.
42. GINGERICH, Jacob S., b. 1794, Bruchhausen, Westphalia, Germany; d. June 8, 1871, bu. Wilmot Centre Cem., Waterloo Co., Ont.; m. in Europe, Catherine Honderich (1825 immigrants).
43. HONDERICH, Catherine, b. 1801, Europe; d. Apr. 25, 1876, bu. Wilmot Centre Cem.
44. KENNEL, Christoph, b. ca. 1775, France; d. Jan. 26, 1807, Sotzeling, Lorraine, France; m. Marie Spenler.
45. SPENLER, Marie, b. ca. 1781, France; d. Dec. 6, 1815, Sotzeling, Lorraine, France.
46. JANTZI, Christian, b. Oct. 18, 1766, France; d. Nov. 15, 1828, Bistroff, Lorraine, France; m. Mar. 2, 1794, Anne Farny.
47. FARNY, Anne, b. Aug. 15, 1771, France; d. Dec. 26, 1816, Bistroff, Lorraine, France.
48. BRENNEMAN, John, b. Mar. 30, 1766, Braunshardt, Darmstadt, Germany; d. Oct. 21, 1848, bu. Wilmot Centre Cem.; m. _____ (1820 immigrants to Pennsylvania, 1824 to Canada).
49. _____, b. in Europe; d. Sept. 22, 1842, bu. Wilmot Centre Cem.
50. LEONARD, _____.
51. _____.
52. ZEHR, _____.
53. _____.
54. ROTH, Nicholas, b. May 20, 1788, Montbeliard, France; d. 1834, Baden, Germany; m. Veronica Zimmerman.
55. ZIMMERMAN, Veronica, b. Dec. 31, 1790, Europe; d. Apr. 10, 1878, bu. Roberts Cem., Morton, Ill. (1837 immigrant to the United States).
56. ESCH, Johannes, b. probably in the Palatine; d. probably in Bavaria.
57. _____.
58. SCHULTZ, Heinrich, b. in Europe; d. Nov. 2, 1841, Waterloo Co., Ont. (probably 1824 immigrant).
59. _____.
60. GASCHO, _____.
61. _____.
62. INGOLD, _____.
63. _____.

Genealogical Tips

Readers are invited to share suggestions and new findings. Address items to Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage, 2215 Millstream Road, Lancaster, PA 17602.

Bauman/Bowman: The Bible of Minister Christian Bauman/Bowman of Bowmansville, Pa., son of pioneer Wendel Bowman (ca. 1681-1735) of West Lampeter Twp., Lancaster Co., Pa., contains the record of Christian's siblings, children, and grandchildren via Wendel (1758-1842), several of whom migrated to Canada. Translated and summarized, the record—preceded by quotations from Ecclesiasticus 51:36-38, Ecclesiasticus 14:22-27, and 4 Ezra 2:27 in the Apocrypha and from Prov. 16:32—reads as follows. Information in brackets comes from secondary sources.

Wendell Bauman [ca. 1681-1735]

[m. Ann]

1. John Bauman, b. Dec. 28, 1720
2. Jacob Bauman, b. Sept. (*Herbstmonat*) 23, 1722
3. [Minister] Christian, Aug. 13, 1724-July 25, 1790
[m. Elizabeth Oberholtzer]
4. Barbara Bauman, b. Dec. 29, 1726
5. Elizabeth Bauman, b. July 19, 1728

Christian Bauman, Aug. 13, 1724-July 25, 1790

[son of Wendel-Ann]

m. Elizabeth [Oberholtzer], [Aug. 21, 1724]-Feb. 27, 1791
66-6-[0]

1. Barbara Bauman, Sept. (*Herbstmonat*) 9, 1746-May 14, 1810
[m. John Good]
2. Jacob Bauman, Feb. 20, 1751-July 4, 1820. [Lived in Cumberland Co., Pa.]
3. Christian Bauman, Oct. (*Weinmonat*) 21, 1753-May 26, 1807
[m.(1) Anna Huber, 1756-1792]
[m.(2) Anna Gehman, 1782-1830]
4. Wendel Bauman, Feb. 25, 1758-Nov. 20, 1842
[m.(1) Maria Huber, 1760-1816]
[m.(2) Elizabeth Weber, 1764-1843]
5. Elizabeth Bauman, b. May 2, 1762
6. [Minister] Joseph Bauman, July 19, 1766-Jan. 19, 1849.
[Migrated to Canada in 1816.]
[m. Mary Bear, 1772-1842]

Wendel Bauman, Feb. 25, 1758-Nov. 20, 1842

[son of Christian-Elizabeth Oberholtzer]

m.[1] May 4, 1784 Maria Huber, May 1760-Apr. 20, 1816
[dau. of John-Margaret]

1. Benjamin Bauman, Feb. 15, 1787-Dec. 7, 1874. [Lived in Canada.]
[m. Susan Bechtel, 1797-1870]
2. Elizabeth Bauman, May 24, 1788-Dec. 10, 1868
[m. Daniel Gehman, 1779-1859]
3. Maria Bauman, Aug. 15, 1789-Dec. 2, 1791
4. Esther Bauman, July 31, 1790-Sept. 11, 1827
[m. Henry Weber]
5. Sem Bauman, Jan. 13, 1792-Mar. 15, 1792
6. Susanna Bauman, b. Mar. 30, 1793. [Migrated to Waterloo, Ont., in 1819.]
[m. John Huber]
7. Daniel Bauman, Dec. 15, 1794-Sept. 11, 1795
8. Joseph Bauman, Mar. 8, 1796-Dec. 21, 1864; 68-9-13.
[Migrated to Waterloo, Ont., in 1819.]
[m. Elizabeth Hoffman, d. 1879]

9. Christian Bauman, May 14, 1797-July 19, 1876
[m. Elizabeth Musser]

10. Barbara Bauman, Jan. 17, 1799-1871. [Migrated to Preston area, Waterloo Co., Ont.]
[m. Samuel Bechtel, b. 1795]

11. Lydia Bauman, July 7, 1802-Mar. 16, 1832; [single. Migrated to Canada.]

[Wid.] Wendel m.[2] Aug. 17, 1817 [wid.] Elizabeth Weber, Dec. 22, 1764-Feb. 4, 1843

Elizabeth m.(1) Mar. 1790 Jacob Huber

Solomon Weber, June 13, 1819-Aug. 2, 1882; grandson of Wendel Bauman. Purchased the Bible for \$5.00 at Dec. 20, 1842, sale.

m. Dec. 8, 1840 Lydia Burkhardt, Feb. 8, 1817-Sept. 1, 1880; 63-6-26.

This 1720 Basel Bible is housed at:

—Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society
2215 Millstream Road
Lancaster, PA 17602

BRUBAKER: David R. Johnson in "Hans Jacob Brubacher, Fraktur Artist," *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 8 (January 1986): 11-17, comes close to solving the Brubaker line when he suggests that Henry Herr might be kin. Isaac Herr, one of the five Herr brothers, immigrated in 1717 and first settled near his brother, Abraham Herr, in present-day Lancaster Twp. Isaac purchased 800 acres in Martic Twp. (now Providence) from Kendig and Herr. According to his will, he had one son, Henry, and two daughters—Anna, m. "Swamp" John Groff, and Elizabeth, who had three Brubaker children. However, in his will she was married to another person.

According to Patent AA-4-225, Kendig and Herr granted 200 acres to Isaac Herr on Beaver Creek, and Isaac willed this land on Oct. 4, 1747, to a grandson, Isaac Herr—who was to pay monies to John Graft/Groff, who had married daughter Ann—and to Isaac, John, and Jacob Brubaker, sons of his other daughter, Elizabeth. Son Henry Herr, father of the above-mentioned Isaac Herr, was to hold land as Isaac was only a minor about 16 years old in 1762. In 1763 the land was bounded by Jacob Beam, William Steward, Martin Barr, west branch of Beaver Creek, Christian Schultz, Peter Musser, Henry Hooper, Adam Thomas, and Jacob Prowpath.

—Clyde L. Groff, A.G.
713 Columbia Avenue
Lancaster, PA 17603

GRAYBILL COAT OF ARMS: I have a supply of the Graybill coat of arms in four colors, 8½ x 11 inches, suitable for framing. This version was copied from a stained-glass window in a church in the Emme Valley in Switzerland. I would like to make these available to any Graybill descendant who wants them. For order information one may contact:

—Susan G. Carter
510 Ruxton Drive
Wilmington, DE 19809

WENGER COAT OF ARMS: The Wenger-Winger Family Association has reproduced the Wenger coat of arms in red, yellow, and black stitching on a white background patch suitable for sewing onto jackets or sweaters. U-shaped and 2½ inches wide by 3½ inches high, the patches are available from:

—Jay V. Wenger
1216 Hillcrest Road
Akron, PA 17501

Queries

Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage will publish members' historical and genealogical queries free of charge. Each genealogical query must include a name, a date, and a location. The Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society would appreciate receiving copies of correspondence generated by these queries in order to place the information in the genealogical archives of the library. Send materials to Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage, 2215 Millstream Road, Lancaster, PA 17602.

BALDRIDGE: Who were the parents of Mary P. Baldrige (ca. 1824-April 21, 1851), born in Massachusetts or Maine, married July 3, 1841, Charles Pickney Deane of Brookfield, Mass.? Their children were Cyrus Frederick; Charles Henry; and Maria Nancy, born Oct. 14, 1848, in Buffalo, N.Y., m. Daniel Webster Brown.

—Elizabeth Mitchell App
217 Giotto Drive
Sorrento East
Nokomis, FL 33555

ENDERS: I am searching for information on Anne Enders, dau. of Wilhelm Enders. Ann married May 10, 1786, Jacob Gorgas, son of Joseph Gorgas, in Cocalico Twp., Lancaster Co., Pa.

—Ardis Krieg Lamb
56325 M-40
Marcellus, MI 49067

GROH: Anna Groh, born in 1777 in Bethel Twp., Lancaster Co., now Lebanon Co., Pa., married Jacob Brechbill. Who were her parents and siblings?

—Phyllis Brechbiel Hanson
1430 Academy Avenue
Albert Lea, MN 56007

HERR: How is the lineage of Catherine Herr (1727-1781) of Lancaster County, Pa., widow of Jacob Eshleman who married widower John Groff in 1761, traced to Hans Herr, immigrant of 1710? Her sons, Benjamin Groff and Martin Groff, moved to Virginia about 1790.

—Hope K. Lind
28773 Gimpl Hill Road
Eugene, OR 97402

HERSHEY/HARSHEY: I am seeking information on Rudy Hershey/Harshey, born Dec. 30, 1814, in Pennsylvania. Does anyone have record of a Hershey son born on this date? I need names of his parents and his place of birth in Pennsylvania. He married Mary Erhart/Earhart on Sept. 15, 1839, in Montgomery Co., Ohio. At the time of the 1840 census he lived in Butler Twp., Montgomery Co., Ohio. He died Dec. 22, 1862, in Washington Twp., Shelby Co., Ohio. His children were Lavina, Catharine, Jacob and Christian (twins—Christian died at six months), Daniel, Abraham, and Mary Elizabeth. Was his mother a Rudy?

—Charles W. Hershey
2148 Warren Avenue
North Huntingdon, PA 15642

KULP: Mennonite preacher Peter Meyer (ca. 1723-1793) was born in Switzerland and died in Springfield Twp., Bucks Co., Pa. He and his wife, Barbara (surname unknown), had fifteen children. Three of their daughters—Catherine, Anna, and Elizabeth—married three Kulp brothers—Isaac, Jacob, and

Henry—all sons of Isaac Kulp, Sr., of Moore Twp., Northampton Co., Pa. Who were the parents of Isaac Kulp, Sr.?

—Gary M. Culp
7589 Wilson Crescent
Niagara Falls, Ont. L2G 4S3

LEYDIG/LEIDICK: I desire any information concerning the family of John Andrew Leydig and his wife Elisabeth. They had their son, John Jacob Leydig, baptized Jan. 17, 1743, at St. Matthew Lutheran Church, Hanover, Pa. The sponsors were Jacob and Maria Elisabeth Schile. Possibly this same John Andrew Leydig is the Andrew Leidick, deceased, whose letter of administration was granted Dec. 4, 1762, in York Co., Pa., to Andrew and John Leidick.

—Forrest Edgar Lyda
Route 1, Box 399
Flat Rock, NC 28731

MEYER/MOYER: Did Christian Moyer (1762-1805) and Anna Neff (1766-1833) have a son Jacob who married Elizabeth Bar on May 19, 1813, in Lancaster Co., Pa?

—Robert Klinger
2015 Devonshire Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48104

NAGLE/NOGEL: I am seeking information on Johann Nicholas Nagle/Nogel (1725-April 9, 1793 or 1795), born in Eisenberg, Germany, and died in Shenandoah Co., Va. About 1765 he married Elizabeth Dydecker (1745-Dec. 14, 1842), who died in Lawrence Co., Ind. Their children, all born in Pennsylvania, were Nicholas (b. 1766), m. Elizabeth Rife; David (b. 1777), m. Christina Rife; Andrew (b. 1771); Susan (b. 1773); and Peter (b. 1779).

—Mrs. Wallace Clark
8140 North Township Line Road, #2416
Indianapolis, IN 46260

NEFF: Anna Neff (Mar. 28, 1766-Jan. 24, 1833) married on Aug. 6, 1782, Christian Moyer (Jan. 12, 1762-Aug. 27, 1805), son of Jacob Moyer. Who were her parents?

—Robert Klinger
2015 Devonshire Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48104

NEFF: Two Bibles which had been in the John Neff (1761-1844) and Elizabeth Neff (1763-1850) family were sold at an auction on Sept. 14, 1850, at Elizabeth's estate sale in Howard, Centre Co., Pa. One Bible (English) was purchased by H. Holter, and the other (German), by Jacob Holter, Jr. Both Holters were probably grandchildren of John and Elizabeth Neff by daughter Catherine (b. 1789) and Jacob Holter, Sr. (b. 1774). Is there a Holter descendant who might have possession of one of these Bibles and who might share the contents of the family registry with other Neff descendants?

—Richmond B. Neff, Jr.
4605 Arlene Drive
Corpus Christi, TX 78411

SCHROCK: I am seeking information on the parents of Barbara Schrock (b. Mar. 17, 1825). She was married in 1843 to Noah H. Hochstetler, who was born in Somerset Co., Pa. I believe her mother was Anna Gerber but would like to confirm this and obtain additional information.

—Andrew Postlewaite
115 Llanfair Road
Ardmore, PA 19003

Book Reviews

The Amish School, by Sara E. Fisher and Rachel K. Stahl. People's Place Booklet, no. 6. Intercourse, Pa.: Good Books, 1986. 96 pages. Illustrations, bibliography, paperback. \$3.95.

The Amish School follows the same format as all People's Place booklets—ninety-six pages of text and illustrations between two paper covers. Full-color photographs of the interior of an Amish school in session and of Amish children at play on the schoolground decorate the front and back covers. The text is divided into fifteen chapters which are illustrated with fifty-four black-and-white photographs and twelve pen-and-ink sketches within the chapter devoted to the “Diary of an Amish Schoolgirl.”

The fifteen chapters relate to the reasons for and the history of Amish schools, Supreme Court involvement, first day of school, parental involvement, a typical school day, library and research materials, the diary of an Amish schoolgirl, supervision of Amish schools, teachers' meetings, grading, special times and holidays, special schools for handicapped children, problems and joys of teaching, and one Amish teacher's viewpoint on a successful Amish education.

Almost all of the photographs have been provided with captions which have been quoted directly from the text. The black-on-white silhouettes which appear within the “Diary of an Amish Schoolgirl” are the most charming aspect of this publication. The artist has not been identified.

The concluding pages of *The Amish School* contain a two-page list of “Readings and Sources,” an index, information on the authors, and the titles of the first seven People's Place Booklets.

The reviewer has been eagerly awaiting the publication of *The Amish School* for several years, for it constitutes a needed addition to the literature on the Old Order Amish in America. In truth “this authoritative book on Amish education deals with many questions” which will be of interest to the tourist in Lancaster County, for whom this book is clearly intended. The authoritative accounts of life in the Amish school have come mainly from the pen of coauthor Sara E. Fisher, who had already taught for seven years when ill health forced her to terminate her career as a teacher in the midst of her eighth term.

It is fortunate that this book has been written in a literary style readily accessible to a child in the upper grades, for tourist children will surely share their parents' interest in the Old Order Amish of Lancaster County. The fifteen chapters are short, ranging in length from four pages (with less than a page of printed matter) to ten pages. The fact that photographs or sketches appear on each two-page spread of the book reduces any undue strain on the part of the reader.

In addition, each chapter has subheadings which constantly remind the reader with a short attention span of the subject at hand.

The Amish School will surely be greeted eagerly and quickly consumed by the touring public for whom it is intended. It will also have value for the serious student as an initial orientation to Old Order Amish parochial schools before moving on to an examination of the studies by Hostetler, Huntington, Keim, and others and then seeking permission to study an Amish school at first hand.

—C. Richard Beam

The Ephrata Commune: An Early American Counterculture, by E. Gordon Alderfer. [Pittsburgh, Pa.]: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985. xiii, 273 pages. Illustrations, bibliography, appendices with lists of religious and communal countercultures prior to the Reformation and of religious communes in America, 1662-1800. \$21.95 (cloth-bound), \$8.95 (paperbound).

Books about Ephrata—from the *Chronicon Ephratense* (1786), written in the Cloister, to this one—may be grouped in two piles: Those favorable or at least charitable toward Conrad Beissel, the founder of the community, and those opposed to him. Alderfer is not ready by any means to dismiss Beissel as lunatic or martinet. In the course of an even and readily flowing essay about Ephrata which has as its announced intent to place what happened there in its historical context, the author reveals himself as sympathetic with Conrad Beissel's dream—a dream, as the title suggests, which may be relevant to developments in American society in the last decades. However, a book that sets out to write history must be judged for its fidelity to its task and not for its subliminal message. The author has stayed abreast of the latest scholarship about Ephrata, uses it, and gives us in the bargain a convenient summary of the story of the place. With nothing like it currently in print, the book fills a useful gap.

Because the volume is constructed chiefly by reliance on secondary sources, we may well then ask: What is the status of historical investigation of the Ephrata Cloister? Is any new, original research left to be done? Surely the entire theological-psychological mindset of Ephrata has not been adequately described. One leaves Alderfer's book, for instance, still wondering what it was the Ephratans believed. Large blocks of hymnody and prose and even primary sources have never been translated, granted the extreme difficulty they present a translator, but if the place was created to embody ideas, we ought to be given rigorous doses of its mentality—even if that mindset is light-years away from ours. Some of the questions about Ephrata may never be answered because so many primary historical sources are

lost, but what went on in the minds of Beissel and the other "solitaries" is quite available. It has simply never been distilled.

Surely a history of Ephrata can be written without heaping flowers or stones at Beissel. Though Alderfer tries, in spite of his sanguine approach to the founder, the lack of adequate monographs about Ephrata hamper him. Let us hope that the right scholar with linguistic skills, theological understanding, and great resources of patience will come along to provide us what we need: a history of the intellect of the place.

—Frederick S. Weiser

Bishop Jonas H. Martin: His Life and Genealogy, compiled and edited by Raymond S. Martin and Elizabeth S. Martin. Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1985. Illustrations, frontispiece, genealogical tables, portraits, bibliography. Clothbound. \$12.00 plus tax.

Contemporary research on Jonas Martin began with the huge (1,128 pages) book, *The Jonas Martin Era, 1875-1925*, compiled by Amos B. Hoover in 1982. Now we have another reliable and readable, but smaller, volume on Jonas Martin after only three years. The chief authors are a mother from New Holland and her son. Elizabeth married a grandson of Jonas Martin who was almost twenty-one years old when Jonas died. Elizabeth and her son, Raymond, have produced a book that is readable and trustworthy.

Today we call Jonas a bishop, but when he was chosen as preacher at Weaverland on December 7, 1875, he was a *Diener am Wort*. On May 31, 1881, he was ordained as *Voller Diener* at Weaverland. These two German expressions mean "servant of the Word" and "full servant"—that is, with full authority to baptize, receive members, expel the impenitent, commission other servants, and perform similar functions. A word like bishop has a Catholic and Episcopal flavor whereas Mennonites have stressed humility and service.

Jonas was the fifth resident "full servant" of the Weaverland-Groffdale District. During the first generation or two this district was served by overseers from the Pequea or Lower Conestoga districts. Then in 1780 "Servant" Christianli Burkhalter, as he wrote it (see *The Jonas Martin Era*, p. 955), became a "full servant" and served in the Weaverland-Groffdale District. He was followed by Heinrich (not Heinrich) Martin in 1809, by Jacob Zimmerman in 1815, and by Georg Weber in 1854. Weber (Weaver in English) looked on his successor, Jonas Martin, with eyes of love and admiration, for he was a brother after his own heart. "Let's cling to our German tongue and teach our children at home" rather than in "worldly" Sunday schools. At first Jonas was highly esteemed in his district. However, the English language was increasing in the congregations of the Lancaster Conference and so was the Sunday school. Jonas Martin, however, continued to cling to the "Old Order."

Now we come to the painful part of the story. Partisan blocs were formed—between those who were sure that the

church should change and those who opposed change as a declension from the historic faith of the church. The disagreement finally came to a head at Fall Conference in 1893 (October 6) at the Mellinger meetinghouse east of Lancaster. "Yonie Marti," as he was familiarly known, was expelled from the brotherhood. However, many members at Weaverland and the majority of the preachers and deacons followed Yonie.

After the death of Jonas his Old Order brotherhood divided in 1927 into the Weaverland Conference (the Hornings) and the Groffdale Conference (the Wengers). The former have felt free to adopt the English language and the automobile while the latter cling to the German language and team-drawn transportation. Some of the descendants of Jonas are in these two fellowships, and many others are in the Lancaster Conference, part of the more progressive Mennonite Church. Someone has said there are more Mennonites of one type or another among the descendants of Jonas than there are among all the descendants of the leaders who expelled Yonie in 1893.

The book contains infinitely more than this brief sketch indicates. The reader should scan the table of contents. The first part of the book contains an accurate and highly readable account of farm life in the boyhood of Jonas and before. The trials of the Civil War are described as well as those of the Panic of 1873.

Here is a description of the person of Jonas. He was of medium build with unparted brown hair (gray in later years). He dressed conservatively in a frock coat, always wearing, when dressed up, a small *Schlup* (bow tie) to be in the full order of the church. He was fairly eloquent as a preacher with a somewhat high-pitched voice. He was deeply concerned for the welfare of the church, especially that the members ever walk in humility as faithful disciples of the lowly Saviour and Lord. It is said that he knew the Dordrecht Confession of Faith (1632) by heart. He was a man of peace. When his second wife got into a disagreement over where the middle of the porch was (for washing it down), Yonie quickly said in Palatine (Pennsylvania) German: "Ich wäss wo die Mit iss" (I know where the middle is).

Almost two-thirds of the book is devoted to a listing of the two thousand descendants of Jonas by his two wives. His first wife was Sarah Witwer (1845-1889), who had twelve children, nine of whom grew up, married, and left children. His second wife was Annie O. Wenger (1852-1927), who had three children, two of whom left descendants. Incidentally, this section contains a remarkable understatement: Ivan M. Martin (b. 1907) is said to be a "stone quarry worker"; nothing is indicated of his economic prosperity. He is a Weaverland Mennonite of the Lancaster Conference.

This book is long overdue. The authors have given us a remarkable volume, but Yonie Marti was a remarkable man!

—J. C. Wenger

Books For Sale

- Biographical Annals of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Containing Biographical and Genealogical Sketches of Prominent and Representative Citizens and Many of the Early Settlers.* [Chicago]: J. H. Beers, 1903; reprint ed., Spartanburg, S.C.: Reprint Co., 1985. 2 volumes (877, 27 pages). \$77.00.
- Dructor, Robert M. *A Guide to Genealogical Sources at the Pennsylvania State Archives.* Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1981. iv, 129 pages. \$5.95.
- Eby, Ezra E. *A Biographical History of the Eby Family, Being a History of Their Movements in Europe During the Reformation and of Their Early Settlement in America.* Berlin, Ont.: Hett & Eby, 1889; reprint ed., Cambridge, Ont.: Aden Eby, 1979. 160 pages. \$5.00.
- Eby, Martin Christian. *Descendants of Henry John Eby and Sarah Lucinda Hershey Along with Historical Background.* [Mohnton, Pa.]: 1976. 66 pages. \$3.95.
- Eby, Richard A. *Eby Genealogy.* [Lancaster, Pa.]: Lloyd M. Eby . . . [et al.], 1975. 244 pages. \$7.95.
- Eby, Ruth L. *Family Record of Preacher Benjamin Eby and His Descendants Including Some of His Ancestors and Some Earlier History of the Ebys.* Harrisonburg, Va.: Park View Press, 1978. 345 pages. \$9.50.
- Epp, Frank H. *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival.* Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1982. xvi, 640 pages. \$14.95.
- Friedmann, Robert. *Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries: Its Genius and Its Literature.* Goshen, Ind.: Mennonite Historical Society, 1949; reprint ed., Sugar Creek, Ohio: Schlabach Printers, 1980. xv, 287 pages. \$12.95.
- Garber, Allan A. *The Descendants of Christian S. and Anna Garber of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.* Edmonton, Alta.: Garber Historical Associates, 1985. vi, 138 pages. \$19.95.
- Hawbaker, Gary T. *Fort Loudon on the Frontier, 1756-1766.* Hershey, Pa.: Author, 1976. x, 77 pages. \$4.35.
- _____, and Groff, Clyde L. *A New Index: Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Before the Federal Census. Vol. 4: Index to the 1718-1726 Tax Records of Chester County Relating to Areas Later Part of Lancaster County.* Hershey, Pa.: Gary T. Hawbaker, 1985. xiv, 71, 37 pages. \$12.50.
- The Jonas Martin Era Presented in a Collection of Essays, Letters and Documents That Shed Light on the Mennonite Churches During the 50 Year Ministry (1875-1925) of Bishop Jonas H. Martin.* [Denver, Pa.]: Amos B. Hoover, 1982. 1128 pages. \$50.00.
- Luthy, David. *The Amish in America: Settlements That Failed, 1840-1960.* Aylmer, Ont.: Pathway Publishers, 1986. 555 pages. \$16.00.
- _____. *Amish Settlements Across America.* Aylmer, Ont.: Pathway Publishers, 1985. 12 pages. \$1.00.
- Luyken, Jan. *The Drama of the Martyrs: From the Death of Jesus Christ up to the Recent Times.* Lancaster, Pa.: Mennonite Historical Associates, 1975. 141 pages. \$5.95.
- Martin, Raymond S., and Martin, Elizabeth S. *Bishop Jonas H. Martin: His Life and Genealogy.* Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1985. xiii, 269 pages. \$10.95.
- "Mennonite Tour Map: A Guide to Mennonite and Brethren in Christ Congregations, Institutions and Historical Points of Interest in Southern Ontario." Waterloo, Ont.: Mennonite Bicentennial Commission, [1985]. \$2.25.
- Newcomer, Christian. *The Life and Journal of the Rev'd Christian Newcomer, Late Bishop of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ. Containing His Travels and Labours in the Gospel from 1795 to 1830, a Period of Thirty-Five Years.* Transcribed, corrected and translated by John Hildt. Hagers-Town: F. G. W. Kapp, 1834; reprint ed., Evansville, Ind.: Whipporwill Publications, [1984]. iv, 330, 46 pages. \$18.00.
- Risser, Phares S.; Musser, Edith Risser; Shearer, Loda Risser; and Risser, Abram E. *The Risser Family: Our Heritage, 1739-1985.* [Risser Reunion Committee: 1985]. 146 pages. \$8.00.
- Ruth, John L. *Twas Seeding Time: A Mennonite View of the American Revolution.* Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1976. 224 pages. \$5.95.
- Sherk, Lyle Ronald. *Sherk-Shirk Freundschaft, 1732-1982.* Edited by Mary L. Sherk. Denver, Colo.: Dingerson Press, 1982. xi, 102 pages. \$15.95.
- Stoltzfus, Christian P. *Golden Memories of Amos J. Stoltzfus: A Collection of Poems, Letters, and Other Writings Found in His Journals, Along with Some Stories as Remembered by the Compiler.* [Gordonville, Pa.]: Pequea Publishers, 1984. 353 pages. \$15.00.

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