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Pennsylvania Mennonite



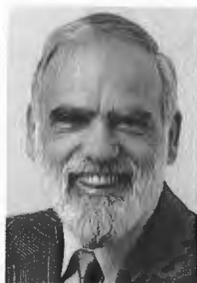
Heritage

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Contributors to This Issue



Paul Hostettler was born and baptized in Bern, Switzerland, in 1934. In midlife he served as a Reformed Church pastor in the Emmental, the Worblental near Bern, and in the Schwarzenburg area. For the past twenty years he has lived in Bern, where he studied theology. He was also educated in Fribourg, Switzerland; Montpelier, France; and Wuppertal, Germany. He has always had an interest in dissident religious communities, especially the Anabaptists. When he discovered his Anabaptist ancestors in the Schwarzenburg area twenty-five years ago, he began a detailed investigation into their history. One result was his article in *Mennonitica Helvetica* 19 (1996), "Von den Täufern im Schwarzenburgerland, 1580-1750" (On the Anabaptists in the Schwarzenburg Area, 1580-1750). From 1982 to 1989 he served as administrator of the Evangelical Society of the Canton of Bern. He also offered a decade of service in telephone ministry.

Since his retirement in 1995 he has been systematically investigating the emigration of the Bernese Anabaptists to Alsace, the Palatinate, Zweibrücken, and Pennsylvania. A number of his articles have appeared in *Mennonitica Helvetica*. Two of his special concerns are resolving the mystery around Jacob Amman and proving a close genealogical connection between himself and immigrant Jacob Hostettler. He serves as interim archivist for the Bern-Jura area of the Reformed Church and is also interested in natural history, fine arts, and genealogy. His address is Sandrainstrasse 89, 3007 Bern, Switzerland; e-mail: p.hostettler2@bluewin.ch.



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Born and reared in Michigan, she became interested in genealogical research in 1975 and has written and published three books on her own lines, including German and Swiss ancestry. She and her husband now live at 1918 Medfield Road, Raleigh, NC 27607-4732; e-mail: translate@asherwin.com. They have two grown children and a granddaughter.

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John B. Martin, a song leader and member of the Groffdale Conference Mennonite Church, has done considerable translation from German to English. He assisted in production of *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch Translations and Lessons*. His new songbook, *Hymns of Harmony*, a compilation that includes some songs of his own authorship and composition, is currently in production. He works in office and production capacities for Weaverline LLC, manufacturer of battery-powered carts to feed dairy cows. His address is 345 Shirktown Road, Narvon, PA 17555-9313.

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Amos B. Hoover, Old Order Mennonite historian and collector of the Muddy Creek Farm Library holdings, recently retired from farming and devotes his time to research, writing, and collecting of historical books, manuscripts, and artifacts. In addition, he serves as deacon in the Weaverland Conference Mennonite Church. His address is 248 Cider Mill Road, Ephrata, PA 17522.



Kenneth D. Reed lives in Milpitas, California, where he operates a small recruiting firm, TKO Phoenix, focused on western executive search for Greater China. In his free time he works on his Great Mennonite Novel. He graduated from Lancaster Mennonite School, Lancaster, Pennsylvania (1962), and Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia (1966). His wife, Patricia, is a licensed marriage and family therapist, focused on counseling victims of crime. On a sweltering day last September they celebrated their anniversary in Suzhou, China. The Reeds have six children between them and one grandchild. They love travel, hiking, swimming, eating strange foods, and together directing the Alpha program at Christ Community Church of Milpitas. Their e-mail address is kreed@tkophoenix.com.

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IN THIS ISSUE

The Anabaptist Amman/Ammen Families in the Alpine Foothills of Bern: Their Roots and Migration in the Period 1580 to 1713 2

By Paul Hostettler

Translated by Ann C. Sherwin

The *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch*: Two Hundred Years of a Mennonite Hymnal 20

By Lloyd M. Weiler, John B. Martin, James K. Nolt, and Amos B. Hoover

A Tribute to the Yoder Big Six 30

By Kenneth D. Reed

Queries 37

Research Tips 38

Book Reviews 40

Ancestors in German Archives: A Guide to Family History Sources, by Raymond S. Wright III, Nathan S. Rives, Mirjam J. Kirkham and Saskia Schier Bunting

By K. Varden Leasa

This Teaching I Present: Fraktur from the Skippack and Salford Mennonite Meetinghouse Schools, 1747-1836, by Mary Jane Lederach Hershey

By Clarke E. Hess

Hess Genealogy: The Descendants of 1717 Immigrant Hans & Magdalena Hess, 1717-2004, by Robert A. Hess. Edited by Frank W. Hess, Sue Ruhl Hess, and Joanne Hess Siegrist; **Hess Family Tours: A Self Tour Guidebook: Hans & Magdalena Hess Descendants**, by Joanne Hess Siegrist and Suzanne Ruhl Hess.

By Lloyd Zeager

THE COVER

Spring Mill, located on Mill Ridge Farm at 217 South Red School Road, Morgantown, Pennsylvania, is now owned by Harold F. Martin, operator of Spring Mill Woodworking, a store and showroom for handcrafted, solid-wood furniture. Depicted here in 1925, probably only a few years after it ceased milling operations, it had served as a flourmill and gristmill for the Morgantown and Honey Brook communities in Lancaster and Chester Counties, Pennsylvania, from approximately 1824 to 1923.

This photograph, viewing the mill from the west end, shows the remains of the pulley wheel, used to hoist incoming grain to the top floor entry door. Screenings and freshly ground flour could be delivered to the farmer again by way of this door. The miller and his family apparently lived on the main floor, which still has a large fireplace. The milldam was located on the south side, and the waterwheel was inside the mill. While Minister David S. and Emma (Stoltzfus) Yoder of the Conestoga Mennonite Church were rearing their six children on this farm, the main floor of the mill served as a workshop and chicken house. See article on page 30.

Illustration credits: Cover, pp. 6, 9, 20-21, 23-26, 30 right, 36, Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, Lancaster, Pa.; p. 10 top, Paul Hostettler; pp. 10 bottom-12, 15-16, Archives Départementales Haut-Rhin, Colmar, France; p. 22, Muddy Creek Farm Library, Ephrata, Pa.; p. 28, Mrs. Darvin L. (Regina C.) Martin; pp. 30 left, 31, 32 top and middle, 33 right, Mrs. William (Sarah Yoder) Scott; p. 32 bottom, Kenneth D. Reed; p. 33 left, Mark and Alice (Martin) Yoder; p. 34 bottom, Julia M. Yoder; pp. 34 top, 35, Mrs. Samuel (Dorcas Yoder) Rolón

After decades of research in Swiss and Alsatian archival sources, the author analyzes references to a dozen Jacob Ammans and points out his difficulties in positively identifying the one associated with Amish church origins.

The Anabaptist Amman/Ammen Families in the Alpine Foothills of Bern: Their Roots and Migration in the Period 1580 to 1713

By Paul Hostettler¹
Translated by Ann C. Sherwin

Scope and Purpose

Through many years of continuous research in various archives I have amassed a large quantity of data. From it I have endeavored to capture a picture of what events may ultimately have led to the formation of Anabaptist congregations in Pennsylvania. I would like to present—kaleidoscopically, so to speak—a portrait from history with four components:

1. Search for a Jacob Amman, founder of Amish congregations²
2. Migration of Bernese families after 1648
3. Relationships of a specific genealogical nature within the Amman/Ammen family
4. Emergence of new Anabaptist communities in the Bern area and in the Alsatian region of Markkirch

My work rests on four premises:

1. For lack of evidence I can only assume that no institutionally established and recognized Jacob Amman congregations emerged in the Bern area or in Alsace.
2. Therefore, we must concede that the “Amish” Jacob Amman has not yet been positively identified.
3. We must recognize that the doctrinal disagreement between Hans Reist and Jacob Amman on the matter of shunning did not initially have major ramifications in congregational practice in their respective groups during the period from 1693 to 1713 and can therefore be viewed primarily as internal dissension.
4. We must face the fact that the surnames Amman and Ammen do not appear at all in the comprehensive encyclopedic work *Amish and Amish Mennonite Genealogies*³ by Gingerich and Kreider. While the Amish exist in America, the surname Amman among the Amish does not.

This article follows the family through three main settings: the greater Schwarzenburg and the Thun–Lower Simme Valley regions, both in Switzerland; and the Markkirch–Echery region in Alsace.

The Amman/Ammen Family in Schwarzenburg

Source Material

In the period under discussion, the Landvogtei Schwarzenburg consisted of three communities: Wahlern, Guggisberg, and Albligen. Because it was alternately gov-

Sources and Abbreviations

StABE = Staatsarchiv Bern (State Archives of Bern)
Kirchenbücher (Church Records)—on microfilm; however, since January 1, 2004, access has been severely restricted.
ÄSb = Ämterbuch Schwarzenburg (Archives of the Landvogtei Schwarzenburg)
Ratsmanual (Council Manual)—parallel numbering; only the continuous numbering A II plus Arabic numeral is unambiguous.
Täufermanual (Anabaptist Records)
Teutsch Missiven Buch (Archives of Government Correspondence)
StAFR = Staatsarchiv Fribourg
Sb 2.36 = Vogtei Schwarzenburg, box 2, folder 36
ADHR = Archives Départementales du Haut-Rhin, Colmar
4E = Notary's Office:
SteM 83/1 L35:xx = Sainte-Marie, carton 3/1, liasse (bundle) 35, page xx
E 2008:xx = carton E 2008, page xx
E 2014:xx = carton E 2014, page xx
Archives of the German Parish in Aigle, Canton Vaud
Gemeindearchiv Amsoldingen, Canton Bern (Amsoldingen Church Records)

erned by the former states of Bern and Freiburg, the documents and accounting records of the landvogtei must be sought in both cantons (Bern and Fribourg) today. By and large, the source material is plentiful but fragmentary. Especially regrettable is the loss of the Schwarzenburg *Täufer-Geltstag-Rodel*, the Anabaptist bankruptcy register, which documented forced auctions of land and personal property. In gathering the material, I was struck by the fact that the tax registers from 1625 to 1694 list no Ammen or Amman households at all, even though the family names abound in the Wahlern church records for the same period. This is a clear indication that the two Schwarzenburg family branches were never farmers. As early as 1577 they were villagers plying a trade. And tradespeople they remained.

¹The author retains copyright and all literary rights to this article, but rights to the maps belong to Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society. This article is an abridgement by the author of a more comprehensive German work, available in digital form at the Society.

²Hereinafter, the “Amish” Jacob Amman.

³Hugh F. Gingerich and Rachel W. Kreider, *Amish and Amish Mennonite Genealogies* (Gordonville, Pa.: Pequea Publishers, 1986; repr. Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, 2002).

Glossary

Bern, State of (*Stand Bern*)

Before 1848 the Swiss Confederation was made up of *Stände* or states, from which today's cantons were formed. The states were defined as "governed territories."

Chorgericht

The *Chorgericht* (sometimes spelled *Chorgricht*) was a court consisting of the landvogt, the local pastor, and several elected men from the parish. It had lower (church) jurisdiction over marital and neighborhood disputes and over moral and church-attendance issues.

Church Record Books (*Kirchenbücher*)

Gradually introduced after the Bernese Reformation of 1528, the baptismal register came first (as a population record, so to speak), the marriage register a little later, and the death register often not until 1729. Most—but not all—of the Bernese church records are available on microfilm at the Family History Centers of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Common among the many Latin abbreviations are *inf*: *infans*, child; *par*: *parentes*, parents; and *t*: *testes*, godparents.

Consistory (*Konsistorium*)

The consistory was the superior authority in Bern for disputes over church issues.

Contract Manual (*Kontraktenmanual*)

Contract manuals are books in which the administration kept track of real estate transfers, estate distributions, and boundary descriptions. They were the forerunners of today's land registers.

District (*Amtsbezirk*)

The district or *Amtsbezirk* is the present-day administrative division that roughly corresponds to the former *Landvogtei* (see *Landvogtei*).

Hometown (*Heimatort*)

In Switzerland to this day, the term "hometown" refers not to one's place of birth but to the place where the family originated, where the ancestors had once purchased the right of residence. Around 1820 in the canton of Bern, assignment to a hometown became standardized. Later the possibility of acquiring an additional hometown was introduced. Before, a woman lost her former hometown when she married. Today she can retain it upon request. Even in our time, welfare services for the poor were still tied to the hometown, but today they come from the place of residence.

Allied Families

Through marriage the Ammens were linked with the Binggelis, Hostettlers, Kisslings, Masts, Stöcklis, and Zutors; the Ammans with the Grimms, Rothens, Messerlis, Schmidts, and Zisets. A compilation of the church records clearly shows that the numerous Ammen and Amman families were already prevalent and at home in the village of Schwarzenburg in the seventeenth century. Ammen became established here as a distinct family name as early as 1602.⁴

From information in the church records we can construct family trees that are at least partially verifiable, but

Landvogtei/Vogtei

The largest administrative division within the old state of Bern before the French Revolution was called a *Landvogtei* (rendered in English as *landvogtei*) and was represented by a single governor called a *Landvogt* (*landvogt*). The *landvogts* came from noble families and had limited authority. In difficult matters, especially those involving Anabaptism, they looked to Bern for direction. Schwarzenburg, as an exception, was a "mixed" *landvogtei*—that is, the states of Bern and Freiburg/Fryburg shared sovereignty, which they exercised in regular alternation.

Markirch in Alsace

Markirch, known today as Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines, Alsace, belongs to France.

Monetary Units

A distinction must be made between coined money and accounting money. There were numerous foreign and domestic coins in circulation, but two systems were used concurrently for accounting:

- a. the crown system: 1 crown = 25 batzen = 100 kreutzer.
- b. the pound system: 1 pound = 20 shillings = 240 pence.

In Alsace, £ = livres tournois.

Parish (*Kirchgemeinde*)

The parishes are still defined territorially today. Often their boundaries are very complex because they gradually grew out of the feudal estate system over a long period of time. Unfortunately, to this day no map exists showing the boundaries and affiliations of the villages and hamlets to their respective parishes. To a large extent, the parish boundaries are congruent with the political boundaries that define the autonomous consolidated communities, the basic element of Swiss democracy.

Schwarzenburg

Schwarzenburg is the name of a political division (*landvogtei*) encompassing the consolidated communities of Wahlern, Guggisberg (including Rüscheegg), and Albligen. It is also the name of the largest village in Wahlern. The village of Schwarzenburg has no church, only a small chapel. The church is about twenty minutes away and serves the entire consolidated community. References to the Schwarzenburg area or region also include the adjacent Alpine chain.

Wahlern

Wahlern is the name of the consolidated community to which the town of Schwarzenburg belongs. However, it is also the name of a hamlet consisting of a few houses in the immediate vicinity of the parsonage and church.

their roots predate the record books, which begin in 1577. Without source material, we can make only sketchy reconstructions back to around 1550. Oddly enough, there is no record of any Ammen or Amman marriage having taken place in Wahlern. The maiden names of some of the women who married into the family—such as Kissling, Schaffer, and Zutor—clearly indicate origins in the Lower Simme Valley. Domestic migration at that time followed along the Alpine foothills.

⁴Kirchenbuch [Church Record Book] Wahlern, 1:317, Staatsarchiv Bern [State Archives of Bern (StABE)].

In 1584 Hans Amman served as godfather for the Anabaptist farmer Jeremias Binggeli on the Riedwäg, a road between Winterkraut and Kirschbaumen in the consolidated community of Wahlern. Amman himself lived in the village of Schwarzenburg. In assuming the role of godfather, he showed solidarity with the Anabaptist family, thereby placing himself under suspicion. When Paul and Anna (Hostettler) Ammen had their first son baptized in 1617, Hans Bader was the godfather. Later Bader was actually labeled an Anabaptist teacher.⁵

On November 19, 1636, Jacob Ammen was married in Wahlern to Catrin Hostettler, from the Anabaptist enclave Nidegg, after the birth of their daughter Anni on June 12 of the same year. In 1656, they were granted a divorce on the grounds that the husband was having an affair with "Bachtelen Leni," and the wife received custody of the minor children.⁶ Son Uli Ammen was fourteen years old at the time of the divorce, and son Jacob was only in his seventh year. If the latter should turn out to have been the forefather of the Amish, his silence about his origins and family situation, which many authors have pointed out, would be quite understandable.

The divorce was not the only blot on the family history, however. A full-blown scandal broke out as well. The errant father Jaggi Ammen—formerly Jacob Ammen (m. Hostettler)—was reproached by the Bern government for having "married himself" to the Fryburg harlot Trini Bodelez "only so that he could get a divorce and later marry 'Bachtelen Leni.'" To officiate at one's own marriage in the church was not customary, even for pastors. That Jacob Ammen, an Anabaptist teacher, so to speak, would perform such a rite on himself must have been viewed all the more as provocation. At any rate, the fact that this scandal coincided with the conviction of village burgher and shopkeeper Claude Harnisch for blasphemy and his subsequent execution in 1657 is food for thought.

The scandalous episode just described probably explains why the Bern Consistory would later recognize son Christen (b. July 17, 1657) as "neither legitimate nor illegitimate,"⁷ even though Jaggi Ammen and "Bachtelen Leni" had been married in the church. "Bachtelen Leni"—known by the name of the farm from which she came, "Bachtelen" near Schwarzenburg—was actually the widow Madle Gilgen née Byeller/Beyeler. Jaggi and Madle (Byeller) Ammen's choice of Stina Nidegger from Winterkraut as godmother for their child Christen led to further involvement with the Anabaptists there and their ongoing dispute over the *Brüggsommer*.⁸ Jaggi Ammen was already linked with the Anabaptist enclave Nidegg in Wahlern through his first marriage.

Another family, Jacob and Appolonia (Kissling) Ammen, had their first child, Christina, baptized in the Simme Valley. Then they returned to Schwarzenburg, where we note their threefold attempt to have a son named Ulli. Seven of their children survived: Christina (b. 1634), Jacob (b. 1643), David (b. 1646), Anna (b. 1649), Elsbeth (b. 1652), Ulli (b. 1653), Peter (b. 1656), and Michel (b. 1661). In 1686 or 1687 a Peter Amman settled accounts with the landvogt at the Schwarzenburg castle before moving to Strasbourg.⁹ Of the three possibilities that come under consideration at all, it was probably Peter Amman (b. in 1656), who is also presumably the Peter Amman mentioned in the "Letters of the Amish Division."¹⁰ At the

time of Peter Amman's departure from Schwarzenburg, Catrina Hostettler also left Nidegg, the Anabaptist enclave in the community of Wahlern. They were followed one year later by Peter Hostettler, who moved to Heidletzen/Heidolsheim in the Palatinate.¹¹

Migration of Promissory Note from Schwarzenburg to Oberhofen Charity Fund

As we have just seen, a link between Schwarzenburg and the Lower Simme Valley exists in the family of Jacob and Appolonia (Kissling) Ammen. This link is underscored by a traveling promissory note. In the second part of the Hilterfingen church's register of interest collections, covering the years 1663–1689,¹² we find a promissory note that had been issued in Schwarzenburg—an "exotic," so to speak. It bears the heading "Gugisperg" and concerns the Äugsten farm near Rüscheegg-Heubach. Also mentioned in the document are the farms Wyden and Furen, which lie close together and have been in the hands of predominantly Anabaptist families for a long time. The guarantor, Myas Binggeli, lived at Wyden, and the principal debtor, Christen Wasem, at Äugsten. A tract of meadowland called Stülin (meaning "little chair") on the Furen farm above Winterkraut was offered as surety. The promissory note bears the seal of the landvogt of Fryburg, Tobias Göttrauw, dated April 12, 1632. A little over thirty years later, Squire Johan Rudolff von Erlach, the younger, had signed this note over to Peter Stucki and deposited it in Oberhofen on Lake Thun. The debt had been paid off in installments, to which Peter Schlechten also contributed. Finally, the entire sum of two hundred pounds was integrated into the Oberhofen charity fund in 1667.

This much is clear: The Schwarzenburg promissory note in the stated amount reached the charity fund in Oberhofen by way of Peter Stucki of Erlenbach in the Simme Valley. According to another promissory note (recorded in the same charity-fund portfolio, p. 268), Stucki lived in the "Bürt Allmenden," a tract of common land adjoining a meadow, for which the principal debtor was Michel Ammen (original spelling!) of Thall in the judicial district of Erlenbach. In the past this Michel

⁵"*dess Baderlis in der teüfferey kontinuierliches dogmatisieren*" [Baderli's continuous touting of Anabaptist dogma], Ämterbuch [Landvogtei records] Schwarzenburg, D:114, StABE.

⁶B III:566, no. 71, StABE.

⁷Kirchenbuch Wahlern, 2:275, StABE. On the same day Michel Amman and Elsbeth Mast had their daughter Margreth baptized in Wahlern.

⁸Ämterbuch Schwarzenburg, J:143, StABE. The *Brüggsommer* was a fee. If property was to be impounded, for example, the owner had to pay this fee for every single trip the police officer had to make. It was the sole means of financing the officer's horse, which he needed for the wide territory he covered. The Anabaptists, in particular, received uninvited visits from the police more often than they cared to.

⁹Vogtei Schwarzenburg Collection, 2.58 [carton 2, folder 58], Staatsarchiv Fribourg [State Archives of Fribourg (StAFR)].

¹⁰Newsletter of the Schweizerischer Verein für Täufergeschichte [Swiss Association for Anabaptist History] 10 (1987): 67. Known in German as the *Trennungsbriege*, the Letters of the Amish Division are a collection of letters dating from the time of the rift between Jacob Amman and Hans Reist. [Various manuscript copies, some only partial, have appeared in Europe and America. The most authoritative printed English edition is John D. Roth, ed., trans., *Letters of the Amish Division: A Source Book*, 2d ed. (Goshen, Ind.: Mennonite Historical Society, 2002). —Ed.]

¹¹Vogtei Schwarzenburg Collection, 2.59, StAFR. This is presumably the Heidolsheim in Alsace.

¹²Zk 1-1 AM 3.7.1:171, Hilterfingen Parish Archives.

Ammen has repeatedly been named as the father of the "Amish" Jacob Amman.

The two promissory notes bear the same transaction date, St. Andrew's Day¹³ 1677, which strongly suggests that they are materially related. Both were for the same sum, two hundred pounds. Both had found their way to the Oberhofen charity fund, administered by Jacob Rupp. Recorded with Michel Ammen's promissory note is a telling comment dated November 30, 1671: "Jacob Ammen, tailor in Oberhofen, gave this note to the charity fund, was paid in cash, and has thereby, for himself and his heirs, pledged security." In other words, Jacob Ammen, tailor in Oberhofen, needed cash in the fall of 1671, which he received against the deposit of this Schwarzenburg promissory note. So the charity fund functioned as a bank, much like today's credit unions, and the paid-off promissory note served as security for the loan to Jacob Ammen.

Summary

In the Ammen/Amman family we encounter a complex network of Anabaptist connections. Twenty-four couples named Ammen or Amman were found in the Schwarzenburg region; therefore, we are justified in speaking of them as an extended family. Evidence shows that they had Anabaptist connections there as early as 1584.

The promissory note from the Anabaptist enclave Winterkraut in Schwarzenburg—which passed from hand to hand as a means of payment and was finally deposited in the Oberhofen charity fund to the account of the tailor Jacob Ammen—shows that the Schwarzenburg Anabaptists by no means lived in isolation. On the contrary, they maintained ties throughout the entire region. We know that family connections existed between the Ammens and Ammans of Schwarzenburg and those in the Lower Simme Valley and Oberhofen.

It is therefore high time that we warm up to the idea that the true home of the Ammens and Ammans was neither the Simme Valley nor the Thun region; it was the greater Schwarzenburg area. Past speculation about the "Amish" Jacob Amman's place of origin has usually centered on Erlenbach or Oberhofen, but now Schwarzenburg must certainly come under consideration as well. The fact that Michel Ammen of Thall, in the consolidated community of Erlenbach, spelled his name "Ammen" points to his Schwarzenburg origins. The scandalous behavior of Jaggi Ammen during his earlier marriage to Catrin Hostettler makes the possibility of his being the "Amish" Jacob Amman especially intriguing.

Ammens/Ammans in the Thun Area, Lower Simme Valley, and Ählen

Jacob Ammen in Lower Simme Valley (Wimmis, Erlenbach, and Oberwil)

A search of the Wimmis church records shows that no Ammen or Amman family lived there between 1550 and 1650. A systematic search of the church records of Erlenbach in the Simme Valley from 1590 to 1670 yields only two families:

a. Ulli Aman, "tailor in Thall," and Trina Platter, married July 29, 1610,¹⁴ had children Elsi, Michel, and Jacob baptized.¹⁵ An earlier Elsi died of the plague.¹⁶ Trini

Platter, wife of Ulli Aman, was buried February 11, 1618, less than six months after the birth of her child Jacob. Like many others, she died of the plague.¹⁷

b. Michael and Anna (Rupp) Ammen¹⁸ spell their surname as it is often found in Schwarzenburg. Daughter Catarina¹⁹ is the only child still living at home in 1673, according to the Oberhofen contract manual (*Kontraktenmanual*), and is caring for her aging parents. Additional children were Madeleine, Hans, and Jacob, and later in Oberhofen, Uli.²⁰

That's it. All occurrences of Amman/Ammen in Erlenbach between 1590 and 1670 are listed. The overview gained here has to set us thinking. We can no longer assume that the family was rooted in or even indigenous to Erlenbach. Only the Rupp and Blatter wives had grown up there. Uli and Michel Ammen had married into the Simme Valley.

Finally, the only Amman/Ammen entry we find in the Simme Valley village of Oberwil between 1619 and 1700 is the baptism of a child of Jacob and Appolonia (Kissling) Amman.²¹

Jacob Amman in Ählen

In the second half of the seventeenth century a large number of people from the entire Simme Valley migrated to the German community of Ählen. This town, called Aigle today, lies above Montreux in the Waadtland, a French-speaking area of Switzerland. Here we find family names like Blanc, Jacqui/Jaggi, Jacquemin, and Anthoine/Anthenen, which turn up in the Markkirch region not long after that.

With this in mind, let us consider a curious entry in the minutes of the Bern city council dated March 21, 1685. It says that Jacob Amman of Ählen/Aigle, after making a purchase, asks to be excused from the requirement of having to swear an oath. His request aroused distrust in Bern, and an order was issued for this Jacob Amman to be watched closely. Unfortunately the archives of the

¹³November 30.

¹⁴Kirchenbuch Erlenbach, 1:87, StABE. Two dates! Does this mean that the marriage was postponed or that two couples with the same names were married?

¹⁵Children Elsi 1 and Elsi 2, Kirchenbuch Erlenbach, vol. 1, StABE, with dates of June 17, 1610, and Feb. 28, 1613; child Michel, *ibid.*, 113; child Jacob, *ibid.*, 123.

¹⁶Kirchenbuch Erlenbach, 1:439, StABE.

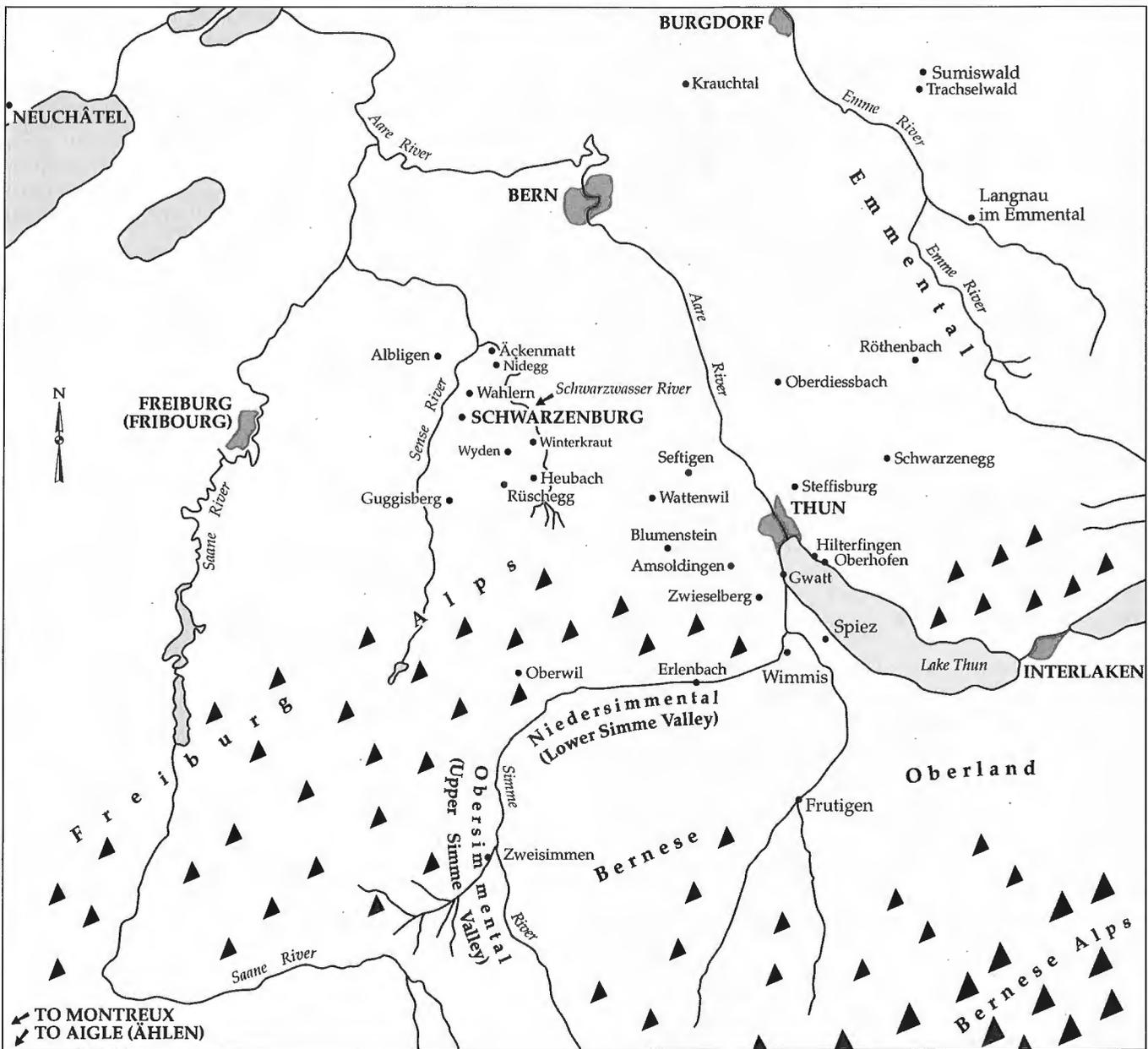
¹⁷Kirchenbuch Erlenbach, 1:445, StABE. "Aman Ulli des schniders wyb begraben" [wife of Ulli Aman, the tailor, buried].

¹⁸Marriage Mar. 5, 1638, Kirchenbuch Erlenbach, 1:400, StABE. In his paper "Le 'patriarch' de Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines," in the trilingual publication *The Amish: Origins and Characteristics, 1693-1993*, ed. Lydie Hege and Christoph Wiebe (Ingersheim: AFHAM, 1996), 56, Robert Baecher assumes that the following death entry in Alsace pertains to this Michel Ammen: Apr. 23, 1695, Baldenheim. "Ist allhier ein frembder wiedertäuffer namens Michl Amme, seines handwerks ein schneider, bey Steffisburg daheim, begraben worden, welches man ihm zu Heidolsheim, da er gestorben, versaget hat." [An Anabaptist outsider named Michl Amme, a tailor by trade from Steffisburg, was buried, having been refused burial in Heidolsheim, where he died.] Heidolsheim lies between Séléstat and the Rhine, near Ohnenheim; Baldenheim is about three miles from Heidolsheim.

¹⁹Born Mar. 21, 1647, Kirchenbuch Erlenbach, 1:228, StABE.

²⁰Kirchenbuch Erlenbach, StABE: Madeleine (b. Dec. 16, 1638); Hans (b. 1642), 1:207; Jacob (b. Feb. 12, 1644, mother's name not given), 1:214. Kirchenbuch Hilterfingen, StABE: Uli (b. Jan. 12, 1662).

²¹Oct. 5, 1634, baptism of child Christina, Kirchenbuch Oberwil im Simmental, 2:19, StABE.



Western Switzerland

"German Parish in Ählen," founded by the reformers William (Guillaume) Farel and John Calvin around 1537, go back only to 1724. Therefore, the detailed circumstances of this watch are no longer discernible.²²

Jacob Amman in Wattenwil, Steffisburg, Oberdiessbach, and Amsoldingen

A search for additional members of the Ammen/Amman family in the church records of Wattenwil in the district Seftigen was fruitless. No such family settled there between 1660 and 1724. The church records of Steffisburg for 1646 to 1711 contain only two Amman marriages: Hans Graff to Baby Amman²³ and "Jacob Amman, burgher in Aarau," to Anna Maria Jurth.²⁴ In Oberdiessbach we find only a Jacob Ammen who stood as godfather at the baptism of Hans and Anna (Stüdler) Müller's daughter Vreni.²⁵

In Amsoldingen, however, the situation is different. Here we find an entire family recorded for a Jacob

Amman! His marriage²⁶ to Madle Schneyter of Amsoldingen on March 9, 1669, marks a sudden presence.

²²Archives of the German Parish in Aigle: "Zinsbuch von dem Armen-Gut der deutschen gemeind von Ählen, erneuert 1773 und fortgesetzt von Nikl. Eman. Wetzel, pastor loci" [Interest book for the alms fund of the German Parish of Ählen, replaced in 1773 and continued by Nikl. Eman. Wetzel, local pastor]. A search through the book reveals that it covers obligations or debts to the alms fund recorded between 1724 and 1798. It still lists the names of persons such as Adam Jaggi, Peter Keller, Jacque Pollen, Jacob Rouge, David Heger, Adam Bürki, Johannes Eicher, and Hans Linder, all of whom also appear in Markkirch around 1710.

²³Marriage Jan. 10, 1659, Kirchenbuch Steffisburg, StABE. Amman from "Ansoldingen" (Amsoldingen), with baptism of child Uli (b. Feb. 9, 1662). Ibid., 4:61.

²⁴Mar. 1, 1700, Kirchenbuch Steffisburg, 15:101, StABE: "Anna Jurth, eine witwen aus der statt Zofingen" [Anna Jurth, a widow from the town of Zofingen].

²⁵Aug. 23, 1668, Kirchenbuch Oberdiessbach, 5:55, StABE.

²⁶Kirchenbuch Amsoldingen, 1:16, Gemeindarchiv [town archives] Amsoldingen, Canton Bern.

Baptisms of their six children—Peter, Hans, Anna, Christen, Jacob, and Madle—follow from 1670 to 1691.²⁷ After 1691 the family vanishes until the 1755 death entry of a Jacob Amman, whose age points to a birth date around 1675. This can only be the Jacob Amman (b. Sept. 19, 1675) discussed on page 18 of this article.

The first volume of the Amsoldingen baptismal register (1661–1739), unlike that of nearby Blumenstein, contains no references to Anabaptism. But let us not be deceived. On closer examination we come across the Anabaptist families Ancken, Blanck, Heger, Heer, Köng, Lötscher, Ösch, Ruchti, Rupp, Rüsser, Stübi, Yscher, and Wenger. In view of this reality, it is not inconceivable that the pastor refrained from mentioning Anabaptism to guard his own reputation.

Living in Amsoldingen along with this Jacob Amman were Hans Ancken (m. Kolb), Hans Ancken (m. Schwander), Hans Amman, and Peter Amman. Records show that scattered individuals emigrated to Württemberg and to the county of Birkenfeld.

Three Jacob Ammens in Oberhofen: Further Identification Attempts

Further research shows that the situation in Oberhofen (Hilterfingen parish) is more complex than has been assumed. Three persons with variants of the same name appear as godfathers in the Hilterfingen baptismal register between 1668 and 1671: (a) a Jaggi Amman,²⁸ (b) a Jacob Amman at Christmas 1668,²⁹ and (c) a Jacob Ammann in January 1671.

On June 1, 1680, the government in Bern ordered the *Chorgericht* to interrogate “the Jacob Amen infected by the Anabaptist sect”³⁰ once again. Note that the name spelling does not match any of the three mentioned above. On this occasion the summoned party was to be threatened with expulsion and the distribution of his assets to his children. Which of the three men was meant is an open question. No further identifying information is given, and the notation “from Erlenbach” appears to have been inserted into the council minutes later by a court official in Bern.

The *Chorgericht* of Hilterfingen had previously issued a summons for a “Jacob Amen” on January 23, 1680. This record also lacks any reference that would clarify his identity. Nevertheless, someone jumped to the conclusion that it was the tailor and claimed he was the one born in 1644 in Erlenbach.³¹ However, five arguments refute this assumption. First, the government order for reinterrogation does not specify an occupation. Simply to assume that it pertained to the tailor is obviously out of the question. Second, the use of the passive expression “infected” narrows the time frame: The event of his becoming infected and the discovery of this condition had to have happened only recently. To speak of “infection” of someone who had grown up in an Anabaptist environment would be meaningless. Furthermore, the extent of the infection was still an open question at the time of the summons. The court had yet to determine how severely the supposed scourge had afflicted this Jacob Amen. We also find no record of a final judgment after the hearing. The *Chorgericht* imposed no sentence or fine. So its suspicions may have proven to be unfounded.

Third, there is no evidence that the expulsion and distribution of assets were ever carried out. Fourth, this hearing was only about “infection by the Anabaptist sect.” To

read into the record that the summoned individual was an “Anabaptist teacher,” much less the founder of a congregation,³² would be quite far-fetched. After all, no documentary evidence has been found, either in Oberhofen or in the Markkirch area, that the man summoned in Oberhofen later made his way to the farthest corner of the little Lièpvrette Valley, beyond Echery in the greater Markkirch area of Alsace, as is often assumed in the literature. Fifth, none of the many notarial instruments found at the State Archives in the Alsatian city of Colmar indicate that the Jacob Amen who lived in the Lièpvrette Valley was married and had been blessed with children. All these arguments serve as a compelling reminder that work on this matter still revolves around conjecture and hypothesis.

It is therefore imperative that we examine, one by one, the three persons of similar name who appear as godfathers in Oberhofen, to determine whether any of them could be the “Jacob Amen” who was summoned to court.

a. “Jaggi Ammann,” recorded as godfather in Oberhofen in July 1668, strikes me as quite alien. “Jaggi” points more to Schwarzenburg, where this form of the name Jacob is prevalent. He could be the Jaggi Amman in Wahlern with wife Madle Byeller (alias “Bachtelen Leni”), the man cited for scandalous behavior. However, the spelling differs.

b. Jacob Amman, godfather in Oberhofen on Christmas Day in 1668, could be the Jacob Amman who married Barbara Wyss on September 14, 1668, in the Hilterfingen church.³³ However, the records show no children of this couple, and their subsequent whereabouts is also uncertain.

c. Jacob Ammann (godfather in January 1671). From the Erlenbach church records we know that Michel Amman (m. Rupp), tailor in Thall, had a brother named Jacob. What became of this Jacob, born in Erlenbach in 1617, has not been researched. We could hypothetically assume that he moved to Oberhofen and later to Markkirch-Echery with his nephew Jacob, but then his age in Echery in 1712 would have been far too advanced to be merely “patriarchal.” Nonetheless, if he went along on the move from Erlenbach to Oberhofen, the summons from the *Chorgericht* could just as well have been for him as for his nephew.

Possibility of Mistaken Identity Supported by Evidence

Thorough research in the region of Thun has thus far established that the Ammens and Ammans were not indigenous here. There is no evidence whatsoever that this or that Jacob Amman consciously built up or expanded his family holdings in this area. The various Jacob Ammans appear only as godfathers and as nonlocals, but they integrated to varying extents with existing networks of indigenous families. I must therefore emphasize that

²⁷*Ibid.*, 56–189.

²⁸July 26, 1668, Kirchenbuch Hilterfingen, 3:108, StABE.

²⁹1668 at Christmas, Kirchenbuch Hilterfingen, 3:109, StABE.

³⁰A II 500/Ratsmanual (Council Manual) 188:24, StABE.

³¹Kirchenbuch Erlenbach, 1:214, StABE, with parents Michel and Anna (Rupp) Amman.

³²Not until 1730 is Jacob Amman of Erlenbach labeled a “Täuferlehrer” [Anabaptist teacher] in the Täufer-Manual, B III 191:236ff., StABE.

³³Kirchenbuch Hilterfingen, 3:220, StABE.

there was more than one Jacob Amman in Oberhofen and the surrounding area in January and June of 1680 against whom judicial proceedings could have been brought. The instruction to the Hilterfingen *Chorgericht* that "Jacob Amen shall be summoned" does not refer explicitly to any one of them. It does not even mention the occupation of tailor.

Hanspeter Jecker discusses the unsuccessful arrest of Jacob Amman in 1694 at length in *Mennonitica Helvetica*,³⁴ but he does not address the question of why the detainee was released. If there were several Jacob Ammans, as has been confirmed, the explanation could be that the Bernese government had caught the wrong man, a Jacob Amman rather than Jaggi Ammen. Actually, in the case of the wanted "arch-Anabaptist Jaggi Amman," insistence on the given name "Jaggi" would have stood out, but historians prematurely standardized this name to Jakob Ammann. If we delve further into the family relationships, we find support for the supposition of mistaken identity. In Walkringen a certain Hans Stäk helped bring about Jaggi Amman's release.³⁵ The 1682 marriage of a Hans Stäk to Anna Kisslig in Wahlern piques our curiosity as well. The match of the name Hans Stäk does not in itself constitute positive identification. But through his wife he has another entire family on a string, who in turn have found their way into the Ammen und Hostettler families in similar fashion. For instance, there was a Jacob Ammen born in Wahlern in 1643 whose mother was Appolonia Kissling³⁶ and a "Jacob Amen" who with his wife, Dichtli Kisslig, had a daughter Ani baptized in 1641 in the Wahlern church.³⁷ On the Hostettler side were Christen and Barbara (Kisslig) Hostettler³⁸ and Hans and Barbara (Kisslig) Hostettler.³⁹ But the knot can scarcely be untangled. Even the police department failed in its attempt despite hearings conducted later. It had to let the matter die.⁴⁰

Relationship Network Expanded by Ammen Family Females

It is useful and fitting to consider the female members of the Ammen family as well. The relationship network becomes even clearer when several of them turn up later in the Markkirch region. The following is a selection:

- Anni Ammen married Hans Eyer in 1651.⁴¹
- Madlena Ammen married Anthoni Wolff in 1664.⁴²
- Elsbeth Ammen married David Schaller in 1668.⁴³
- Catrina Ammen, born in 1647 in Erlenbach, is identified in 1679 as the wife of Hans Schallenberg.⁴⁴
- Madlena Amman married Hans Strub in 1668.⁴⁵ In 1674 Anna Strub, wife of Christen Bürki of Niderbleiken, is identified as Anabaptist. The notarial archives of Sainte-Marie include an apprenticeship agreement for a Strub son.

Amazingly, even though the female members of the Ammen and Amman families in the Thun region outnumber the males, the Bern government did not scrutinize them for possible Anabaptism.

Summary

In the Thun-Lower Simme Valley region we find the spellings Amman and Aman as well as Ammen and Amen. The distinction between Amman and Ammen encountered in the Schwarzenburg area was probably nei-

ther understood nor heeded here, and a certain laxity in spelling resulted. Because both family branches used the same given names, it is now virtually impossible to reconstruct family groups with certainty.

Hence the uncertainty over the identity of the Jacob Amen of Oberhofen suspected of infection with Anabaptism. Reliable identification would have been necessary because the parish baptismal register lists three persons with the same first and last name. Unfortunately the summons specifies neither the occupation of Jacob Amen nor the name of his wife. Thus, it was entirely possible for identities to have been confused. This is further underscored by the 1685 order calling for a Jacob Amman who had refused to take an oath to be tailed even in the Waadtland town of Aigle. Because the Hilterfingen *Chorgericht* neither punished nor expelled the summoned Jacob Amen later, little support exists for the hypothesis that he was the initiator of the Amman-Reist split in 1693 and that, as such, he later lived in Petite Lièpvre near Echery. On the other hand, connections of various Ammen and Amman women through marriage as well as various surnames from the German community of Ählen show that a continuous migration to the Markkirch area actually did take place over an extended period of time, both from the Thun-Lower Simme Valley region and from the Upper Simme Valley.

General Considerations Regarding the Emigration

In the context of land rights the landvogts in the Schwarzenburg area not only collected all sorts of fines but also imposed taxes on moves into and out of the area, which they carefully recorded.⁴⁶ A compilation of statistics from 1648 (Peace of Westphalia) to 1693 (Amman-Reist split) shows only three moves into the area but sixty moves out. Of the latter, one-third occurred under the landvogts of Freiburg and two-thirds under those of Bern. Top honors go to the Bernese landvogt Steffan Weitenbach, who during his four years in office, from 1656 to 1660, exacted contributions from thirty-eight individuals or families wishing to emigrate.

Every emigration has its motives. These may have been ascertained at the time, but they were not recorded. The opening of borders with the advent of peace may

³⁴Hanspeter Jecker, "Jakob Ammanns missglückte Verhaftung im Bernbiet 1694," *Mennonitica Helvetica* 18 (1995): 55-67.

³⁵Another hearing on the release of Jaggi Amman, held on Dec. 8, 1694, had Petter Steck of Walkringen and his brother-in-law Hans Hoffer in its sights. Given that Christina Ammen stood as godmother for parents Hoffer (m. Portenier) in Mühlethurnen on December 7, 1656, adding another link to the network of family relationships (Kirchenbuch Mühlethurnen, 4:268, StABE) and that witness Peter Stäk was Hans Hoffer's brother-in-law, the real motive for the release appears to have been as a favor for relatives. The protagonists may even have known where the wanted "arch-Anabaptist" could be found.

³⁶Kirchenbuch Wahlern, 2:207, StABE.

³⁷Ibid., 198.

³⁸Ibid., 354.

³⁹Ibid., 859.

⁴⁰A II 551-557/Ratsmanual 239-245, StABE, regarding "Amman, Jaggi."

⁴¹Kirchenbuch Mühlethurnen, 4:400, StABE.

⁴²Kirchenbuch Hilterfingen, 3:219, StABE.

⁴³Kirchenbuch Thierachern, 2:418, StABE.

⁴⁴Kirchenbuch Diemtigen im Simmental, 4:115, StABE.

⁴⁵Kirchenbuch Hilterfingen, 3:220, StABE.

⁴⁶Vogtei Schwarzenburg Collection, 2.35-2.65, StAFR.



Alsace

have triggered the emigration in this case. Repression in the homeland, coupled with burgeoning opportunities for building a new life abroad, may also have contributed significantly to the steady exodus.

The unquantifiable number of illegal emigrants should also not be underestimated. From the greater Schwarzenburg area Hans Hächler and Christen Bär emigrated more or less voluntarily around 1678–79. In 1683 Paul Stöckli disappeared from the Schwendi estate near Guggisberg overnight and went to Germany with only the shirt on his back. Peter Gilgen just walked off in 1683. Hans Hostettler was “banished” from the Schwarzenburg district in 1684. In 1685 the Guggisberg *Chorgericht* deals with Hans im Kehr and his betrothed, Babi Mast, who are in “Illtzech” (Illzach), Mülhausen, Alsace, and with Hans Ringysen and his betrothed, Anni Beyeler, who are in Markkirch. In Schwarzenburg Hans Zand pays the emigration fee for the departing Cathri Amma in 1684–85.⁴⁷ In 1686 Catrina Hostettler emigrates. The summer of 1688 marks an unusually high number of expulsions. This prompts the Bern government to write to its Landvogt Egger in Schwarzenburg “that Anabaptism is catching on beyond Guggisberg, and that people expelled from other

places are also hiding there, which prompts us to order you to investigate this matter thoroughly, and to apprehend anyone you find and report it to us.”⁴⁸

It was a time of high tension. The government in Bern, through covert correspondence with “the judicial and administrative authorities of the County of Hanau,” was even tailing an ordinary woman like Barbara Zbinden in Alsace.⁴⁹ A year earlier Pastor Gamaliel Pasche had resigned after twenty-three years of service in Bischweiler, Alsace. The Bern government had then approved and elected another preacher and pastor to serve the Protestant church there in the person of David Dupuis, a product of the academy in Lausanne!⁵⁰ Thus, it is clear that the emigration was already underway before the Amman-Reist split and that the Bern government continued to check up on emigrants for involvement with Anabaptism even beyond its borders.

Jacob Aman in Markkirch and the Surrounding Area

The Alsatian city of Markkirch, known today as Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines, lies about halfway between Sélestat and Saint-Dié. The surrounding area, even more than the city, became a place of refuge for numerous Anabaptists from the Bern area. Anabaptists were tolerated here. Because of its silver mines the region offered opportunity for quite a number of artisans and tradespeople to make a living. Farms of various sizes were also available for purchase in the wider vicinity. Because some were about to disintegrate, Peter Hostettler from Wahlern made his livelihood fixing them up. Markkirch was urban in character. The actual mining town, which almost touched its borders, was Echery (Eckkirch) with its silver mines. From there the Lièpvrette Valley extends down into the Vosges mountain range. Tucked far back in the deep, narrow little valley is the hamlet known as Petite Lièpvre.

The Colmar State Archives⁵¹ has an extensive collection of documents from that period. Of interest to us are the Anabaptist lists and all sorts of agreements filed in the notarial offices between 1695 and 1719. These documents, too, show that the authorities were keeping an eye on the Anabaptists despite all the tolerance. To track down the origin of the Amish, we must take a close look at the various name forms and diverse signatures of “Jacob Aman” found in these documents. Robert Baecher has already attempted this,⁵² but closer examination will lead us to somewhat different conclusions from his.

Spotlight on Jacob Aman

In the texts of the agreements the name appears in the following forms: Jacques Aman, Jacob Aman, Jacqui Aman, Jacquy Aman, and Jacquy Amand. Often, however, the signatures do not match the name forms in the respective texts letter for letter. In the signatures we find the following: yacob amen, yacob ami, j.AMME, and jA for short. The signature mark jA is interpreted by the notaries in various ways, as “said Aman,” “said Jacob

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸A II 525/Ratsmanual 213:158-59, StABE.

⁴⁹Ibid., 187

⁵⁰Teutsch Missiven Buch, 28:361.395, A III 79, StABE.

⁵¹Archives Départementales du Haut-Rhin, Centre Administratif, Colmar, Fleischhauerstrasse, Maison M (ADHR).

⁵²Baecher, “Le patriarch,” in *The Amish, 1693-1993*, 64-66.

Protest Letter of 1701⁵⁴

In 1701 the "congregation of so-called Anabaptists in the Markkirch and Eckkirch Valley" submitted a most humble petition to their Most Gracious Prince, His Highness. They were all upset over the actions of the clerk in Markkirch after the "recent death of one of their brethren." The clerk had "made a fool of himself" by immediately ordering a household inventory and attempting to put the surviving children under guardianship (of their Swiss home town). This ran counter to the prince's promises of freedom and autonomy for the Anabaptists. After all, they were paying the so-called protection fee (*Schirmgeld*) for these. Even though they contain the expression "unterthänigst" (most humbly), the final lines of the letter reveal a rebellious spirit in that they tell how the matter should be handled. Forcefully and in capital letters "j.AMME" set his signature to the letter. Beneath it Jacob Hostettler and Hans Zimmerman added theirs as well.

Jacques Aman and Jacob Hochstettler, Representatives of a Faith Community in 1702⁵⁵

The faith community called into being in 1701 as the "New Anabaptist Congregation in Markkirch and Echery" still seems to be functioning in 1702. Jacques Aman and Jacob Hochstettler, Anabaptists residing in Echery, participate in a meeting called by the prince. They do so in their own names and on behalf of their fellow believers who have settled in the same town. The meeting takes place at the home of Mr. Prevost, and all officers representing the valley residents are present. The main item on the agenda is the filing of a report on the protection fees collected.⁵⁶

Protection Fee Certificate, 1703⁵⁷

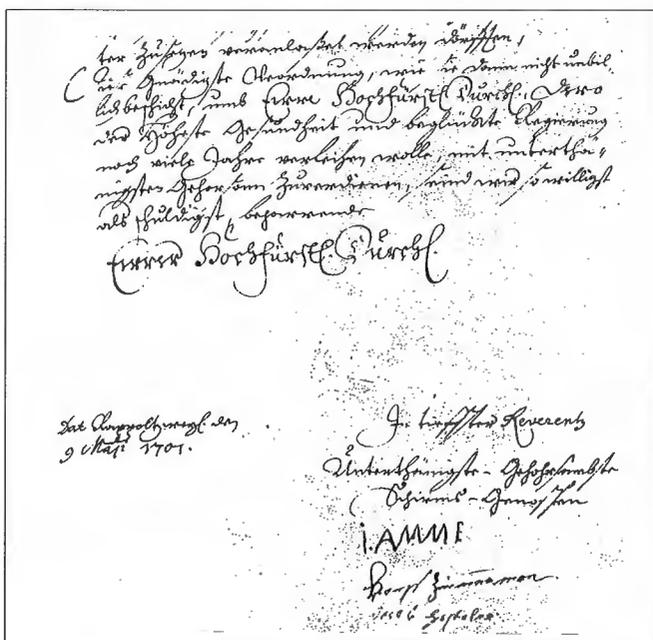
A document dated December 19, 1703, in clumsy handwriting and downright boorish wording attests that in the year under review protection fees had been paid twice, yielding a total of "ninety and eight dollars." The

iW [Jacq Weis]	1714 oct 25	83/1 L40/81	
iW [Jean Weiss]	1713 mrr 28	106 L8/30	
iW [Weiss Jean]	1713 mrr 30	83/1 L35/61	
jA [?]	1712 oct 8	83/1 L35/15	
jA dudit Aman	1711 jul 30	83/1 L28/12a	
jA dudit Aman	1711 oct 17	83/1 L28/37	
jA dudit Aman	1711	83/1 L28/15	
jA dudit Aman	1712 sep 25	83/1 L33/11	
jA dudit Aman	1712 sep 25	83/1 L33/13	
jA dudit Aman	1712 sep 25	83/1 L33/15	
jA dudit Aman	1709 apr 22	83. 11/34	
jA dudit Aman	1711 dec 2	83/1 L28/51	
jA dudit Aman	1711 jul 6	83/1 L28/4	
jA dudit client	1711 jul 6	83/1 L28/5	
jA dudit creditur	1711 jul 25	83/1 L28/11	
jA dudit vendeur	1712 oct 25	83/1 L33/40	
jA Jacqui Amand	1712 sep 25	83/1 L33/15	
jA	1712 sep 5	83/1 acte 37	

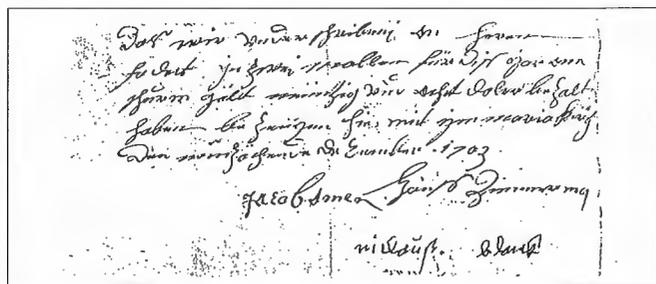
Sample section of Jacob Aman references from the author's autograph collection, arranged alphabetically by spelling, then chronologically with document references and signature images

Aman, "said Customer," "said Creditor," "said Seller," and "said Jacqui Amand"!

Under such confusing circumstances, either we must presume a remarkable lack of precision on the part of the notary and see in Jacob Aman a person of no consequence, or we must see in Jacob Aman more than one bearer of that name. I wish to show that the latter is the case.⁵³



Signatures of "j.AMME," Hans Zimmerman, and Jacob Hostettler on a 1701 protest letter from the new congregation of Anabaptists in the Markkirch and Eckkirch Valley to their Most Gracious Prince regarding recent impositions on their freedom and autonomy (*Sainte-Marie 19 J 169, ADHR*)



Signatures of "Jacob Aman," Hans "Zimmerman" (probably the writer), and Niclauss Blanck on a 1703 document certifying the payment of protection fees (*Sainte-Marie E 2014, ADHR*)

⁵³The discussions that follow are based primarily on the ADHR documents in carton E 2014: 4E SteM (the Sainte-Marie Notary's Office) 83/1; 4E SteM 83/2; 4E SteM 83/3; and 4E SteM côte 106. To avoid a vast number of repetitive source citations, I shall limit this section to the highly specific and problematic references, the examination of which is critical.

⁵⁴19 J 169, ADHR
⁵⁵E 2808, ADHR. The notation "am 29. Dezember letzthin" [on last December 29] raises some uncertainty about the date.

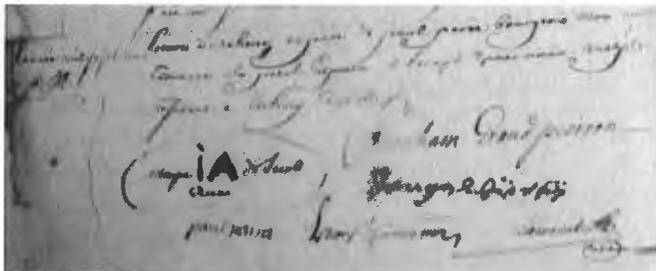
⁵⁶Unfortunately I do not have a photocopy of the original; therefore, I cannot use the signature of this "Jacques Aman" for comparison.

⁵⁷E 2014, ADHR.

place is given as "mariakirch." The drafter and writer was presumably "Hanss Zimmerma." The signers are "nicklauss blanck" and "jaeob amen." In the latter signature, in addition to the unusual *c* resembling a Greek epsilon, the two *a*'s are also very distinctive.

The 1709 Right of Departure⁵⁸

A 1709 letter again concerns the civil rights and liberties promised to the Anabaptists and specifically to Daniel Bürki ("Birquey") of Sainte-Croix, a village in the immediate vicinity of Sainte-Marie. Clearly the Anabaptists were reserving the right to move whenever and wherever they pleased.⁵⁹ They insisted that they not be put on an equal footing with ordinary subjects. Jacob Neuhauser and Hanss Keller from the canton of Bern are actually referred to as *associés* (partners) of Jacob Amen and Anabaptists in Markirch. The letter verifies that the spelling "Amen" is used here and that the triumvirate lived in Sainte-Marie. I find it incomprehensible that in Jakob Ammann research no one has yet called attention to this document, especially since it reveals a rebellious spirit. Furthermore, the signatures include the mark "jA," which is interpreted by Notary Lamouche as "Jacob Amen."



An April 22, 1709, document contains signatures of "jA" (interpreted by Notary Lamouche as "Jacob Amen"), Paul Païra, Hans Zimmermann, and Notary Lamouche (Sainte-Marie 83 L11:34, ADHR).

Times of Jacob Aman's Presence

First it must be emphasized that Jacob Aman appears in the Markirch area only in the period 1697 to 1713. Judging from statements in the "Letters of the Amish Division," one would expect him to have called an extraordinary amount of attention to himself in 1693 and 1694. Documented are "jA," said Amen in Petite Lièpvre, 1697; "j.AMME" as petitioner for the New Anabaptist Congregation in Markirch, 1701; Jacob Amen in Sainte-Marie, 1703; Jacob Amen, Anabaptist in Markirch, 1709; and finally, Jacquy Aman in Petite Lièpvre, 1711-12. Truly a high degree of nonuniformity in namings and signatures!

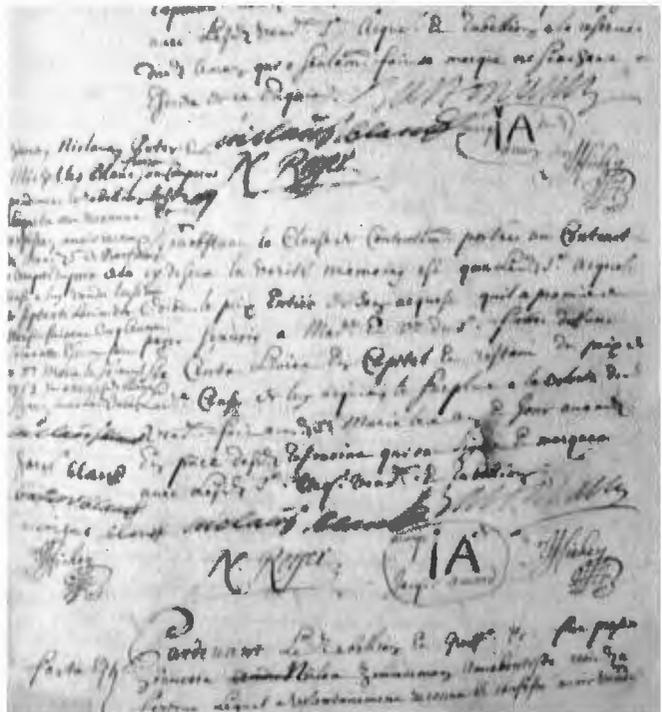
The presence of "jA" is documented with striking frequency only between July 1711 and October 1712. In these two years the mark (*marque*) "jA" appears consistently in lieu of signature. With just one exception the name form in the text of the respective agreement is always either Jacqui or Jacquy Aman.

On closer examination we discover that the variance in the spelling of given names is explained only in part by the fact that two notaries functioned in Markirch. Notary Lamouche consistently interpreted "jA" as "Jacob Amen." Notary Ficher usually added "*dudit Aman*" (said Aman) beside the "jA," but in the text of an agreement he would refer to the party as Jacqui or even Jacquy Aman.

A Look at the Notary Situation

Notary Ficher had his private residence, at least, in Echery, across from that of Anabaptist accident victim Peter Zimmerman, as he himself wrote in the accident report of 1697, and he officiated at financial transactions of residents daily. Notary Lamouche, in the city of Markirch, was somewhat more distant in his handling of administrative issues. From his hand, most notably, come the Anabaptist lists. Therefore, it is also understandable that Lamouche, who worked for the government, would use the official given names, always writing "Jacob Amen," "Jacob Hostettler," and "Jacob Hert," while Notary Ficher, with his "Jacqui" and "Jacquy," approximated the name "Jaggi," which was popular among the Bernese Anabaptists.

In light of the above, the reader may be thinking that the Jacob/Jacqui/Jacquy distinction is immaterial, that all references could have been to the same person. But now we come to September 25, 1712—a significant date! On this day Notary Ficher must have had two different Jacob Amans standing before him in his office chamber. On this day he drew up several agreements involving financial transactions. In the first he names a Jacquy Amand, spelled with a *d*, which for him is not at all customary. Another party to the agreement is the Anabaptist Peter Lüthi. Both reside in Echery. This agreement bears the mark "jA," interpreted as "*dudit Aman*." In the second agreement the notary names Peter Lüthi and Jacqui Aman from Echery in the same breath. The third agreement also mentions a Jacqui Aman, but here a note inserted in the margin names "Petitte Lièvre" as his place of residence.



Documents between May and November 1712 show two variant Aman signatures—one with a distinct *v* over the *j* (top) and another with an oversized dot over the *j* (below). The notary differentiated the latter signature by adding a *d* to the end of the surname, which he interpreted as "Jacqui Amand" (4E Sainte-Marie 83/1 L33:15.2, ADHR).

⁵⁸4E SteM 83 L10:33ff., ADHR.

⁵⁹"droit d'Abzug et transmigraton" [right of departure and transmigraton].

The fourth agreement names a Jacqui Aman. In this document the mark “jA” has the usual oversized dot over the j, but in the third agreement, in place of this oversized dot a unique little *v* is unmistakably visible. Likewise strange and unique is the notarial interpretation: To the “jA” with the little *v* over the *j* Ficher added “*dudit Aman*”; but to the “jA” with the usual oversized dot over the *j* he added “Jacqui Amand.” So the notary, quite contrary to habit, added a given name and that strange and unique *d* to the end of the surname. Thus, he created a differentiation very deliberately.

Another interpretation of these events will have to come later. If we try to gain an overview from all this confusion, we discover that Notary Lamouche, and with him the law office of the count in Rappoltsweil, recorded Jacob Amen’s place of residence rather summarily as Sainte-Marie, whereas Notary Ficher took residence very seriously, naming the exact farm or hamlet each time. Under these circumstances, the situation just presented—a Jacob Aman residing in Echery and another, on the same day, residing in Petite Lièpvre—cannot be viewed as a notary’s oversight. Clearly there were two persons named Jacob Aman in the Markirch area at this time.

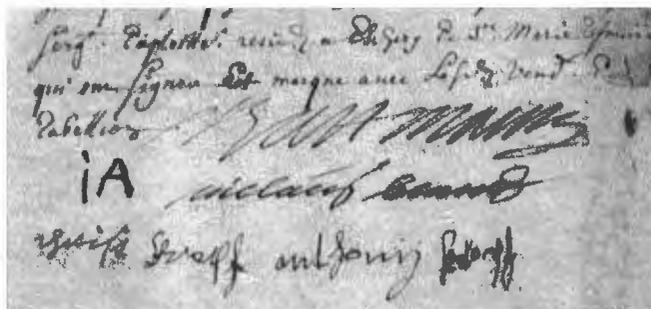
Finale of the “Amish” Jacob Amman?

Was it the finale of the “Amish” Jacob Amman? So it appears, for no further trace of him has been found. How Amish communities came to be in America remains a puzzle. This is reason enough for us to consider the significance of the events of September 25, 1712, and the six—yes, six!—agreements made that day. In this endeavor we must now take a closer look at their content as well.

a. On September 25, 1712, “*honneste Christe Kropf, Annabaptiste de Religion*” appears at the notary’s office to sell the “*Cense⁶⁰ dit la Haute Brocque ou autrement la Grange⁶¹ de la Fontaine*,” the farm known as La Haute Brocque, or alternatively the barn called La Fontaine, to Royal Treasury Secretary Batteman.⁶² However, a marginal note in the buyer’s own hand (!), dated April 4, 1713, indicates that this sale fell through. Since the purchase was supposedly intended for the pleasure of Batteman’s wife and lady, the mention of a copper kettle “for making cheese and butter” is disconcerting. The cheese kettle clearly indicates that the property to be sold was an Alpine dairy. Appearing as witnesses are the two now familiar Anabaptists Peter Lüthy and “Jacquy Amand,” both residing in Echery. This is the first occurrence of the unusual spelling of the surname Aman with a *d*, but here the signature mark “jA” is still interpreted as “*dudit Aman*.” Though it was customary for countless other people to use a mark instead of signing their name, in this place the notary has added, as if to excuse him, that the party is unpracticed in writing.⁶³

b. Although the sale has been made by mutual agreement, the purchase price has yet to be paid. Hans Schallenberg (m. Amman) and Christen Kropf then hurry to the notary’s office on the same day to arrange the financing (agreement no. 2). Following the sweeping statement “in the presence of the same witnesses,” Christen Kropf and “jA,” said Aman, sign.

c. Also appearing on the same day is Anthony Kropf “of the Anabaptist faith,” who lives on a farm called La Cotte near Echery. He sells his homestead (agreement no. 3) to the same Mr. François Batteman, or rather to the lat-



Signatures from September 5, 1712, including Royal Treasury Secretary Batteman, “jA” (without comment by a notary!), Niclaus Blanck, Christ(en) Kropf, and Anthony Kropf (4E Sainte-Marie 83/1 L37, ADHR)

ter’s wife. Marginal insertions dated April 4, 1713, appear in this purchase agreement as well and refer to “another agreement” and “copy withdrawn and brought into conformity with the original by the official notary.”⁶⁴

d. The down payment for this transaction also remained unpaid. It was set on the same day in agreement four. The signers are Batteman, Anthony Kropf, Peter Lüthy, N. Royer, and “jA” (said Aman).

e. Then “the *honneste* Nicolas Blanc, Anabaptist, residing at the Daumontgotte farm,” appears at the notary’s office on the same day and attests (in agreement no. 5) that he has already made financial arrangements in April 1712 with his brothers—Peter, Michel, and Hans—and with Hans Farny(?), who lives in Villé. The Daumontgotte farm, which adjoined the property of Hans Rup and Rudolf Houser, was also to be bought up by Royal Secretary Batteman. Other parties to the agreement are Jacques Benoist, Samuel Carroty (Grodi), and Claus Zimmerman. Listed as a witness again, along with Nicolas Royer, is “Jacqui Aman,” who, according to a marginal note inserted later, is now said to reside in Petite Lièpvre. Instead of the oversized *j*-dot, the latter’s signature mark “jA” contains the clearly discernible, strange little *v*. The notary’s interpretation is the terse “*dudit Aman*.”

Here again, sad but true, the promised down payment was not made; therefore, it is set in agreement number six. Now, the witness “jA” places a big dot over the *j* again, but this time the mark is interpreted by the notary as “Jacqui Amand.”

f. A later insertion in the margin of agreement number six, dated April 6, 1713, states that a settlement has been reached⁶⁵ and that the Blanck brothers acknowledge receipt of a down payment.

g. Finally, the series continues on September 26, 1712, with the sale of the house in Fertruft occupied by Anabaptist Niclaus Zimmerman, together with “*meix*,”⁶⁶ small garden, and all other appurtenances and stables.” Adjoining property holders are Christen Joder, Jean Haber, Susanne Marry, and Christen Tanner. Also men-

⁶⁰Farm, estate.

⁶¹Barn.

⁶²Agreement no. 1; 4E SteM 83/1 L33:10-11, ADHR.

⁶³“*n’ayant l’usage d’écrire*”—being unaccustomed to writing, not having any practice with it—is not the same as being “an uneducated illiterate.”

⁶⁴The notary at the law office, Lamouche.

⁶⁵“*sont comparés pardevant le tabellion*” [reached a settlement in the presence of the official notary].

⁶⁶I interpret the original French *meix* as an allotted plot in the communal gardening area, and *jardin* as a small herb and flower garden.

tioned are Jean and Urselle (Haberstich) Hotz, the joint heirs Nägeli, Samuel Carotty (Grodi), Daniel Rohrer, Rudolf Houser, Hans Jacquy Anthenat, Dietrich Joder, and as witnesses the Anabaptist Hans Rupp and Peter Lang (?).

h. Here again the down payment was not paid, and this, too, was recorded by a notary. The document bears the signatures of Niclaus Zimmerman, Niclaus Blanck, Hans Rupp, and Hans Hotz.

Interpretation of This Flurry of Activity

All in all, some hectic dealing took place on September 25 and 26, 1712. Somehow problems arose. Hans Schallenberg (m. Amman) and Niclaus Zimmermann tried to save the day by intervening at the last minute. But for naught.

What these agreements have in common is that each concerned the sale of a piece of property to the secretary of the royal treasury, Mr. François Luc Batteman. The motive for the purchases and sales seems to have been the so-called *königliche Ausweisungsbefehl an die Anabaptisten* (royal decree for the expulsion of the Anabaptists), but there is nothing in the agreements themselves to substantiate this. On the other hand, it is evident from another document that the king's wish for the Anabaptists to leave Alsace raised some legal issues.⁶⁷ Not until 1714, after the property buy-up had fallen through, do we suddenly find mention of a royal decree directed at the Anabaptists. This arouses suspicion that corruption could have been involved, that Secretary Batteman may have tried to exploit his knowledge of the king's intentions. Perhaps he even persuaded the king to issue the expulsion decree after the fact, for there is no documentary mention of it until 1714. But the 1714 document shows that the primary issue was not religion but fear of foreign infiltration.⁶⁸

The significant point here, however, is that the deal fell through. The sales never took place in this way! Instead, the properties went to various "single young men" of the valley community, men from middle-class families whose exact religious affiliation was not on record. These men later refused to pay the required fees, following the example of those in Schwarzenburg who had opposed the *Brüggssommer*, but they did not prevail against the bursar.

Finally, it is important to note that "jA" always signed only as a witness. No order for the sale of Petite Lièpvre is signed by "jA" as seller. That would logically have followed on September 26, 1712, only if the Jacob Ammen residing there had actually been a landowner. That he was not. He was merely a tenant. If the Jacob Ammen residing in Petite Lièpvre had actually been the founder of an Amish faith community, his departure from the area would hardly have gone unreported.

Jacob Aman's 1712 Departure from Petite Lièpvre

Let us review the documented facts: On October 8, 1712, Jacquy Aman conveys all his worldly goods to Hans Farny. On October 25 the Anabaptist Jacquy Aman in Petite Lièpvre sells his *meix*. This is the only document in which he appears as seller.⁶⁹ A few months later Jacob Hostetler, who has evidently moved from Petite Lièpvre back to Echery, acting "for and in the name of Jacquy Aman," declares himself paid in full and satisfied.

In my estimation, these events point first of all to the breakup of a household in Petite Lièpvre. It would have

been irresponsible to allow the elderly Jacob Aman to continue living alone. Probably he was brought from Petite Lièpvre to Echery first, and then his household was liquidated. Whatever belongings could be transported were turned over to Hans Farny. It is possible that Hans Farny took Jacob Aman into his home a little later.⁷⁰ The liquidation process was no easy task. Unsettled debts and bills were intercepted by Jacob Hostetler, who had also lived in Petite Lièpvre for many years. Because the Anabaptists had reinsured one another with promissory notes secured by their landholdings, a great many IOUs must have passed back and forth. That took time. Therefore, Jacob Hostetler could not be paid in full until 1713.

Endless Confusion?

The confusion of September 25, 1712, arose because Jacob Aman's "finale" in Petite Lièpvre coincided with Royal Secretary Batteman's purchase attempt. This left the impression that the Anabaptists had fled the Markkirch area en masse from one day to the next and that the founder of the Amish had perished in this whirlwind. But no one has stopped to consider that the intended sales of several Anabaptist properties could just as well have been for another reason.

Note that all the farms that Royal Secretary Batteman tried to acquire for his lady lay in the immediate vicinity of the city of Sainte-Marie. Petite Lièpvre is clearly outside these bounds. This farm figures in the agreement only because its occupant, Jacquy Aman, was always called in as witness. He was a witness because in all the intended sales his assets were also at stake.

Another likely source of confusion is the fact that the variously named Jacob, Jacqui, or Jacquy Amans can be neither clearly differentiated nor identified as one and the same. This problem is hard to resolve. Even the religious affiliation is of no help because the notaries did not distinguish the Anabaptists as belonging either to the old Anabaptist congregation or to a new one. Furthermore, the tag "Anabaptist" appears only with newcomers. The records are silent about religious affiliation of the already-naturalized *bourgeois*, even if they had come from the Bern area.

⁶⁷Two documents from the administration of the princes of Zweibrücken in Rieschweiler regarding the Anabaptists are preserved in Colmar. These are available on microfilm from the Family History Centers of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, film no. 1069944, Rieschweiler, pt. 3, vol. 197 segment. The two original documents, one dating from 1712 and the other from 1714, are located in the ADHR: SteM E 83, Anabaptistes, 1712-1714. The legal issues they raise are these. First, the Anabaptists had legally valid purchase agreements that could not be nullified simply by royal request. Second, because of the forced takeover the young unmarried men refused to pay the unfairly imposed fees. The two documents show that because of the legal uncertainty, the matter was assigned to a member of the district administration. For all Anabaptists who could not produce an agreement, he managed to arrange postponement until the spring of 1713. For those with agreements, the expiration date of the agreement apparently remained in effect. This ruling is referred to as a "privilege." In the fee dispute, on the other hand, the administration stood firm.

⁶⁸"veu que ces anabaptistes possedoient plus que les tiers de tous les biens et terres du Bann de ladite Communauté" [considering that more than a third of all the farms and landholdings in said community (Markkirch) are in the hands of these Anabaptists].

⁶⁹E SteM 83/1 L33:39, ADHR, with signature "jA" as "vendeur" [seller].

⁷⁰However, the church records of Villé contain no corresponding death entry.

Also contributing to the confusion in the end is the fact that several of the documented place names cannot be located with certainty—most notably “Petitte Lièvre.” If we check the place of residence of all persons whom Notary Ficher designates as “*honneste*,” we note that they are all urban! They live only in Markkirch, Echery, or Fertrupt. Therefore, the honorific “*honneste*” must correlate with certain urban rights. All the more astonishing, then, is the fact that the Jacquy Aman residing in Petite Lièpvre always appears as “*honneste*.” It is more or less understandable that “Petitte Lièvre” could have been under the direct administration of the municipality of Sainte-Marie, an arrangement expressed in “*dépendant de*.” But it is incomprehensible that Notary Ficher could have written “near Sainte-Marie” for a distance of over four miles and an elevation difference of over a thousand feet, with the town of Echery in between—even more so if we look at the farm Montgoutte⁷¹ for comparison. It is also designated as “near Ste-Marie,” and it actually is. Did another “Petitte Lièvre” exist at one time on the outskirts of the city? This theory gains credibility when we tally up all the residents of Petite Lièpvre who appear in the notarial instruments. The result would make an impressive village.

Reasons for High Real Estate Activity, 1711–12

We must now return to the real estate sales around Echery in 1711 and 1712 and consider them in another context.

a. The notarial instrument L28/10f, dated July 25, 1711, documents the Anabaptist Jacquy Aman in Petite Lièpvre as creditor for roughly eighty-three livres tournois. The debtors were Nicolas Humbert and Dominique Batto, both labeled “*bourgeois*.” Witnesses were Paul Paira and Niclaus Blanck. According to an insertion in the margin, this debt was to have been repaid on January 14, 1712, but the year is stricken and replaced with “1713.” At this time Jacquy Aman was no longer in Petite Lièpvre.

b. When this debt was cleared on January 14, 1713, Jacquy Hochstetler appeared “acting for and in the name of Jacquy Aman.”⁷² Thus, in practical terms, he functioned as legal agent. This strongly suggests the breakup of a household—probably for health reasons—rather than a normal move.

c. Appearing in the next document as an additional debtor in the matter is Thobias Kheiffer or his wife, Elizabeth Marie. Here the amount of the debt is three hundred livres. The creditor is Jacquy Aman, and witnesses this time are Hans Reinhard and Peter Augspurger. Augspurger had also lived in Petite Lièpvre at one time but was now in Fertrupt near Markkirch.

d. The next document concerns the sale of Hans Haberstich’s house, barn, stable, and garden, in which Hans Lugbül and the heirs of Samuel König held an interest. Jacquy Aman is a witness here as well. On August 1, 1711, he sets his mark, “jA,” because he is not accustomed to writing. Nicolaus Mourer is the buyer, but he does not produce the promised sum of nine hundred livres.

e. On September 10, 1711, Jacqui Aman appears at the notary’s office again, this time with Christen Kropf. This transaction is for a sum of six hundred livres, in which Jost Joder and Adam Maire also hold stakes.

f. On December 2, 1711, Jost Joder, who lives in Val de

Viller, probably present-day Villé, is identified as “*Anabapt. de Religion*.” And “*honneste Jacquy Aman*,” who signs with the mark “jA,” is said to be of the same religion as Jost Joder. Surely such wording would not have been used if this Jacquy Aman had been the tone-setting leader of the new faith community. Paul and David Paira, also named in the document, are among his closest friends. They are never labeled as Anabaptists in Notary Ficher’s office. They are at most “*bourgeois*.”

g. On the same day another document mentions a Jacquy Aman, also said to be of the Anabaptist faith.⁷³

h. On October 25, 1712, more than one final stroke was penned. Yes, Jacquy Aman in Petite Lièpvre sold his garden plot, which he probably was no longer able to tend. But he had found a successor: Samuel Cottel, a young bachelor residing in Petite Lièpvre. There is no mention of his having sold the whole house, which was in Jean Anthenat’s hands anyway. Ten days earlier, Jacquy Aman’s neighbor Hans Roht had also signed his interest over to Samuel Cottel *le jeune* (the younger).⁷⁴ Likewise, Hans Wolf conveyed his little house garden in Petite Lièpvre to Christen Ruchti Jr. Nowhere do we find any indication that these sales were prompted by a royal decree ending the toleration of Anabaptists.

k. The same goes for the sale of the farm *Sur Citté* in March 1713. After drawing up a distribution agreement, Hans and Elizabeth (Farny) Hostettler conveyed their farm to Jacque de Moulin. Christen and Margueritte (Gerber) Hochstetler did likewise, transferring their interest in *Sur Citté* to Nicolas Ancel *le jeune*. After the farm Horsena had been placed in younger hands as well, the old-guard Anabaptists Paul Jrmel, Elias Schwartz, and Daniel Herman signed a notarial instrument “to ease the financial burden of the community <and of the Anabaptist Jacqui Aman>.” The text in angle brackets was actually written in the margin later.

Finally, in the spring of 1713 Jacquy Hochstetler of Petite Lièpvre also sold the “Grange Johé,” situated above Petite Lièpvre, after making extensive carpentry repairs. It went to Hans and Niklaus Jaggi from the Bern area. Witnesses Michel Kropf and Hans Lugbül were also friends from Bern.⁷⁵ Nothing indicates that all the many Anabaptists left the land together in a mass exodus. As a matter of fact, this buyer also remained indebted for the sum of nine hundred livres so that the creditors were obliged to post bond jointly and severally.

Generation Transfer Due

The flurry of sale activity may have left the impression that action had been taken out of desperation because of persecution, but no evidence for this exists. On the other hand, if we consider the ages of the sellers and note the large number of young, unmarried men among the buyers, we begin to understand that the time was ripe for a generation transfer. The real crisis was the matter of who would rise up and carry on. We see further evidence of this in the fact that on March 6, 1720, Jacob Hostettler told the *Täuferkammer*, the chamber of Anabaptist affairs in

⁷¹Formerly Daumontgoutte.

⁷²4E SteM 83/1 L28:10ff., ADHR.

⁷³4E SteM 83/1 L28:52, ADHR.

⁷⁴4E SteM 83/1 L33:34-35, ADHR.

⁷⁵4E SteM 106 letter B:20ff., ADHR.

Bern, that the reason for his trip from Markkirch to Schwarzenburg was to encourage (young) Anabaptist women to emigrate.⁷⁶

Two Jacob Ammens in Markkirch?

The Mark "jA": More Than One Person?

The possibility that different persons might have used the same signature mark has been passed over without comment, but now I shall address it. Let me preface my remarks by mentioning that two rather distinctive signatures exist: In 1703 Jacob Amen signs a document regarding the required protection fee. He signs his full name with very unconventional letter forms: "yaεob amen." This signature has no similarity whatsoever to the mark "jA." But the other signature is also distinctive: "j.AMME." It appears in the petition of 1701. These two signatures differ in ways that indicate two persons with the same name.

Unlike Robert Baecher, I see in the signature "yaεob amen" an older Jacob Aman, and I now suspect that he could have come from Oberhofen. Then he would also have become a quiet, inconspicuous villager in Echery.

There is no doubt that the *honneste* Jacquy Aman who lived in Petite Lièpvre used the abbreviated signature "jA." This is documented repeatedly. It appears for the first time in the 1697 report on Peter Zimmerman's accident, but whether this signer was actually the founder of the Amish congregations is not proven. An opposing argument is that the Jacob Aman who was present at the filing of the accident report did not actively help the victim nor did he make any arrangements to get help for him. His only contribution was to testify that a friendly spirit prevailed in the hamlet of Petite Lièpvre. How could this man possibly have been the aggressive leader of the new Anabaptist community?

Again only as a witness, Jacob Aman appears six months later in a purchase agreement with Nicolas Blanc as buyer. The notarial entry is odd in that the given name is rendered as "Jacquin."⁷⁷ Of particular interest here, however, is the insertion of "Anabaptist" above the written line, as if the affiliation of this "Jaggi Aman" with the Anabaptists had not been self-evident but had come to light only after express questioning. The place of residence given here is Petite Lièpvre. Even the rare notation "who has only set his mark because he does not know how to write" is present. How does illiteracy square with the image of an eloquent leader of the new Anabaptist congregation?

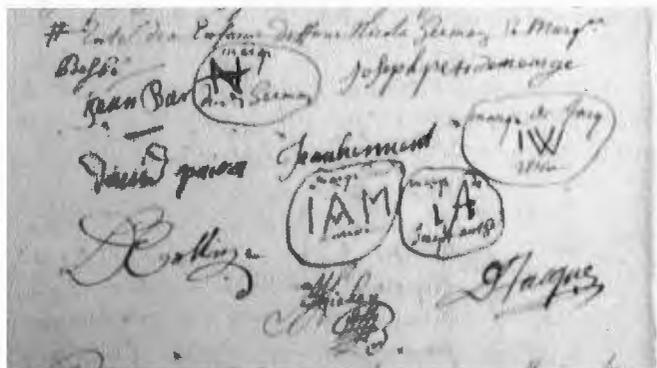
Commonness of Signature Marks in Notarial Instruments

Two days later Daniel Anthoine would sign with "DA." A month later Joseph Anthenat would even sign with "jA," though with a tiny curl in the upstroke of the A. The mark "jAM *duit Jacques Amien*" had been on file since November 9, 1698, when Amien cosigned a document with Paul Karl/Karlen.⁷⁸ On April 22, 1709, the mark "jA" is documented again, this time by Notary Lamouche, who gives Sainte-Marie as Jacob Aman's place of residence. This document concerns the right of departure and transmigration, in this case for Daniel Bürki. Also mentioned are Anabaptists Jacob Neuhauser and Hans Keller from the canton of Bern as "*associés*" (partners) of Jacob Aman.⁷⁹

And as we have seen, this signature mark is used frequently in the years that follow. It does not appear to be tied to a particular place of residence or to a particular given name. Therefore, I think it served the entire Aman family in the Markkirch region as a "trademark" of sorts.

Signature Mark "jAM"

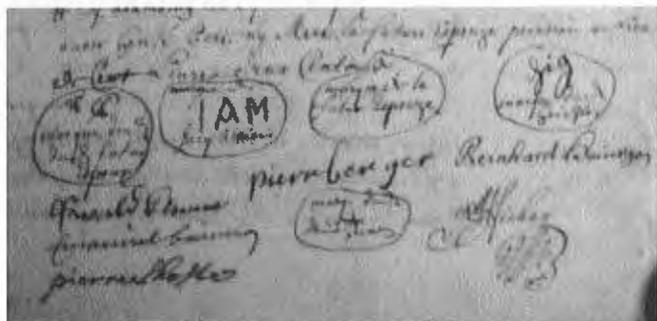
The "trademark" theory gains credibility if we take other documents into account from the wealth of records available—documents that have received little or no attention thus far. As I mentioned earlier, the mark "jAM" had already turned up as a harbinger, so to speak, in April 1698. Then in 1712 a whole series follows. My collection includes eleven such documents. In each case, the notary's interpretation is "*duit Amien*." The signer in this case is also a Jacob! He, too, is rendered sometimes as Jacques, other times as Jacqui or Jacquy. In the years 1712 to 1719 Amien consistently lives in Echery—or more precisely, in the "*Prey dhermonitte*." He is "*bourgeois*," but is he Anabaptist? At any rate, Jacqui Amien, with his abbreviation "jAM," is documented for a longer time and more continuously than Jacquy Aman; and as "*maître charpentier*" (master carpenter) he was part of the establishment in Echery.



An October 25, 1714, document portrays the "jAM" of Jacob Amien and also the "jA" of Jacqui Anthenat with his little curl at the beginning of the upstroke on the capital A (4E Sainte-Marie 83/1 L17:81, ADHR)

Joseph Anthenat with Mark "jA"

The fact that Joseph Anthenat used the mark "jA," just as Jacquy Aman did, has not even been mentioned in



Signature of Jacqui Anthenat ("jAM"), spring 1712 (Sainte-Marie 83/1 L33:63, ADHR)

⁷⁶A II 669/Ratsmanual 83:341-42, StABE.

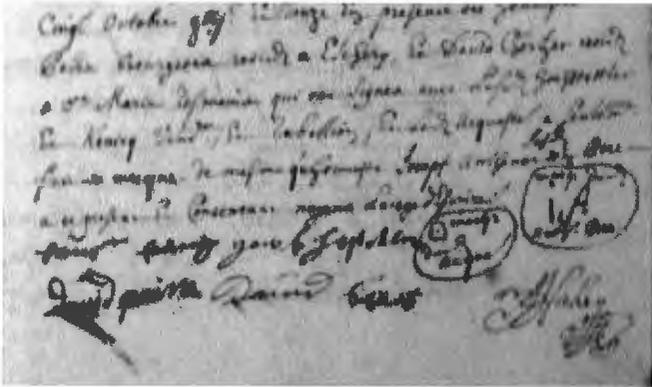
⁷⁷This is a gallicization of the Bernese given name "Jaggi," as in the name of the tailor Jaggi Jaggi, where the given and family names are identical. This name is rendered as "Jacquin Jacquin" in Markkirch. Oct. 6, 1696, 4E SteM 80, ADHR.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹4E SteM 83 L10:33-34, ADHR.

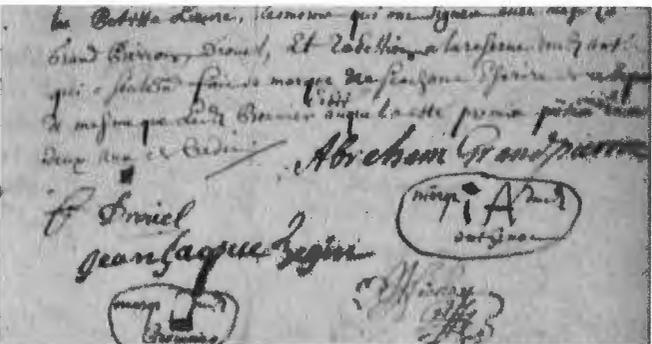
the literature, much less examined. If we look closely, we note only a tiny difference from the mark of "JA said Aman": Anthenat begins the upstroke of the capital A with a tiny curl.

a. The identical marks of the father Joseph Anthenat⁸⁰ and of "Joseph Anthenat fils et jeune homme non marié" (the son Joseph Anthenat, a young, unmarried man) fall in the period 1711–19.⁸¹ Both men lived in Petite Lièpvre.



The "JA" signatures of Joseph Anthenat (father and son) are identical to that of Jacquy Aman except for a little curl at the beginning of the upstroke of the A (4E Sainte-Marie 83/1 L33:41, ADHR)

b. Even Jean Anthoine/Anthenat signed with "JA" once in 1717, clearly in the context of a family "trademark." He was married to Otilie Meyer. After his father David's death in Petite Lièpvre in 1707, he had rented the house there to the Schwarzenburg Anabaptist Jacob Hostettler for six years.



Signature of Jean Anthenat ("JA") (4E Sainte-Marie 83/1 L28:54, ADHR)

Jacob Ami

Finally, for the sake of completeness, Jacob Ami belongs in this series as well. Robert Baecher sees this as another signature variant of Jacob Aman.⁸² As for me, I see it as the original signature of the bourgeois Jacques Amien in Echery.

Intervention by a Duplicate Jacquy Amand to Rescue the Situation?

As I mentioned earlier, the Anabaptist Christen Kropf wanted to sell his farm, known as La Haute Brocque, to Royal Secretary Batteman on September 25, 1712 (agreement no. 1 with witness Jacquy Amand!). It is important to note that Batteman personally wrote his renunciation in the margin later and signed it. And Christen Kropf accepted it. Therefore, the entire real estate transaction fell through. In the search for a new solution,⁸³ Hans

Schallenberg, husband of Catrina Amman, rushed in to fill the gap.⁸⁴

According to the next instrument (agreement no. 3), Anabaptist Anthony Kropf tried to sell Batteman a farm called La Cotte, near Echery.⁸⁵ Present in addition to Peter Lütty and Nicolas Royer (mining entrepreneur in Echery) is Jacqui Aman. Only later is "Petitte Lièvre" inserted next to his name. The aforementioned insertion of April 4, 1713, in the margin of agreement number three—"copy withdrawn and brought into conformity with the original by the official notary"—suggests manipulation. The combination of this belated "setting straight" of the record, the exalted position of the buyer, and the high purchase price of thirty-nine hundred livres makes the possibility of corruption seem quite plausible.

In any case, several things about these three agreements raise suspicion: that the buyer Batteman, with his royal connections, wrote something in a notarial instrument in his own hand; that a bewildering uncertainty has arisen over Jacqui Aman's place of residence on the basis of Notary Ficher's records; and that a Jacqui Amand, rather than Aman, suddenly appears.

I just cannot shake the idea that this entire deal—involving multiple properties, with Batteman's unexpected retreat, and with Hans Schallenberg's sudden intervention—was orchestrated and directed by someone working behind the scenes. This secret director could have been Jacob Amand in Echery, who was perhaps even identical with "j.AMME." The strangest fact of all is that of his nonparticipation in the transactions as a witness, buyer, or seller!

Identification of the "Amish" Jacob Amman: Weighing the Evidence

We have discovered some very bewildering circumstances in the region of Markirch. Unfortunately, absolute clarity remains an elusive goal. No documents have turned up that might have positively identified the Amish founder as one of the Jacob Amans present there. Now, as before, we can only offer several points for consideration:

- The signatures "j.AMME" and "jaeob Amen" differ to such an extent that they cannot be reconciled as belonging to a single person.
- The spelling discrepancy "j.AMME" vs. "Jacob Aman" is rooted in the Schwarzenburg area, where the Ammens and Ammans were distinct family groups as early as 1602. Thus, the standardization to "Jakob Ammann" in the literature was premature.

⁸⁰Married to the Swiss woman Magdelaine Reber.

⁸¹4E SteM 83/1 and 83/2; 4E 106, ADHR.

⁸²Baecher, "Le patriarch," in *The Amish, 1693-1993*, 64.

⁸³Agreement no. 2, 4E SteM 83/1 L33:11, ADHR.

⁸⁴"à la descharge dudit vendeur Luc de Batteman, scavoir neuf cents Livres au Sr. Ficher de Ste-Marie en capital, Hans Challeberg a acquis ladite grange pour la somme de quinze cent Livres aussy en capital" [to the credit of said seller, Luc von Batteman, nine hundred livres in capital to Mr. Ficher of Sainte-Marie; Hans Schalleberg has purchased the aforesaid barn for 1500 livres, also in capital]. He owes one hundred fifty livres to David Donon and the remaining twelve hundred livres to Christen Kropf. Signers are "Christ Kropf," "beter lytty" (Peter Lüthi), and "JA."

⁸⁵"maison couronne de France et de ses finances" [the French royal house and its finance office].

- The notarial interpretations of the signature mark “jA” are so inconsistent that we must assume a duo or trio of Jacob Amans.
- The signature mark “jA” could be understood as a “trademark” used by more than one person. Such usage in other families in the immediate vicinity has been proven.
- The rare notation “unaccustomed to writing” appears rather as an excuse for the notary’s having permitted use of the “trademark.”
- The quiet, secluded life of the Jacob Aman in Petite Lièpvre hardly fits the picture of a seemingly tireless man traveling internationally to encourage the formation of congregations.
- Jacob Aman liquidated his household in Petite Lièpvre because of his health. Jacquy Hostettler’s role as agent can also be seen in this context, as can Hans Farny’s willingness to accept parts of the liquidated household and perhaps even the aged man himself.
- The liquidation process began rather suddenly in July 1711 and was accomplished through a series of transactions extending into early 1713.
- Problems with the liquidation were almost inevitable because the property was encumbered with promissory notes held among the Anabaptists in the form of reinsurance.
- In the years 1712 to 1720 a major generation transfer took place. One by one, young unmarried men in the Lièpvrette Valley assumed ownership of their parents’ farms. It was for that very reason that Anabaptist teacher Jacob Hostettler traveled from Markirch to Switzerland in March 1720 to recruit (young) Anabaptist women from his home region of Bern. Until now these events have received no attention whatsoever.
- Whereas we have no proof that the Jacob Aman summoned by the *Chorgericht* in Oberhofen in 1680 was even Anabaptist, much less that he moved to Petite Lièpvre, we have ample proof that Ammans and Hostettlers migrated from the Schwarzenburg area to Alsace.
- The rebellious urge to break all bonds of guardianship and authoritarian control has its roots in the Schwarzenburg area. The campaign against the *Brüggsommer* that the rural Anabaptists of Winterkraut had waged there from 1651 to 1692—a local peasant war, so to speak—prepared the ground for the new Anabaptist community. Since the Schwarzenburg Anabaptist teacher Jacob Hostettler lived in the same Petite Lièpvre as Jacob Amman, it is far more likely that the founder of the Amish came from the Schwarzenburg area.

A Dozen Jacobs: A Review

It was impossible to extract from the extensive and intricate network of Ammen/Amman relationships a single, definitive figurehead of Amish Anabaptism. The transfer of leadership from one generation to the next must have taken place quietly and covertly. In conclusion,

I shall review ten persons named Jacob Amman, each of whom—despite variant spelling—comes more or less under consideration as founder of the Amish.

Jacob Ammen (b. ca. 1610) of Oberwil im Simmental

Jacob Ammen—whose father, Bändicht Ammen, had married an outsider, Benedicta Schaffer,⁸⁶ in Wahlern and then moved with her to the Lower Simme Valley—was presumably born around 1610 in Oberwil im Simmental. However, no record of his baptism has been found. On the other hand, his marriage to Appolonia Kissling on December 9, 1633, is documented in Oberwil.⁸⁷ Their first child was also born there. Then they moved to Schwarzenburg, the father’s hometown, where they were blessed with eight more children.

Jacob Ammen (bap. July 11, 1611) in Wahlern

Jacob Ammen was baptized July 11, 1611, in Wahlern,⁸⁸ where he also married Catrin Hostettler on November 19, 1636. Although the couple had four children, their marriage was dissolved in 1657 at the request of Catrin Hostettler, who alleged that her husband was having an affair with “Bachtelen Leni.” The fact that the divorce coincided with the scandalous behavior of “Jaggi Ammen” and the execution of the “blasphemer” Claude Harnisch in the village of Schwarzenburg is food for thought, but the supposed connections cannot be proven conclusively. The further course of their lives is lost in obscurity.

Jacob Ammen (bap. Oct. 12, 1617) in Erlenbach

Jacob Ammen and his brother Michel, who was about two years older, were sons of Uli and Trini (Blatter) Ammen in Erlenbach. The father was a tailor, and we can safely assume that brothers Jacob and Michel⁸⁹ worked at this trade as well. Jacob appears to have lived for a while in Schwarzenburg, where as husband of Dichtli Kisslig he brought daughter Ani for baptism on January 17, 1641.⁹⁰ Jacob from Schwarzenburg and his brother Michel from Erlenbach probably arrived together around 1660 in Oberhofen, where “Uncle Jacob” had to appear before the *Chorgericht* in 1680 on suspicion of Anabaptism.⁹¹ Whether he, now over sixty years old, actually emigrated later to French Switzerland or even to Alsace could not be determined. The emigrant is more likely to have been his nephew Jacob, born back in Erlenbach in 1644.

Jaggi Ammen (b. ca. 1635)

Jaggi Ammen, who consistently used this given name, was presumably born around 1635. His parents could not be identified. He was married in Wahlern, probably in 1657, to Madle Byeller/Beyeler, also known as “Bachtelen Leni.” They are the parents with son Christen, whom the Bern Consistory declared “neither legitimate nor illegitimate”⁹² following his baptism in Wahlern on

⁸⁶Kirchenbuch Wahlern, 1:313, StABE.

⁸⁷Kirchenbuch Oberwil im Simmental, 1:315, StABE.

⁸⁸Parents Hans and Anna (Grimm) Ammen, and brother Michel Ammen (m. Mast).

⁸⁹Michel Ammen (m. Rupp).

⁹⁰Kirchenbuch Wahlern, 2:198, StABE.

⁹¹June 1, 1680, A II 500/Ratsmanual 188:24, StABE.

⁹²Aug 2, 1657, Kirchenbuch Wahlern, 2:275, StABE.

July 12, 1657.⁹³ The fact that Michel and Elsbeth (Mast) Ammen brought their Margret for baptism at the same time⁹⁴ is a strong indication that Jaggi and Michel were closely related. We particularly noted Jaggi Ammen's scandalous defiance in having "married himself, so that he could later get divorced." In this scandal we saw him as a determined rebel against state authority. As such, he aroused suspicion. As "Jaggi Amman," he stood as godfather in 1668 for the Anabaptist parents Niclaus and Barbara (Spring) Hertig in the Hilterfingen church.⁹⁵ He is again recorded expressly as "Jaggi Amman" at the baptism of his godchild Madle on March 9, 1691. No wonder the Bernese government in 1693 saw him as the agitator and originator of the new Anabaptist break-away, labeled him an "arch-Anabaptist," and issued a warrant for his arrest.

Although it was Landvogt von Trachselwald himself who nabbed him, the arrest came to naught because the authorities with jurisdiction in Walkringen turned around and freed the "Jaggi Amman" who had been handed over to them. Apparently the wrong Jacob Amman had been tailed. It would have been in keeping with his character for the rebel Jaggi Ammen to have picked a quarrel with Hans Reist and to have aggravated it with hasty excommunications. The protest letter of 1701 with the bombastic signature "j.AMME" likewise fits the picture. It seems perfectly logical, therefore, to suppose that the line of this Jaggi Ammen continued in Markkirch with the immigration of Jacquin Amman⁹⁶ in 1698.

Jacob Ammen (b. Feb. 12, 1644) in Erlenbach⁹⁷

Both parents and godparents explain this Jacob Ammen's affinity for the settled areas around Lake Thun. Born in Erlenbach on February 12, 1644, he moved with his parents to Oberhofen around 1660 and into the neighborhood of the old innkeeper Michel Straub. Straub's daughter probably married Jacob Ammen near the end of 1668, for they had a child Verena the following August. By January 1673 the family was in Spiez, where they operated an inn and where their children Catharina and Jacob were born and baptized.⁹⁸ Around 1676 they moved back to Oberhofen. Hüppi's and Furner's conclusion that the Jacob Amman who died at the beginning of January 1680 in Oberhofen was the husband of Johanna Strub is bound to be right.⁹⁹

Jacob Ammen (b. Nov. 5, 1643)¹⁰⁰

We must take into consideration that the Jacob Ammann born in Wahlern in November 1643 stood as godfather in Oberhofen at Christmas 1668 and that he probably married Barbara Wyss on September 14, 1668, in the Hilterfingen parish.¹⁰¹ Presumably it is also he who appears as godfather for Hans and Anna (Stüdler) Müller in August 1668.¹⁰² However, we find no record of any children of Jacob and Barbara (Wyss) Amman, and the couple's later whereabouts is still uncertain.

Jacob Amen (b. Mar. 18, 1649)¹⁰³

No documentation has turned up that enables us to identify the Jacob Amen born March 18, 1649. We can only speculate that he may have followed his godfather, Hans Binggeli, to Markkirch.¹⁰⁴ If so, he could have been the man I envisioned in the role of a "behind-the-scenes director," whom Notary Ficher documents as "Jacques Amand."

Jacob Amman (b. ca. 1673)

A Jacob Amman born about 1673 married Barbara Ziset¹⁰⁵ on November 4, 1697, and they had a child Jacob baptized on September 25, 1698.¹⁰⁶ I was unable to find any further record of this Jacob Amman.

Jacob Amman (b. Sept. 19, 1675)

The Jacob Amman born September 19, 1675, was the son of Jacob and Johanna (Straub) Amman of Spiez and Hilterfingen, described under Jacob Ammen (b. Feb. 12, 1644) in Erlenbach (col. 1). Nothing more is known about the later whereabouts of the children, although the spectacular apprenticeship agreement of "Hans Straub father and son residing in Blanchviller" in the Markkirch area¹⁰⁷ could conceivably reveal new connections.

Jacob Amman (bap. Sept. 25, 1698)

The Jacob Amman baptized September 25, 1698, married the already-pregnant Anna Mast in Wahlern on April 26, 1725, and had son Hans baptized on July 29, 1725.¹⁰⁸ No further information could be found.

Jacob Amman (m. Mar. 9, 1669)

The Jacob Amman who married Madle Schneyter (or Schnyder) on March 9, 1668, in Amsoldingen had a family of six children, as discussed in the section on Jacob Amman in Wattenwil, Steffisburg, Oberdiessbach, and Amsoldingen (p. 6). There it seemed as though the whole

⁹³July 12, 1657, Kirchenbuch Wahlern, 2:275, StABE.

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Kirchenbuch Hilterfingen, 3:108, StABE.

⁹⁶*Kaufvertrag* [purchase agreement] Apr. 2, 1698, 4E SteM 80, ADHR.

⁹⁷Kirchenbuch Erlenbach, 1:214, StABE. Parents Michel and Anna (Rupp) Ammen; godparents Hans Tschabel, Christen Boshart, Salome Sultziner.

⁹⁸Aug. 29, 1669, child Verena, Kirchenbuch Hilterfingen, 3:110, StABE; Jan. 17, 1673, child Catharina, Kirchenbuch Spiez 1:250, StABE; Sept. 19, 1675, child Jacob! Ibid., 254.

⁹⁹John Hüppi, "Research note: Identifying Jacob Amman," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 74 (April 2000): 336.

¹⁰⁰Kirchenbuch Wahlern, 2:207, StABE. Parents Jacob and Appolonia (Kissing) Ammen; godparents Hans Rorbach, Heinrich Wächter, Ani Binggeli.

¹⁰¹Kirchenbuch Hilterfingen, 3:220, StABE.

¹⁰²Aug. 23, 1668, baptism of child Vreni. Kirchenbuch Oberdiessbach, 5:55, StABE. Aug. 23, 1668, baptism of child Vreni. Kirchenbuch Oberdiessbach, 5:55, StABE.

¹⁰³Parents Jacob and Catrin (Hostettler) Amen; godparents Jacob Krütter, Hans Bingelin, Elsbeth Weber. Date of marriage, Nov. 19, 1636. Kirchenbuch Wahlern, 1:348, StABE. Baptism of child Jacob. Ibid., 2:225.

¹⁰⁴"Hans Bingel," E 2014, ADHR.

¹⁰⁵It bothers me somewhat that Peter Stübi of the Schwarzenburg Anabaptist farm Blatten near Winterkraut, the site of an inn, was married to a Barbara Ziset, whom the Chorghericht interrogated about Anabaptism on Feb. 9, 1683. See Paul Hostettler, "Von den Täufern im Schwarzenburgerland, 1580-1750," *Mennonitica Helvetica* 19 (1996) pt. 2: [114], and other sources.

¹⁰⁶Marriage Nov. 4, 1697, Kirchenbuch Wahlern, 2:872, StABE. Baptism of child Jacob, Sept. 25, 1698, with godparents Ulli Kurtz, Christen Mischler, Elsbeth Feller, *ibid.*, 508. A relationship to Jacob and Elsbeth (Schnyder) Feller (Sept. 9, 1650, *ibid.*, 1:357) and to Hans and Johanna (Feller) Wyss (Nov. 15, 1658, *ibid.*, 2:857) is likely because the surname Feller is rare in the Schwarzenburg area.

¹⁰⁷4E SteM 80, ADHR, Jan. 12, 1698, signed "johannes straub." Apprenticeship agreement for son Hans to learn hatmaking.

¹⁰⁸Sept. 25, 1698, Kirchenbuch Wahlern, 2:508, StABE; married Apr. 26, 1725, *ibid.*, 855; Amman (m. Mast) baptism of infant Hans, July 29, 1725, *ibid.*, 2:825.

family had been blown away after the spring of 1691. I shall now try to determine where he fits in as one of our dozen Jacobs. The only possibility left is that he was the Jacob Amen born March 18, 1649, in Wahlern. I surmised that the latter had followed his godfather, Hans Binggeli, to Markkirch and was recorded there as Jacques or even as Jacqui Amand. As a matter of fact, in the baptismal entry for his youngest child, Madle, dated January 4, 1691 (unlike those for his earlier children), he is expressly designated as "Jaggi" Amman. This supports my conjecture beautifully.

Jacob Amman (b. Mar. 23, 1679)

Finally, for the sake of completeness, the second-youngest child of the foregoing Jaggi Amman should be mentioned. He, too, was a Jacob. It was possibly he who married Anna Z'mutt on January 15, 1714, in Zwieselberg near Gwatt on Lake Thun.¹⁰⁹ A few years later he was referred to as "the lieutenant."¹¹⁰

An Alpha Type in Anabaptism?

Old and New Anabaptists

The French-speaking Notary Ficher often identified persons as "*Anabaptiste de Religion*" but never differentiated between "old" and "new" Anabaptists. With the sale of property that had belonged to the "*Anciens Anabaptistes*" (Old Anabaptists), however, a unique label appeared. It was helpful in this context because the property belonged not to an individual but to the religious organization as a juristic person.

The two Anabaptist groups were divided by language. The "*anciens*" spoke French; though most were natives of Bern, they had adapted and integrated. In contrast, the "new" Anabaptists went right on speaking their Bernese German. Integration was apparently of little interest. For them, the language shift did not occur until the next generation, as is evident in the name "*Nicolas Ancel le jeune*,"¹¹¹ for example.

Major Changes with General Transfer of Power to Next Generation

In the political realm the Bernese government kept an eye on the Markkirch area with the help of diplomats and the pastors whom it selected and paid, but it certainly did not include the region in its purges, as this paper has shown. Nor did the king of France give any great heed to the Anabaptists in Alsace, much less order a radical expulsion. The breakup of Jacob Aman's household in Petite Lièpvre was probably due not to any withdrawal of tolerance but to his need for care. The general transfer of power to the younger generation within the Bernese colony accelerated rather suddenly and probably precipitated a "system crash," whereby the applied principle of reinsurance caused a run on the banking cooperative or credit union that overtaxed its liquidity, sending it into a tailspin—especially when the deal with Royal Secretary Batteman fell through. The curious remark that Hans Hostettler of *Sur Cité* was moving away "on orders from His Royal Highness"¹¹² was not added until November 12, 1712, when Hostettler tried to sell a house in Fertrupt—that is, after the deal with Batteman had fallen through. It is conceivable that Batteman, somewhat miffed over the aborted plan, had persuaded the king to issue such an order.

Emigration Not Orchestrated by an Authoritarian Church Leader

After 1712 both the old and the new Anabaptists must have been in crisis, for they rarely appear again as an organization. Ship rosters suggest that they emigrated to Pennsylvania in groups because of kinship, not religion. There is no evidence of entire congregations having been pushed from continent to continent. This may also explain why our quest for a single founder cannot be satisfied. "Jakob Ammann" apparently stands for a family—indeed, an entire network of families. Despite its various factions, what mattered was the community as a whole.

Thus, it has been impossible to extract from the extensive and intricate network of Ammen/Amman relationships a single, definitive figurehead of Amish Anabaptism. The transfer of leadership from one generation to the next must have taken place quietly and covertly. Consequently, all researchers seeking to identify the "founder of the Amish" seem to fall short of their goal. Those who favor one man invariably run into inconsistencies and contradictions, such as those that emerged in the discussion of the three different and irreconcilable signatures of Jacob Amman. Anyone who favors two or more Jacob Ammans is bound to get into trouble because they cannot be differentiated and identified conclusively.

I have always wondered why a faith community that had had a problem with the so-called Christian government authorities since the time of the Reformation would itself be so eager to create a new authority structure. Have researchers ultimately gotten carried away in viewing the old politicians of Zurich and Bern as the enemy and their state security services as a witch-hunt?

Opposition Movements: Color and Variety

Anyone who works intensively with all the state and church documents of this period that have come down to us, incomplete as they are, cannot fail to recognize that the Anabaptists in the Alpine foothills of Bern by no means lived in hiding. They acted openly, and the local pastors knew them. They had all their children baptized and even had their marriages consecrated in the church. Thus, they should really be regarded not as an isolated sect but as an opposition movement within the institutional church. Their strength lay not in a particular charismatic leader but in their cohesive relationships, their spiritual fellowship, and their willingness to endure the strain of emigration. Granted, when pressed into a corner, they showed a rebellious streak now and then; and despite efforts to live by their own teachings, they were not always fastidious in their choice of means—witness their campaign against the *Brüggsummer* in Winterkraut and their persistent attempts to shake off the control that Bern continued to exercise over its colonists in Markkirch. But in view of the rigidity with which the government of their homeland dealt with the personal property of the Anabaptists, one can hardly hold that against them. □

¹⁰⁹Kirchenbuch Amsoldingen, 1:46.

¹¹⁰Taufrodel Amsoldingen, in a baptismal entry dated July 12, 1722.

¹¹¹Niclaus Engel, the younger.

¹¹²4E SteM 83/1 L35:23.46, ADHR, also quoted by Robert Baecher, "La Communauté Anabaptiste du Baillage de Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines, 1690-1730," *Souvenance Anabaptiste* 6 (1987): 83

"The Lancaster Book," as this hymnal came to be known, has served Mennonites longer than any other American Mennonite hymnal.

The Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch: Two Hundred Years of a Mennonite Hymnal

By Lloyd M. Weiler, John B. Martin, James K. Nolt, and Amos B. Hoover¹

Historical Background

In the city of Lancaster, Moravian printer Johann Albrecht would often include his address on the title pages of the books he printed as "two houses north, from the old prison on Prince St." The prison stood at the northwest corner of what is now West King Street and

Prince Street. Late in the year 1804, two hundred years ago, the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* (impartial or unbiased hymnbook) of the Lancaster Mennonites first saw the light of day at this printing shop—as the title page says, "zum Erstenmal ans Licht gestellt."

Two primary sources provide much information about the history of this *Gesang-Buch*. One is the *Vorrede* (introduction) to the volume. The introduction gives special insights into Lancaster Mennonite church life of 1804 and the production of this hymnbook. We are not told who authored the introduction, but it was probably the leading bishop of the time, Christian Burkholder. The same year another important book was published, Christian Burkholder's *Anrede an die Jugend*.²

The other primary source is the correspondence of Deacon Martin Mellinger with his brother in law, Johannes Weber, who had remained in the Palatinate, Germany. Mellinger also corresponded with printer Michael Billmeyer of Germantown. The Mellinger letters are the main source for the history of this 1804 hymnbook.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century Pennsylvania Mennonites felt a need to print a new hymnbook to replace their old European *Ausbund*, which had been used at least since 1564. It had already gone through four printings in America and still remained in print. After 240 years of using the *Ausbund*, why did the Lancaster Mennonites decide in 1804 to print a new hymnbook, filled largely with hymns from other denominations?

Contemporary sources furnish two viewpoints on this matter. First, the Mennonite church in 1804 was in a transitional period, adjusting from the European experience of persecution to a Pennsylvania setting of freedom. The introduction to the hymnbook states, "in memory of



Title page to the first edition of the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* (1804), a hymnal produced by Lancaster Conference Mennonites and still used by Old Order Mennonites.

¹This article is based on a lecture given by the authors at the June 3, 2004, conjoint meeting of the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society and the Swiss Pioneer Preservation Associates at Hinkletown, Pa. Lloyd M. Weiler wrote primarily the historical background section; John B. Martin, special features and martyr songs; James K. Nolt, European and American songs; and Amos B. Hoover, editions. Additional information about the songs was taken from *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch Translations and Lessons* (East Earl, Pa.: Schoolaid, [1993]).

²*Nützliche und erbauliche Anrede an die Jugend, von der wahren Buße. . . .* (Useful and edifying address to the young on true repentance. . . .) ([Ephrata, Pa.: Cloister], 1804). Written in 1792, this was Bishop Christian Burkholder's explanation to the young people concerning the threat of Bishop Martin Boehm's "superior conversion," which eventually developed into the United Brethren movement. Publication of the *Anrede* and the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* was a dual effort to stem the loss of membership to German Methodist influences.



Twenty-seven Lancaster Conference Mennonite congregations had built meetinghouses for worship by 1804. Twenty-seven additional congregations, not shown, were still meeting in private homes. No major church divisions had yet occurred.

our fathers who gave their lives as a testimony for the truth of the Word." The Lancaster Mennonites had not forgotten their past history. However, it concludes, "On the other hand, we live in a free country under a government that grants freedom of conscience to us all." Christian Burkholder makes the same point in his *Address to the Youth*: "Because we are in circumstances and times in which our predecessors never were, they could give neither warning against nor instruction about them."³ The church was adapting to a new environment, and the 1804 hymnal reflected that transition.

This change to a new hymnbook was not necessarily a desire to change the message of the *Ausbund*. We find that Henner Martin, preacher at Weaverland, ordered twelve new copies of the *Ausbund* from printer Billmeyer in 1803.⁴ The frustration with the *Ausbund* was its inadequacy to meet all the worship and singing needs of the people.

Mennonites from various areas took two different approaches to meet this need. One used the *Ausbund* as the basis but removed some songs and added others. This was the approach of the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch*, which consisted of sixty-three hymns from the *Ausbund* plus hymns from other sources that were deemed appropriate for Mennonites to sing. A similar attempt to revise the *Ausbund* had already occurred in Europe with the inclusion of psalms by Ambrosius Lobwasser from the Reformed hymnal as part of a special edition of the *Ausbund*.⁵

The second approach kept the *Ausbund* intact and printed a second hymnbook for supplementary use. When the Franconia Mennonites printed their new hymnbook in 1803, they included only two songs from the *Ausbund*. They evidently planned to use the new hymnbook in addition to continued use of the *Ausbund*. The Amish did the same. They did not revise the *Ausbund*, which they still use today, but adopted the 1804

hymnbook as a supplement for a broader selection of hymns.

Martin Mellinger expressed his rationale for a new song book in a letter to his European relatives: "Since we had all sorts of hymnbooks, the old Swiss songbooks and Reformed hymnbook, and not enough of what we had, our brethren decided to have a hymnbook printed for ourselves."⁶ Martin Mellinger dreamed of having one standard hymnbook for use by all. To understand fully what Mellinger was saying, we must understand the worship practices of Mennonites at this time. Traditionally Mennonites did not think of going to church or to a place designated just for worship where hymnbooks would be provided. At this time it was customary to carry one's own personal hymnbook to the worship service, usually held in someone's home. If members purchased different hymnbooks and brought them to the worship service, it created confusion.

However, the transition from house worship to *Gemeinhaus* (literally, community house or meeting-house) was also taking place at this time. The increase of membership and the freedom of worship introduced the innovation of meetinghouses. About one half of the Mennonite congregations in Lancaster had already made this change by 1804, with many more doing so in the next decades.

Part of Martin Mellinger's dream was seeing that these special, designated places for worship would be supplied with one standard Mennonite hymnbook that would remain from one service to the next. The 1804 and later editions of the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* went into the new meetinghouses.

Hymnbook Leadership

Traditionally deacons, with oversight from the bishops, would have taken care of responsibilities for publishing or reprinting the hymnbooks. With the last printing of the *Ausbund* in 1785, the ordained leaders had made the arrangements with the printer at Germantown.⁷

³Ibid., introduction: "Weil wir in Zeit und Umstanden kommen sind da die Vater nicht darinnen waren, so konnten sie auch weder Warnung noch Unterricht davon geben." Christian Burkholder recognized the need for change but was concerned that the church would remain faithful to the core belief of Anabaptism as expressed in the *Martyrs Mirror*.

⁴Jacob Oberholtzer had a report from Henner Martin that he would like to have a dozen of the old hymn books and a dozen of the new hymn books." Martin Möllinger to Michael Billmeyer, Nov. 19, 1803, Michael Billmeyer Collection, Germantown Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

⁵Bibliographical material and dating on this edition appears in Paul M. Yoder, Elizabeth Bender, Harvey Graber, and Nelson P. Springer, *Four Hundred Years with the Ausbund* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1964), 35.

⁶Martin Möllinger, Lampeter Twp., Lancaster Co., Pa., to his brother-in-law, Johannes Weber, Germany, Feb. 20, 1821, in Harold Bender, trans., ed., "The Correspondence of Martin Mellinger," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 5 (Jan. 1931): 56-57.

⁷On May 19, 1784, Christian Burkholder, Bentz Hirschy, and Johannes Knegy contracted with Peter Leibert and Michael Billmeyer regarding printing the third edition of the "Mennonisten Lieder Buch" (Mennonite songbook), the *Ausbund*. On August 17, 1784, Jacob Sintzenig, Christian Eby, and Jacob Kauffman, in agreement with the forementioned, signed the purchase order and specifications as witnessed by Jacob Knorr. Manuscript, Samuel W. Pennypacker Library, Schwenksville, Pa. (photocopy in possession of author).

Martin Mellinger, in a letter, wrote of a committee of three, four, or five men who were appointed to collect the hymns and make the selections so that the book would not become too large. The committee was probably picked from the known bishops and deacons in 1803-1804, listed below with their regions or congregations and ordination dates.

Bishops

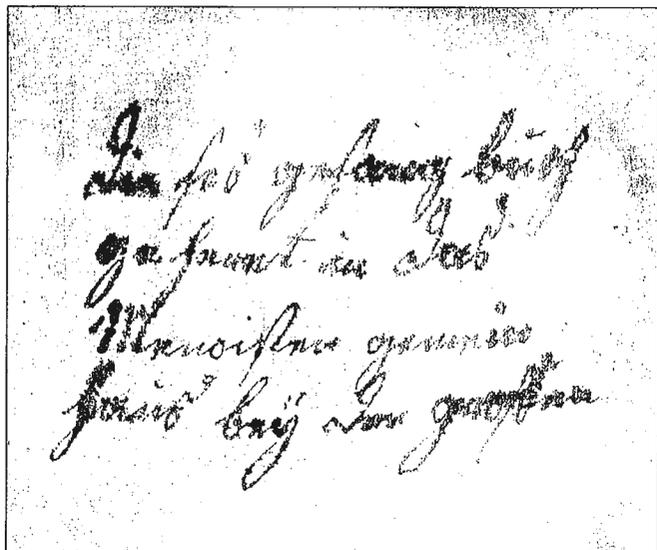
Christian Burkholder	Groffdale	1778
Benjamin Hershey	Rohrerstown	1780
Jacob Brubacher	Rohrerstown	1783
Daniel Lehman	Conoy	1786
Peter Lehman	Hernley	?
Jacob Hershey	Kraybill	1790
Samuel Nissley	Erisman	1800
Peter Eby	Pequea	1804

Deacons

Daniel Gehman	Gehman	1774
Christian Eby	Hammer Creek	by 1784?
Henry Weber	Allegheny	1780
Jacob Sensenig	Weaverland	by 1784?
John Nissley	Kraybill	1789
Martin Mellinger	Mellinger	1790
Joseph Shirk	Chestnut Hill	by 1790?
Christian Metz	Erisman	1791
Benedict Gehman	Weaverland	by 1791

Martin Mellinger was at first directly involved because the meeting with the Franconia leaders in the early part of 1803 was held in his home. He also wrote that two leading bishops were present at that meeting—probably Christian Burkholder (1746-1809) and Benjamin Hershey Jr. (d. 1812).

Christian Burkholder, the leading bishop with the most seniority, was evidently influential in the development of the 1804 hymnbook, for he seems to have written the introduction.⁸ He would have been aware of the needs in church life and had a voice in meeting those needs.



"This songbook [1804 edition] belongs in the Mennonite meetinghouse at the Groff's [Groffdale]."

He had a deep interest in hymns and singing. He was involved in reprinting the 1785 *Ausbund*. At least twice he made the trip to Germantown on behalf of this printing.

When the 1795 Brethren hymnbook was printed at Ephrata, he purchased copies for his children. He gave one to his son Daniel, and Abraham also had one. He himself was a hymn writer. When his booklet *Address to the Youth* was printed in 1804, he included a section for hymns, including a hymn that he had written. His home community of Groffdale is the only congregation we definitely know of that purchased the 1804 hymnbook in quantity and put them in the meetinghouse to stay.⁹

Burkholder was a writer. It was his idea to present a fresh interpretation of the faith for the young people. Conference had directed Burkholder to write this booklet and endorsed it. Probably the ordained leaders would have also directed him to write the introduction to the new hymnbook.

When comparing Christian Burkholder's *Address to the Youth* and the introduction to the 1804 hymnbook, one finds that the language, expressions, and ideas appear similar. He would have been open to the idea of a new hymnbook. The author in both writings expresses the idea that we live in a different land and different time and that a new way must be found to express the Anabaptist faith. The idea is expressed in both that the church is weak and is in need of restoration. Both writings lament the spiritual condition of the young people. One example of an identical expression—"Love is the only bond of the brotherhood, and where this fails, then no other bond is valid before God"—is expressed almost word for word in both writings.¹⁰ Christian, in his youth, had purchased a copy of the *Martyrs Mirror*. In it he wrote, "I bought it for my good and my soul's salvation."¹¹ The introduction to the hymnbook includes the recommendation of two martyr hymns especially for the youth. This also fits with the theme of *Address to the Youth*.

Probably it was in 1802 that the Lancaster and Franconia Mennonites decided to print a new hymnbook. According to Martin Mellinger, the conferences appointed a committee from both the Conestoga and

⁸John Landis Ruth, *The Earth Is the Lord's* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 2001), 406, briefly introduces the thought of Christian Burkholder's authorship of the introduction.

⁹Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, Lancaster, Pa., has an 1804 edition that reads: "Diesses gesanbuch ist gekaufft worden von den bruttern vor in das geminhaus zum lobe gottes Ihm iahr Christi Anno 180[3 or 5?]" (This songbook was purchased for the [use of] the brethren in the meetinghouse for the praise of God in the year of Christ 180[3 or 5?]). The penmanship does not match that of the illustration and thus may be either a different hand within the congregation or a different congregation entirely.

¹⁰"Die einzige Verbindniß der vereinigten Bruderschaft ist die Liebe, so das Band der Liebe bricht, so sind alle andere Verbindniße gebrochen, und die vereinigte Bruderschaft ist aufgehoben." *Anrede*, 1st ed. (1804), 30. "Da doch die Liebe das einige Bruderband ist: Dann wo diese fehlt, so sind doch alle Verbindungen nicht gultig vor Gott." *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* (1804), p. 2 of introduction.

¹¹*Der Blutige Schau-Platz oder Martyrer Spiegel* . . . (Ephrata: 1748). "This martyr book belongs to me, Christian Burkholder, and I bought it for my good and my soul's salvation. In the year of Christ, Anno 15 February, 1761, and it cost one pound and 17 shillings." This copy is housed at Muddy Creek Farm Library, Ephrata, Pa.



Title page and frontispiece to *Zions Harfe*, first published in 1803 by the Franconia Conference Mennonites

Skippack settlements whose purpose was to “select beautiful and fitting hymns.”¹²

In the spring of 1803 (probably right after Conference sessions), a special meeting was held at Martin Mellinger’s house with two of the leading Lancaster bishops, Christian Burkholder and Benjamin Hershey Jr., and two Skippack brethren to compare the hymns that had been collected. It was here that Martin Mellinger’s dream of one hymnbook for all American Mennonites began to fall apart. Mellinger writes,

The Skippack brethren, since they have a large and strong church . . . and are well-trained in singing, had brought together enough hymns for a complete hymnbook and had 3,000 subscriptions in advance. We also had many hymns from Virginia, from Jacob’s Creek, and from our vicinity. . . . In addition our brethren wanted to include a number of psalms and notes.

We can see there was a problem. Mellinger continued,

The difference was so great that the Skippack brethren said that their hymns had been handed in by so many brethren and dared not be omitted, and so many had already subscribed, and there was a lengthy discussion. . . . they saw no other way than to have their book printed in Germantown where they had a good printer and bookbinder . . . and we could print ours in Lancaster.¹³

The Franconia committee continued with its project. Three thousand copies of *Die kleine geistliche Harfe der Kinder Zions* (hereafter *Zions Harfe*) hymnbook were printed in the summer of 1803. It is quite different from the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch*. For the foreword the compilers simply borrowed the introduction to the 1798 Reformed hymnal. Only fifty-five percent of the hymns are the same as in the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch*. It included many more hymns from the Lutheran hymnal and only two from the *Ausbund*.

Martin Mellinger did not give up his goal of one hymnbook. He tried hard to win support in Lancaster to adopt *Zions Harfe* instead of making a new hymnbook. On September 30 he wrote a letter to Michael Billmeyer asking the price and availability for the *Zions Harfe* and expressed hope that the conference would simply adopt

Zions Harfe for its own. Possibly Billmeyer would be asked to reprint copies for Lancaster.

At the fall conference, October 7, 1803, when Martin Mellinger presented his case simply to adopt *Zions Harfe*, many Conference members were undecided which way to go until a letter was read from Mennonites in the Fort Pitt area (later Pittsburgh and the Jacob’s Creek or Scottdale areas) saying that they could not accept *Zions Harfe* because it did not have any notes. They wrote, “We want notes prescribed for one verse of each tune in the book.”¹⁴

On November 19 Martin Mellinger again wrote to Michael Billmeyer saying that Conference had put the printing of a hymnbook on hold until the committee had time to investigate the possibilities of printing notes.

On December 8 Mellinger followed up with another letter to Billmeyer that the committee had found a man named Doll from Lancaster who could print the notes and that, against his advice and wishes, Johann Albrecht from Lancaster would print a new book. Mellinger expressed his regrets that he had gotten so involved in this hymnbook. Albrecht’s experience in printing Moravian hymns with notes probably drew them to this printer. The “Vorpitters” (Fort Pitters) wanted tunes printed in the book; possibly Albrecht, with his Moravian connections, was the only printer who could arrange to have this done.

How did they go about choosing hymns for this hymnbook? The introduction to the hymnbook provides a glimpse of the editing process:

1. “Our purpose was to collect beautiful, edifying, and spiritual hymns from different hymnbooks into a collection of hymns.”
2. “In the selection of these songs we took pain to choose only those which are based on the Word of God.”
3. “In memory of our fathers . . . we have included some of their songs.”
4. “It is not our intention to bring anything new to the ears of the people.”

This tells us that they were very selective in what they chose for the new hymnbook.

Hymn Sources

What were the sources of these hymns? After inclusion of sixty-three hymns from the *Ausbund* in memory of their spiritual ancestors, the Reformed hymnbook appears to have had the next greatest influence on the compilers. When the Anabaptists lived in Switzerland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they lived in Reformed areas. The cantons of Bern and Zurich were both Reformed. In that time it was common for families to have members in the Reformed church and some in the Swiss Brethren group. (Heinrich Weber, father of the Hans Weber who settled his three sons at Weaverland, was a member in the Reformed church all his life.) Frequently the *Ausbund* and the Reformed hymnbook were used side by side in the same house; consequently,

¹²Martin Möllinger to his brother-in-law, Johannes Weber, Germany, Feb. 20, 1821, in Bender, “The Correspondence of Martin Mellinger,” *MQR* 5 (Jan. 1931): 56.

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴Martin Möllinger to Michael Billmeyer, Nov. 19, 1803, Michael Billmeyer Collection, Germantown Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

these Reformed hymns became ingrained in the memory of the Swiss brethren for many generations.¹⁵

Another influence of the Reformed Church, especially from French Switzerland, was the singing of psalms. In German-speaking Reformed churches, at first no congregational singing occurred during the worship service. In Zurich for almost a hundred years after the Reformation, there was no singing at the Grossmünster. Some maintain that this was also the Swiss Brethren practice.¹⁶

However, in Geneva, John Calvin encouraged the singing of psalms. In 1562 the Genevan Psalter was first printed with all 150 Psalms set to music. They were so popular that within three years sixty-three editions appeared. In 1565 Ambrosius Lobwasser (1515-1585), a German Lutheran from Prussia, was so impressed with the French tunes that he translated the Psalms into German meter so they could be sung to French tunes. These Lobwasser psalms, as they were called, were readily accepted by the German Reformed and became part of the Reformed hymnal. Through the Reformed hymnal the Lobwasser psalms were introduced into the Swiss



Title page to a European edition of the Anabaptist *Ausbund*, the oldest Protestant hymnal in continuous use since 1564. This edition combined the Lobwasser *Psalter* with the *Ausbund*, the latter of which served as the greatest single source for *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* hymns. All Old Order Amish congregations still use it regularly, and most Mennonites used it well into the 1800s.



In 1753 Dunkard Christopher Sauer of Germantown, Pennsylvania, printed the Reformed hymnal, including Lutheran Ambrosius Lobwasser's translations of the Psalms. Bookplates show that Mennonites frequently purchased this volume, which served as the second greatest source for *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* hymns.

Brethren congregations. By the late seventeenth century we find an *Ausbund* with the Lobwasser psalms included. The singing of psalms remained popular in Mennonite churches, and in 1804 the Lancaster Mennonites included sixty-two of the Lobwasser psalms, word for word with the same notes, in the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch*.

The hymnbook that had the third greatest influence was the Brethren hymnal, *Das kleine Davidische Psalterspiel der Kinder Zions*. This hymnal was first printed in 1744 in Germantown but had its roots in the European Inspirationist movement. The Inspirationists, radical Pietists, practiced community of goods. They eventually settled in Iowa and are now known as the Amana colonies. The Brethren hymnal definitely had a pietistic influence on the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch*, but it had a positive influence in that it came from a radical separatist version compared to the version of Otterbein and Martin Boehm. As a whole, the Brethren hymnal was appreciated by the Mennonites, for many copies exist with Mennonite ownerships.

The Lutheran hymnal, known as the *Marburger Gesang-Buch* (*Vollständiges Marburger Gesangbuch*), became familiar to the Swiss Brethren when they settled

¹⁵In 1925 Harold Bender found on the attic at the Groffdale Mennonite meetinghouse copies of the 1763 Reformed hymnbook with Lobwasser psalms. Only one of these copies remained to be sold at the congregation's 1970 auction, and Muddy Creek Farm Library then acquired that volume. Many copies of the Reformed hymnbook with Lobwasser psalms appear in Mennonite libraries.

¹⁶Conrad Grebel—in his September 5, 1524, letter to Thomas Muntzer—maintains that singing should not be part of a worship service. J. C. Wenger, ed., trans., *Conrad Grebel's Programmatic Letters of 1524* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1970), 19, 21. Certainly the Swiss Brethren did sing as evidenced by their hymnbooks; however, they did not do so during the worship service. It is still the practice in Old Order Mennonite and Amish worship services for the laity to control the singing, which is done before and after the worship service proper and not interspersed within the service.

in the Palatinate. Forty-two hymns were chosen from this hymnal. There were a few hymns from the Schwenkfelder and Moravian hymnals, but there are more than sixty hymns that I could not identify from any American hymnal.

The 1804 hymnbook became a success with the three thousand printed initially and a second printing within four years. Many young people bought copies of the 1804 edition and made personal inscriptions on the fly-leaves.

Special Features of Selected Hymns

Himmel, Erde, Luft und Meer (Heaven, earth, sky, and sea) (no. 9, p. 477)

All creation praises God, the creator, simply by being what God created each to be. Urges the reader also to praise God and honor his sovereignty; speaks of earth as a rounded ball. Written by Joachim Neander about 1660; English translation by Catherine Winkworth (1827-1878) in *Mennonite Hymnal*¹⁷ (no. 59), *Christian Hymnary*¹⁸ (no. 88), and *Anabaptist Hymnal*¹⁹ (no. 119). The fact that this hymn has been translated into Romanian further illustrates its stature as a classic hymn.

Ich habe nun den Grund gefunden (I have now found the foundation) (no. 115, p. 127)

This hymn speaks of the true foundation, which holds one's anchor forever; God's everlasting mercy and open arms of love; and his continual knocking at the heart's door to offer help.

Allein auf Gott setz dein vertraun (In God alone put your trust) (no. 130, p. 145)

Each of the twenty-two verses begins with a different letter of the alphabet, all the letters except J, U, X, Y. Rules for a godly life, authored by Christopher Dock; urges one to set faith and trust in God alone, not in riches, honor, strength, and good health. One should be faithful, humble, devout, peaceable, diligent and should flee all sin.

Unser Vater im Himmelreich (Our Father in heaven) (no. 152, p. 169)

Each of the ten verses begins with the next consecutive phrase of the Lord's Prayer. The *Ausbund* contains a different nine-stanza hymn, also based on the Lord's Prayer, by Hans Betz and with the same title.

Welch' eine Sorg und Furcht (What a concern and [godly] fear) (no. 252, p. 273)

Satan lays a thousand nets and snares (v. 2). The hymn writer concludes that the apple was the forbidden fruit of the Garden of Eden (v. 6). The whole first world perished; not ten righteous persons were found in Sodom (v. 8).

Sample *Ausbund* Hymns

O Gott Vater, wir loben dich (O God, Father, thee do we praise) (no. 1, p. 3)

Referred to as the "Loblied" (Song of praise) and sung as the second song in every Old Order Amish worship service. It was written about 1590 by Leonard Clock, a Mennonite minister of North Germany and the Netherlands, as a prayer of praise and a plea for spiritual hunger, nourishment, inspiration, and

admonishment through the worship service. English translations appear in *Mennonite Hymnal* (no. 384), *Anabaptist Hymnal* (nos. 20-23), and *Christian Hymnary* (no. 409).

Der Glaub beschützt mich ganz und gar (Faith protects me quite completely) (no. 80, p. 73)

Each verse expresses attributes of a Christian virtue, such as faith and temperance, as represented by each of twelve virgins who were martyred.

Wir glauben all an einen Gott (We all believe in one true God) (no. 82, p. 76)

Song based on the confession of faith of Peter Riedemann, a Hutterian leader; stanzas on the one true God, Jesus Christ (crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension), Holy Spirit, church, baptism, and the gift of salvation through him. Second hymn in the *Ausbund*; English translation in *Anabaptist Hymnal* (no. 18)

Als Christus mit sein'r wahren Lehr (When Christ with his true teaching came) (no. 171, p. 188)

In this thirteen-stanza hymn about affliction and suffering the Christian can expect persecution, scorn, and insult from the world. Christ taught his disciples that each should daily carry his cross, be vigilant, love nothing more dearly than God, and be obedient to his Word. This is the seventh hymn in the *Ausbund*, which attributes it to the Anabaptist leader Michael Sattler. Several stanzas, especially verse twelve in the original, foreshadowed Sattler's cruel martyrdom at the stake in 1527:

"O Christ, do help your people true,
Who faithfully do follow you—
That through your bitter death may we
In every trial delivered be."

In the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* it appears in the "Of the Cross and Suffering" section. It exists in English translation in *Anabaptist Hymnal*²⁰ (no. 8),



George Simon—martyr along with Clement Dircks and Marie Joris at Haarlem, the Netherlands, in 1557—according to the 1685 edition of *Martyrs Mirror*.

¹⁷The *Mennonite Hymnal* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1969).

¹⁸The *Christian Hymnary* (Uniontown, Ohio: Christian Hymnary Publishers, 1972).

¹⁹Clarence Y. Fretz, ed., *Anabaptist Hymnal* (Hagerstown, Md.: Deutsche Buchhandlung, 1987).

²⁰Verse 3 in this translation is verse 12 of the original.

*Songs of the Ausbund*²¹ (no. 7), and "Some Mennonite Hymns Translated from the German Language."²² *Merkt auf, ihr Völker alle* (Notice, all you people) (no. 180, p. 199)

This hymn is referenced in the foreword of the hymnal as a "very edifying hymn directed toward the youth." George Simon, shortly before his martyrdom, wrote a letter to his son, urging him to remain steadfast in the faith (v. 3). George Simon was burned at Haarlem in 1557.

Mit Freuden woll'n wir singen (With joy we want to sing) (no. 182, p. 201)

A fourteen-stanza hymn with each verse written in prison by one of fourteen brethren, all of whom were later martyred. They reaffirm their faith and determination to remain true in spite of persecution and encourage other believers to do the same.



The martyrdom in Rome of Algerius, a student from Padua, Italy, in 1557 as depicted in the 1685 edition of *Martyrs Mirror*.

Als Man zählt tausend funf hundert Jahr (As one reckons a thousand, five hundred, and fifty-seven years) (no. 187, p. 208)

This hymn recounts the story of the gruesome murder in 1557 of the young student Algerius from Padua, Italy, a "champion and soldier of Jesus Christ," according to the foreword of the hymnal. The executioner asked him to kiss the crucifix. When he refused, his captors poured hot oil on him and burned him at the stake.

Kommt her zu mir, spricht Gottes Sohn (Come unto me, says God's Son) (no. 195, p. 218)

This hymn was written by a Hutterite martyr and, interestingly, came into the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* without having been in the *Ausbund*.

Was wend wir aber heben an (Why do we want to begin [to sing]) (3d appendix, no. 12, p. 479)

Hymn about martyr Hans Haßlibacher of Summiswald, Switzerland, in thirty-two stanzas. An angel came to Haßlibacher at night and told him that he would be martyred for his faith and that when he was executed, his head would roll into his hat and laugh, the sun would turn red like blood, and the town well would sweat blood. These three signs were fulfilled at his death. The English translation of this hymn appears in the *Martyrs Mirror*.²³

Sample Hymns of European Origin By Protestant or Pietist Writers

Jesu, Jesu, Brunn des Lebens (Jesus, Jesus, life, the fountain) (no. 3, p. 4)

A prayer for Jesus to bless the worship service with his presence, Spirit, enlightenment, and discipline to nurture further the Christian life; requests help for the straying ones to return to the joyous, heavenly way. This was written by Hieronymus Annoni (1697-1770), a Swiss Pietist pastor at Mutterz near Basel. He was a descendant of an Italian family that had fled from Italy for the sake of the gospel.²⁴ This song is one of the best-known German songs of Mennonites who sing German. English translations appear in *Christian Hymnary* (no. 398) and *Anabaptist Hymnal* (nos. 24-25).

Ach bleib bey uns, Herr Jesu Christ (Abide with us) (no. 15, p. 428)

A plea for Christ's abiding presence now and in the evening of life (or time) so that believers may remain steadfast until the end and repose in him at last; similar to the English hymn, "Abide with Me." Stanza 1 by Nikolaus Herman (ca. 1480-1561); English translation in *Anabaptist Hymnal* (no. 106).²⁵

Demuth ist die schönste Tugend (Humility, O fairest virtue) (no. 135, p. 149)

Hymn on the theme of humility; written by a German Lutheran Pietist, Philip Friedrich Hiller (1699-1769); translated by Amos B. Hoover; and versified by Martin E. Ressler. Humility is the best virtue, adorning every true Christian as it did Christ and bringing blessings in time and eternity. English translation in *Anabaptist Hymnal* (no. 69) and "Some Mennonite Hymns Translated from the German Language"

Gott ist gegenwärtig (God himself is present) (no. 169, p. 186)

A reminder of God's presence and a prayer of praise, dedication, and holy worship; authored by Gerhard Tersteegen (1697-1769), a Pietist; English translation in *Mennonite Hymnal* (no. 7) and *Christian Hymnary* (no. 10).

Aus lieb verwundter Jesu mein (My Jesus, wounded out of love) (no. 170, p. 187)

A prayer of praise, a desire for deeper comprehension of Jesus' love and sacrifice, and a plea for greater spiritual hunger. The author pleads for help to be more thankful as he ought to be. If he had a thousand lives and gave them all to Jesus, the gift would still be too small, compared to his love.

Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen König der Ehren (Praise to the Lord, the Almighty, the King of creation) (no. 271, p. 299)

²¹*Songs of the Ausbund: History and Translations of Ausbund Hymns*, vol. 1, rev. ed. (Millersburg, Ohio: Ohio Amish Library, 2001), 56-58.

²²Martin E. Ressler, "Some Mennonite Hymns Translated from the German Language" (Quarryville, Pa.: M. E. Ressler, 1984, typescript photocopy).

²³Thieleman J. Van Braght, *The Bloody Theater or Martyrs Mirror of the Defenseless Christians* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 2002), 1128-29.

²⁴Clarence Y. Fretz, ed., *Handbook to the Anabaptist Hymnal* (Hagerstown, Md.: Deutsche Buchhandlung, 1989), 25.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 106.

Hymn of praise and adoration to the Lord, who reigns over and sustains all things, which he has made in his marvelous wisdom; urges all that have life and breath to praise him; English translation by Catherine Winkworth (1827-1878), one of the most prolific translators of German hymns into English; in *Mennonite Hymnal* (no. 9) and *Zion's Praises*²⁶ (no. 16).

Nun sich der Tag geendet hat (Now the day has ended) (no. 333, p. 358)

As the sun no longer shines and night descends, everything rests; but God never has to sleep. God is light and is hated by the darkness. Concludes with a prayer for the Lord's help in times of worry and trouble; refrain. Some stanzas by Johann F. Herzog (1647-1699) and some anonymous; English translation in *Anabaptist Hymnal* (no. 107)

Nun danket alle Gott (Now thank we all our God) (no. 342, p. 365)

Written by Martin Rinckart, Lutheran minister of Saxony, in 1636 after seeing four thousand of his people die of the plague during the Thirty Years' War between Catholic and Protestant states in Germany; expresses deep thankfulness and praise to a kind and caring God—Father, Son, and Spirit—and a prayer for his abiding in hearts and homes—without which there can be no blessing; ends with an admonition not to neglect salvation. English translation by Catherine Winkworth, 1858, in *Mennonite Hymnal* (no. 31), *Christian Hymnary* (no. 46), and *Anabaptist Hymnal* (no. 117).

O Haupt, voll Blut und wunden (O sacred head, now wounded) (2d appendix, no. 24, p. 465)

The Lord suffered grief, shame, scorn, anguish, abuse, and pain for the sinners' gain. Writer expresses gratitude and offers a prayer to die saved through the merits of God's love. This is perhaps the oldest hymn in the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch*. The words originated with Bernard of Clairvaux about 1153 and were translated into German by the prolific German songwriter Paul Gerhardt (1607-1676). The English translation is based on Gerhardt's German song and is sometimes called *Passion Chorale*. English translation in *Mennonite Hymnal* (no. 159), *Church and Sunday School Hymnal*²⁷ (no. 490), and *Christian Hymnary* (nos. 129-30).

Sample Hymns of American Origin

Ach, Kinder, wollt ihr lieben (O children, would you cherish) (no. 257, p. 281)

Written by Christopher Dock (1689-1771), Mennonite schoolmaster of the Skippack area; urges children to seek God as their highest goal, for the broad way of wordliness and pride leads to destruction; English translation by Samuel W. Pennypacker (1843-1916), governor of Pennsylvania (1903-1907), in *Anabaptist Hymnal* (no. 69).

*Ach wann ich ja gedenk daran*²⁸ (Oh, when I think about) (2d appendix, no. 3, p. 450)

Hymn by Bishop Christian Herr (1780-1853) as a testimony of regret for his past sins and wasted youth until his will was finally broken (he was baptized and joined the Mennonite church at about the age of thirty-six); asks Jesus for help to bear his yoke as a

faithful child, follow the right path, be a faithful church member, and be led by the Spirit into the fatherland; English translation in "Some Mennonite Hymns Translated from the German Language."

Editions

The *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* or "Lancaster Book," two hundred years old in 2004, has experienced greater longevity than any other American Mennonite hymnal. During the past ninety years the Amish Book Committee has published 91,182 copies, reports chairman Eli S. King of New Holland, Pennsylvania.²⁹ It would be reasonable to assume that about twice that number have appeared in print during the entire two hundred years.

Forty-one printings exist. If one counts the variant-size printings, forty-four editions have appeared as listed below:

1804	1868	1951	1988
1808	1871	1954	1991
1820	1880	1959	1993
1829	1887	1962	1994 (var.)
1839 (var.)	1903	1965	1995
1841	1913	1969	1996
1848	1923	1972	1999
1853	1930	1975	2003
1854	1937	1978	
1857	1941	1981	
1861	1945	1985	
1865	1948	1987 (var.)	

The book originated primarily as a Mennonite book but is now used mostly by the Amish; it was created by the progressive element but is now used only by the conservative element. The Old Order Mennonites bought about forty percent while the Amish bought about sixty percent during 2003. It exhibits a blend of psalms, pietist hymns, and *Ausbund* hymns, mostly of European origin; but a few were locally authored. Sixty-three *Ausbund* songs were initially included. The Old Order Mennonites have moved to pietistic hymn usage, and in some cases they have almost forgotten the *Ausbund* hymns.

Joseph F. Beiler, Amish historian of Gordonville, Pennsylvania, believes that the Amish had interest in this hymnal from its very beginning. From holdings in the Muddy Creek Farm Library for the 1804 edition, 2 are Amish out of 20 total; 1820, 0 of 28; 1857, 3 of 3. The Amish do not allow "Dünn Büchli" (Thin book)³⁰ in Sunday morning worship but reserve it for informal afternoon use at weddings and singings.

²⁶Aaron Z. Weaver, comp., *Zion's Praises* (Bridgeton, N.J.: Weaver Music Co., 1987).

²⁷J. D. Brunk, ed., *Church and Sunday School Hymnal* (Scottdale, Pa.: Elkhart, Ind.: Mennonite Publishing Co., 1902).

²⁸The original published version gives the title as "Ach, wenn ich je gedenk' daran." John F. Funk, *A Biographical Sketch of Bish. Christian Herr. Also a Collection of Hymns, Written by him in the German Language* (Elkhart, Ind.: Mennonite Publishing Company, 1887), 41.

²⁹Eli S. King, New Holland, Pa., letter to Amos B. Hoover, Denver, Pa., June 1, 2004.

³⁰Nickname given to the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* by the Amish in comparison to their *Ausbund* ("Dick Buch"), which is a much thicker book.

Apparently the Amish used the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* lightly in the beginning, but intensified their use as time went on. When the meetinghouse division occurred among the Amish in 1878, the Millwood and Conestoga congregations left the Old Order Amish, but the young people continued to intermingle for the next fifteen years. Thus, the young people moved on to English singing and four-part harmony. Parents and ordained leaders both strongly promoted the book among young people because it furnished a lighter type of hymn than the *Ausbund* but retained the German language. It also served as a deterrent to four-part harmony, which was viewed as a worldly influence.³¹ Subsequently Amish young people have developed many refrains in both English and German. In recent decades they have published refrain booklets, entitled *German Choruses*.

The Creative Period (1804-1829) of adding new hymns spans publication by Jacob Albrecht, 1804 to 1829; George and Peter Albrecht, 1804 to 1808; and the addition of some hymns by Christian Herr.³² The Bär printing dynasty lasted from 1820 to 1903, and the Amish Period, 1913 to 2003.

The 1808 edition saw the addition of an appendix of thirty-five hymns. The 1820 edition added a second appendix of thirty-two hymns, and a very small percentage of those copies contained another "J. HSR."³³ appendix, showing suitable hymns to match texts. In 1829 a third appendix of fourteen hymns appeared. Diamond-shaped notes were used through 1829, but succeeding editions carried round notes. For the most part, the 1804 and 1808 editions had been carried to church. However, by 1820 Mennonites were placing copies in the meetinghouses and writing dedications into the books, thus approaching the end of carrying hymnbooks, as illustrated by bookplates of Christian Eby, Jacob Burkholder, Henner Brenneman, and Christian Herr.

The Lead Period (1841-1985) began in 1841 with the first stereotyped edition, "stereotypirt bey S. Douglas Wyeth, Pear StraÙe Nr. 7, Philadelphia," using lead plates. Few changes could be made until plates chipped, broke, or wore out. The 1841 edition inspired a wide swing in popularity with more economical cardboard covers instead of the previously wooden ones, printing from stereotype lead plates, and title labels on the spine. Every congregation could now be supplied without members' needing to carry them to church. Popularity with the Amish increased as well.

After the Old Order Mennonites came into independent existence in 1893, a conscious effort was made to retain German. At the end of the nineteenth century *Hymns and Tunes* (1890) and *Church and Sunday School Hymnal* (1902) came into use in many of the more progressive Lancaster Conference churches; thus, the *Unpartheyisches* became available for the asking. The 1903 edition became the last book of the Johann Bär dynasty. It was also the last to have leather covers and metal clasps.

The Amish *Diener-Versammlung* of August 13, 1913, became the savior of "the Lancaster Book." Some very basic questions arose. Can one sing and pray in English and still be Amish? About thirty-five years ago, Amish minister and printer Joseph F. Beiler, Gordonville, Pennsylvania, observed to the author, "That is unthink-



This box is one of seven in possession of the Amish Book Committee that contain the lead plates used to print the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* for almost 150 years, from 1841 to 1985.

able." Also, should they publish new books as other out-of-state and out-of-county Amish were doing? "No, we will claim the "*Dünn Büchli*" as our own, and along with our five other books, we will buy the plates and print our own books." This became a very crucial decision. The first order was placed on November 20, 1913, for both the *Unpartheyisches* and the German New Testament. This 1913 edition was the first to be published by the Amish. Lancaster New Era did the printing, initially with a new look of cloth covers without leather or clasps. This edition still used the old plates, but the Wyeth stereotype identification line was dropped from the title page.

By 1916 it had become almost impossible to find a German printer in Lancaster. According to the account book of the Amish Book Committee, some of the 1913 *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buchs* were bound in 1916 by the American Seed Company,³⁴ located in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Account book evidence suggests that for at least a fifteen-year period this business also did other printing for the Amish Book Committee, including the second *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* of 1923, *Ausbunds*, and testaments. The last edition printed with the old lead plates was 1985.³⁵

³¹Samuel S. Stoltzfus, Gordonville, Pa., verbal report to Amos B. Hoover, Denver, Pa., June 1, 2004.

³²Funk, *Biographical Sketch of Christian Herr*.

³³This guide, entitled "*Eine Anweisung*," is signed "J. HSR."—possibly Heuser, Häuser, or Houser—at the end of the introductory "*Ein kurzer Vorbericht*," but the identity of the author is unknown. This appendix appeared only in about one percent of the 1820 editions. They are often called "the singers' table edition." For further information on the contents of this appendix, see Martin E. Ressler, "*Ein Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch*," *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 2 (Oct. 1979): 17.

³⁴According to the Lancaster business directory for 1917-18, the American Seed Company, then managed by William F. Scheid, was located at 5 North Queen Street, Lancaster, Pa. R. L. Polk & Co.'s *Lancaster City Directory, 1917-1918* (N.p.: R. L. Polk & Co., 1917), 228. By 1921-22 it had listings for 42-44 West Orange Street and 40-42 Market Street; by 1950 and through the 1970s, 35 N. Prince Street.

³⁵Amos B. Hoover's diary for May 29, 1996, states: "An Impressive Day. I saw the 1841 plates to the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch*, shown to me by Eli King of the Amish Book Committee."

The so-called Neocreative Period began with the 1988 edition, the first to use offset printing, and featured a seven percent enlargement of the print. This edition used the earlier 1985 edition as its basis, but broken corners of the lead plates were still apparent. Pencil corrections were most noticeable on page twelve, where a gash was infilled. The last order printed by the Lancaster New Era for the Amish was the 1993 *Ausbund*, and it became the first to be bound outside Pennsylvania. Rinck Heule of Print Systems, Grand Rapids, Michigan proposed, "I'll find a binder, but remember me with your next order."

When the need arose for the 1995 edition of the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch*, Heule wished to start with better copy. Consequently, two 1848 hymnals provided the basis for a more perfect image. The Old Order Mennonites made ten pages of corrections, including meter and spelling changes, and added nine more hymns and tunes. They also converted the existing music notation system to shape notes. Earl Z. Weaver, John B. Martin, and Mrs. David S. (Alta W. Nolt) Hoover served as the revision committee. At a crucial meeting of the Amish Book Committee regarding whether the Amish would accept all the proposed Old Order Mennonite changes, including the controversial shape notes, Amish bishop John F. Glick (1913-2003) observed, "Wann mir sie, sell nei duhe losse, duts uns net weh. No kenne mir singe wie mir duhn and wie die Wenger dun" (If we put them [shape notes] in, then we could sing the way we sing as well as the way the Wengers sing).³⁶

Consequently, the most noticeable change in 1995 occurred with the removal of round notes and the addition of shape notes. Some considered these changes abusive to the book. In one meetinghouse the books were ordered out of the building. Generally, however, the changes became well accepted with no problems. This edition became the first to be both printed and bound in Michigan. Each of the later editions also instituted minor changes.

In 2003 appeared the forty-fourth edition, printed by Print Systems of Grand Rapids, Michigan, and published by the Amish Book Committee. This marked two hundred years of continuous printing with books in forty-four editions and an estimated 175,000 copies.

Variant Sizes

Ein Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch (Canton, Ohio: Peter Kaufmann und Co., 1839), a small reduced-size book with only 102 hymns; published by the Wayne County, Ohio, Amish.³⁷

Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch (Gordonville, Pa.: Gordonville Penna. Print Shop, 1987), in reduced size, contained all the hymns except the psalms. Gordonville Print Shop published this very popular, pocket-size edition of 10,495 copies.

Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch (Lancaster County, Pa.: Amischen Gemeinden, 1994), with large print for failing eyesight, was published by the Groffdale Conference of Old Order Mennonites. Although this large-print edition was produced in 1994, the title page reads "1972." Printing arrangements were made by Gordonville Print Shop, which still sells both editions.

Related Publications

*Eine Sammlung von Geistreichen Sterb- und Begräbnis-Liedern für Christen von allen Benennungen*³⁸ (Chambersburg, Pa.: Heinrich Ruby, 1831) was published by the Cumberland County Mennonites to carry along to funerals. Even though books were often left in meetinghouses, most of the funerals still occurred in homes. The hymns were extracted from the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* and *Zions Harfe*, and no other hymns were used. This book is still used by Old Order Mennonite German churches. It was reprinted in 1867, 1919, 1950, 1973, and 2004. The latter edition, in paperback, still retains the 1973 date on the title page.

Die Gemeinschaftliche Liedersammlung (Berlin [Ober Canada]: H. W. Peterson, 1836). Published by Benjamin Eby, it drew two-thirds of its hymns from the Lancaster hymnal while one-third came from *Zions Harfe*. This volume became popular in Ontario and also elsewhere.

Eine unparteiische Lieder-Sammlung zum Gebrauch beim Oeffentlichen Gottesdienst und der Häuslichen Erbauung (Lancaster, Pa.: Johann Bär's Söhnen, 1860) was published by the Amish. It now exists in two variants known as the "Bär" and "Gingerich" booklets. It borrowed many hymns, including the title.

The Philharmonia, A Collection of Tunes, Adapted to Public and Private Worship, Containing Tunes for All the Hymns/Die Philharmonia, Eine Sammlung . . . (Elkhart, Ind.: Mennonitischen Verlags-Gesellschaft, 1875) became the standard tune book used for many years by song leaders of the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch*.

Philip A. Weaver, originally from the Port Trevorton area of Snyder County, Pennsylvania, and later of Hillsboro, Ohio, in recent decades developed a tune book, *Ein Gesang-Buch Von Deutsche Melodies* [1992], for the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* as sung by the Stauffer (Pike) Mennonites. It lists songwriters for some of the hymns.

Then Earl Z. Weaver of East Earl, Pennsylvania, developed another tune book for the *Unpartheyisches* as sung by the Groffdale Conference of Old Order Mennonites: *Ein Gesang-Buch Von Deutsche Melodies* (1994). A very popular book of several editions, it renders the *Philharmonia* obsolete.

The useful *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch Translations and Lessons* (East Earl, Pa.: Schoolaid, [1993]) was compiled by Mrs. David S. (Alta W. Nolt) Hoover with assistance from John B. Martin. It was expanded in a second edition of 1997 and serves widely as a workbook for the study of the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch*.

Melodies for Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch (Leonard, Minn.: Aaron Stauffer, [2004]), published by the Stauffer (Pike) Mennonites of Minnesota, is the most recent expansion of Phillip A. Weaver's, Levi Stauffer's, and Earl Z. Weaver's books of melodies. □

³⁶Eli S. King, New Holland, Pa., verbal report to Amos B. Hoover, Denver, Pa., ca. 1995. "Wengers" refers to Groffdale Conference Mennonite Church.

³⁷David Luthy, Aylmer, Ont., letter to Amos B. Hoover, Denver, Pa.

³⁸Edsel Burdge Jr., "The *Sterb-Liedern*, Hymnbook of 1831: A Publication of Franklin County Mennonites," *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 24 (Oct. 2001): 33-40. Martin E. Ressler, *An Annotated Bibliography of Mennonite Hymnals and Songbooks, 1742-1986* (Quarryville, Pa.: Alma Ressler, 1987), 20-22, became the first publication to recognize this *Sterb-Liedern* as a book of Mennonite compilation.

In the linguistic color of his native Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, a California entrepreneur revisits the family relationships, cultural traditions, and religious values formed in his youth.

A Tribute to the Yoder Big Six

By Kenneth D. Reed

Living in Morgantown, Pennsylvania, the David and Emma (Stoltzfus) Yoder family was a tightly knit, happy family with six children. The following article is the transcript of a little speech made by one of the grandchildren, Kenneth D. Reed, at a Yoder reunion in Ephrata, Pennsylvania,



Prior to his marriage David S. Yoder explored the West, where he wore out and never replaced his Amish-style clothes. Here he poses with a coyote he shot in Montana about 1916 or 1917. When he was ordained to the ministry for Conestoga Amish Mennonite Church, west of Morgantown, Pennsylvania, in 1921, someone commented, "They'll never make a preacher out of that cowboy." He served until the late 1950s.

on Saturday, July 5, 2003. Reed asked the six Yoder children—all still healthy, mentally sound, and in their seventies and eighties—to sit together on a bench while he read this tribute to them with their children and grandchildren gathered around and listening as well. For historical context it is worth noting the following:

"Grampop" David S. Yoder (1884–1967) served as a minister at the Conestoga Amish Mennonite Church from May 29, 1921, to the late 1950s. This church and many sister churches merged with the Ohio Mennonite Conference to form the Ohio Mennonite and Eastern Amish Mennonite Joint Conference of the Old Mennonite Church in 1927. Yoder was raised in a "bean-soup-Amish" family in Belleville, Pennsylvania, and moved to eastern Pennsylvania at the time of his marriage in 1920 to Emma Stoltzfus.

"Grammom" Emma Stoltzfus (1893–1984)¹ was the oldest daughter of Mast Sr. and Mary (Beiler) Stoltzfus, an Amish



Conestoga meetinghouse of the Eastern Amish Mennonite Conference, about 1923, where David S. Yoder served as minister.

¹Sarah Yoder Scott, "Seeds of Faith," *Christian Living* 32 (September 1985): 20–24, gives a daughter's reflections on Emma (Stoltzfus) Yoder's transfer of her spiritual and cultural heritage to her children.

farm family whose ancestors had lived in the Berks and Lancaster Counties area of Pennsylvania since the 1750s. Her parents left the Amish church when she was in her early teens. Although she went with them to the Conestoga Amish Mennonite Church, she persisted in wearing Amish-style clothing for the rest of her life.

The children that David and Emma Yoder reared on Mill Ridge Farm are: (1) Ruth (m. A. Richard Stauffer), (2) Phebe (m.[1] Daniel B. Reed, m.[2] Elvin Boltz, m.[3] Allison Bell), (3) Sarah (m. William Scott), (4) Mark (m. Alice Martin), (5) Julia Mary, (6) Dorcas Emma (m. Minister Samuel Rolón). Mark served as a deacon at the Goodville Mennonite Church of Lancaster Mennonite Conference between Morgantown and Blue Ball, Pennsylvania.

This tribute refers to Meckville Mennonite Church, also a Lancaster Conference congregation near Bethel, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, where the Reed family belonged from 1953 until the early 1970s. It also refers to Puerto Rico, where Dorcas Yoder served as a nurse in the Hospital Menonita in Aibonito and met her husband, Pastor Samuel Rolón, of the La Plata Mennonite Church.

Interestingly, in the last two years all six Yoder children once again live in Lancaster and Berks Counties, Pennsylvania. Home from their various moves and travels, they all now live within a twenty-five-mile radius of each other and get together regularly to play Scrabble, talk about their scattered children and grandchildren, recite long-ago-memorized poetry to each other, or just "chew the fat."



David and Emma (Stoltzfus) Yoder in the summer of 1920, following their February marriage.



Emma Stoltzfus, about twenty-one years of age

Dostoevsky, the Russian writer, once said: "All you need to make it through life is one happy childhood memory." I have hundreds of happy childhood memories. Whom can I thank for that? You people, whom I have corralled into sitting together on a bench right here before me. The Yoder Big Six, my aunts and uncle and Mom.

Let's start this trip down Happy Memory Lane at age five. I was having a sleepover, as our kids say now, at Grampop Yoder's. My mother had packed me a little overnight suitcase and, on a trip over from Goodville to Morgantown, maybe ten miles, had dropped me off. I spent the night in Russell's² room, as he was gone for the weekend somewhere, and fell asleep listening to the pump that wheezed outside the bedroom window and gazing at huge stars hanging in the sky over the wooded hill up the road. When I woke up on a fresh morning in June, I didn't see or hear anybody so I came down the steep, curved stairs to the first floor, reached the bottom, and pushed open the door—with two steps left to go.

Immediately I was hit by all kinds of great smells—mush, I believe; eggs; maybe coffee; the aroma of burning wood—and everyone looked up from the table and hailed me. Grampop was sitting at his spot at the head of the table, farthest away from me; Sarah and Julia and Dorcas in various spots; and Grammom buzzing around between

²A foster child.



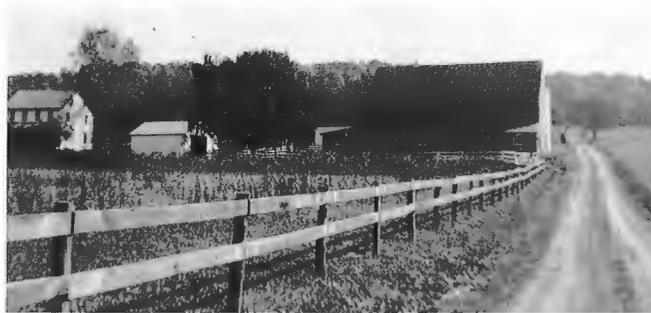
David S. and Emma Yoder (front) in July 1962 with their children: back row, left to right—Ruth (m. A. Richard Stauffer), Phebe (m.[1] Daniel B. Reed, [2] Elvin Boltz, [3] Allison Bell), Sarah (later m. William Scott), Mark (m. Alice Martin), Julia M., Dorcas (m. Samuel Rolón).

the table and the stove. Grampop had just finished the milking, which tells you how long ago this was, and a huge brown pitcher with a chipped lip sat on the table with, I imagined, milk he'd just milked—although that's not what it was. I felt a bit like a football hero. They were all glad to see me. I trudged into the room, and immediately someone pushed out a chair for me at the opposite end from Grampop. Magically, it seemed, a glass of milk appeared from the chipped-lip pitcher (although it was chilled milk from the previous night), a large irregular piece of Grammom's sourdough bread, a glob of wheat-colored honeycomb-oozing honey, and a sizable slice of butter the color of marigolds, the sort we didn't have at our house. I felt welcome in their world.

Grampop and Grammom's world has disappeared, so it's worth saying a bit about the place in which our Yoder aunts and uncle grew up. The home was created when Emma Stoltzfus of Morgantown married Dave Yoder of Belleville. The Stoltzfus family had lived in the Berks/Lancaster area since the 1750s. So Emma and Dave bought this farm in Conestoga Valley, right off the Conestoga Creek.

Let's say you were coming to visit it. What would you see as you descended the long dirt road running downhill from Pa. Route 23, over the bridge at Conestoga Creek and about two hundred yards beyond to the little dirt turnoff? First off, there was that three-story stone house and stone barn, one sad silo, a stone mill³ with hundreds of chickens and a corn-grinding machine, a smaller garden with all kinds of wonderful vegetables and flowers behind the house, and a larger truck garden down the hill a bit.

There were various strategic fences. A post-and-wire fence ran around the house and yard and little garden—to keep the geese out there in their place, I suppose. A white board fence separated the barn, house, and yard area from the tractor path and truck patch (as the big garden was called) beyond. A white board fence also surrounded the barnyard. And so on.



The Yoder farm as viewed from the north in the 1950s. Phebe Yoder planted the large willow tree to the left of the barn. The dirt road, now paved, goes by the name South Red School Road.



Barn and the white board fence on Mill Ridge Farm, 1950s



Mill Ridge Farm—217 South Red School Road, Morgantown, Pennsylvania—is now owned by Harold F. Martin, operator of Spring Mill Woodworking, a furniture store and showroom. Viewed from the north in 2004, the farm buildings in this photograph include a new barn to the far right and Spring Mill to the far left. The house, built by David Zug, bears a date stone of 1824.

The whole place was a hive of productivity. Geese goose-stepped in a long proud, pooping row across the driveway. Black guinea hens laid eggs in the shrubbery by the barn wall and shrieked when anyone approached. Steers, cats, milk cows, pigeons, chickens, and ducks all lived somewhere on the grounds. Purple plums were practically breaking down the branches in the enclosed yard. Behind the house, the garden had currants and gooseberries, enough to make any boy so happy he'd be sick, rows of gladiolus, rhubarb, and other vegetables like celery and carrots, and big purple bulbous things⁴ that any self-respecting boy was not interested in.

³See inset on Spring Mill (p. 36) for a brief history of this building in its days as a community mill.

⁴Eggplants.

Down in the meadow beyond the mill was a little dam across the Conestoga Creek. A sluice cut through one end of the dam and poured a steady stream of water onto a large wooden waterwheel, which rose what seemed twenty feet (although Uncle Mark says it was only five), mossy and black, forever cart-wheeling and creaking and dripping water and, most importantly, pulling a long steel wire back and forth. That wire ran all the way, at least a thousand yards, up to the inner yard, where it hooked onto the handle of a pump. The wire pulled the pump handle up and down, drawing up very cold water out of the well and into a square concrete trough in the screen-porch area, where you could sometimes find watermelons



Alice (Martin) Yoder with her children—Galen, Brenda, and Lucinda—at the waterwheel at the dam sluice in 1962. As the waterwheel turned, it pulled on a wire connected to a pump handle at the house. Running day and night with a creaking sound, it pumped water into a cement trough on the front porch where food could be cooled. From an overflow pipe in the trough the water flowed underground by gravity into the milk house, where it cooled cans of milk. From an overflow there it ran into a shed for cattle; from there it filtered out onto the ground behind the barn. Beside the front porch of the house a lever could be turned to route water to the chicken house in Spring Mill as well.



In the summer of 1962 around the pump at the Yoder farm, the Reed children and their cousins enjoy a party of cold watermelon. The author stands to the far left.

and canteloupe or gallon jars of peppermint tea or milk cooling.

Outside the fence were Grampop's beehives, which Sanford, Clayte, and I took great interest in. How close can you get before they come after you? Will stings or water make them madder? Is it possible to swat down a stream of them with a broom before they get to you? If you get stung, is it true you can just snap off the stinger with your index finger, use the hole on a key to press out the poison, and it won't hurt? Although this sounds very scientific, the answer to these questions came quickly, accurately, and with a vengeance. Clayte and I swatted them off. Sanford landed in their line of fire and got three or four of them down inside his shirt. It was very unfortunate—very painful for him. But the other consequence was that bee stings brought the attention of the adults, who told us, "Never again."

When our Reed family thought of holidays, we always thought of Grammom and Grampop. That's where we automatically went for Christmas and Thanksgiving, at least. Let's remember Christmas! It was fairly cold by this time, and since we lived the farthest away, we, of course, got there first. Again, the house was an absolute heaven of smells. We Reed boys watched with great impatience. Where were the Stauffers? Didn't they know we were here already? Aha! "They're here! They're here!" we shrieked, falling over chairs on our way out the door to greet them. The dinner was orderly—the big folks sat at the big table and the little people, at the little table. And then there was quiet while we offered grace. Grampop was praying, but I was listening to the mantel clock, which kept ticking throughout his prayer. And then the incredible river of food.

For me, the highlight of my visit to Grampop's was always the aunts. As I moved into junior high, Dorcas was away in nursing school, and Julia and Sarah were teaching school in Oley. I got to visit them once at school. It was about this time that I discovered that they had something that I wanted. Let's call it culture. Something more interesting than school studies and working on the farm. More interesting than church and sermons. I got my first taste when Sarah gave us a huge stack of *Jack and Jill* magazines that she didn't want anymore. Great stories, great jokes, great pictures. Then Sarah brought our family the entire collection of the *Nutcracker Suite* on 78-



The "Yoder kids" at 22 Thorn Hollow, Newark, Delaware, in March 1986: back row, left to right—Ruth, Phebe, Mark; front—Dorcas, Sarah, Julia.

rpm records. As they were 78 rpms, there were about two numbers on each record, and the whole collection weighed about five pounds, which led to my brother Clayte dropping one on the floor. It broke in pieces—for which I had a hard time forgiving him. But the greatest moment was our first listening session. We played them a bit, with my mother and us kids on our purple velvet davenport. And then Sarah suggested we pull down the blinds while she danced to “The Sugar Plum Fairy.” Unforgettable! Shocking! Dancing! She said she thought the neighbors might not understand. I loved it! And I thought she was the absolute coolest aunt.

I relished time with these aunts because every visit there was an introduction to something that my little farm brain hadn’t realized existed up till then. *Pennsylvania Dutch!* Aunt Julia taught me

My *handt* on my self,
Was *iss das hier?*
Das iss my nose-smeller, my teacher dear,
Nose-smeller, eye-winker, mouth-eater, chin-chopper,
Bigga, bigga, boo,
That’s what we learned in the *schule*.

Plymouths! Julia bought a sky-blue Plymouth and brought it up to our farm and gave us all a ride. *Petrified wood!* I was there when Aunt Sarah unpacked her suitcase from her first year in Ganado and brought out a collection of the strangest rocks. Wood that had become rock over eons of time, lying under an inland sea in Arizona, of all places, and that still looked like wood, but it was a rock! *Gilbert and Sullivan*. They gave us some old records. Mom and I learned these songs, and we’d sing “I Am the Captain of the Pinafore,” “Three Little Maids from School Are We,” and “Kind Captain, I’ve Important Information,” especially the line, “Sing hey, the cat-o’-nine-tails and the tar.”

I loved these aunts. They were interesting to talk to and pretty as well. Yes, I noticed how they wore their hair. It peeked out from the bottoms of their head coverings, unlike the cover-it-all-up style we had at Meckville. I suggested to my Mom that she try that style as well. She hemmed and hawed a bit. I figured she thought maybe that style wouldn’t fit back at Meckville.



The Reed siblings at their Lebanon County home, about three miles east of Lickdale at the foot of the Blue Mountains in Monroe Valley: back row, left to right—Clayton and Kenneth; front—Joseph, Herbert, and Sally. The Reeds lived here from 1953 to about 1972.



Harry (left) and Stephen Kee (right), two Navaho boys from Ganado, Arizona, that Sarah Yoder brought along home with her for a visit to the farm

But the strangest and most exotic bit of culture we got was Steven and Harry, the two Navaho boys that Sarah brought back from Ganado, Arizona. First, they were much darker than I was, but they still seemed like ordinary boys. Secondly, they didn’t show any emotions. Even when you thought one might cry, he stood there, and his face was a stone. But when they did smile, it was a huge friendly smile that caused us to like them.

There were, of course, other members of Grampop and Grammom’s family. From a third- or fifth-grade boy’s point of view, uncles and aunts were not interesting in and of themselves once they were married. They were interesting only as they produced cousins. Ruth and Richard did very well in this department. We loved our Stauffer cousins, especially visiting their house up on the hill where they lived with their big Saint Bernard. Mark and Alice were busy producing cousins, too, but since they were younger, it took more time to appreciate Mark’s. However, once I hit high school and Uncle Mark offered a summer job, things changed.

The summer of 1960 I was fifteen and fresh out of my sophomore year at LMS (Lancaster Mennonite School). I spent August helping Mark’s with their tomato crop, driving tractors, hoeing weeds and such, and telling stories to my cousins about life in high school. Mark’s still lived in their log house on the hill and hadn’t made the house switch yet with Grampops that they would make a couple of summers later. I learned all about the tomato crop and “the Porties,” as the Puerto Rican migrant men were called in those days. Mark was a very reasonable boss and overlooked many of my errors, such as breaking mower blades and failing to use the emergency brake on his new Mercury. Consequently, it ran away into his cornfield and left a scar, which stood there demanding explanations for the rest of the summer. I came to love this family as well, even though their kids were younger. The following year I came back for the whole summer, with my driver’s



Dorcas and Samuel Rolón at the Aibonito Mennonite Church in Puerto Rico on their wedding day, July 21, 1961.

license this time, and got to drive the robin-egg-blue Plymouth all summer long. This allowed me to connect up with important peers like Cousin Sanford, Alvin Stoltzfus, and so forth. But the point is, Mark and Alice gave me a chance to do some honest work while living in the valley that I was coming to regard as very special.

That was also the summer that Dorcas came home with Samuel. Since she'd been away at nursing school and Puerto Rico during my crucial years, I didn't really know her. She wasn't a schoolteacher bringing culture and hadn't produced any cousins yet, so I hadn't paid much attention to her up till this time. But suddenly, this wonderful thing happened. Dorcas, the rumor was, had fallen in love with a pastor in Puerto Rico, and they wanted to get married. But wasn't that a bad thing? The Puerto Ricans we knew were migrant laborers. Furthermore, one of my other relatives had married a man from Puerto Rico and, thanks partly perhaps to an unsupportive family back in Pennsylvania, ended up two babies later in divorce. I was still off at LMS when I heard the resolution. Grampop Yoder had decided he would make a judgment call. He'd fly to San Juan and check out the potential groom. And so he did. When he got back, he announced: Samuel Rolón is good for Dorcas!

They arrived as newlyweds in midsummer, and we had a reception in the inner yard. The guests braved the geese, came through the front gate, and sat on folding chairs between the pump and the patch of white coral bells. I don't remember the program anymore at all, but I do remember this funny man with a large smile partly covered by his mustache, his Spanish accent, his still wavy and black hair, his interest in me, and also how smitten these two were with each other. Did Samuel want to go on an overnight business excursion? "It's the first time we've been apart for a night!" Dorcas said. Eventually Samuel and Dorcas also did the other important thing—they produced cousins. Really interesting cousins. Not vanilla brand like the Reeds and Stauffers and Yoders. Sturdy hybrids. And even though I was much older than they, I did get to have fun with them in Belgium in 1969 and even succeeded in losing my little cousin, Nancy Rolón, on the beaches of Belgium. (Fortunately we found her unharmed thirty minutes later.)

I could say many things about Phebe, the second Yoder child and my Mom, of course. Since this is an essay about the Yoder family as a family, it's just worth saying that she was maybe the most outspoken, the sister with an attitude, the sister who could have been a business CEO if she'd had a different education in a different era. But growing up in a Lancaster County Mennonite family in the thirties, the goals were clear:

- Learn to work, and farm if possible. Iron, can fruit, smoke dried beef, shoot copperheads, paint walls, build bathrooms, milk cows, butcher and make hamburger, quilt and stitch, make pies and donuts and sandtarts. Hike up the Appalachian mountain, do crossword puzzles and paint-by-number pictures. And also rear five children.
- Dress modestly, and live humbly before God.



In his latter years David S. Yoder bought ponies to break for riding and driving with a pony cart of his own construction. He would then resell the ponies.

Spring Mill

By Chester Paes (adapted)

Martin D. Grube operated the two-and-one-half-story stone Spring Mill in Caernarvon Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, along a small mountain stream that has its source in the Welsh Mountains and empties into the Conestoga River near Hertzler Mill. This mill had been in the Grube name many years. Martin Grube purchased the mill from his father, John Grube, in 1895 and operated it here for many years thereafter. The mill closed about 1923.

This flourmill and gristmill, 40 x 50 ft., was built about 1824 of native stone and had two sets of burrstones, one for feed and one for flour. The dam consisted of logs and mud eight feet high, the headrace was one mile long, the spillway or tailrace was one-fourth mile long, and the water had a twenty-foot fall at the mill. The mill was built on the mountain slope and operated by a homemade wooden overshot waterwheel, 3 x 18 ft. in size. In times of high water, most of it drained away before passing the mill so that flooding was not an issue here.

In the height of its career this busy mill ran six full days a week. The five-foot sandstone burr was used for feed making when the customers brought their corn to be ground into feed each week. The farmer unloaded his corn at the mill and then took home the feed made for him from the past week's delivery. The corn was hoisted to the upper floors, weighed, and put into bins until it was made into feed. First it went onto a cob breaker where ears were broken into small parts, then dropped into a containing bin, and fed onto the burrstone. The containing bin held fifty bushels of broken ear corn. Scouring and smut machines were used at all times before the product moved onto the burrstone.



Spring Mill, viewed from the southeast corner, once had living quarters with a large stone fireplace and two rooms on the west end of the main floor. A large basement door existed on the north side. For the Yoders the main floor of the mill served as a workshop at one end and chicken house (laying hens) at the other end. Feed was stored in bins at the rear. The top floor served the family variously for storage, a playhouse, and a house for broilers.

Wheat, purchased from local farmers, was received by waterpower in the same way as the corn: it was weighed, cleaned, and put into bins until made into flour. All screenings were returned to the farmer, who used them as chicken feed. This was a fifteen-barrel flour mill; only one hundred bushels of wheat could be stored in the mill at any one time. Flour was made on a five-foot French burr. Under the brand name Spring Mills Flour, it was packed in small paper bags of 6½, 12½, and 25 pounds per bag for local use and delivered by horse and wagon to customers in Morgantown and Honey Brook. Feed was made here for hogs, poultry, and dairy cattle.

- Be thrifty—recycle clothes, recycle other people's clothes, make or grow your own food as much as possible.
- Be devoted to the Yoder family, and don't make trouble or cause the family grief.
- Marry as soon as you can, and raise a family of grandchildren to bring back to holiday gatherings.

Many things have been said and written about Grampop and Grammom Yoder, two people very wonderful and unique in their own way, with their own stories. But they belong to a different generation. Tom Brokaw, the great American journalist and TV anchor, wrote a book called *The Greatest Generation*. He described them as the generation that lived through the Depression and World War II. That's the generation of our Yoder aunts and uncle.

In one sense our Yoder aunts and uncle were shielded from the worst of this. In all the Yoder photo albums, I've never seen a shot of a Yoder selling apples for five cents on a city street corner or looking up, depressed, from the doorway of a Depression shantytown. The fam-

ily had the farm, a home base throughout the Depression, and Grampop and Grammom generously used their moneys to launch their children with their own places. In another sense the Yoders were shielded from the incredible furor of the world war since Mennonites didn't join the military. Although the war created shortages for sugar and coffee and other staples, no Yoders fought in the jungles of Guadalcanal or in the Battle of the Bulge. No Yoders died tragically during the war. We could debate that, couldn't we? What is our responsibility to the nation?

On the other hand, like everyone else in this generation, you Yoders lived through the Depression and the war. You persevered, and we have no idea what that cost you. You gave us life, you introduced us to the God you worshiped, you taught us to work, and you gave us a choice of leaving the farm. You taught us to dress modestly and live humbly before God. You taught us to be thrifty and to be devoted to our families and not cause the family grief. You encouraged us to rear grandchildren to bring back to holiday gatherings.

We salute you, Yoder Older Generation. You are our heroes. We are forever indebted to you. We love you. □

Queries

Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage will publish members' historical and genealogical queries free of charge as space permits. Genealogical queries must include a name, a date, and a location. Mail materials to Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage, 2215 Millstream Road, Lancaster, PA 17602-1499; electronic mail: cwenger@lmhs.org.

BUCKWALTER: Does anyone have information on Catherine Buckwalter, wife of Preacher John B. Harnish (1829-1909), ordained minister in the New Danville area of the Lancaster Conference of the Mennonite Church?

Martha Mellinger
104 Summit Hill Road
Paradise, PA 17562

GROVE: I need information about Joseph Henry Grove (b. 1850 in Augusta Co., Va.), who moved to Woodford Co., Ill., about 1858 with parents Samuel J. and Barbra (Kindig) Grove. He appears in the 1880 Woodford Co. census with wife Sarah, 30; Mary A., 5; "Chas," 1. Probably an infant girl buried in Carroll Cemetery in Greene Twp. (gravestone reading "Grove, infant dau./J. H. & S./d. Aug. 9, 1871") was his daughter. He died in Denver before 1944, the year his younger sister, Mary Elizabeth ("Lizzie" Grove) Cox, died in Ill. When and why did he move to Denver? Did he have more children? When did he die?

Hope Kauffman Lind
821 South Dogwood Drive
Harrisonburg, VA 22801
Phone: (540) 433-8225
E-mail: hclind@earthlink.net

LEISEY: Samuel M. Leisey (Dec. 30, 1846)-Mar. 30, 1927) was a butcher by trade in Jackson Twp., Lebanon Co., Pa. He married Catharine G. Spayd (Jan. 1, 1852-Feb. 14, 1918). They are buried in the Heidelberg Church of the Brethren Cemetery, east of Pa. Route 501 and Reistville, Lebanon Co., Pa. Catharine was a daughter of Samuel Spayd and Rebecca W. Gible. Who were Samuel M. Leisey's parents? What was his ancestry? Also buried in the Heidelberg Church of the Brethren Cemetery were Jesse Leisey (b. Sept. 23, 1837) and his wife, Kate *née* Reinhold; Lidia Leisey (Oct. 7, 1808-Apr. 30, 1892); and a Susan M. Leisey, who married Andrew C. Risser. Are they related to Samuel M. Leisey?

Gregory Straub
228 South Cyrus Street
Cleona, PA 17042-2415

LONG/LUTZ: My great-great-grandparents, Jacob Lutz and Catharine Long, were married in 1788 and had ten children: Elizabeth, Johannes, Catharine, Susanna, Johannes, Jacob, Nancy, Samuel, Abraham, and Peter.

I have not been able to determine where Jacob was born (U.S. or Germany?), but his gravestone states that he died on July 29, 1826, at the age of "62 years, 8 months & 6 days." I have calculated his birth date as Nov. 23, 1763. Catharine was born in the Lancaster, Pa., area in 1767, the fifth child (third dau.) of Joseph Long and Elizabeth Good/Gut. She died in 1854.

Both the Lutz and Long families farmed in the Washington County, Md., area from 1788 until 1795, when they moved to adjoining farms in the Germany Valley area of Pennsylvania (near Shirleysburg, southern Huntingdon Co.). Both Jacob and Catharine are buried in Germany Valley near the old Stone Church (Brethren). The church building was erected after Jacob's death, but he had earlier preached in German to the congregation as its second minister.

My Lutz-family research lacks several critical pieces: (1) Who were Jacob's parents and siblings? (2) Where was Jacob born (if in Germany, on what ship did he arrive)? (3) Where was Jacob between his birth and his marriage? (4) Where and on exactly what date were Jacob and Catharine married?

David S. Lutz
2800 Northfield Road
Charlottesville, VA 22901
Phone: (434) 973-2020
E-mail: Dlutz22901@aol.com

LONGENECKER: I seek children of Ulrich Longenecker (1681-1757) and his wife, Elizabeth, who immigrated about 1717 to Coventry, Pa. Known are the children of his first cousin-once-removed, Ulrich Longenecker (1666-1752), and his wife, Anna Blaser, who immigrated in 1733 to Rapho, Pa.

Richard Cryer
P.O. Box 11011
Greenwich, CT 06831
dickcryer@juno.com

MORRISSEY: I seek biographical data and ancestry for Robert Power Morrissey (1831-1905), born in Ireland. He married Apr. 7, 1853, Katherine Hogan in Rensselaer, N.Y. He was a coffin maker and harbor master in Jo Daviess, Ill. He was managing editor of *St. Paul Press News*, Ramsey, Minnesota, 1883-1905.

Richard Allan Morrissey
28656 Murrieta Road
Sun City, CA 92586

PARTRIDGE: Who were maternal and paternal ancestors of William Partridge, who married Muriel Morrissey in Chicago, Cook Co., Ill., in the year 1940?

Richard Allan Morrissey
28656 Murrieta Road
Sun City, CA 92586

RUDOLPH: I seek information concerning the following descendants of George Rudolph I, whose wife died in Germany and who came to America prior to 1780: his son George Rudolph Jr. (1764-1830), married to Christina Hotsinpillar (1770-1868); their son George Rudolph III (1807-1822), married to Catherine Ann Littler (1818-1858); their son Nathan Fales Rudolph (1847-1904), married to Alice Catherine Everett (1857-1903); their son William Wade Rudolph (1878-1953), married (1) Nannie Loretta McKee (1887-1902), (2) Emma Frances Heishman (1882-1959). These Rudolphs lived in Hardy Co., W. Va. I am interested in diaries, account books, or related items.

Joanna F. Martin
7781 Camp Ernie Road
Abbottstown, PA 17301

SCHNEIDER/HERSHEY: I am seeking any relevant information regarding several ancestors: Valentine Schneider (b. 1711, Palatinate/Alsace area) migrated to Pennsylvania on the *Samuel* in 1733. He married Jan. 13, 1736, Anna (Johanna) Kiebing at Muddy Creek. I have no records of either one's death. Their son Abraham Schneider/Snyder (b. Sept. 2, 1742, Muddy Creek) married Ester Hirschi (b. Apr. 18, 1747, Ephrata, Pa.), dau. of Benedict Hirschi and Judith. They moved to Westmoreland Co., Pa., some time before 1773.

Edward F. Foulks, M.D.
Tulane University
1430 Tulane Ave., SL-97
New Orleans, LA 70112-2699

Research Tips

Readers are invited to share new research findings or photocopies of relevant heirloom or family records in their possession. Mail: Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage, 2215 Millstream Road, Lancaster, PA 17602-1499; electronic mail: cwenger@lmhs.org.

ANCESTRAL NUMBERING: In the "Readers' Ancestry" article of *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 26 (Apr. 2003): 26-29, I used a binary system of ancestral numbering in addition to the usual *ahnentafel* system. My system uses a 1 for a male ancestor and a 0 for a female ancestor. Thus, 110 would denote a person's father's father's mother. Under the *ahnentafel* system this person would be 9. One can convert from the *ahnentafel* numbers to the binary numbers and vice versa by the following procedure. In the April 2003 article, exchange the 1's and 0's, thereby using a 1 for female ancestors and a 0 for male ancestors and precede the binary number sequence with a 1 representing the person whose ancestry is being presented. The new binary number, by some miracle, becomes the exact binary number for the *ahnentafel* number. In the fall issue of *Forum*, quarterly journal of the Federation of Genealogical Societies, I wrote an article on the subject, "Ancestral Accounting: A New System for Numbering Generations," *Forum* 15 (fall 2003): 13-15.

Raymond C. Rhodes
5390 Merriman Road S.W.
Roanoke, VA 24018-4222

BRUBAKER: The Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society has a photocopy of the following Bible record. The Bible remains in private ownership. Information in brackets comes from secondary sources. The calligraphy was done on June 9, 1830, by "Carl Frid. Seybold."

Brubaker, Jacob, b. Nov. 25, 1803 (East Hempfield Twp., Lancaster Co., Pa.) third child, second son of Jacob Brubaker and Anna Herr
m. [Sept. 27, 1825], Mary *née* Brubaker, b. Mar. 28, 1800 (Manor Twp.), third child, third daughter of David and [Maria] Groff

1. Daughter, infant, b. Sept. 1826
2. Christian, b. Sept. 12, 1827
3. Daughter, Infant, b. June 1829
4. Anna, b. July 2, 1830
[m. Emanuel Minich]
5. Elizabeth, b. Sept. 22, 1832
[m. John Myers/Moyer]
6. Son, stillborn, b. May 5, 1834
7. Maria, Apr. 2, 1835-[Dec. 20, 1903]
[m. Benjamin Hershey, Apr. 26, 1832-June 13, 1902]
8. Henry, b. July 9, 1837 (Conestoga Twp.)
[m. Anna Minich]
9. Susanna B., Aug. 3, 1839 (Mary Ann [Marion] Co., Ind.)-[Feb. 20, 1921]
[m. Jacob Weidman, 1833-1905]
10. Veronica B., Aug. 1, 1841 (Mary Ann Co., Ind.)-Mar. 19, 1865 (23-7-18)

CENSUS INDEXES: Ancestry.com recently completed its posting of an every-name index to the U.S.

federal census of 1870. The project links more than 40 million records to their corresponding census images. It allows users to search for names of spouses, children, and siblings when the head of household is unknown. Because it is linked directly to the images, once a name is located, learning whether the rest of the family matches is only a click away.

Ancestry.com has begun posting the first every-name index to the 1860 census, complete with slave schedules. In addition, it is replacing the current AIS indexes with its own new indexes for the years 1800 to 1850 (the 1800 and 1810 indexes are already online, and the others will soon follow).

www.ancestry.com

DILLINGER: The Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society has a photocopy of the following family Bible record (bracketed information from secondary sources).

Dillinger, Michael, May 22, 1795-Nov. 30, 1874 (79-6-8)
m. Apr. 23, 1823, Catharina Baker, Mar. 21, 1802-Aug. 2, 1876 (74-4-12)

1. Henry, Sept. 6, 1824-[Apr. 28, 1888; Sporting Hill, Pa.]
[m. Fanny M. Kauffman, June 8, 1832-July 10, 1923]
2. Andrew, b. Nov. 7, 1826
3. Benjamin, Dec. 25, 1828-Apr. 14, 1875 (46-3-20)
4. Michael, July 2, 1831-Feb. 24, 1911 (79-7-22)
5. Amos, Feb. 5, 1834-Feb. 16, 1834 (11 da.)
6. Elizabeth, b. Apr. 23, 1835
7. Susanna, b. Mar. 27, 1838
8. Fanny, b. Mar. 12, 1841
9. Emanuel, Aug. 30, 1844-Jan. 25, 1850 (5-4-26)

HERR: The Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society has a photocopy of the following family Bible record. Information in brackets comes from secondary sources.

Herr, Abraham S., Oct. 30, 1835-Mar. 15, 1905; [Bird-in-Hand, Pa.]
[s. Abraham Herr and Ann Stoner]
[m. Oct. 9, 1862], Elizabeth K. [Burkholder], Mar. 10, 1834-Dec. 4, 1896]

[dau. John Burkholder and Mary Kreider]

1. Annie B., July 26, 1863-Feb. 5, 1941; [single]
2. Mary B., Mar. 9, 1865-Sept. 17, 1889; [single]
3. John B., Oct. 3, 1866-Mar. 4, 1935; [single]
4. Abram B., Dec. 7, 1868-Nov. 18, 1961
[m. Mary M. Snavelly, Jan. 31, 1877-May 1, 1928]
5. Elizabeth B., Sept. 15, 1870-Jan. 13, 1936; [single]
6. Jacob B., Sept. 16, 1872-Jan. 28, 1958
[m. Ida E. Ressler, Jan. 28, 1878-July 24, 1935]
7. Fannie B., Oct. 11, 1874-Nov. 28, 1958; [single]
8. Ezra B., Oct. 31, 1877-Mar. 24, 1949; [single]
9. Rebecca B., Aug. 13, 1879-Oct. 17, 1960; [single]

HERSHEY/LANDIS: The Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society has a photocopy of the following family Bible record. Information in brackets comes from secondary sources.

Hershey, Peter E., Feb. 5, 1826-Aug. 31, 1911 (85-6-26)
[s. Abraham Hershey and Anna Eby]
m. Dec. 5, 1848, Anna L. Landis, Dec. 22, 1829-June 4, 1918 (88-5-13)
[dau. Christian Landis and Mary R. *née* Landis]

1. Christian L., May 27, 1850-Jan. 25, 1868 (17-7-29)
2. Annie L., Aug. 31, 1852-Sept. 16, 1877 (25-[]-16)
m. Dec. 5, 1875, Amos Leaman, [Feb. 18, 1853-Oct. 11, 1921]
3. Henry, May 19, 1855-[July 8, 1946]
m. Dec. 6, 1877, Christie A. Denlinger, [Feb. 16, 1858-Dec. 25, 1916]
[m.(2) July 4, 1902, Wid. Mary H. C. Coiner, July 14, 1853-Mar. 9, 1928]
[m.(3) June 15, 1930, Rachel R. Swartzendruber-Renno, June 2, 1860-Aug. 11, 1945]
4. Mary, Mar. 25, 1858-[Jan. 7, 1947]
m. Dec. 19, 1876, Esaias Denlinger, [Jan. 1, 1852-Apr. 9, 1937]
5. Landis, Aug. 24, 1867-[Dec. 14, 1962]
m. Oct. 25, 1887, Lizzie Buckwalter, [Apr. 24, 1865]-Nov. 16, 1891 (26-6-23)
m.(2) Nov. 19, 1893, Lizzie K. Leaman, [Dec. 3, 1874-July 25, 1935]

Landis, Christian S., June 18, 1803-Dec. 22, 1870 (67-6-4)
s. [John] Landis [July 3, 1766-Aug. 11, 1826] and Barbara [Snively, Oct. 5, 1779]-Dec. 25, 1854
[m. Dec. 15, 1825,] Mary R. Landis, Feb. 14, 1808-June 8, 1865 (57-3-25)
dau. ["Swamp"] Henry Landis [Sept. 1786]-July 22, 1858 (72-10-[]) and Maria [Rohrer, Mar. 6, 1784]-Apr. 25, 1850 (66-1-19)

1. Levi L., Dec. 31, 1826-Dec. 14, 1897 (70-11-13)
m. Nov. 21, 1848, Mary Buckwalter, [May 27, 1825-May 15, 1913]
2. Elizabeth L., Feb. 9, 1828-[Jan. 5, 1918]
m. Oct. 21, 1851, Peter B. Brubaker, [Dec. 22, 1828-May 1, 1895]
3. Anna L., Dec. 22, 1829-June 4, 1918
m. Dec. 5, 1848, Peter E. Hershey, Feb. 5, 1826-Aug. 31, 1911
4. Catharine L., Mar. 21, 1831-Apr. 16, 1900 (Easter Monday night)
m. Nov. 4, 1851, Christian S. Risser, [May 30, 1825-May 20, 1910]
5. [Minister] John L., July 28, 1832-[July 20, 1914]
m. Nov. 13, 1855, Mary J. Denlinger, [Nov. 24, 1835-Oct. 1, 1916]
6. Hettie L., Apr. 19, 1838-Sept. 25, 1905 (67-5-6)
m. Nov. 7, 1861, Martin R. Herr, [Sept. 24, 1836-Apr. 16, 1894]

JUTZI POEM: Jesse B. Beiler of New Holland, Pa., graciously wrote to me with the precise reference in the *Ausbund* for the melancholy verses of parting with which Christian Jutzi (1769-aft. May 1845) closed the third of three extant letters written from Somerset Co., Pa., in 1835, 1841, and 1845. The three letters, preserved in the Olga Kennel/Christian Jutzi Letter Collection (OKCILC), were translated into English and placed in historical context in my essay, "Christian Jutzi of Somerset Co., Pa.," in *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 27 (July 2004): esp. 14-15 with n. 91. The song quoted in OKCILC.84 is no. 134, described as "Ein Scheidlied" (song of parting), to be sung with the melody entitled "Erzürn dich nicht, O frommer Christ."

Christian Jutzi knew the venerable Anabaptist hymnal well, as is evident through comparison of the lines he penned with the selfsame verses as printed in the most readily available text of the *Ausbund*, the thirteenth edition, published by the Amish in Lancaster Co., Pa., in 1995, p. 786, song no. 134, v. 2. The first such selection of

hymns of the Swiss Brethren was published in or before 1564. In 1583 a second edition—the first to bear the title *Ausbund*—was issued with 130 songs. Hymn no. 134, quoted by Christian Jutzi, obviously was added later.

Christian Jutzi's spelling peculiarities aside, there are only two minor differences among his text; that in the *Ausbund* published by Christoph Sauer in Germantown, Pa., in 1742, a quarter century before Christian Jutzi was born; and essentially the same text preserved, with some orthographic modernization, in today's *Ausbund*. Neither difference really changes the meaning, but the readings of the *Ausbund* are superior. No surprise. In l. 2 as printed in the *Ausbund*, "Im Scheiden" (in parting) makes more sense than Christian Jutzi's "Im Schuten über d'Massen," which he probably cited from memory and which I struggled to understand and consequently translated "pouring out without measuring" in an attempt to fit the English into some sort of metrical scheme reminiscent of the original. In l. 6 the original wording, "Es bleibt noch unvergessen" (All remains yet unforgotten), reads ever so much better than Christian Jutzi's awkward double negative, "Es bleibt nicht unvel[r]gässen," likewise probably penned from memory.

More's the pity that I did not myself look to the *Ausbund* as a possible source for Christian Jutzi's verses. So I am all the more grateful to Jesse B. Beiler for enlightening me in this matter and subsequently agreeing that I might share his insight with readers of *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage*.

Neil Ann Stuckey Levine
108 Parkside Drive
Princeton, NJ 08540

MARTIN: The following Bible record is taken from a Bible housed in the Muddy Creek Farm Library, 296 Wheat Ridge Drive, Ephrata, PA 17522. Information in brackets comes from secondary sources.

- Martin, Daniel, Mar. 28, 1798-[June 29, 1854]
[s. Christian Martin and Magdalena Eby]
m. [1818] Anna Weber, Oct. 28, 1799-[Oct. 21, 1871]
[dau. Michael Weber and Catharine Stauffer]
1. Catharine, b. Jan. 4, 1820 [d.y.]
 2. Christian, Aug. 6, 1821-Oct. 14, 1906 (85-2-8)
[m. Mary Lauver, Dec. 13, 1828-Dec. 9, 1918]
 3. Michael, Aug. 29, 1823-[Oct. 17, 1878; twin]
[m.(1) Esther Oberholtzer]
[m.(2) Elizabeth Wanner High]
 4. Jonas, Aug. 29, 1823-Aug. 13, 1899 (75-11-15); [twin]
 5. Daniel, Jan. 31, 1826-May 27, 1896 (70-3-27)
[m.(1) Magdalena Stauffer, Sept. 22, 1822-July 12, 1855]
[m.(2) Magdalena Auker, June 17, 1833-Oct. 18, 1915]
 6. Anna, Mar. 18, 1828-[1861]
 7. Solomon, Nov. 23, 1830-[Mar. 2, 1912]
[m. Anna H. Martin, Aug. 20, 1838/9-Feb. 14, 1899]
 8. Amos, Sept. 30, 1832-[Jan. 30, 1912]
[m. Esther Nolt, Aug. 16, 1837-June 27, 1905]
 9. John, June 1, 1835-[Feb. 22, 189?]
[m. Elizabeth Weaver, Aug. 6, 1842-May 5, 1905]
 10. Magdalena, Nov. 28, 1837-[July 5, 1900]
[m. Michael Nolt, July 29, 1832-Sept. 15, 1881]
 11. Lydia, Aug. 28, 1841-[Apr. 5, 1885]
[m. Samuel Zimmerman, Sept. 2, 1841-July 9, 1905]

Book Reviews

This Teaching I Present: Fraktur from the Skippack and Salford Mennonite Meetinghouse Schools, 1747-1836, by Mary Jane Lederach Hershey. *Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History*, no. 41. Intercourse, Pa.: Good Books, 2003. 243 pages. \$29.95 (cloth). ISBN: 1-56148-406-7.

While much has been written on the subject of Pennsylvania German fraktur, this publication presents a detailed look at the origins, artists, and cultural significance of fraktur created in the schools of one Mennonite community in eastern Pennsylvania.

The author has spent decades unearthing the history of the schoolmaster artists of the Skippack and Salford Mennonite meetinghouse schools. Her fine research is illustrated with more than 140 color images. The book is a visual feast.

Montgomery County was the home of Christopher Dock (d. 1771), the famous schoolmaster of colonial Pennsylvania. He was associated with the Skippack and Salford schools for more than fifty years, and his *Schul-Ordnung* is a treatise on his educational theory and practice.

Hershey skillfully weaves Dock's thoughts into the text, providing the reader with a good explanation of the function that fraktur fulfilled within the school setting. Her book is organized in chronological order, allowing the reader to follow easily the flowering of this folk art genre between 1747 and 1836.

A translation of the German-language text of each fraktur appears in an appendix. This important feature allows the reader to comprehend better the significance that these documents held within the Mennonite communities. The photograph captions are filled with wonderful details and observations, and they clearly display the depth of Hershey's research. Helpful appendices include a chronological list of fraktur from the Skippack and Salford communities, a biographical listing of schoolmasters, and even a biographical listing of the students who received the fraktur.

In my opinion, this publication is the finest regional study of fraktur published to date. It is rich in historical detail and is lavishly illustrated with colorful, beautiful fraktur specimens. Many of the fraktur pieces are published here for the first time. Much new information appears throughout Hershey's text, which is presented in a well-ordered narrative.

These fraktur writings are testimonies to the faith and artistry of the schoolmasters and students who created what is widely recognized as one of the great folk art forms in America. *This Teaching I Present* makes an important contribution to the field of Mennonite and Pennsylvania German studies.

—Clarke E. Hess, Lititz, Pennsylvania

Ancestors in German Archives: A Guide to Family History Sources, by Raymond S. Wright III, Nathan S. Rives, Mirjam J. Kirkham and Saskia Schier Bunting. Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Publishing Co., 2004. x, 1189 pages. \$85.00 (hardcover). ISBN: 0-8063-1747-7.

The search for German ancestors keeps getting easier. Once a researcher identifies a German immigrant,

"crosses the ocean," and discovers an ancestral home in Germany, he or she can use *Ancestors in German Archives* to locate present-day archives that may hold relevant records. Compiled by Raymond Wright of Brigham Young University and three student coauthors, this book (henceforth AGA) evolved out of a major project launched eight years ago at BYU to "identify the records of German emigrants and use those records to create Internet-accessible databases describing emigrants' birthplaces, occupations, spouses, and children." Professor Wright, a genealogist and historian specializing in European records, and his students sent questionnaires to about two thousand record repositories in the Federal Republic of Germany asking librarians and archivists to describe their jurisdictions, records, and services. Returned questionnaires were summarized, Web sites checked, and alternate sources such as published inventories were consulted. Completed summaries went back to the archives for final proofing. The result is this 1,200-page book.

The book is divided into nineteen chapters—an introduction, chapters on federal archives and religious archives, and a chapter for each of modern Germany's states (*Länder*). The state chapters begin with a historical introduction, followed by sections listing state archives, city and regional archives, church archives, family archives (alphabetized by location, not family name), and other archives. Each archives listed comes with phone and address (including electronic mail and Web site if available), jurisdiction, organization of records, published guides and collection descriptions, emigration records, church and community records, vital records, civil registrations, city and district records, censuses, military records, and records from former German communities now located within other countries.

In AGA I appreciate the historical introductions to each state chapter, but I wish they had been longer and more explanatory. For example, in their discussion of ecclesiastical jurisdictions (Lutheran, Catholic, and Reformed) in the state of Hessen, the authors might have pointed out that from the Reformation until the early nineteenth century the Hessian state church was Reformed, not Lutheran. In 1817 the king of Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm III (1797-1840), tired of dealing with two Protestant confessions, forced the Lutheran and Reformed churches to merge in areas under his—that is, Prussian—rule. In the contemporary German Evangelical Church there are Lutheran and Reformed branches, but the Reformed branch in former Prussian regions is comparatively small and not a successor to the once great Hessian Reformed faith.

A second fine thing in AGA is its inclusion of Internet addresses for a great many archival Web sites. The quality of these Web sites seems to be on the rise; many are in English and permit online Web searches of their holdings.

On the minus side are AGA's frequent "no information available" or "no relevant records." The chapters in this very large book vary considerably in length. The largest by far is for Nordrhein-Westfalen—298 pages. In contrast, Baden-Württemberg has 138; Niedersachsen,

96; and Hessen, 86. Are there so many more records in the densely settled and industrialized Nordrhein-Westfalen than in Hessen? Or did the compilers simply receive more detailed information from archivists in Nordrhein-Westfalen than in Hessen? The AGA project depended heavily on cooperative archivists. I suspect its coverage is weakest in those areas of Germany that have been least cooperative with the Latter Day Saints' record-collecting projects. Two regional church organizations in Niedersachsen and Hessen have been hostile to the LDS records mission. The Evangelische Landeskirche Hannover long denied the LDS Church permission to film its parish registers. Many parishes of the Evangelische Landeskirche Kurhessen und Waldeck, centered in Kassel, also denied such access. This situation explains why so much of Germany is not included in the impressive collection of filmed church books at Salt Lake City.

Additional complaints I have with AGA include, first, the fact that very few libraries were mentioned. A Bremen Web site states that there are "about 3000 archives and 2700 libraries" in Germany with historically relevant sources for emigration (www.deutscheauswanderer-datenbank.de/enframeset.htm). AGA claims to have canvassed two thousand archives. Only a small number of these are libraries. Second, the maps for each state chapter exhibit a disappointing lack of detail, showing only the counties within each state—no cities. It is all but impossible to determine the county location of a town one is searching. After spending nearly a hundred dollars for this book, the reader deserves better maps. Lastly, since copies of many of these records are available in the Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah—why didn't the compilers devise a shorthand way to indicate this to the reader? Why send researchers to Germany for a record they can view in their local Family History Library?

These are minor quibbles. AGA offers researchers a vast amount of information on extant German record repositories that is organized nicely by location and archival type. It should be in all libraries serving German-American genealogists. However, one needs more than this book to research German ancestors. A successful research arsenal might include, in addition to AGA: Professor Wright's edition of *Meyer's Orts- und Verkehrs' Lexikon des Deutschen Reichs* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 2000), Shirley Riemer's *German Research Companion*, the latest edition of Ernest Thode's *German-English Genealogical Dictionary*, an Internet connection to Family Search (LDS site), and one last thing—the ability to read old German script! AGA never mentions the fact that the majority of records within the archives in this book are handwritten in the old script. Until 1941 this was still the official German form of handwriting.

Americans do considerable German research with minimal command of German and little or no knowledge of the old script. One *can* write in English to request information and *can* pay others to do actual research, but an investment in language study and an old German script course will radically improve the chance of using these great new reference tools successfully.

—K. Varden Leasa, Downingtown, Pennsylvania

Hess Genealogy: The Descendants of 1717 Immigrant Hans & Magdalena Hess, 1717-2004, by Robert A. Hess. Edited by Frank W. Hess, Sue Ruhl Hess, and Joanne Hess Siegrist. [Lancaster, Pa.: Hess Historians], 2004. 1438 pp. \$75.00 (hardcover).

Hess Family Tours: A Self Tour Guidebook: Hans & Magdalena Hess Descendants, by Joanne Hess Siegrist and Suzanne Ruhl Hess. Lancaster, Pa.: Hess Historians, 2004. [87] pp. \$25.00 (softcover).

The massive *Hess Genealogy* attempts to bring up to date the 1896 *Genealogy of the Hess Family* by John H. Hess, which consisted of about 250 pages in small format. Robert A. Hess has also published a genealogy of the Eshelman family and has written a history of his congregation, West Greentree Church of the Brethren. Here he turns to his paternal ancestry in tracing descendants of the 1717 immigrant Hans Hess (1683-1733), who settled in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

Many descendants remained in Lancaster County, but numerous people relocated to other counties in Pennsylvania as well as other states. For example, the town of Hesston, Kansas, was named for a Hess descendant (p. 200).

The book is printed in clear, readable type with personal names appearing in boldface. Direct ancestry to the immigrant appears with each descendant's name along with dates of birth and death and spouse's name and dates. Many earlier descendants receive additional description, and many born before 1920 also have a small portrait. The book, though heavy to handle, lies open nicely and has an attractive cover with a photograph of the tombstones of immigrants Hans and Magdalena Hess.

It is nearly impossible for such a large book to be free of errors and omissions. Some lines of descent are not carried forward to a younger generation. Names of parents of spouses who married Hess descendants are not always given though I think such information would not be hard to find. In an introductory special note, the editors solicit updates, additions, and corrections for a possible future reprint. I could not find two persons with the Hess name: Jacob D. Hess (1849-1913), married to Fannie Blecher and buried in Risser Mennonite Cemetery in Lancaster County; and Rev. George W. Hess (1866-1947), possibly a United Brethren minister, married to Katie A. Shope and buried in Hillsdale Cemetery in Dauphin County. If they are descendants of Hans and Magdalena, I hope their families can provide information to the editors. I am not a Hess descendant, but I appreciate having a personal copy for reference. I commend this well-done family history to Hess descendants and all other interested persons.

The thinner companion book is designed for self-guided tours of homesteads and other historic sites in Lancaster County associated with the Hess family. It has numerous photographs (many in color) and portraits both historical and contemporary. I was puzzled about the title of the "candid" photo sections. Some photos are indeed unposed, but some, especially formal portraits, do not appear to be candid. Nevertheless, this is an attractive book to accompany the larger Hess family history.

—Lloyd Zeager, Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage
Primary Surnames in Genealogical Articles
 1978-2004

Note: Consider all spelling variations of the following surnames. Only the most common variants in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, appear in this list.

Amman/Ammen	Oct. 2004			Kreider/Grider	Oct. 1985*		Apr. 1999
Bear/Bär	Oct. 1981*	Gingerich/	Oct. 1999	Krey/Gray	Oct. 1983*	Reist	Jan. 2001
	Jan. 1984*	Jüngerich	July 1996	Krug	July 2002	Rhodes/Roth	Apr. 1980*
	Oct. 1986*		Jan. 1997*	Landis/Landes	Oct. 1984*		July 1983
	Jan. 1987*		July 1997		Apr. 1990	Risser	Apr. 1987*
	Apr. 1988*		Apr. 1998		Jan. 1993	Rohrer	Oct. 1988
	Jan. 1991		Jan. 1999		Jan. 1995		Apr. 1993
	Jan. 1993	Good/Guth	Apr. 2000		Apr. 1995	Schantz/Tschantz	July 1978*
	July 1998		July 1983		July 1995		July 1984
	Oct. 1998		July 1989		Oct. 1995		July 1985
	Jan. 1999		Jan. 1993		Apr. 2001	Schenk/Shank	Oct. 1979
Blank/Plank	July 1981*	Graybill/Kraybill	Jan. 1985*	Landvater	Jan. 1983		Apr. 1984
	Oct. 1984*		Jan. 1992	Lapp	July 1983		Jan. 1987*
Bowman/Bauman	Oct. 1995	Greiner	Jan. 1987*	Lefever	Jan. 1980*		Jan. 1994*
	Apr. 1996	Grider/Kreider	Oct. 1985*	Lehman/Leaman	Oct. 1980*	Scherch/Shirk	July 1990
Brenneman	July 1981*		Jan. 1997*		July 1982	Shoemaker	Oct. 1983*
Brubaker/		Groff/Grove	Oct. 1983*	Lehn/Lane	Apr. 2001	Shope	Jan. 1983
Brubacher	Apr. 1982*		Oct. 1986*		Jan. 2002	Showalter	Jan. 1986
	July 1985		Apr. 1990	Longenecker	Jan. 1983		Jan. 1991
	Jan. 1987*		Jan. 1993	Lötscher	July 2003	Stauffer	Jan. 1987*
	July 1993	Groh	Jan. 1994*	Martin	July 1987*		Oct. 1993
	July 1996	Hartman	Apr. 2003		Oct. 1991	Stoltzfus	Apr. 1981*
Buch	July 1994	Heatwole	Oct. 2000		July 1999		Apr. 1986*
Byer/Beyer	Oct. 1979	Herr	July 1978	Mayer/Meyer	Apr. 1988		Jan. 2001
Charles	Oct. 1978		Jan. 1980*		Jan. 1989*		Apr. 2002
Coble	Jan. 1983		Oct. 1989		Oct. 1994	Stoner/Steiner/	July 1985
Coffman/			Jan. 1992		Apr. 1998	Stoneman	Jan. 1988*
Kauffman	July 1995	Hershey	Jan. 1978*	Miller/Müller	Jan. 1992		Jan. 1998
Cox	July 1983		Oct. 1979		Jan. 1995	Strickler	July 1983
Custer	July 1986		July 1985		Jan. 1999	Stutzman	July 1987*
Demmy/Thiemy	Oct. 2003	Hertzler	July 1981*		Jan. 2001	Swarr	July 2001
Denlinger	July 1980*	Hess	Jan. 1990		Oct. 2001	Swartzentruber	Apr. 1986*
Diener	July 1994		Apr. 1990	Mishler	Oct. 1993		Oct. 2002
Dombach	Apr. 2004		Oct. 1994	Mumma	Jan. 1983	Troyer	Apr. 1986*
Doors	July 1986	Hildebrand	Oct. 1992		Jan. 2001	Umble	July 2000
Eberly	Apr. 1989		Oct. 1996	Musselman	Jan. 1989*	Weaver/Weber	Oct. 1982
	Jan. 1990	Hollinger	Jan. 1987*	Myers/Meyers	Oct. 1987		July 1983
Ebersole	Jan. 1983	Hostetter	Apr. 1983	Mylin/Milan	Oct. 1983*		Oct. 1986*
	Oct. 1996	Huber/Hoover	Oct. 1990		Apr. 1988		Apr. 1990
Eby/Eaby	Apr. 1986*	Jutzi	July 2004		Jan. 1992		Oct. 1990
	Jan. 1987*	Kanagy/Gnägi	Jan. 1983		Jan. 1993	Witmer	Jan. 1983
	Oct. 1991	Kendig/Kindig	Jan. 1992		Oct. 1994		Oct. 1988
	Jan. 2003		July 1992	Nafziger	Apr. 1985		Apr. 1991
Eckerlin	Apr. 1989		Oct. 1999	Neff/Näf	Oct. 1985*		July 1991
Engel/Engle	July 1993		Jan. 2002		July 1986		Jan. 1992
Erb	Jan. 1983		Apr. 2003		Oct. 1990		July 2003
Eshleman	July 1988	Kilheffer	Apr. 1980*		Apr. 1993	Witwer	July 2003
Espenshade	Oct. 1994	King/Küng	Jan. 1983	Nissley	Oct. 1997		July 2004
Fretz	Apr. 1992		Jan. 1988*	Ober/Over	Oct. 2002	Yoder	Apr. 1981*
Funk	Oct. 1983*	Klein/Kline	Jan. 1987*	Oberholtzer	Apr. 1978*		Apr. 1984
	Jan. 1993	Koehler	Jan. 1987*		Oct. 1986*	Zook/Zug	Jan. 1979*
Gäbel	Jan. 2000	Kohr	Jan. 1983		Apr. 1989		Jan. 1986
Gerber/Garber	July 1985	Kolb/Culp	Oct. 1983*		Apr. 1990		Oct. 1987
	July 1999	Krehbiel	July 1983	Reiff/Rife	Oct. 1979		July 2002

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