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Pennsylvania:

THE GERMAN INFLUENCE
IN ITS SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

A Narrative and Critical History

PREPARED BY AUTHORITY OF
THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

PART XXIX

*A HISTORY OF THE
GOSHENHOPPEN REFORMED CHARGE*



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

Publication Committee.

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A History
of the
Goshenhoppen Reformed Charge
Montgomery County, Pennsylvania
(1727-1819)

PART XXIX OF A NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY
PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF
THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

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PREFACE.

Reformed Church History in this country has long been a subject of study. It is interesting to note that the first printed history of the Reformed Church in the United States was published not in America but in Germany. In the year 1846, the Rev. Dr. J. G. Buettner, the first professor of the first Theological Seminary in the State of Ohio, published "Die Hochdeutsche Reformirte Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika," in Schleiz, Germany. But even before that time, the Rev. Dr. Lewis Mayer, the first professor of the Reformed Theological Seminary at York, Pa., had been busy gathering materials for the history of the Reformed Church. Unfortunately he died at York, in 1849, before he had fully utilized the documents he had so carefully collected and copied. Only a brief sketch from his pen appeared in I. Daniel Rupp's "History of the Religious Denominations in the United States," Philadelphia, 1844. A few years afterwards the Rev. Dr. John W. Nevin included a sketch of the German Reformed Church in America in his "History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism," Chambersburg, 1847. In it he lamented that the Journal of Michael Schlatter was "the only record we have on the general state of the American German Reformed Church in the middle of the last century."

In 1849, the Rev. Dr. Philip Schaff published in his "Kirchenfreund," Vol. II, a series of three articles on the "History of the German Church in America," in which he traced the origin and growth of the Reformed and Lutheran churches through three successive periods.

But the man who may well be called the father of Reformed history in America was the Rev. Dr. Henry Harbaugh. He not only secured the manuscripts and documents of Dr. Mayer for the use of the church and added to them many others which he collected himself, but upon the basis of these documents he wrote two splendid volumes, which told the story of Reformed history in America with such real enthusiasm and beauty of style, that they have always remained sources of inspiration for later students. They were: "Schlatter's Life and Travels," Philadelphia, 1857, and "The Fathers of the Reformed Church," Vol. I, Philadelphia, 1857. In 1872, Dr. Harbaugh added a second volume to the "Fathers" of the church. In these volumes the lives and labors of the most important German Reformed ministers in America were set forth.

It remained for a former president of the Pennsylvania German Society, the late Rev. Dr. Joseph H. Dubbs, to write the first connected history in his "Historic Manual of the Reformed Church in the United States," Lancaster, 1885. Later he corrected and completed the story in his contribution to the "American Church History Series," Vol. VIII, New York, 1895, and especially in his beautifully illustrated and well-written work "The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania," published by our Society in 1902 as part IX of its "Narrative and Critical History."

A new era was ushered in, however, in 1895-1898, when the rich treasures of manuscripts and documents, stored in the archives of the Reformed Church of Holland, were discovered and made accessible to American students. It was in this connection that the writer first became interested in Reformed Church history. In the summer of 1897, his friend and colleague, the Rev. Dr. James I.

Good, asked him to go to Holland, in order to copy and photograph the records which had been found. He carried out this commission in the summers of 1897 and 1898, with the result that, on the basis of the newly found documents, the history of the Reformed Church in the United States could be entirely rewritten. This was done by Dr. Good in his important book "History of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1725-1792," Reading, 1899.

The writer himself had the privilege of translating and editing two volumes of documents, in 1903 the "Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of Pennsylvania," and in 1916 the "Life and Letters of the Rev. John Philip Boehm." They have placed German Reformed Church History in America upon a safe foundation.

But there are other sources of Reformed history which ought to be made accessible to students. By no means the least important of them are the church records of the oldest Reformed congregations. This volume may be regarded as a contribution to that subject. These church records have long been an object of serious study by the writer. Even before the year 1900 he had copied the first volume of the Goshenhoppen records. It was published in 1900 in Mr. Dotterer's "Perkiomen Region," volume III, and later, with notes, in the *American Monthly Magazine* of the Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Vol. XLII, 1913. It is now republished, with some corrections, together with the other volumes of church records, which, when combined and correctly interpreted, tell the story of the Goshenhoppen Charge. It is such a complicated story, that the records by themselves were insufficient to unravel the various difficulties and perplexities. They became intelligible only when studied in the light of all the evidence which had become available in

Europe and America. In the history of the Goshenhoppen churches the writer has made use of all the documents which have come to light, with the result that he has been able to piece together a fairly complete and well-authenticated history. The manuscript was prepared in 1914, hence many letters of Boehm are quoted more at length than they would have been if written after the appearance of Boehm's letters in 1916.

There only remains for the writer the pleasant duty to express his deep obligation to the pastors of the churches whose records are published in this volume. They placed most readily and gladly all their records and other historical documents at his disposal. They answered letters and sent photographs, most of which could unfortunately not be utilized, because of the high cost of engraving at the present time. The completeness of the book owes much to their kind coöperation. The writer is under special obligation to his dear friend, the Rev. John B. Stoudt, who first encouraged him to undertake the writing of this history, and then gave his most loyal assistance in every difficulty that arose. To him the book is most fittingly dedicated as a token of the author's indebtedness and appreciation.

WILLIAM J. HINKE.

AUBURN,
October 15, 1919.

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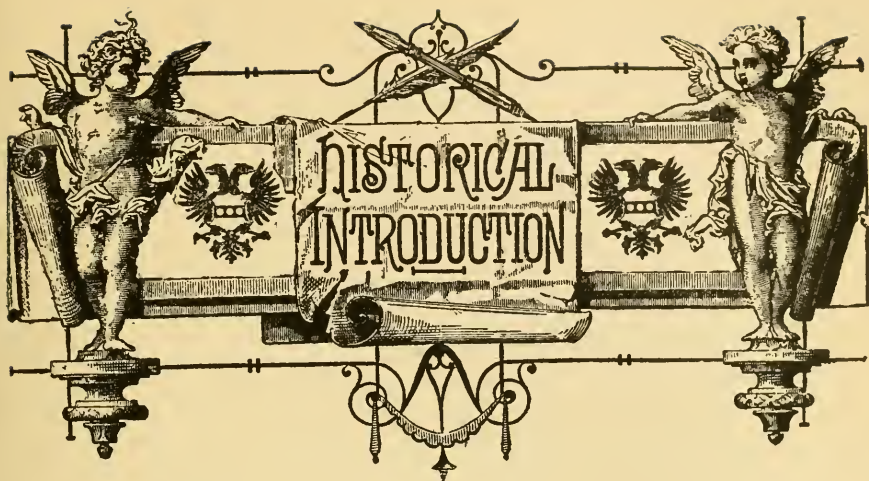
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THE region commonly known as Goshenhoppen extends along the Perkiömen Creek, in the upper end of Montgomery County, Pa., and covers also small strips of land in the adjacent counties of Berks, Lehigh and Bucks. According to Dr. C. Z. Weiser¹ it is a tract "perhaps ten miles long and five miles wide" which extends "from Treichlersville [Lehigh County] to Sumneytown [Montgomery County], north and south and from the Bucks County line to the Perkiömen, east and west. It is a region rather than a township."

The name first appears in the public records of the province in the year 1728,² when on May 17, 1728, the inhabitants of Colebrookdale addressed a petition to the governor, asking for relief against the Indians. They report that "we have Suffered and is like to sufer By the Ingians, they have fell upon ye Back Inhabitators about falkners

¹ See C. Z. Weiser's *Monograph of the New Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp Charge, 1731-1881*, Reading, 1882, p. 5; also his statement in Dotterer's *Perkiömen Region*, Vol. I, p. 64.

² See *Pennsylvania Archives, First Series*, Vol. I, p. 213 f.

Swamp, & near Coshahopin. Therefore, we the humble Petitioners, With our poor Wives & Children Do humbly Beg of your Excellency To Take It into Consideration and Relieve us the Petitioners hereof, Whos Lives Lies at Stake With us and our poor Wives & Children that is more to us than Life. Therefore, We the humble Petitioners hereof, Do Desire An Answer from your Excellency By ye Bearer with Speed, so no more at present from your poor afflicted People Whose names are here Subscribed."

Among the 48 signers to this petition are several, like Christian Neuschwanger, John Mayer, Christopher Schmidt and Peter Bohn, who appear also as members of the Reformed church at Skippack.³

The name of the district was variously spelled. In the Journal kept in the Land Office of the Proprietaries⁴ it appears as Cowessahopin, Cowessehoppin, Cowissehoppin, and other similar forms. Mr. Boehm uses⁵ Goschenhoppin, Goschoppen and even Goschenhakken. Dr. Weiser quotes⁶ in addition: Quesohopen, Cosshehoppa, Coshenhoppe, Coshahopin, Cowissahopen, and Coschehoppe. As the second part of the name appears in the names of two Indian chiefs, Enschockhoppa and Shakahoppa, Dr. Weiser concludes that the name is of Indian origin.⁷

The Goshenhoppin region included from early times

³ See *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, Vol. I, p. 122; Vol. VII, pp. 48. 60.

⁴ See *Perkiomen Region*, Vol. I, pp. 105, 118, 119, 140, 141, 151, etc.

⁵ See *Journal of the P. H. S.*, Vol. VII, pp. 56, 122, 124.

⁶ Weiser, *Monograph*, p. 5.

⁷ In the *Perkiomen Region*, Vol. III, p. 145, Mr. Dotterer raises the question whether "Goshenhoppin" might not be a German name, by calling attention to the German place name "Goshenhof." But the Dutch form of "Hof," namely "hoeve," shows that the final "f" in High German becomes "v" or "w" in Low German, but not a single or double "p."

two sections, one nearer Philadelphia, known as Old Goshenhoppen, comprising part of Upper Salford township, the other farther north, in Upper Hanover township, known as New Goshenhoppen. Which one of these districts was settled first has not as yet been determined, so much is certain that, as we shall show later, ecclesiastically New Goshenhoppen was the first, for the first traces of a Reformed church organization appear in the New Goshenhoppen section.

As the Goshenhoppen region is a part of the Perkiomen valley and the latter a part of Montgomery County, we shall preface the history of the Goshenhoppen churches with a brief survey of the general field.

In the Journal of the Land Office of the Proprietaries,⁸ the Perkiomen valley, called Perqueaming, appears as early as 1717. On March 15, 1718, "Peter Wents" of Skippack paid quitrent for 100 acres for a period of ten years and for 50 acres for a period of 14 years. Hence he must have settled at Skippack as early as 1704. This makes him one of the earliest settlers of the Perkiomen valley. In 1730 his name appears⁹ as a member of the Reformed Skippack Church. His son Peter Wentz was one of the founders of Wentz's Church in Worcester Township in 1762.¹⁰

But the full tide of German immigration into the Perkiomen valley did not begin till the second decade of the eighteenth century. In July, 1728, the elders of the Reformed congregations of Falkner Swamp, Skippack and Whitemarsh wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam:¹¹

⁸ *Perkiomen Region*, Vol. I, p. 28.

⁹ See an article by the writer in Dotterers *Historical Notes*, p. 102 f.

¹⁰ See "History of the Wentz's Reformed Church" in the *Journal of the P. H. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 332-346, especially p. 339.

¹¹ The full letter has been printed repeatedly, first in the *Mercersburg*

The first settlers in this widely extended region of Pennsylvania were Christians bearing the name of Quakers. Hither came also men holding all sorts of opinions. About *eighteen years ago* [1710], there began to come in occasionally and to settle here and there, in places widely separated from each other, certain ones of the Reformed church. These came from different parts of Germany and from other places, and a few also from the neighboring provinces of New York and New Jersey, etc. In time these greatly multiplied, but, in order not to fall into the errors of those among whom they dwelt, they provoked one another to good works, by encouraging each other to hold religious meetings on the Lord's Day, etc., according to the doctrine and order of the Reformed Church, as far as it was understood by us.

As the writers of this petition were themselves living in the Perkiomen valley, their statements are most naturally explained as referring primarily to this region.

These statements find a welcome confirmation in the old record book¹² of the Dutch Reformed congregation, now at Churchville, Bucks County, Pa.

In this record it is stated¹³ that "on May 20th, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1710, Mr. Paulus Van Vlecq was installed pastor or shepherd and teacher in the Church of Jesus Christ at Neshaminy, Bensalem, Germantown and surrounding villages." On June 4, 1710, the following consistory was installed at Whitemarsh: as elders, Hans-Hendricks Meels and Evert ten Heuven, and as

Review, Vol. XXIII (1876), pp. 529-541; also in the *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, Vol. IV, pp. 2425-2437, and in the *Journal of the P. H. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 303-316. In 1916, the writer published the whole Boehm Correspondence in *Life and Letters of the Rev. John Philip Boehm*, Philadelphia, Publication Board of the Reformed Church. In that book all the letters of Boehm, quoted below, are given in full.

¹² This record was published by the writer in full in the *Journal of the P. H. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 111-134.

¹³ See *l. c.*, p. 118.

deacons, Isaac Dilbeck and William de Wees. The members of the Whitemarsh congregation in 1710 were as follows:¹⁴ Hans Hendrick Meels, Evert ten Heuven, Isaac Dilbeck, Willem de Wees, Jan Aweeg, Johannis Yodder, Antonie Geertheus [Yerkes], Johannes Raevenstock, Gertrude Rembergh, Elisabeth Schipbower, wife of E. ten Heuven, Mary Bloemers, wife of I. Dilbeck, Catrina Meels, wife of W. de Wees, Gertrude Aweeg, Anna Baerents, wife of J. Pieterse, Maria Selle, wife of G. ten Heuven. On December 25, 1710, there were received by profession of faith: Sebastian Bartels and his wife Mary Hendricks and Caspar Staels. On March 31, 1711, were received: Elsa Schol, Sebilla Revenstock, wife of Henry Tibben and Margaret Bon, wife of Caspar Staels. In 1711 there were, therefore, 21 regular members of the congregation. The marriage and baptismal records of the congregation add a number of other names of persons, who may be called adherents of this first Reformed congregation of the province. They were: Herman ten Heuven, Peter Bon, Gabriel Schuyler, William Rembergh, Peter ten Heuven and Jacob Op de Graef. These were married by Dominie Van Vlecq, while he baptized the children of the following persons living at Skippack: Jacob Dilbeck, Cornelius De Wees, Gerhart ten Heuven, Arent Hendricks, Dirk Remberg, Hendricks Pannebacker, Jacob Pieterse, Rightijers Gaebel. In addition to the 21 regular members there were, therefore, 14 Reformed adherents at Whitemarsh and Skippack from 1710-1712.

Of these first Reformed settlers in Pennsylvania Isaac Dilbeck came with Pastorius in 1683.¹⁵ In 1690 Gerrit

¹⁴ See *l. c.*, p. 120.

¹⁵ Pennypacker, *Settlement of Germantown*, pp. 135, 190-192, 194; also Dotterer, *Historical Notes*, pp. 15-16, 23-26.

Hendricks De Wees, probably the father of Willem De Wees, bought a lot of land in Germantown. In 1699 Evert ten Heuven, with his sons Herman, Gerhard and Peter, was a resident in Germantown, as was also Hendrick Pannebecker. In 1700 Sebastian Bartels appears, in 1701 Hans Hendrik Meels, in 1702 John Rebenstock and Michael Remberg, with his sons Dirck and Willem, also Peter Bon and Henry Tibben, and 1703 Antoni Gerckes. Some of these settlers took up land at Skippack, Hendrick Pannebecker in 1702; Gerhard and Herman In de Heuven, also Dirck and Willem Remberg in 1706; William and Cornelius De Wees in 1708.

On September 29, 1709, the following Reformed settlers were naturalized by a bill passed in the Provincial Assembly and signed by the governor:¹⁶

Isaac Dilbeck and his son Jacob Dilbeck; Caspar Stalls and Henry Tubben; Johannes Rebenstock, Sebastian Bartells and his son Henry Bartells; Evert in Hoffe and his sons Gerhard, Herman and Peter in Hoffe.

The ministry of Van Vlecq at Whitemarsh and Skippack continued from 1710 to 1713. On April 24, 1713, he entered his last wedding into the church record. On September 21, 1710, Van Vlecq applied to the Presbytery of Philadelphia¹⁷ for admission. A committee was appointed which considered his application and handed in a report, then "after serious debating thereon it was put to the vote, to admit him a member of the Presbytery or not, and it was carried in the affirmative." In 1712 the charge

¹⁶ Keyser, Kain, etc., *History of Old Germantown* (1907), Vol. I, p. 96. See also the paper on "Rev. Paulus Van Vlecq," by the writer, in the *Papers read before the Bucks County Hist. Society*, Vol. IV, pp. 688-702.

¹⁷ *Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, Vol. I, pp. 17-40, for statements regarding Van Vlecq from 1710 to 1715.

of bigamy was lodged against him, which, after thorough investigation, was sustained in 1713. He was, as a result, suspended from the ministry. In 1715 he is reported as having "run out of the country."

A much larger number of German Reformed people came into the province of Pennsylvania in the period between 1720 and 1730.

In a petition addressed by some members of the Philadelphia Reformed Church to Governor Patrick Gordon, on November 23, 1732, they state:¹⁸

That a great number of Protestants born under the Ligeance of the Emperor of Germany did, about *ten years since* [1722], come into this Province, and having settled in divers parts thereof, but especially in the city of Philada., formed themselves into a Religious Society, commonly called by the name of German Reformed Church.

The same statement is repeated and somewhat enlarged in a bill of complaint which the same persons submitted to the Court of Chancery of the Province on January 23, 1732 [-1733], in which they declared.¹⁹

The said deponents . . . say that for *above the space of ten years* by gone, great numbers of the subjects of the emperor of Germany, professing the Protestant religion or as 't is equally called the Reformed religion and having suffered hardships in their native country upon the score of their religion, came over into the province of Pennsylvania and settled themselves in sundry parts of the s^d. province and especially in Philadelphia.

In harmony with these statements we find in the

¹⁸ This petition is a part of the Reiff papers, printed in the *Reformed Quarterly Review*, 1893, Vol. XL, p. 59 f.

¹⁹ This bill of complaint belongs also to the Reiff papers, but it has not yet been printed. The original is in the Harbaugh collection of manuscripts, now in the possession of Rev. Prof. J. I. Good.

“Resolutions of the States of Holland and West Friesland,” that on June 12, 1722, the Raad Pensionaris (Prime Minister) reported to the States the arrival of a large number of families from Germany, which had come to Holland on various ships, with the intention of being transported to England, to be sent to one of the English Colonies, without any preparation having been made for their journey, or any invitation having been extended by the British government. He asked what steps should be taken. The States decided to confer with the authorities of the province nearest to Germany, to prevent the coming of any more emigrants.^{19a}

In the year 1725 John Philip Boehm began his ministerial activity in the Perkiomen valley. For the first communion services, held in 1725, he reported²⁰ the following members:

On October 15, 1725, at Falkner Swamp, 40 members or 24 males;

In November, 1725, at Skippack, 37 members or 20 males;

On December 23, 1725, at Whitemarsh, 24 members or 14 males.

The totals for these three congregations were, therefore, in 1725, 101 members or 58 males. These three congregations of Boehm continued the organization effected by Paulus Van Vlecq in 1710, for of the latter's members we find Gabriel Schuler and Gerhart In de Heven

^{19a} Taken from the Rotterdam Archives.

²⁰ The number of males in 1725 is mentioned in the appeal of Boehm's elders to the Classis of Amsterdam, dated July, 1728, printed in the *Journal of the P. H. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 308. The number of members is found in Boehm's report of 1744, see *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of Pennsylvania*, p. 18. See also *Life and Letters of Boehm*, pp. 160, 409.

in Boehm's congregation at Skippack;²¹ Willem de Wees, John Rebenstock and Isaac Dilbeck in his congregation at Whitemarsh.²² If we had the complete lists of Boehm's 101 members we would no doubt be able to find other connecting links besides the five mentioned above.

Such was the beginning of Reformed church life in the Perkiomen valley.

The time when the first Reformed settlers arrived in the Goshenhoppen region cannot be determined with the evidence at hand at present. But it was most probably about the year 1720. So much is certain that in 1727 enough Reformed people had arrived in Goshenhoppen, so that a communion service could be held for them.

In 1736 John Henry Goetschy, the boy preacher, entered the names of 45 heads of families into the Reformed record at New Goshenhoppen (see p. 274). Besides these there appear 68 additional names of men in the baptismal entries from 1731 to 1736 inclusive, so that there were at least 113 settlers, together with their families, in the New Goshenhoppen district by the end of the year 1736. With the help of Rupp's Immigrant Lists the exact time of the arrival of many of these settlers can be determined. The following is a list of those whom the writer was able to identify with some degree of probability:²³

²¹ See the documents printed in the *Journal of the P. H. S.*, Vol. VII, pp. 34, 48; also the letter from Skippack of May 10, 1730, quoted in *Historical Notes*, p. 103.

²² These three men signed the appeal of July, 1728, see *Journal of the P. H. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 316; as well as Boehm's letter of January 30, 1730, in *Journal of P. H. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 34; *Life and Letters of Boehm*, pp. 169, 191.

²³ In the case of very common names like Jacob Meyer and Jacob Müller the possibility of mistaken identity must of course remain open.

EARLIEST REFORMED SETTLERS IN THE GOSHENHOPPEN VALLEY.

Names of Settlers.	Time of Arrival.	At Goshenhoppen.
Johannes Huth	September 18, 1727	Go. 1731
Johann Friedrich Hilligass	September 18, 1727	Go. 1731
Hans Michel Zimmermann	September 18, 1727	Go. 1733
Hans Georg Welcker	September 18, 1727	Go. 1731
Ulrich Hetzell [Hertzel]	September 18, 1727	Go. 1733
Benedict Strohm [Ströme]	September 18, 1727	Go. 1736
Frantz Stupp	September 30, 1727	Go. 1731
Burckhard Hoffmann	September 30, 1727	Go. 1732
Johann Peter Hess	October 2, 1727	Go. 1733
Michel Eberhart	October 16, 1727	Go. 1732
Johann Philip Ried	October 16, 1727	Go. 1736
Wendel Wiant	August 29, 1729	Go. 1736
Johann Peter Moll	August 29, 1729	Go. 1733
Valentin Griesemer	August 29, 1730	Go. 1731
Thomas Hamma[n]	August 29, 1730	Go. 1732
Abraham Transu	August 29, 1730	Go. 1731
Lönhart Hochgenug	August 29, 1730	Go. 1732
John Adam Stadler	September 5, 1730	Go. 1733
Johann Philip Emmert	September 5, 1730	Go. 1731
Casper Holtzhausen [r]	August 17, 1731	Go. 1733
Abraham Sahler [Seler]	September 11, 1731	Go. 1732
Johann Bartel. Gucker [Kucker]	September 11, 1731	Go. 1732
Johann Michel Moll	September 11, 1731	Go. 1732
Christopher Moll	September 11, 1731	Go. 1733
Hans Adam Echelen [Euchelen]	September 11, 1731	Go. 1731
Leonard Bock	September 21, 1731	Go. 1737
Jacob Meyer	September 21, 1731	Go. 1736
Hans Jerg Steger	August 11, 1732	Go. 1737
Adam Hillegas	August 11, 1732	Go. 1737
Georg Mertz	September 11, 1732	Go. 1736
Georg Palsgraff	September 11, 1732	Go. 1736
Hans Steinmann	September 19, 1732	Go. 1733
Jacob Müller	September 19, 1732	Go. 1737
Lorentz Hartman	September 19, 1732	Go. 1736
Andreas Lohr	September 19, 1732	Go. 1733
Johan Henrich Jung	September 19, 1732	Go. 1736
Georg Peter Knecht	September 21, 1732	Go. 1737
Hans Leonhart Herzel	September 21, 1732	Go. 1737
Peter Matern	September 30, 1732	Go. 1734
Peter Raudenbusch	September 30, 1732	Go. 1733

Johannes Geiger	September 30, 1732	Go. 1734
Georg Michel Favian [Fabion]	October 11, 1732	Go. 1736
Joh. Jost Ohlwein	September 18, 1733	Go. 1736

Here are more than forty German Reformed settlers the exact time of whose arrival can be fixed and who, some time between that date and their first appearance in the New Goshenhoppen record, moved into the Goshenhoppen region. The others, whose date of arrival is as yet unknown, did not necessarily come before 1727. They may have come through another harbor, or reached Goshenhoppen by a circuitous route. For it is a significant fact that of the Lutheran settlers at Old Goshenhoppen only three came before the year 1730, Kilian Gauckler, who came to America in 1717, John George Weicker who arrived in 1724, and John Martin Deer in 1728. Of the rest, nearly thirty, only a few appear in the immigrant lists, although they all came, according to the Church Record, between 1732 and 1750. This proves that the absence of a name from the immigrant lists cannot be used as an argument for or against the early arrival of that person. It must also be remembered that the immigrant lists are incomplete and that the names have in many instances been deciphered incorrectly.

Although the time of arrival of the earliest settlers cannot be established definitely, it is certain that the year 1727 is the first fixed point in the history of the Reformed Church in the Goshenhoppen region.

The Indian traditions, which gathered around the origin and meaning of the name Goshenhoppen are beautifully summed up in a poem of the Rev. Dr. C. Z. Weiser, which may fittingly be inserted here.^{23a}

^{23a} The writer owes this poem to the Rev. John B. Stoudt, who kindly transmitted it for publication.

The Pennsylvania-German Society.

THE LEGEND OF GOSHENHOPPEN.

BY C. Z. WEISER.

Would you hear of Goshenhoppen,
 What it means and where it hails from
 Do not trust the pale-faced people,
 They are but of yesterday.
 'Tis with them but speculation,
 Guess work oozed from fever'd brainshop,
 Like the webs from working spiders.

Now they have it "Que-se-ho-pen,"
 Then they say it's "Coss-he-hop-pe,"
 "Cos-she-hop-pa," says another,
 "Cos-ha-ha-pin," writes a fourth one;
 "Cosh-a-hop-pa"—"Gosh-e-hop-pa,"
 Or, again, "Co-wis-se-hop-pen,"
 Till at last it's "Gosh-en-hop-pen."

Who can tell in such a Babel,
 How to utter it correctly,
 How to rightly shape its body,—
 And divine its primal meaning?
 We must trace it as a river,
 From its mouth back to its source spring;
 Trace and tail it up and backward,
 Through the periods and the ages—
 Till we find its secret rising.

Long before Great Brother Omas
 Came to own his forest domain,
 Had the Redman shared the country
 Into tracts and into districts,
 Measured it by strips of deer-skin;
 Marked it out by trees and rivers,
 Or by hills and mountain ranges.

Every tribe then had its domain,
For to smoke and roam and hunt in ;
And each tribe its Sak-e-maker,
He whose name stood for the region,
He who owned and bargained for it.

Thus we know the great " Mough-ough-sin "
Owned the land of " Pah-ke-ho-ma,"
Which is known and called Macungie,
That was sold for two big blankets
And four pairs of leather stockings,
And four bottles of sweet cider.

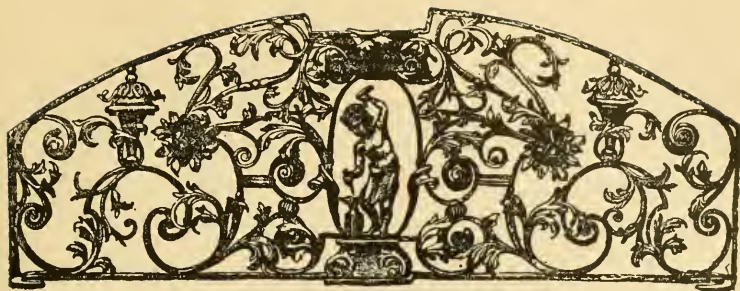
When we read of " Guch-i-o-thon,"
And besides of " En-shok-hup-po,"
And at last of " Shak-a-hop-pa,"
Who were ancient Sak-e-makers,
Great big Injuns-treaty makers.
These three ancient Sak-e-makers
Ruled the vale of Pah-ke-ho-ma,
Ruled the fair Per-ki-o-men valley,
Shak-a-hop-pa stood as chieftain
Over all the Sak-e-makers,
Since he grew a foot beyond them,
And came nearer the Great Father.

Shak-a-hop-pa, the tall chieftain,
Of the vale of Pah-ke-ho-ma,
Sold and barter'd off his title
For two hundred feet of wampun ;
And for thirty feet of duffels ;
For some sixty feet of mattress ;
Thirty shirts and thirty kettles ;
Shoes twelve pairs and thirty gimlets ;
Sixty stockings, thirty scissors ;
Thirty combs and thirty axes ;
Thirty-one tobacco pouches ;

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Thirty small tobacco cases;
Seven awls and thirty glasses;
Thirty bars of lead and powder;
Thirty pounds of lead that reddens;
Beads poured into three full papers;
Thirty pairs of bells that rattle;
Drawing knives one half a dozen;
And some eighteen caps with feathers;
And as many hoes and handles.
This was the consideration,
Which Great Brother Omas tendered,
For the vale of Goshenhoppen,
To the ancient Sak-e-maker,
Shak-a-hop-pa, the BIG SMOKE PIPE.





CHAPTER I.

MINISTRY OF REV. GEORGE MICHAEL WEISS,
1727-1730.²⁴

IN November, 1730, the Rev. John Philip Boehm wrote as follows to the Reformed Classis of Amsterdam:²⁵

He [Mr. Weiss] preached at a branch place called Goschenhoppen, about ten miles from Falckner Schwam; the last time on October 12, 1727, he celebrated the Lord's Supper without knowing the people, admitting among others two men from Falckner Schwam, who ought to have been taken to account because of their vicious lives.

This passage gives us the first recorded date in the history of the congregation. It names its first pastor and enables us to locate the first place of worship. It could not have been at Old Goschenhoppen, near Salford Station, on the Perkiomen Railroad, which is hardly five miles from Falkner Swamp, but it must have been at New Gosh-

²⁴ For earlier accounts of Weiss see Harbaugh, *Fathers of the Reformed Church, Vol. I, Lancaster, 1857* pp. 265-274; Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1725-1792*, Reading, 1899, pp. 113-152; Corwin, *Manual of the Reformed Church in America*, New York, 1902, pp. 896-899; Dubbs, *History of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, Lancaster, 1902, pp. 83-90; Hinke, *Life and Letters of Boehm*, pp. 26-37.

²⁵ *Journal of P. H. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 56; *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 215.

enhoppen, near East Greenville, which is about ten miles from Falkner Swamp. The first Reformed services were, therefore, held at New Goshenhoppen by the Rev. George Michael Weiss, the first pastor. He is such an important personage in the history of the Reformed Church in America, that he deserves a more elaborate biography than has yet been written of him.

John Peter Miller, the later monk of Ephrata, wrote about Mr. Weiss as follows in his *Chronicon Ephratense*:²⁶

About the year 1726, the first High-German Reformed preacher, Weiss by name, arrived in Pennsylvania. He was born at Stebbach, a Palatine place in the Neckar valley; studied at Heidelberg and finished his course at Koschehoppen [Goshenhoppen] in the county of Philadelphia.

This was all that was known about Weiss's birthplace till 1897, when the writer visited Heidelberg and found there, in the matriculation book of the famous University, the following entry:

1718, October 18.

Georgius Michael Weiss,
Philosoph. Stud.
Eppinga, Palatinus.

This entry shows that Mr. Weiss entered the University of Heidelberg on October 18, 1718, as student of philosophy, and that he gave his birthplace as Eppingen, which is about half a German mile southwest of Stebbach.

On August 15, 1897, the writer visited Eppingen and found in the old church records of the town considerable information about the Weiss family. The oldest representative of the family, mentioned in the records,²⁷ is Nico-

²⁶ *Chronicon Ephratense*, Engl. transl., Lancaster, 1889, p. 70.

²⁷ See article by the writer in the *Reformed Church Messenger* of October 27, 1898, on "A Contribution to the Life of George Michael Weiss"; also in *Christian Intelligencer* of November 16, 1898.

laus Weiss, a citizen of Gross Engersheim, in the Kingdom of Würtemberg. His son, John Michael Weiss, a tailor by trade, married on February 26, 1686, Barbara, widow of Jacob Stierle, citizen and tailor at Eppingen. This union was blessed with two children, Maria Appollonia, baptized December 26, 1686, and Barbara, baptized October 7, 1689. But on June 30, 1692, the mother died, aged 44 years.

On September 16, 1692, "Hans Michel Weiss, citizen and tailor," married a second time, namely Maria, daughter of the late Martin Frank, shoemaker in Bretten. This second union was blessed with six children, as follows:

1. Anna Catherine, Dec. 11, 1695, died July 9, 1696.
 2. Eva Catherine, July 31, 1697.
 3. Görg Michael, Jan. 23, 1700.
 4. Maria Elisabeth
 5. Christophel
 6. Maria Elisabeth, born July 10, bapt. July 12, 1705.
- } twins, March 29, 1703.

In the case of the first five children but one date is given in the record, without any statement as to whether the date of birth or of baptism is intended. But as the names are entered in the baptismal record, it is more probably the date of baptism. The dates of the last child show that baptism took place usually on the third day after birth.

These entries prove that Georg Michael Weiss was not born at Stebbach, but at Eppingen. What is more remarkable is that, according to information received from the pastor of Eppingen, Stebbach never belonged to Eppingen ecclesiastically, but to a neighboring parish.

What became of Mr. Weiss, after he had finished his studies at Heidelberg, is still unknown. We meet him again ten years later, when on September 21, 1727, he with fifty other Palatines appeared before the Provincial

Council of Pennsylvania, in the Court House of Philadelphia and signed the oath of allegiance to the King of England.

As early as September 14, 1727, the Governor, Patrick Gordon, had called the Provincial Board together,

to inform them that there is lately²⁸ arrived from Holland, a ship with four hundred Palatines, as 'tis said, and that he has information they will be very soon followed by a much greater number, who design to settle in the back parts of this province; & as they transport themselves without any leave obtained from the Crown of Great Britain, and settle themselves upon the Proprietors untaken up Lands without any application to the Proprietor or his Commissioners of property, or to the Government in general, it would be highly necessary to concert proper measures for the peace and security of the province, which may be endangered by such numbers of Strangers daily poured in, who being ignorant of our Language and Laws, & settling in a body together, make, as it were, a distinct people from his Majesties Subjects.²⁹

In answer to this representation of the governor the board ordered,

that the Masters of the Vessells importing them shall be examined whether they have any Leave granted them by the Court of Britain for the Importation of these Foreigners, and that a List shall be taken of the Names of all these People, their several Occupations, and the Places from whence they come, and shall be further examined, touching their Intentions in coming hither; And further, that

²⁸ This proves that the ship *William and Sarah* did not arrive on September 18, 1727, as has been wrongly inferred from the list published in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Vol. XVII, p. 7. This list was drawn up on September 18, but the ship had landed before September 14, "lately" may mean a day or even several days earlier.

²⁹ See *Colonial Records*, Vol. III, p. 282 f., for this list and the following extracts.

a Writing be drawn up for them to sign declaring their Allegiance & Subjection to the King of Great Britain & Fidelity to the Proprietary of this Province, & that they will demean themselves peaceably towards all his Majesties Subjects, & strictly observe, and conform to the Laws of England and of this Government.

In consequence of this order a signed list was laid before the board at its meeting on September 21, containing

the names of one hundred & nine Palatines, who with their Families, making in all about Four hundred Persons, were imported into this Province in the Ship William and Sarah, William Hill, Master, from Rotterdam, but last from Dover, as by Clearance from Officers of his Majesties Customs there; And the said Master being asked, if he had any Licence from the Court of Great Britain for transporting those People, & what their Intentions were in coming hither, said that he had no other License or Allowance for their Transportation than the above Clearance, and that he believed they designed to settle in this Province.

This list of 109 Palatines, as submitted to the Provincial Board on September 21, 1727, has been published in Vol. XVII, of the second series of the *Pennsylvania Archives*, pp. 7-8, but it is so imperfect and inaccurate, full of typographical and other mistakes, that it seems worth while to submit a corrected list. Such a new publication is all the more justified because the list as submitted to the board, indicates the number of people in each family, which figures, though important, were omitted in the *Pennsylvania Archives*. The list is as follows:³⁰

³⁰ The original list is now in the State Library at Harrisburg, Department of Public Records, at present (1914) in charge of Mr. Luther R. Kelker, who very kindly allowed the writer to examine and copy the original list, as well as others mentioned later.

A LIST OF YE PALATINE PASSENGERS IMPORTED IN YE SHIP WILLIAM AND SARAH, WILL'M HILL, MAST^R., FROM ROTTERDAM, PHILAD'A YE

18 SEPTEMBER 1727.

[1] Hans Jerrick Swaep ... 6	[39] Jacob Swicker, sick..... 1
[2] Hans Martin Levisteyn.. 2	[40] Hans Jer. Herzels..... 4
[3] Benedic Strome..... 2	[41] Jan Bernard Wolf..... 6
[4] Jan Hend ^k Scaub..... 3½	[42] Steven Frederick..... 3½
[5] Hans Jerrick Shoemaker. 6½	[43] Ann Floren..... 1½
[6] Abraham Beni 5	[44] Philip Fernser..... 1
[7] Hans Martain Shoomak ^r 1	[45] Hans Jacob Eckman... 2
[8] Frederick Heiligas 4½	[46] Hans Fill. Heysinger... 1
[9] Hans Mich. Pagman .. 1	[47] Hendrick Witte..... 1
[10] Sebastian Creef..... 4	[48] Hans Jerrick Hoy, sick.. 1
[11] Johan Habaraker..... 2½	[49] Jacob Pause..... 2½
[12] Alex. Diebenderf..... 2	[50] Andr ^w Saltgerrerr 1
[13] Hieronemus Milder.... 2	[51] Hans Jerrick Wolf..... 2½
[14] Johann Will ^m Mey ... 2	[52] Jacob Milder, dead.... 3½
[15] Henericus Bell 1	[53] Hans Jerrick Bowman... 1
[16] Caspar Springler 4	[54] Johannes Wester*..... 1
[17] Hans Heri ^k . Siegler ... 3	[55] Johannes Stromf, boy... 1
[18] Michael Peitley 4½	[56] Hans Jerig Anspag.... 2½
[19] Hans Mich. Tiell 3½	[57] Philip Swyger..... 2
[20] Jan. Barn. Levinstey... 1	[58] Christ. Milder, dead... 2
[21] Jacob Jost..... 2	[59] Elias Meyer 3½
[22] Johannes Hoet..... 3½	[60] Peter Springler 1
[23] Daniel Levan..... 8	[61] Martin Prill 3
[24] Hans Mich ^l . Weider... 2	[62] Joh. Tob ^s . Serveas.... 1
[25] Andr ^w . Simmerman ... 8	[63] Peter Seyts 4½
[26] Leonart Seltenreich ... 2	[64] Johannes Eckman 4
[27] Hans Jerrick Wigler... 2	[65] Johannes Hend ^k . Gyer, sick 2
[28] Will ^m Jurgens..... 1	[66] Christ ^r . Labengyger ... 2
[29] Johan Wester, sick.... 1	[67] Johannes Berret 4
[30] Will ^m Heer..... 1	[68] Andrew Holtspan..... 4
[31] Hans Adam Milder... 2	[69] Jacob Swarts..... 4
[32] Anspel Anspag..... 2½	[70] Hans Jerick Schaub... 3
[33] Henrich Meyer..... 4	[71] Hans Mich ^l . Phauts... 5
[34] Adam Henrich..... 2	[72] Christian Snyder..... 2
[35] Jacob Gons..... 2	[73] Bastian Smith..... 2
[36] Ulrich Heere..... 3	[74] Johannes Barteleme.... 1
[37] Sebastian Vinck 2	
[38] Tonicus Meyer..... 5	
	92
126	[75] Tobias Freye..... 4

[76] Johannes Tiebenderf ... 4	[97] Hans Adam Beinder.... 4½
[77] Jacob Mast, Skipach.... 4	[98] Christopher Wittmer,... 1
[78] Joseph Aelbragt..... 3½	[99] Hendrick Hartman.... 3
[79] Nicholas Adams..... 2	[100] Clement Eirn..... 2
[80] Jacob Meyer..... 2	[101] Philip Jacob Reylender.. 5
[81] Johannes Leyb 4	[102] Johanes Mich ^l . Peepell.. 1
[82] Johanes Balt, Germt.... 4	[103] Ernst Roede..... 1
[83] Conrad Miller, sick.... 5	[104] Philip Seigler..... 5½
[84] Christopher Walter.... 4	[105] Philip Roedeull..... 2
[85] Ulrich Hartsell, Skippach 2	[106] Rudolph Wilkes..... 3
[86] Hans Adam Stoll..... 3	[107] Hans Jerig Milder..... 1
[87] Hans Jerrick Guyger... 4½	[108] Abraham Farn..... 4
[88] Hans Martin Wilder... 2½	[109] Uldrich Staffon..... 3
[89] Hans Jerig Viegle..... 6½	<u>107</u>
[90] Hans Jerig Arndnold, dead	
[91] Hans Jerig Cramer..... 3	
[92] Hans Jerig Peter(?)... 2½	
[93] Albert Swoap 1	
[94] Hendrick Gouger, sick.. 3½	
[95] Diederick Roede..... 1	
[96] Hans Jerig Roedebas, Skipach 2	

This is a true list of Passengers Imported in the ship William & Sarah, Will^m. Hill, Mast^r., from Rotterdam among whom are no convicts, given upon oath,
by THO. TOBER.

The totals of the three columns are said to be $126 + 92 + 107 = 325$. But in reality the figures in none of the columns have been added correctly. The correct totals, supposing all the figures to be accurate, are: $118 + 91 + 108 = 317$. The whole number of passengers was, therefore, much nearer 300 than 400.

Of these colonists not more than 51 actually appeared on September 21, 1727, in the Court House at Philadelphia to sign the following oath of allegiance:

We Subscribers, Natives and late Inhabitants of the Palatinate upon the Rhine & Places adjacent, having transported ourselves and Families into this Province of Pensilvania, a Colony subject to the Crown of Great Britain, in hopes and Expectation of finding a Retreat & peaceable Settlement therein, Do Solemnly promise & Engage, that We will be faithful & bear true Allegiance to his

* Name erased, see No. 29.

present MAJESTY, KING GEORGE THE SECOND and his Successors, Kings of Great Britain, and will be faithfull to the Proprietor of this Province; And that we will demean ourselves peaceably to all His said Majesties Subjects, and strictly observe and conform to the Laws of England and of this Province, to the utmost of our Power and best of our understanding.

The names signed to this declaration have been published repeatedly, but so full of inaccuracies, that a new transcript of the original is absolutely necessary. The figures placed before them identify them with the corresponding names in the first list. The signatures to the Declaration of Allegiance are as follows:

PALATINES IMPORTED IN THE SHIP WILL^M & SARAH, WILL^M HILL, COMM FROM ROTTERDAM WHO HEREUNTO SETT THEIR HANDS, THE 21ST OF SEPT. 1727, IN PRESENCE OF THE GOV^R & COUNCIL.

G. M. Weiss, V.D.M. ³¹	[18] Michel Böttle
[1] Johann Georg Schwab	[106] Rutolff Wellecker
[41] Hans Bernhart Wolff	[92?] Jeorg Petter
[8] Joh. Friederich Hilligass	[88] Hans Mart. (W) Weller
Rudolff Leyb	[89] Hans Jerg Vögelle
[19] Hans Michel Diel	[30] Willem Herr
[10] Sebastian Gräff	[67] Johannes Barth
[22] Johannes Huth	[16] Hans Caspar Spengler
[101] Filibs Jacob Rheinlender	[90] Hans Görg Cremmer
[104] Filib Zigler, X his mark	[61] Hans Martin Mill
[75] Tobias Frey	[68] Andreas (A) Holsbacher
[56] Hans Jerch Anspacher	[49] Jacob Bausel
[63] Johan Peter Seitz	his
[78] Joseph Albrecht	[31] Hans Adam Miller
[64] Johanes Eckman	mark
[5] Jerich Schuhmacher	[35] Johan Jacob Cuntz
[21] Jacob Jost	[51] Hans Jerg Wolff

³¹ The Clerk of the Provincial Council (see minutes in *Colonial Records*, Vol. III, p. 284) wrote the name "G. M. Wey," but a photograph of the original, kindly furnished by Mr. Luther R. Kelker, shows plainly that it is "G. M. Weis."

[105] Philip Rutschly	[81] Johannes Leib
[103] Hans Ernst Rudi	[99] Joh. Henrich Hartman
[59] Elias Meyer	[17] Hans Georg Ziegler
[25?] Hans Michel Zimmerman	[11] Johannes Haberacker
[27] Hans Görg Welcker	[33] Henrich Meyer
[57] Hans Philip Schweikhardt	[80] Jacob Meyer
[12] Alexand. Dübendörffer	[84] Christoph Walter
[2] Hans Martin Liebenstein	Henry (H) Sippen
[95] Johan Diderich Rudi	[71] Hans Michel Pfautz
[40] Hans Jerg Hertzal	

A comparison of these two lists shows how carelessly the captain's list was made. The writer made no attempt to ascertain the correct spelling of the names. He merely wrote down what he supposed he heard when the names were pronounced to him. For Welcker he heard Wigler and in a second case Wilkes. For Mill he put down Prill, for Miller he wrote Milder. Schweikhardt he turned into Swyger, Spengler into Springler, Rutschli apparently into Roedeull. In some cases the scribal monstrosities are so great that no identification is possible. No wonder that it is so difficult to identify immigrants, when the captains' lists are so badly corrupted and the passengers' own signatures are sometimes such awful scrawls that they need a second list as a key to decipher them correctly.

The relation of Mr. Weiss to these immigrants has long been doubtful. The question whether he was merely their fellow passenger or the recognized leader of a colony could not be determined till very recently. There are now three documents at hand which answer this question. The first is the earliest printed report concerning the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, printed in Holland in 1731. It was submitted in that year to the Synod of South Holland which met from July 3 to 13, 1731, at Dortrecht.

In this report we find the following statement about the

religious conditions in Pennsylvania and the coming of Mr. Weiss to America:³²

But as the Quakers were not numerous enough to colonize this territory, William Pen, when he projected and built a city, called it Philadelphia, that by a name so friendly he might attract other Europeans thither. Not long after the first settlement many of the oppressed inhabitants of Germany, particularly from the Palatinate and from the districts of Nassau, Waldeck, Wittgenstein and the Wetterau, emigrated to Pennsylvania, with their wives and children and the proceeds of the property which they sold, whether more or less.

Among them are Mennonites, Lutherans and Reformed, but at the present time the Reformed, holding to the old Reformed confession, constitute about half of the whole number, being about 15,000. The German Palatines, migrating from their own country to Pennsylvania, year after year, were unable to provide themselves with ministers. Finding no religious worship, many, attracted by the good morals and blameless conduct of the Quakers, joined themselves to them, preferring their worship to none.³³

At last four years ago, the Upper Consistory of the Palatinate sent over a minister by the name of Do. [Dominie] Weis, with a number of people migrating from the Palatinate. They formed a consistory at Schibbach, a place about six miles from Philadelphia. A wooden church was erected and he [Dominie Weis] preached for the congregation and administered the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. There most of the Palatines live close one to the other.

In this report it is distinctly asserted that the Upper Consistory of the Palatinate sent Mr. Weiss with these

³² Two copies of the Report of 1731, entitled *Berigt en Onderrigtige nopens en aan de Colonie en Kerke van Pensylvanien*, 2 pp. preface and 18 pp. text, are known to be in existence. One is in the possession of Rev. Dr. J. I. Good, the other was in the library of late Governor Pennypacker. The writer has used a photographic copy.

³³ This is in agreement with the testimony of Muehlenberg, see *Hallesche Nachrichten*, new ed., Vol. II, p. 195.

emigrants. This statement is supported by another report, which was presented on October 31, 1735, to the Synodical Deputies (an executive committee of the Synods of North and South Holland). In this report, Do. Wilhelmius, then pastor at Rotterdam, the best friend of the Palatines in Holland,³⁴ gave an extensive account as to how the Synods had come to take up the care of the churches in Pennsylvania. In it he wrote:

These present Germans in Pennsylvania have immigrated thither from various parts of Germany, not in order to secure liberty of worship, which they enjoyed in their own land, but to realize better means of subsistence. Most of them came from the Palatinate, concerning whom the Great Consistory of the Palatinate, consisting of civil and ecclesiastical persons, addressed itself to the Synod of this country by means of letters, sent some years ago to me, and by me delivered to the Very Reverend Synod, showing that being oppressed as they were, they were not in a condition to furnish any assistance to these people, for the securing of any ministers of the Word, and asked therefore that our Synod would be kind enough to extend a helping hand. This the Synod subsequently accepted as an affair of the utmost importance, these people belonging to the pure Reformed religion and having been accustomed to our Catechism and Confession of Faith. . . .

In the next place the condition of the church among them ought to be noted. They consist of several thousand, whose exact number cannot even be guessed at, because they live scattered through the whole country in forests, without any civil or ecclesiastical union, so that those living in Philadelphia know as little about

³⁴ John Wilhelmius, son of William Wilhelmius, was born December 4, 1671, at Hardwyk. He studied at Leyden, where he also took the degree of doctor of philosophy. He was first pastor at Twisk, then professor of theology in the Reformed University at Lingen, and finally pastor at Rotterdam, 1713-1748. He died March 3, 1754. He was a faithful friend of the Reformed Church of Pennsylvania. See *Biographish Wordenboek der Nederlanden*, 20ste Deel, Haarlem, 1877.

those living at other places, as we in Holland know about our co-religionists in Poland or Hungary. . . .

These people have organized themselves in three places into congregations and have built for themselves three churches, of which the first is in Philadelphia, where they now have a small stone church, towards which those of the larger English church have manifested their liberality. The second is at Germantown, a village eight hours³⁵ distant from it, that being a large barn built upon the land of the notorious [begaanden] Ryff and now enlarged, on which account they are in debt to the amount of 2500 guilders. The third [church] is at Schibbach.

For the ministry of these churches Do. Wys [Weiss] has been in service, who came over with a colony of these Palatines [die met eene Colonie dezer Paltzers is overgekomen] and who now has left his service, having been called to one of the churches of New Netherland [New York]. The other is Do. Boom [Boehm], against whom the congregation is greatly embittered, and from whom they have no service. The third is candidate Rieger, who came over with another colony and became minister there, but now has openly turned Quaker and refuses to baptize children and publicly teaches, to the disturbance of these congregations, that one can be saved in every religion.

There are a number of points in this report which deserve special emphasis. We notice first of all that the grossly exaggerated figures of the 1731 report, regarding the Reformed people in Pennsylvania, have been materially reduced. Instead of 15,000 we read only of "several thousand," which is certainly much nearer the truth. We also learn that the Reformed people in Pennsylvania passed under the care of the "Fathers" in Holland in answer to the urgent representations made to them by the

³⁵ This distance is of course much too great. Eight hours represent twenty-four miles. In reality the Reformed churches of Philadelphia and Germantown were only six miles apart. See the statement of Boehm in his report of 1734 in *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of Pennsylvania*, p. 1.

Upper Consistory of the Palatinate. The first letter from the Heidelberg Consistory was laid before the South Holland Synod in 1728. Moreover, both Mr. Weiss as well as Mr. Rieger came with Reformed colonies to Pennsylvania. The statements about the three Reformed churches in Pennsylvania in 1735 are inaccurate in almost all particulars. No small stone church, erected by Reformed people, existed in that year in Philadelphia. The religious services of the Reformed people were rather held in an old butcher shop.³⁶ It stood on Arch Street above Fifth and belonged to Mr. Andrew Hamilton, who had rented it to Reformed and Lutherans for their joint use. The stone church of which the report speaks was rather built in Germantown. Mr. Boehm is authority for the fact that there was "a well built, pretty large stone church"³⁷ in Germantown, erected by the Reformed people there in 1733. Finally it was the Skippack Reformed church

³⁶ Mr. Boehm, in his report of 1744, refers to it in the following words: "At Philadelphia we had thus far, in common with the Lutherans, an old and dilapidated butcher's shop, at an annual rent of three pounds; finally this was raised to four pounds, which we must pay alone, for the Lutherans have built a church there 70 by 45 feet." See *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of Pennsylvania*, p. 23. A similar statement is made by Muehlenberg, see *Selbstbiographie*, Allentown, 1881, p. 128. Zinzendorf calls it "an old barn," see *Büdingische Sammlungen*, Vol. III, p. 579; cf. *Hallesche Nachrichten*, new ed., Vol. I, p. 39. It belonged to Andrew Hamilton, Esq., until his death in 1741, when it passed into the hands of his son-in-law, Justice William Allen. See Dotterer, *Rev. John Philip Boehm*, p. 9. Schlatter entered into the church record at Philadelphia the following statement regarding it: "Thus far [till December, 1747] the congregation has worshipped, every other Sunday, in an old small house, made of boards, from November, 1734, together with the Lutheran congregation. But when the Evangelicals [Lutherans] built a stone church in the year 1744, we had it alone and paid annually to Mr. William Allen the sum of four pounds." See also *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 329, note 213.

³⁷ See his report of 1739, in the *Minutes of Coetus*, p. 12.

which was built on the land of Mr. Reiff, not the church in Germantown, and that there was a debt of 2500 guilders resting upon it is another remarkable exaggeration in the Dutch records, due no doubt to exaggerated reports that had come from Pennsylvania.

In view of these inaccuracies in the report of Dr. Wilhelmus, his statement about Weiss might also be open to doubt, were it not for the fact that it is fully supported by a Latin testimonial which was given to Mr. Weiss by the Palatinate Consistory on May 1, 1727. The original of this certificate is no longer in existence, but a copy of it was entered by Mr. Weiss himself into the church record of the old Catskill Reformed Church at Catskill, N. Y., of which Weiss was pastor from 1732 to 1735. As it is an important historical document which has thus far escaped the notice of historians³⁸ we offer a translation of the whole certificate:

ORDINATION CERTIFICATE OF REV. GEORGE M. WEISS, MAY
1, 1727.

Greeting to the Kind Reader!

He who once foretold that at evening time it shall be light [Zech. 14: 7], when contrary to the hope and expectation of all, the King of kings and the Lord of lords shall, as it were, suddenly take his stand for His struggling Church, even as He appeared at one time to the Apostles in the night following the resurrection, when, for dread of the Jews, the doors were closed,—whence no one can doubt that in the same manner He will be near His holy Church, when it will be shut in by foes and deserted by its own. For thus it has pleased the Divine Wisdom and Goodness that just then

³⁸ It was mentioned by Dr. Corwin in his *Manual of the Reformed Church of America*, 3d ed., 1879, p. 544. The writer owes his copy to the kindness of the present pastor, Rev. John H. Dykstra, who very readily gave him access to it.

when the Omnipotent has seen that the hand of the defenders has failed, the arm of the Lord should put on strength and claim for Himself His own, whereby should become all the more conspicuous that great Salvation, which was promised to the Sardensian circle [Rev. 3: 4], numbering few survivors only, but also to each most beloved Philadelphia, when He shall see it [Philadelphia] drawing near and yearning to unite with Him: Then it will surely come to pass that, after its forces have become very small, it shall grow into large forces, large companies and into an army formidable unto its enemies, to which even the most distant peoples and nations shall be accessible and doors shall be opened, never afterwards to be closed; whereby there shall be gathered to the Savior, the Son of God, a people wholly new, even if it must be sought in another continent.

Wherefore, since the most excellent Sir, distinguished through ability and learning, George Michael Weiss, from Eppingen in the Palatinate, a candidate of Sacred Theology, determined to apply the divinely granted gifts to this most laudable use, that he might labor to the best of his ability for the extension of the Kingdom of God, which is the kingdom of love; hence, after having devoted himself to the fine arts of the humanities and to philosophy, he consecrated himself wholly to the even sublimer studies of theology, in which he made such happy progress in a short time that he was deemed worthy to be permitted to undergo the examination for the ministry. In this he proved his diligence to our Senate in such a manner that we not only hoped but were also confident that he would some day perform a useful work for the Church of Christ.

Wherefore, since he announced of late that he had conceived the plan with some of his fellow-citizens and other friends, well known to him, to undertake a journey to the transatlantic parts of the world, if it should please the Divine Providence to entrust him there with the leadership of a congregational flock, to teach and to guide them there, and since he asked that to that end he be fully inducted into the spiritual office with the laying on of hands,

Therefore, since the purity of his morals, his humility and espe-

cially his piety that flows from it, were well known to us, and since our Senate was at the same time well aware of the progress he had made in the knowledge of the theological sciences and in thorough acquaintance with the sacred languages, we hesitated all the less to grant his request since we could cherish the certain hope that the Chief Shepherd of the sheep, to whom his own are well known, though they live in the most distant parts of the world, would not withhold his support from the undertaking of an honest mind.

Hence we have admitted him to the office of the ministry of the divine Word and have ordained him by the imposition of hands and by extending to him the right hand of fellowship in the sacred ministry.

It now remains for us only to implore God, the best and the highest, the ruler of the world and the church, that He may prove himself to be the companion of his journey. May He bless his labors most abundantly and whatever plans he makes, whatever labors he undertakes, may He crown and advance them with the most desired success.

Given in Heidelberg on the Calends of
May in the year of our Lord MDCCXXVII.

Director and Councillors of the
Senate of the Palatinate Church.

C. L. MIEG.

PL. PASTOIR.

P. R. FOLAD.

In view of this document there can be no longer any doubt that Mr. Weiss was actually the leader of the colony, at whose head he appeared in signing the declaration of allegiance on September 21, 1727.

Of the colonists who came with Weiss to Pennsylvania, apparently only four remained in Philadelphia, the rest scattered over the province. Those who are found among the Reformed members in Philadelphia are: Hans Michel Diel, Rudolf Wellecker, Hans Georg Kremer and Hans

Henrich Weller.³⁹ To Goshenhoppen went five, Johann Friedrich Hilligas, Johannes Huth, Hans Michel Zimmerman, Benedict Strohm, and Hans Georg Welcker. Alexander Dübendörffer appears later as a member at Great Swamp. Three settled at Skippack,⁴⁰ Hans Georg Bowman, Sebastian Smith and Ulrich Staffon [Stephen], and two in the Conestoga valley, Hans Georg Schwab and probably Leonart Seltenreich. The rest have not yet been found.

When Mr. Weiss appeared in Pennsylvania in 1727, he found the beginnings of religious life among the Reformed people in the province already in existence. In 1725 the beginning had been made by two laymen, by John Philip Boehm in the Perkiomen valley and by Conrad Tempelman in the Conestoga valley. No sooner had Weiss heard that Boehm, a layman, was acting as a minister than he tried to stop him in his work. On October 2, 1727, he addressed a letter to Mr. John George Schwab,⁴¹ one of his travelling companions, who had settled in the Conestoga valley, in which he informed him of his readiness to preach for the Reformed people at Conestoga, but also expressed his surprise

that Mr. Boehm allows himself to be used as a minister, indeed that he usurps such privileges and authority as do by no means belong to him, nor have been accorded to him by the clergy, as I have learnt, to my satisfaction from the ministers here, but that he assumes so important an office merely at the instigation of the peo-

³⁹ These names appear among others signed to a call which was given to Mr. Boehm by the Philadelphia congregation on April 20, 1734, see *Journal of P. H. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 117; *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 233.

⁴⁰ For these names see the letter of the Skippack congregation, dated May 30, 1730, printed below, p. 58, and Dotterer, *Historical Notes*, p. 103.

⁴¹ Printed in full in *Journal of P. H. S.*, Vol. VII, pp. 51-53; also in *Life and Letters of Boehm*, pp. 212-214.

ple, while he cannot boast either of an external or of an internal call. . . . Wherefore I cannot conscientiously recognize Mr. Boehm as a Reformed teacher and preacher, until he submits to an examination and is ordained in Apostolic manner, which he will never be able to do.

Weiss followed up this letter with a personal letter addressed to Mr. Boehm⁴² on November 28, 1727, in which he challenged his right to the ministry and summoned him to appear in the manse of the Presbyterian minister in Philadelphia for the purpose of being examined as to his qualifications for the ministry. Mr. Boehm, of course, ignored this letter, but his followers called upon Mr. Weiss to produce a proof of his own claims to be considered a regularly ordained minister. Weiss showed them his Latin certificate from Heidelberg, dated May 1, 1727, but none could read it. He was then challenged to produce a German certificate, which ordinary people were able to understand. As a result Mr. Weiss was compelled to write to Heidelberg, on December 3, 1727, and he received from the authorities there the following reply, dated April 26, 1728, of which he has also left a copy in the Catskill record book:⁴³

CERTIFICATE OF PALATINATE CONSISTORY, APRIL 26, 1728.

Whereas Mr. George Michael Weiss, born in Eppingen, in the Electoral Palatinate and at present stationed as a High German Reformed minister at Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, under date of December 3rd, of the last year, made his report to the Consistory

⁴² This letter of Weiss is translated and printed in *Journal of P. H. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 54 f.; *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 211 f.

⁴³ First published by Dr. Weiser in his *Monograph*, p. 28 f., but with a number of minor inaccuracies, as my own transcript made directly from the record shows. My translation differs accordingly from his in a few places.

of the Electoral Palatinate concerning the present condition of religion and of the church affairs there—

And whereas, on this occasion he gave us to understand, that (although he received from this Consistory a Latin certificate of his life and doctrine at the time of his journey thither) he needs also a certificate in German, because of certain circumstances in which he is placed and especially on account of those who do not understand any other language [but German]:—

Therefore, we testify, as we did before, that he is not only orthodox in his doctrine and unblamable in his life, peaceable and sociable in his conduct, but he has also been found edifying in the sermons which he has preached on several occasions, and we have no doubt that, if the Lord grant him life and health, he will be of great usefulness under divine blessing and be a means of edifying many souls.

The infinitely good and merciful God and Father extend to him light and strength in full measure, from the fulness of his grace which is in Christ Jesus, that the work of the Lord now begun may, through his ministry, make great progress, that the wealth of the nations be brought to the Lord and their kings be led unto him.^{43a}

Heidelberg, the 26th of April 1728.

(L.S.) A. VON LULS.

L. C. MIEG.

When Mr. Weiss shortly afterwards came in contact with the Presbyterian minister, at Philadelphia, Mr. Jedidiah Andrews, the latter formed an equally good opinion of him, for on October 14, 1730, he wrote a letter to his friend, the Rev. Thomas Prince of Boston, in which he paid Mr. Weiss a fine tribute. He wrote:⁴⁴

There is, besides, in this Province, a vast number of Palatines, and they come in still, every year. Those y^t. have come of late years are, mostly, Presbyt'n, or, as they call themselves, Reformed,

^{43a} Cf. Isaiah 60: 11.

⁴⁴ First printed in *Hazard's Register*, Vol. XV, p. 200.

the Palatinate being about three fifths of that sort of people; they did use to come to me, for baptism of their children, and many joined with us, in the other sacram't. They never had a minister, 'till about 9 [read 3]⁴⁵ years ago, who is a bright young man and a fine scholar. He is at present absent, being gone to Holland, to get money to build a ch'ch, in this city; but they are scattered all over the country; those yt. live in Town, are mostly a kind of Gibeonites, hewers of wood etc. They are diligent, sober, frugal people, rarely charged with any misdemeanors. Many of 'em, yt live in the country and have farms, by their industry and frugal ways of living, grow rich, for they can underlive the Britons, etc. The first comers of 'em, tho' called Palatines, because they come lastly from that country, are mostly Switzers, being drove from the Canton of Bern, for they are Baptists,⁴⁶ and won't fight or swear. They don't shave their heads and are many of them wealthy men, having got the best land in the Province. They live 60 or 70 miles off, but come frequently to Town with their waggons, laden with skins, (which belong to the Indian traders), butter, flour etc. There are many Lutherans, and some Reformed, mixed among 'em. In other parts of the country they are, chiefly, Reformed, so that I suppose the Presbyt'n party are as numerous as the Quakers or near it.

The opposition of Weiss to Boehm's ministry instead of driving Boehm out of his office, induced the elders of his three congregations at Skippack, Whitemarsh and Falkner Swamp to appeal to the Classis of Amsterdam through the Dutch Reformed ministers of New York. The petition

⁴⁵ This statement has caused a good deal of discussion, see Weiser, *Monograph*, p. 17 f., and Good, *History*, p. 117, note. The easiest solution of the difficulty is to suppose a misprint of 9 for 3, because the letter as originally printed in *Hazard's Register*, Vol. XV, p. 200 f., uses the figure 9, not the word "nine," as the later reprints of the letter do.

⁴⁶ This statement refers to a colony of German Mennonites, who settled in 1709 and following years along the Pequea Creek in Lancaster County, see Rupp, *History of Lancaster County*, pp. 72-114; C. H. Smith, *The Mennonites in America*, Scottdale, 1909, pp. 134-181.

of the consistories of Boehm's churches was drawn up in July, 1728. A preliminary answer was given by the Classis on December 1, 1728, and a final decision on June 20, 1729, in which the call, extended to Boehm by the people, was declared valid and the Dutch ministers of New York were asked to ordain Mr. Boehm. This ordination of Mr. Boehm took place in the Dutch Reformed Church in New York on November 23, 1729.⁴⁷ On the following day a public reconciliation between Mr. Boehm and Mr. Weiss (who had also been summoned to New York) took place, in which each promised to recognize the ministry of the other and confine himself to his own congregations, Mr. Weiss to Philadelphia and Germantown, Mr. Boehm to Falkner Swamp, Skippack and Whitemarsh. These promises were unfortunately not kept by Mr. Weiss, but he allowed himself to be persuaded by his followers to disregard them.

Of the ministry of Weiss at Goshenhoppen little is known, and all that we know comes from the pen of Mr. Boehm. The first communion service, on October 12, 1727, has already been referred to. In the same letter of Boehm, quoted above, he writes:⁴⁸

At the above mentioned Goschenhoppen on the same 12th of October and later on the 19th at Schipbach, that is in the very place in which I had been regularly called, and also on the 26th in Philadelphia, in these public assemblies he spoke of me by name and declared me to be an incompetent preacher, whom he did not regard as fit to administer the holy sacraments.

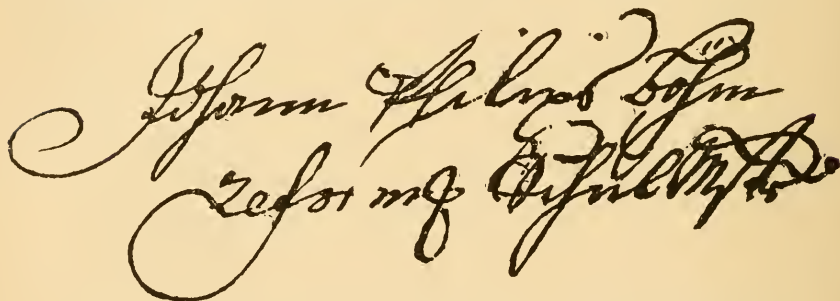
⁴⁷ The papers relating to the ordination of Mr. Boehm have been printed repeatedly. See *Mercersburg Review*, Vol. XXIII (1876), pp. 528-557; *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, Vol. IV, pp. 2425-2437, 2468-75, 2478-88; *Journal of P. H. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 303-324; also *Life and Letters of Boehm*, pp. 155-183.

⁴⁸ *Journal of P. H. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 56; *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 216.

In his report of 1739, Mr. Boehm writes of Goshenhoppen as follows:⁴⁹

Of this congregation I know little, for it never wanted to be under our Church Order, but desired to be its own master. When Do. Weiss, as stated above, came into the country and created great confusion, they faithfully adhered to him.

It was during his ministry at Goshenhoppen that Mr. Weiss made numerous missionary tours throughout the province. Thus he preached repeatedly to the Reformed settlers in the Conestoga valley. He was also the first Reformed minister who preached at Oley, unless Rev. Samuel Guldin was there before him, of which, however,



Johann Philip Boehm
Reformirte Synode

we have no contemporaneous evidence. As to his activity at Oley, Mr. Boehm wrote as follows to Holland in November, 1730:⁵⁰

Mr. Weiss celebrated the Lord's Supper, without previous preparation, at a place named Oley, where the sect calling itself the "New Born" (originated) and baptized at the same time several children, among (as is reported) were also Indian children, who as unbelievers, go about like wild animals, without knowledge of God or of his Word. Of which he boasted with his own mouth before Peter Zenger, sexton of the Reformed Church in New York, as the latter himself declared.

⁴⁹ *Minutes of Coetus*, p. 9.

⁵⁰ *Journal of P. H. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 58; *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 217 f.

The contact of Mr. Weiss with the New Born at Oley called forth the first book written by a German Reformed minister in Pennsylvania and printed there in 1729.⁵¹ Its title may be rendered as follows in English:

The Preacher, / traveling about in the American Wilderness / among different nationalities and religions / and frequently attacked, / portrayed and presented / in a conversation with a / Citizen and a New Born. / Treating of different subjects but especially of / the New Birth. / Prepared and / brought to light out of his own experience and / for the advancement of the glory of / Jesus, / by George Michael Weiss, V.D.M. /

Printed at Philadelphia / by Andrew Bradford, 1729.

The purpose of the book was to show that the doctrines taught by the New Born were neither rational nor scriptural. Their rejection of prayer and of the holy scriptures, their repudiation of the ministry and of religious worship, including the sacraments, together with their claims of perfect sinlessness could not be accepted because they were against reason and Holy Scripture.

The reference to the baptism of Indian children at Oley, sometime between 1727-1730, is decidedly interesting. It is by far the earliest Indian baptism in Pennsylvania known to the writer. That Weiss was much interested in the Indians is shown by a book which he wrote later in life at Burnetsfield, New York. The minutes of the Classis of Amsterdam, under date September 3, 1742,

⁵¹ The only known copy of this exceedingly rare book was found by the writer in 1899 in the Congressional Library at Washington, D. C. For an account of it see *Reformed Church Messenger* of March 9 and 16, 1899; also Dr. Sachse's *German Sectarians of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I, pp. 155-159. It was reprinted and translated in *Penn Germania*, Vol. I, pp. 336-361.

DER
 IN DER AMERICANI-
 SCHEN WILDNUSZ
 Inter Menschen von verschiedenen
 Nationen und Religionen
 Hin und wieder herum Wandelte
 Und verschiedentlich Angefochtene
PREDIGER,
 Abgemahlet und vorgestellt
 In einem Gespraech mit Einem
Politico und Neugeborenen,
 Verschiedene Stuck insonderheit
 Die *Neugeburt* betreffende,
 Vertfertiget, und zu Beforderung der Ehr
J E S U
 Selbst aus eigener Erfahrung an das
Licht gebracht

Von Georg Michael Weiß V. D. M.

Zu **P H I L A D E L P H I A**;
 Gedruckt bey *Andrew Bradford*; 1729.

refer to the receipt of a letter of Weiss, dated May 10, 1741:⁵²

THE BOOK OF WEISS ON THE INDIANS, 1741.

This letter was accompanied by a package, in which the Rev. Weiss sends over: (1) A small painting of the wild men of North America, mentioned above in the letter. (2) "A faithful description of the savages in North America, as to their persons, characteristics, tribes, languages, names, houses, dress, ornaments, marriages, food, drink, domestic implements, housekeeping, hunting, fishing, war, superstitions, political government, besides other remarkable matters, composed from personal experience, by George Michael Weiss, V. D. M." Thus reads the title. This description covers ninety-six and a half pages, in 8 vo., besides the preface [dedication], which is brief, to the Classis. In this he states the reasons which induced him thereto [viz. to prepare this book] and to communicate the same to the Classis. He doubted not that it would be agreeable to the Classis, and would be looked upon favorably, since he is cognizant of the paternal love which the Rev. Classis bears towards him. It ends with a wish for our prosperity and blessing. The introduction is signed at Albany, N. Y., by Rev. Weiss of Burnetsfield, October 4, 1741. Then follows the description itself.

Unfortunately no copy of this book has been preserved, which is much to be regretted, as his description of Indian manners and customs would no doubt have proved to be very interesting.

When Weiss came to Pennsylvania he found most of

⁵² *Ecclesiastical Records of New York*, Vol. IV, p. 2778. In a letter to the Classis on July 14, 1741, Weiss informs the Classis "that, inasmuch as he has had excellent opportunities to observe the ways of the wild men (Indians), and inasmuch as these people are very interesting, he has on several occasions spoken to them by means of an interpreter, about Christian doctrines, and has baptized many of them, at their request," *l. c.*, p. 2760.

the Reformed people there in great poverty, unable to pay their minister a decent salary. A letter of Rev. John B. Rieger and Dr. John Jacob Diemer sets forth the situation very clearly. They write to the Deputies of the Synods, under date March 4, 1733:⁵³

For most of the people, who come hither and have no means, are compelled to sell themselves and also their children who generally must serve until their 20th year, as here in Philadelphia some hundreds are in the service of the English people, but have the privilege to attend our services. . . . At Philadelphia, which is the capital, and where most of the grain is shipped, in order to convey it to other lands, there are but ten [Reformed] families, which are well-to-do, all the others are in service. Among the townships Schippach is the most thickly settled, where about forty families may be counted, but they are for the most part poor, and it is nearly thirty miles from the city. The other localities are at a still greater distance.

When Mr. Weiss faced these conditions for the first time he felt much inclined to give up his work in Pennsylvania and return to Germany. This appears clearly in a statement of Jacob Reiff, which will be presented later in connection with his trip to Holland.⁵⁴

Meanwhile, in order to increase his income, Weiss offered to give instruction in some of the subjects which he had studied in the University of Heidelberg.

Beginning with February 10, 1730, and continuing through eight successive weekly issues of the *American Weekly Mercury*, printed by Andrew Bradford in Phila-

⁵³ This letter is preserved in the Synodical archives at the Hague, 74, I, 15. The numbers of the documents at the Hague are quoted according to the number given to them in the printed catalogue, entitled *Catalogus van het Oud Synodaal Archief*, bewerkt door H. Q. Janssen, 's Gravenhage, 1878.

⁵⁴ See below, p. 46.

delphia, Weiss had the following notice inserted in that paper:

This is to give notice, that the subscriber hereof, being desirous to be as generally useful as he can in this country (wherein he is a stranger) do declare his willingness to teach Logick, Natural Philosophy, Metaphysicks etc. to all such as are willing to learn. The Place of Teaching will be at the widow Sprogel's in the Second Street, Philadelphia, where he will attend, if he has encouragement, Three times a week for that Exercise.

N. B. All persons that come, either as Learners, or Hearers, will be civilly Treated. By G. M. Minister of the Reformed Palatine Church.

*Georg Michael Weiss, p. l.
Alderkant van de Gere-
formeerde Gemeente op
Goshenhoppen.*

In the first insertion he signs himself "G.M.," then twice "G. Michael," then six times, from March 3–April 6, 1730, in full "G. Michael Weiss."

It is very doubtful whether the people of Philadelphia at that time, struggling for the very necessities of life, cared much about being instructed in the mysteries of philosophy or the abstractions of metaphysics. At any rate, a month after the last advertisement we find Weiss preparing to return to Holland for the purpose of raising there some money for his needy churches.

THE COLLECTING TOUR OF WEISS AND REIFF TO
HOLLAND, 1730-31.

It is interesting to trace this new undertaking of Weiss to its origin. When three years later [in 1733], Jacob Reiff was cited into court, to give an account of the moneys collected in Holland, he stated:⁵⁵

He [the defendant] further answereth and saith that the said congregations of Philadelphia and Skippack in conjunction with their minister George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) did *prefer a petition to the excellent Classis of Divinity in the United Provinces*, which petition this defendant saith was signed and subscribed by the church wardens or elders of both the said congregations of Philadelphia and Skippack and (as this defendant remembers) it set forth the unhappy and necessitous condition of the said congregations and prayed the charitable donations of the said Classis, and this defendant *delivered the said petition to Dr. Wilhelmus* in the Bill named. This defendant believes a report was spread in Pennsylvania that collections of money had thereupon been made, and that *before such news arrived the said George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) had prepared to return to Holland or Germany*, and that upon receiving the said news the said congregations or one of them might entreat him to stay, to which the said George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) might make such answer as in the complainants said bill of complaint is set forth, and might promise to serve them to the utmost of his power; and this defendant doth acknowledge himself to have been a *member* of the German Reformed Church of Skippack from its first establishment, but not of the German Reformed Church of Philadelphia, as in the bill charged. And this defendant doth deny that he usually traded into Holland or Germany, as in the complainants said bill of complaint is falsely suggested, other than and except that this defendant went over there in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty seven to fetch his relations and laid out his money (as

⁵⁵ See papers in Reiff Case, printed in *Reformed Quarterly Review*, Vol. XL (1893), p. 61.

passengers generally do) in goods fit for sale in this country. And this defendant saith that before or since that time he never carried on any trade to or from Holland or Germany (except as herein-after mentioned). And this defendant doth admit that he was acquainted with Doctor Wilhelmus in the bill named, and was informed by him that a collection had been made in favor of said congregations of the German Reformed Church of Philadelphia and Skippack to the amount of about two hundred guilders, but knows not of his own knowledge what sum was collected. And this defendant saith that the said Doctor Wilhelmus requested him this defendant to receive the monies so collected for use of the sd. congregations of Philadelphia and Skippack. But this defendant absolutely refused so to do, having been informed by letter from some of his friends in Pensilvania that some of the members of the sd. congregations were jealous or entertained some suspicions of this defendants' honesty, or to that purpose. And this defendant saith that he this defendant returned to [from] Holland from [to] Pennsylvania in August in the year of our Lord 1729.

From this statement a number of important facts can be gathered:

1. The Reformed congregations of Philadelphia and Skippack had drawn up a petition, addressed to the Reformed Classis of Holland, asking for a collection to be taken up in their behalf.

2. This petition was personally delivered by Jacob Reiff to Dr. Wilhelmus, then pastor in Rotterdam. And, as Reiff, according to his own statement, went to Holland only once before his journey in 1730, namely in 1727, when he intended "to fetch his relations," this petition must have been written and was delivered in 1727.

3. Weiss had become so disheartened in Pennsylvania, that even before an answer to this petition was received, he had made up his mind to return to Europe, and it was only when it became apparent that the people of Holland

had acted favorably upon the petition that he promised his congregations in Pennsylvania to serve them to the utmost of his power.

4. That when Reiff returned from Germany to Holland, Dr. Wilhelmus offered to turn the money collected for the Reformed congregations of Philadelphia and Skip-pack over to him, but Reiff refused to accept it, as he had learnt from letters that his honesty had been questioned in Pennsylvania.

5. Reiff returned to Philadelphia in August, 1729. The lawyer, who wrote Reiff's answer to the bill of complaint, evidently exchanged the prepositions "to" and "from." In 1729 Reiff returned "from" Holland "to" Pennsylvania and not vice versa.⁵⁶ This is shown by the immigrant lists, for on August 19, 1729, Reiff landed in Philadelphia on the ship *Mortonhouse*, from Rotterdam. With him were Johannes Reif, evidently a relative, Wendel Wiant, Jacob Sellser [Selzer], Johann Peter Moll, who settled in Goshenhoppen; Richard Fetter and Hans Michael Fröhlich, who became members of the Reformed congregation at Philadelphia; David Montandon, who is found in Skippack in 1730 and Johan Philip Ranck and Conrad Wörntz, also Reformed people, who settled in the Conestoga valley. It is not impossible that Reiff was really the leader of this whole company.

The petition of 1727, which Weiss and his consistories addressed to the Classes of Holland and which was delivered to Dr. Wilhelmus, found its way to the Synod of

⁵⁶ This conclusion is made absolutely certain by a sentence which occurs a little later in the same document: "On the contrary this defendant saith that on his return from Holland to Pensilvania in the year of our Lord as aforesaid . . . he had no thought or design of going abroad any more"; *l. c.*, p. 62.

North Holland. In the minutes of the North Holland Synod, dated July 27–August 5, 1728, we read:⁵⁷

The corresponding delegates of the South Holland Synod recommended Philadelphia, from which this Christian Synod also received a letter, containing a request to take up a collection for them, for the building of a new church by our fellow believers who have fled thither from the Palatinate.

This is the very first reference in the minutes of the North Holland Synod to the Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania. Weiss's petition of 1727 has, therefore, the distinction of being the first link in the chain which brought the Reformed churches of Holland and Pennsylvania together and was the beginning of a union which lasted 65 years (1727–1792).

But Weiss had written not only to Holland, he had also addressed himself to the consistory of the Palatinate. In the German certificate, which the Upper Consistory of the Palatinate signed for him on April 26, 1728, it is distinctly stated that in asking for this certificate in a letter dated December 3, 1727, he had "made a report to the Consistory of the Electoral Palatinate concerning the present religious and ecclesiastical affairs there."

The effect of this letter can also be traced in the Holland records, for at the meeting of the South Holland Synod at Woerden, from July 6–16, 1728:

The president read a letter addressed to this Christian Synod by the Great Consistory of Heidelberg, containing a request to receive something for the building of a Church in Pennsylvania by our fellow-believers, who have gone thither from the Palatinate, because they are compelled to conduct divine service under the blue sky. It has been thought, that under the blessing of the Almighty, this affair [undertaking] might result in a large blessing for the

⁵⁷ *Ecclesiastical Records of New York*, Vol. IV, p. 2424.

Church and, therefore, it was resolved to recommend it earnestly to the Classes.

This letter is also the first one on record, by which the South Holland Synod was made acquainted with the condition of the Reformed people in Pennsylvania. Thus we are brought to the important conclusion that in July, 1728, the attention both of the North and the South Holland Synods was drawn to the Reformed churches of Pennsylvania through the influence of the letters of Weiss, written in 1727. The appeal of Mr. Boehm's congregations, written to the Classis of Amsterdam in July 1728, did not reach Holland till November, 1728. On November 14, 1728, it is first mentioned in the Classical Minutes.⁵⁸ Hence it is evident that the letters of Weiss must be given the credit of having first directed the attention of the "Fathers" in Holland to the struggling Reformed churches in Pennsylvania.

When Mr. Weiss heard that, in answer to his letters to Holland and the Palatinate, collections had been taken in Holland for the poor Reformed settlers in Pennsylvania, he determined to return to Holland, in order to take charge of this money personally. Before he left he arranged several farewell services with his adherents at Skippack. On May 17, 1730, John Philip Boehm wrote about them as follows to the Dutch Reformed ministers in New York:⁵⁹

Then he [Weiss] stayed away [from Skippack] for some time until now, on the 30th of April, he returned at the request of the seceders, and held the preparatory service and on May 1st celebrated the Lord's Supper. He likewise preached on the 7th, being Ascension day, and again to-day. They are all called farewell

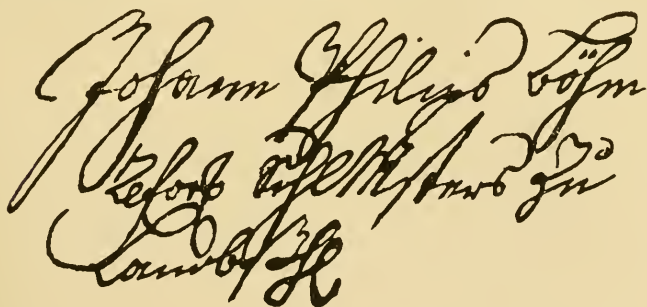
⁵⁸ *Ecclesiastical Records of New York*, Vol. IV, p. 2440.

⁵⁹ *Journal of P. H. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 47; *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 208.

services. Moreover, after these sermons and at other occasions he baptized various children and married people. He thus revealed what intention he had in mind during all this time. Through all this our poor congregation, which has been completely split by him, has been kept thus far in such harmful division and strife.

Boehm had also heard about the object of Weiss's journey and was not at all pleased with it. He regarded it only as a means of strengthening still more the opposition to him. Continuing the above quoted letter to New York, he wrote:

Moreover he [Weiss] is now setting further mischief on foot, for he has resolved to cross the ocean with the avowed intention of going to Holland to receive the money which, he claims, has been collected there in answer to his letter. He intends to put this out at interest, so he can live on it. Then he is going to return. Through this the poor seceding members, who have been driven into rebellion through him, will still further be hardened.



Johann Philip Boehm
Pastor of the Reformed Church
in Goshenhoppen

When Weiss was ready to leave, his elders associated Jacob Reiff with him, a well-to-do man and member of the Skippack congregation, for they feared that Weiss might be persuaded to stay in Holland or return to Germany. In that case Reiff was to take charge of the collected money and also try to secure them another minister. That this

was the reason why Reiff was associated with Weiss is asserted in a letter of Rev. John B. Rieger and Dr. John Jacob Diemer, written on March 4, 1733, to the Synodical Deputies. They write in the course of their letter:⁶⁰

When Dominic Weiss, about three years ago, resolved to go to Holland and Germany to present our need to good-hearted souls eager to advance the honor of God, a doubt arose in the minds of some of us, whether he might not allow himself to be persuaded to remain in Germany, whereby our good efforts would prove fruitless. For this reason we associated with him Jacob Reif, a naturalized citizen of this country and a well-to-do man, who intended to travel to Germany, and we gave him a special power of attorney, by virtue of which he was requested to take charge of the collection, in case Weiss would not return, and act in accordance with the orders of the consistory of Amsterdam and Rotterdam.

That a possible change of ministers was contemplated appears also from a statement made by Do. Wilhelmus before the Synod of North Holland, held at Enkhuysen, July 29–August 7, 1732. The minutes of that meeting state:

Do. Wilhelmus has heard that the Society of Merchants has bought a large district in Pennsylvania, but intended to sell this land again, for which purpose J. Ryff has traveled to the Palatinate. The said Mr. Wilhelmus had proposed Mr. Hottinger to J. Ryff, with the view of sending him to Pennsylvania, for the purpose of organizing the Church there. About this matter J. Ryff had written to Wilhelmus, that he had spoken to Mr. Hottinger about it and that he was not without hope that Mr. Hottinger could be persuaded to do this.

From these two documents we learn incidentally that Jacob Reiff had other reasons for going to Holland and Germany in 1730. He was traveling in behalf of a so-

⁶⁰ The original is in the Hague archives, 74, I, 15.

ciety of merchants as a land agent, and probably induced a number of those who are later found as his traveling companions on the ship "Mortonhouse" to go with him to Pennsylvania.

Reiff himself hotly denied in his answer to the bill of complaint preferred against him in 1732, that he had any other motive for going to Holland in 1730 except to serve the congregations of Philadelphia and Germantown. He said:⁶¹

ANSWER OF REIFF TO BILL OF COMPLAINT, SEPTEMBER 4, 1733.

[This defendant] denies that he did acquaint the said congregations, church-wardens or elders, or any person or persons whatsoever, that he intended a voyage to Holland and from thence to Frankfort in Germany, or that he should be glad of the company of the said George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) or that he would willingly assist him in doing any service he could to his brethren of the Reformed Church of Philadelphia; or that if he should stand in need of any money for that purpose or for his own private wants that he this defendant would furnish him, or anything to that or the like purpose, as in the said bill of complaint is falsely suggested. But on the contrary this defendant saith that on his return from Holland to Pensilvania in the year of our Lord 1729 as aforesaid (or any time afterwards till prevailed on as hereafter mentioned) he had no thought or design of going abroad any more. But several of the church-wardens or elders of the said congregations of Philada. and Skippack and the said George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) frequently applied to the defendant and earnestly entreated him to go to Holland and Germany once more, to accompany and assist the said George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) in collecting and receiving monies collected and to be collected for the use of the said congregations. And the better to prevail on this defendant to comply with their request, they voluntarily and of their own accord faithfully promised that they would

⁶¹ *Reformed Quarterly Review*, Vol. XL, p. 61 f.

reimburse and pay to him this defendant all costs and charges and expenses that he should be at in the said voyage, and that they would likewise pay and allow him any reasonable satisfaction for his time and trouble therein. But this defendant often refused to take the said voyage, this defendant being then employed in carrying on certain buildings on his plantation at Skippack, and it was likely to be very prejudicial to this defendants affairs. And this defendant saith that in order to get rid of their importunities he endeavored to get some other person to undertake the said voyage in his stead and accordingly offered £5 out of his own pocket to one Hans William Rohrich who was willing to go. But neither of the said congregations thought fit to trust him. And this defendant saith that by the continued importunities of the said members of the said congregations, their elders or church wardens and minister, induced by their fair promises expecting that agreeable thereto he should be reimbursed all the charge and expense he should be at and be also generously rewarded for his trouble, and upon the said elders or church-wardens signing an instrument for that purpose, he the said defendant was at length prevailed upon to undertake the said voyage, tho' hazardous, troublesome and very prejudicial to this defendants affairs and interest, and the great displeasure and uneasiness of his most intimate friends and relations. And this defendant saith that true it is a power was given to this defendant signed by the elders or church wardens of both the said congregations of Philadelphia and Skippack, but denies that the said power is of the purport or contents in the bill set forth or that he was thereby enjoined to observe the directions of the Classis in Holland, as may appear by the said power now in the defendants possession and ready to be produced to this honorable court, a copy whereof is to this defendants answer annexed, which this defendant prays may be taken as part of this his answer.

This power of attorney, written in incoherent German, with several words left out, as well as poorly spelled, was, according to Reiff's copy [presumably correct] as follows:⁶²

⁶² Reiff's copy of this power of attorney is in the Harbaugh collection of manuscripts; printed in the *Reformed Quarterly Review*, Vol. XL, p. 58.

POWER OF ATTORNEY GIVEN TO REIFF, MAY 19, 1730.

Forasmuch as our pastor, Mr. Weiss, has resolved to take a journey, accompanied by Jacob Reiff, to England and Rotterdam, for the purpose of receiving the collection which is said to be lying ready there, [intended] for the erection of a church in this country; authority is herewith given to Jacob Reiff to take entire charge, so that Mr. Weiss may be expedited on his immediate return with the same to Pennsylvania. Therefore we also entrust everything to his good conscience, and give him plenary power in everything. In testimony whereof we subscribe our names. Given at Philadelphia, May 19, 1730.

We hereby request Jacob Reiff to arrange matters in such a way that, if Pastor Weiss should or would not return to this country,⁶³ he, Reiff, may at once bring with him a minister from Heidelberg, and provide him with whatever is most necessary; because if monies collected should be no longer on hand, we deem it unnecessary that Mr. Weiss proceed further in his journey, but that, according to his best judgment, Jacob Reiff should deliver the letters at their proper destination and personally ask for a reply thereto.

Signed by all the elders of the two congregations at Philadelphia and Skippack:

[Philadelphia]

J. DIEMER, D.M.P.

PIETER LECOLIE

JOHANN WILLEM RÖRIG

HENRICH WELLER

GEORGE PETER HILLEGASS

HANS MICHEL FRÖLICH

MICHEL HILLEGASS.

[Skippack]

WENDEL KEIBER

DEOBALT JUNG

CHRISTOFFEL SCHMITT

GERHART (G.I.H.) INDE HEVEN

GEORGE REIF

GEORG PHILIP DODDER.

It is significant of the state of affairs that Reiff admits in his answer to the bill of complaint "that at the time when the said power was given, the said George Michael

⁶³ This statement shows that there was still a lurking suspicion in the minds of some of his members that Weiss would not return to Pennsylvania.

Weitzius (alias Weiss) was absent and this defendant believes it was given without his knowledge."

When Weiss and Reiff left for Holland they took with them several letters. The consistory of the Dutch Reformed congregation at Neshaminy, Bucks County, sent through Mr. Reiff a letter, dated May 3, 1730, to the Rev. David Knibbe of Leyden and the Rev. John Wilhelmus of Rotterdam,⁶⁴ asking them to issue in their name a call to a minister for the Dutch Reformed church in Bucks County at a salary of sixty pounds, and sending at the same time a sum of money to pay his traveling expenses. Two other letters, dated May 10, 1730, almost identical in contents, were sent by the followers of Weiss at Skippack, one to the Classis of Amsterdam, the other to the Classis of Rotterdam. As these letters have not been published before, we offer herewith a translation of the letter to the Classis of Amsterdam, which is the more interesting of the two, because 41 signatures of people living at Skippack in 1730, are affixed to it. It reads as follows:⁶⁵

LETTER OF THE SKIPPACK REFORMED CHURCH TO THE CLASSIS
OF AMSTERDAM, MAY 10, 1730.

*Very Worthy, Very Learned, our Highly Respected Gentlemen of
the far famed Classis of Amsterdam.*

A whole congregation ventures, upon the request of the elders and deacons of the Reformed Church and Congregation at Skippack, to submit this present letter to the very Reverend Classis of

⁶⁴ This letter, together with the old church records of the congregation, is now in the archives of the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick, N. J. It was translated and published by the writer in a paper, read before the Bucks County Hist. Society, January 19, 1918, on the *Life and Work of the Rev. Peter H. Dorsius*.

⁶⁵ The original of this letter is in the archives of the Classis of Amsterdam, "Pennsylvania Portfolio," new letters, No. 4.

Amsterdam with the request to look upon it with favorable eyes. It is indeed a great comfort to us here in this wilderness that a Reverend Classis has taken our affairs somewhat to heart, which favor we are certainly unable to appreciate sufficiently with a thankful spirit, yet it pains us that we are unable to accept and recognize Mr. Boehm as our minister, in whose behalf a letter was addressed to the Reverend Classis, in the name of the congregation at Schibach. This is due to the fact, that he did not hesitate, without our knowledge and against our will, to deceive with a false statement your Reverences, for whom we have and shall always maintain the highest respect. For in our name and with the addition of some signatures he asked and petitioned a Reverend Classis about things which we have not even thought of. We recognize that, in answer to Mr. Boehm's supplications, the Reverend Classis had the best interests of the Reformed Congregation in view and acted very wisely, but it was certainly desirable that Mr. Boehm should have made the same profession of his intentions here in this country as before a Reverend Classis, so that we would not be compelled to annoy you with complaints.

We, the whole congregation in the neighborhood of Schibach creek, are well satisfied with our minister, Mr. Weiss, who, in answer to a regular call and upon our repeated requests and desires, undertook the service of the ministry among us. We are deeply grieved that he is to be taken from our congregation. It appears to us so hard, because we feel as if we were no longer worthy to hear the Word, which is the only saving means of grace, from a duly ordained minister of God's Word, who insists on a virtuous, loving and God-fearing heart. We can have great confidence in a man, who leads a good life, but little in one who has a restless head and mixes too much in worldly affairs. Rev. Mr. Weiss read on December 7, 1729, after his sermon at Schibach, the decision of the Reverend Classis regarding the ordination of Mr. Boehm which had taken place. But, as we were greatly dismayed about this, we asked Mr. Weiss to spare us in this, as we could not possibly accept Mr. Boehm and recognize him as a minister. The letter which Mr. Boehm had written some time ago to the Reverend

Classis, had not been sent with our knowledge and consent. Now the Reverend Classis can easily see what to think of Mr. Boehm's petition and how he deceived us all.

We hope that for this reason the Reverend Classis will not take it amiss, inasmuch as we do not wish to give thereby offence to the whole Reformed Church nor any occasion for slander to the manifold sects in this country.

However, we heartily forgive Mr. Boehm for what he has done in this matter, if only he will give up his purpose. We herewith request the Reverend Classis to favor us with a reply in so important a matter, in order that we may be governed by it and not be hindered in our divine services.

With all dutiful respect all of us remain greatly indebted to the Reverend Classis,

Schibach, May 10, 1730.

The most submissive and obedient servants of the Reverend Classis, Deacons and Elders of the Congregation at Schibach:

WENDEL KEUPPER
CHRISTOPHEL SCHMITT

GERHART (G.I.H.) INDEHEVEN
HANS GEORG REIFF.

DEWALD JUNG
JOHANNES SCHOLL
JOHANNES LEFEBER
JOHANNES LEMAN
JOST FERER
FELIX GUTH
HENRICH H HUWER
JERG (G) GERNAN
VALENTIN (VHA) HANS AMEN
LORENTZ SCHWEITZER
JOHANNES (O) WILLHE
PETER WENCE
NICKLAS LÖSCHER
CHRISTIAN WEBER
PETER BORGER

JACOB KELLER
MARTE HILTEBEUDEL
ULRICH STEFFEN
JOHAN JACOB ARNDT
HANS ADAM (H M) MAUER
JOHANN PHILB RIED
PHILLIPS HENRICH SÖLLER
JOHANNES LEBO
BASTIAN SCHMIT
HANS FILB STEINHEINDIG
JACOB HEIDSCHUH
JOST SCHEULER
JACOB HANF
DAVID MONTANDON
HANS JERG BAUMAN

CARL LUDWIG KEIPPER
ANDREAS HACK
LUDWIG SCHEFER
WILLHELM SCHMIT

FRIDERICH SCHOLL
JACEL LEIDY
GEORG PHILIB DODDER.

The point made against Boehm in this complaint was of course poorly taken. In order to have a valid petition Boehm did not need to have the signatures and consent of all the members of his congregations. It was enough that he had the signatures of all his elders. The plaint of the seceders at Skippack amounts simply to this, that Boehm did not take them, his enemies, into his confidence. There was no deception in that and no sensible man can blame him for not doing it. It was the part of wisdom to keep his own counsels.

Before Weiss and Reiff reached Holland the Synod of South Holland had been held July 4 to 14, 1730, at Breda,⁶⁶ at which its president, Rev. Dr. Wilhelmus of Rotterdam, read a lengthy report. In it he stated among other things that the number of Reformed confessors from the Palatinate then in Pennsylvania was 15,000. They were increasing year by year through new arrivals. Only a few weeks before the meeting of Synod, three ships with 600 emigrants had passed through Rotterdam. The same report was also read before the Synod of North Holland, held July 21 to August 3, 1730. As a result of this report the church of Pennsylvania was earnestly recommended to the benevolence of the Classes.

Weiss and Reiff arrived in Holland shortly after the sessions of these Synods. We first meet them at Haarlem⁶⁷

⁶⁶ There is no evidence that Weiss and Reiff were present at the Synod of Breda. Their names are *not* mentioned in the minutes of that meeting.

⁶⁷ These dates are based on the list of contributions printed in the writer's "History of the Reiff Case," in Mr. Dotterer's *Historical Notes*, p. 153. There are three contemporaneous copies of this list: (1) In the

on August 10, where the Rev. Jacob Geelkerke handed them fl. 390, collected by the Synod of North Holland. A few days later, on August 15 to 16, they were at Rotterdam, where the Rev. Alardus Tiele gave them, by order of the Synod on South Holland, held at Kuilenburg in 1729, fl. 696.12, and the Rev. Barth. Van Velse handed over the contributions of the Synod just held at Breda in 1730, namely fl. 79. At the same time they appeared before the Synodical Deputies, whose minutes of August 15 to 16, 1730, give us the following information:

WEISS AND REIFF BEFORE THE SYNODICAL DEPUTIES.

1. The Deputies of the Synods have requested the Rev. Classis of Schieland to appoint some of her midst to make further inquiries, in accordance with the resolution of the Rev. Synod of South Holland, held at Breda, regarding the report touching the churches in Pennsylvania, which had been presented to the Synod. They hear with much satisfaction from the mouth of the president, Do. Wilhelmus, that a good opportunity will be afforded to do this, because the Rev. George Michael Weitzius, minister at Philadelphia and an elder of that congregation^{67a} are at present in Rotterdam.

2. Who having been interviewed at length by the Deputies about the condition of the church and the contents of the memorial, presented before Synod, it was resolved to further discuss the matter with them tomorrow at the house of Do. Wilhelmus.

3. Having met here, the above mentioned Do. Weitzius

(a) presented to the Deputies his certificate of examination and the commission given to him by Upper Consistory at Heidelberg,

Harbaugh manuscripts (see *Ref. Quarterly Review*, Vol. XL (1893), p. 68 f.); (2) in the Minutes of the Synodical Deputies, under date April 13-16, 1739 (see Dotterer's *Historical Notes*, p. 153); (3) in the letter book at the Hague, 74, II, 3, pp. 15. 16.

^{67a} Reif was *not* an elder, but only a member of the Skippack Church, see *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 237; see also his own statement, above, p. 46.

dated May 1, 1727, and renewed by the said Consistory on April 26, 1728.

(b) He gave an account of the large number of Reformed people in Pennsylvania, who have been served hitherto by him alone and by a certain Philip Beem [Boehm], who has set himself up as a teacher, although being without education and having no proper call, but who through wrong information was examined, it seems, and admitted to the ministry by one of the ministers of New Netherland, upon the order of the Rev. Classis of Amsterdam, about which the congregation at Philadelphia and at Skippack wrote a letter to the Classis of Amsterdam and also to the Classis of Schieland, dated May 30, 1730, signed by forty-four persons, requesting that the above mentioned Beem might not be forced upon them as their minister.

(c) He accepted the request to prepare a chart, showing the different colonies of the Palatines, the distance of one from the other, and how many churches ought to be built there for their service, and how many shepherds or teachers would be necessary to serve them properly, and he agreed further to give a detailed written account concerning the whole condition of the land and the Palatines living therein.

The minutes of the meeting of September 12 to 14, 1730, add: "This report came after the close of the sessions and was communicated to the Deputies."

It is very unfortunate that this report and chart of Weiss are no longer in existence, for they would have given us no doubt important information regarding the various German settlements in the province and the earliest Reformed congregations.

On September 4, 1730, Weiss and Reiff were in Amsterdam, where they appeared before the famous Classis of that city. The Classical Minutes states that:

Do. G. Mich. Wijs, minister at Philadelphia, appeared with an elder of Schibach and made known that the congregation at Schi-

bach, from which also a letter had been received, is very much disturbed and in great confusion, because the congregation refuses to recognize Do. Boehm as a properly ordained minister, who has been installed as their pastor, in accordance with the order of this Classis, by the ministers of New York, which can be seen in the Acts of January 11, 1729. His Reverence requested this Classis to take such measures as would restore the peace of the congregation. Whereupon the Deputies for foreign affairs were asked to investigate this matter carefully and present their recommendations to this body.

Further his Reverence requested a contribution to build a church at Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, which congregation is recommended to the charity of all the congregations under the jurisdiction of this Classis.

The two travelers remained in Amsterdam for several months. On October 18, 1730, the burgomasters of the city permitted them to collect fl. 600. A list of contributions spread out upon the minutes of the Synodical Deputies under date April 14, 1739, shows that this sum was actually collected. The permit issued to them has been translated and printed several times, but as it is desirable to have all the documents, bearing on their stay in Holland, put together in one place, we may be pardoned for repeating it in this connection, with a few minor corrections.⁶⁸

PERMIT OF BURGOMASTERS OF AMSTERDAM, OCTOBER 18, 1730.

The Burgomasters and Magistrates of the City of Amsterdam, upon the report made to their Honors by George Michael Weiss, minister, and Jacob Reiff, elder, as commissioners of the Reformed congregation at Philadelphia, concerning the miserable condition of the said congregation, consisting in general of poor and needy

⁶⁸ A contemporaneous copy of this permit in Dutch, from which the above translation was made, is found at the Hague, Vol. 74, II, 3.

people, who were compelled by religious persecution or from lack of subsistence to emigrate thither, and after long and expensive journeys had to settle there empty handed; and being without places and opportunities for the exercise of their religion, and for the propagation of the Christian Reformed religion, have resolved, in order to so far come to the aid of these poor banished brethren in the faith, in the attainment of their desires, as to grant and permit to their aforesaid commissioners, being assisted by John Peter Bolthuysen, a resident of this city, that these same, within this city and its jurisdiction, may visit the homes of the good citizens and residents and may solicit of the same most courteously the gifts and donations of their Christian sympathy, such as they may be willing to contribute to them; moreover, that they may accept such gifts and contributions with gratitude to the amount of six hundred guilders and no more.

Done at Amsterdam on the 18th of October 1730.

By ordinance of their Excellencies aforesaid

(L.S.)

S. B. ELIAS.

On October 19, 1730, the consistory of the Reformed Church at Amsterdam gave fl. 150, through Rev. John Visscher, pro tem. president of Synod and on the following day the diaconate added fl. 600, through Wm. Coevenhoven, deacon.

During October and November private persons in Holland contributed fl. 217, so that the total of all the contributions received was fl. 2132.12.

The last reference to the presence of the two delegates in Holland is found in the minutes of the Classis of the Hague, which mentions, under date November 6, 1730, a Latin letter of Do. Weiss, addressed to the Classis, in which he asked for their help and encouragement.

The later movements of Weiss can fortunately be traced by an account which he submitted in May, 1738. At that time he made a trip from German Flats, N. Y., to Skip-

pack, Pa., in order to bring the long standing "Reiff Case" to a final settlement. At a conference held at Skip-pack, Weiss submitted the following paper to be signed by his former elders. He did not succeed in getting them to sign it, but they made a copy of his statement, which ultimately fell into the hands of John Philip Boehm, who promptly forwarded it to Holland.⁶⁹ The statement of Weiss was as follows:

STATEMENT OF WEISS REGARDING MONEY COLLECTED IN
HOLLAND.

SCHIPACH, May 8, 1738.

Account, made with J. Reiff, concerning the collected money, which he received in my presence in Holland at Rotterdam, Haarlem and Amsterdam, from the respective donors, of which he made the following disposition, namely:

Receipts, according to the collection book added together in sum
total fl. 2104.—

Expenditures, being for necessary expenses:

1. For voyage from Philadelphia to London without the provisions taken along£18.—
2. For provisions in London during about one month, with the duty for myself and Jacob Reiff£5.sh.7.d.6.
3. For passage from London to Rotterdam for each 15sh. sterling, 1 chini [guinea] for the bed and 3sh. sterl. for the board.
4. Expenses for half a year's board in Holland and necessary travels, 700 Dutch guilders.
5. At Rotterdam, shortly before my return to London, Jacob Reiff gave me 250 Dutch guilders, with which I paid to passage from Rotterdam to London (when J. Reiff remained in Holland, 15sh. one chini [guinea] for the bed, 6sh. for the board.

⁶⁹ Boehm's copy is in the Pennsylvania Portfolio of the Classical Archives, No. 20.

The passage from London to Maryland £8.—without the provisions taken along.

The journey from Maryland to Philadelphia by sea £3,sh.12,d.1. Board in London 16sh.

In addition for my labor and trouble I ask £50 for the year.

N.B. Jac. Reiff declares to have paid me for clothes and books 110fl.14 stuivers.

When pounds and shillings are referred to, sterling money is meant.

This statement reveals the fact that Weiss stayed in Holland six months. Since he arrived about August 10, 1730, he must have left it about February 10, 1731. Then he returned to Pennsylvania by way of London and Maryland.

Besides collecting about fl. 2100 for the congregations of Philadelphia and Skippack and rousing much interest for the Reformed people in Pennsylvania, the visit of Weiss in Holland had another important result. It led to the publication of the first printed report regarding the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, which was laid before the Synod of South Holland, convened at Dortrecht from July 3 to 13, 1731, and was ordered printed by that Synod. The minutes of that meeting state regarding it:

MINUTES OF SOUTH HOLLAND SYNOD ON REFORMED CHURCH
IN PENNSYLVANIA, JULY 3-13, 1731.

The Reverend Deputies of the Synod reported, that, in obedience to the resolution of Synod, they had gathered full information, with the assistance of the commissioners of the Reverend Classes of Delft and Delftland as well as of Schieland, from the lips of Do. Georgius Michael Weitzius, minister at Philadelphia and from his elder, who have come over hither [to Holland],⁷⁰ as well as from

⁷⁰ This statement proves that the "Berigt" of 1731 was based on the reports of Weiss, but it was not actually written by him, as has been stated

thorough reports and letters, regarding the condition of the churches in Pennsylvania, which consist of 30,000 baptized members, among whom are about 15,000 [adult] members. They were served hitherto by only one minister, namely the aforesaid Do. Weitz, besides by another, Philippus Beem [Boehm], who, however, has had no [preparatory] studies nor a call, but was forced upon the congregation rather than elected by it. They are now busy with the building of a stone church with materials from that country. They will need in course of time at different places four other churches, together with a minister and schoolmaster for each. . . .

Furthermore, the Reverend Deputies read before Synod a draught of a church order [constitution], composed at the express request of the Palatine colonists in Pennsylvania, by their Reverences together with the Commissioners of the Classis of Delft and Delftland, as well as those of Schieland, which according to their opinion (subject to correction) can be introduced to a large extent into the distant churches, in harmony with the usages of the Palatinate. . . .

The Christian Synod is of the opinion that the Reverend Deputies and Commissioners of the Classes of Delft, Delftland and Schieland ought to be thanked for the trouble and efforts expended in this far-reaching affair and for the draught of a church order which has been read.

This draught should be printed as quickly as possible, so that during the sessions of this Synod⁷¹ their Reverences, the corresponding delegates as well as the members of Synod, may be provided with copies and thus be better able to express their opinion regarding it, that if necessary, the draught may be changed or amended and then be sent as soon as possible to the congregation [in Pennsylvania]. The commissioners for this affair shall put such a title

repeatedly. There is reason to think that the author of the "Berigt" was the Rev. John Wilhelmius, see *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 306, note 190.

⁷¹ The Synod at which all these events happened was the Synod of Dortrecht (or Dort), held in 1731, and not the Synod of Breda of 1730, as has been stated by Dr. Good in his *History of the Reformed Church in the United States*, p. 136, and repeated by Dr. Corwin, *Manual of the Reformed Church in America*, 4th ed., p. 897.

or statement upon it as shall make it evident that this draught is only an advice or counsel which the Deputies of this Synod, together with the Commissioners of Delft, Delftland and Schieland, drew up at the request preferred to them, so that no suspicion may be provoked by it. This was done and the copies [of the draught] were handed over to the members present and to each Classis, according to the number they had asked for.

Copies of this printed report have come down to us. One was bought by the writer in Holland for his friend, the Rev. Prof. J. I. Good, D.D. It is entitled:

Berigt, /en / Onderrigtinge, / nopens en aan de Colonie /en Kerke /van / Pensylvanien. / Opgesteld en Uytgegeven door de Gedeputeerden van /de E. Christelyke Synodus van Zuyd-Holland, /benevens de Gecommitteerden van de /E. Classis von Delft en Delfsland, /en Schieland.

Title page, one page of introduction and 18 pages of text, in small quarto.

The title reads in English:

Report and Instructions, concerning and for the Colony and Church of Pennsylvania. Prepared and published by the Deputies of the Rev. Christian Synod of South Holland, together with the Commissioners of the Rev. Classis of Delft, Delftland and Schieland.

As the title indicates the booklet consists of two parts: (1) a report, covering five pages, (2) an instruction for the regulation of the churches there, pp. 6-18.

The report gives a brief description of Pennsylvania, its location, climate, nature of soil, products, metals and inhabitants. It then traces its history from the first occupation of the country by the Swedes, to its surrender to the English in 1665 and its acquisition by Penn in 1681. It refers to the establishment of Philadelphia and the efforts of Penn to attract settlers to the colony. It states that

many inhabitants of Germany were attracted to Pennsylvania, Mennonites, Lutherans and Reformed, but that the last were nearly half of the whole population or about 15,000. This is, of course, a greatly exaggerated figure. Of the Reformed people it is said that, being without religious services, many had gone over to the Quakers. Four years ago [1727] their first minister had arrived, Weiss, under whom they had formed a congregation at Skippack, but that one minister and one church was not sufficient for the widely scattered Reformed settlers. Therefore they needed the help of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands. With their help even the Indians might be reached and converted. The log church at Skippack should be replaced by one of stone and four additional churches should be erected.

The second part of the pamphlet, called instruction, proposes the complete organization of the Church in Pennsylvania, looking forward even to the formation of a Classis, but demanding of its ministers subscription to all the formulas of unity, adopted by the Synod of Dort, including the Heidelberg Catechism, Belgic Confession, Decrees as well as Post-Acta of the Synod of Dort.

Two remarkable facts should be noted with regard to this proposed constitution for the Reformed churches of Pennsylvania. The first is that it exerted absolutely no influence upon the constitutional history of the Reformed Church. Mr. Boehm clung tenaciously to his own constitution, drawn up in 1725, which had been permitted by the Classis of Amsterdam in 1729, and which became the constitution of the Coetus of Pennsylvania in 1748. The other fact is that the opponents of Boehm circulated an interpolated manuscript copy of this constitution, written it was claimed by Do. Wilhelmius in Rotterdam, which

declared that the church in Pennsylvania was an altogether independent church and could choose as their ministers whomsoever they pleased. Through this letter the opponents of Boehm tried to justify their existence of a separate organization.⁷²

When Weiss returned to Pennsylvania, in the summer of 1731, he found the churches of Philadelphia and Germantown under the care of another minister and as the Reformed congregation at Huntersfield, Schoharie County, N. Y., gave him a call, he accepted it and removed to the State of New York.⁷³

Before Weiss left Philadelphia, however, he requested and received the following letter of commendation from his elders at Philadelphia. Of this letter, too, he has spread a copy upon the church record at Catskill, from which the writer copied the original German recently. The following is a translation of this certificate:

CERTIFICATE GIVEN TO WEISS BY PHILADELPHIA REFORMED
CHURCH.

Copy of the Attestation given to me by my late congregation at Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, after I had received a letter from Schohary, not far from Albany.

Inasmuch as our late pastor, the Rev. Mr. G. M. Weiss, has now resolved to leave Philadelphia and go to Albany, to enter there

⁷² A copy of this forged letter of Wilhelmus was sent to Amsterdam by Boehm. It is in the Pennsylvania Portfolio of letters at Amsterdam, new letters, No. 10. It is printed in full in *Life and Letters of Boehm*, pp. 303-311.

⁷³ After a short ministry Weiss left Huntersfield in February, 1732. A testimonial given him at the time of his removal, February 22, 1732, from the Huntersfield congregation, is spread upon the Catskill record. Weiss received and accepted a call from the Dutch Reformed Church at Catskill, N. Y., dated February 8, 1732. He opened the Catskill record on February 25, 1732. His last baptism there was entered into the record July 6, 1735.

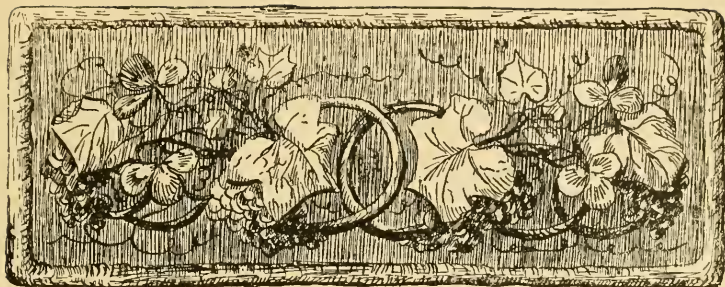
upon his calling, according to the divine providence, a credible testimony is given him herewith by the congregation here, that, according to the obligations of a minister, he discharged the duties of his office piously, faithfully and diligently and led such a Christian life that the whole congregation was well satisfied with him, as we also wish him the blessing of God for his undertaking. In testimony of which and in the interest of truth we, the elders of the Reformed Congregation, have hereunto set our signatures and affixed our seals.

Given in Philadelphia, the 22nd of September 1731.

JOH. DIEMER, (L.S.)	PIETER LECOLIE	(L.S.)
	JOHANN WILHELM RÖHRIG	(L.S.)
	HENRICH WELLER	(L.S.)
	CONRAD REIFF	(L.S.)
	GERHARDT IN DE HEFFEN	(L.S.)

With this letter Weiss left Philadelphia and went to his new field of labor in the state of New York.





CHAPTER II.

MINISTRY OF REV. JOHN PETER MILLER, 1730-1734.

IN August 29, 1730, there appeared in the courthouse of Philadelphia a man who was destined to play a prominent part in the religious life of Pennsylvania. It was John Peter Miller, the later monk at Ephrata, who came to Pennsylvania as a Reformed candidate of theology.

The life of John Peter Miller has often been sketched,⁷⁴ but no one has ever attempted to gather together all the documents bearing on the few years which he spent as minister of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania. This shall be our aim, to shed as much light as possible upon his short career as a Reformed minister.

On December 29, 1725, there registered in the matriculation book of the University of Heidelberg "Johannes

⁷⁴ For earlier accounts of Peter Miller see Harbaugh, *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, Vol. I (1857), pp. 301-311; Dubbs, *Historic Manual of the Reformed Church*, 1885, pp. 175-187; Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1725-1792*, Reading, 1899, pp. 160-165; Dubbs, *Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, 1902, pp. 94-99; Sachse, *German Sectarians of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I, passim; also "John Peter Miller" in *The Pennsylvania German*, Vol. I, No. 2 (April, 1900), pp. 3-17; also *Life and Letters of Boehm*, pp. 44-48.

Petrus Mullerus, Altzbornensis." Alsenborn is a village about two and a half German miles northeast of the city of Kaiserslautern, in the Rhenish Palatinate, now a part of Bavaria.

In the Burial Register of the Ephrata Community for the year 1796, John Peter Miller is recorded as having "died September 25, 1796, aged 86 years, 9 months."⁷⁵ Counting back 86 years and 9 months from the day of his death we are brought to December 25, 1709, as the day of his birth.

Of his life in Germany nothing is known except a brief allusion which occurs in a letter from Ephrata signed K., a letter that was published in the *Berliner Monatschrift* of 1784, to which the late Prof. Jos. H. Dubbs first called attention.⁷⁶ After giving a somewhat discouraging account of the condition of the Ephrata community, the writer makes the following reference to Peter Miller:

Peter Miller, the only educated man (in the society) studied in Heidelberg and was authorized to preach, but not to baptize. With thirty guildens in his pocket he left his father. Afterwards he preached in this country, and at the request of a German country congregation was ordained by the Presbyterian clergy of Philadelphia. After four years he resigned his congregation, was converted, baptized others and was himself baptized; and six months after the organization of this society he joined it. Previously he had lived as a hermit.

A correspondence carried on with the Reformed pastor at Alsenborn, shortly before the Great War, brought to light some facts regarding the family of Peter Miller. His father was the Rev. John Müller, who from 1708-14

⁷⁵ Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania*, Vol. II, p. 516. This statement is corroborated by the inscription on his tombstone, see below, p. 95.

⁷⁶ Dubbs, *The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 98, note 99.

was pastor at Zweikirchen and Wolfstein, near Kaiserslautern. Later, from 1714-26, he was pastor at Alsenborn, and from 1726-41 pastor at Altenkirchen, near Homburg in the Rhine province. He died at Altenkirchen May 11, 1741. His son, John Peter Müller, must have been born at Zweikirchen, during his father's pastorate at that place. Unfortunately neither the church nor the church records of Zweikirchen are now in existence, so that we are unable to supply further details. However, we now know that the reference to Alsenborn in the matriculation book at Heidelberg does not mean that John Peter Müller was born there, but that it was his temporary home, because his father was pastor there, when he matriculated in the university.

On August 29, 1730, a list was presented in the courthouse at Philadelphia, containing the names of seventy-five men, who with their families making in all about two hundred and sixty persons, were imported in the ship *Thistle* of Glasgow, Colin Dunlap,⁷⁷ master, having come from Rotterdam, but last from Dover, England, as by clearance from that port. They subscribed the "Declaration of Fidelity and Abjuration." Among these names is "Peter Müller," in bold German characters.

With Miller came a number of persons whom we afterwards find as members of the Reformed Church at Goshenhoppen. They are: Valentin Griesemer, Hans Jacob Diehl, Thomas Hamman, Abraham Transu, Hans Simon Mey. Lönhart Hochgenug, Bernhard Siegmund and Johannes Scherer became members of the Reformed Church at Philadelphia and Christian Leman appears in 1734 at Skippack, while John Henrich Schmidt is enrolled in the same year as a Reformed deacon in Falkner Swamp.

⁷⁷ The correction "Calvin Dunlap" in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d Ser., Vol. XVII, p. 20, is entirely unjustified.

Soon after his arrival Peter Miller came in contact with John Philip Boehm, who was at that time (1730) the only ordained Reformed minister in the province. Miller called on Boehm in his home and had with him a lengthy conversation, of which Boehm sent the following report to Holland, in a letter dated November 12, 1730:⁷⁸

LETTER OF BOEHM REGARDING MILLER, NOVEMBER 12, 1730.

Meanwhile no peace can yet be expected, for there arrived this fall another man, named Miller, whose father is pastor in the Electoral Palatinate, under the inspectorate of Kaiserslautern. He likewise avails himself of the liberty of this country, and so far has been preaching to the seceders at Schipbach, as the enclosed letter, marked F, shows. He has promised them, as also the people in Philadelphia and Germantown, to take the place of Mr. Weiss until the latter returns. In order to carry this out successfully, he betook himself to the Presbyterians in Philadelphia (because he is unordained), that he might be ordained by them. This he told me himself in my house on October 19th, saying that in the preceding week he had handed to them his confession of faith concerning the points they had asked of him, and expressing the hope that the affair [of his ordination] would be concluded in the following week, which so far as I know has not yet taken place.

I warned him in a friendly way and advised him to go to the reverend ministers of New York and endeavor to have his ordination take place in accordance with the church-order of the Reformed Church, whereby it would stand a better test before the world. To this he replied, that such a course was far too circuitous for him, if he could gain his end by a shorter way, he would take it, as there was no great difference in it. Moreover, he said, he would like to know who had given authority to the Classis of Amsterdam to rule over the Church in this country. He thought the King of England was more important than the Classis of Hol-

⁷⁸ *Journal of P. H. S.*, Vol. VII, pp. 36-38; *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 199 f.

land. Then I answered that it was asking too much who had given her the authority, and that I did not care anything about that, but that I believed, if the Classis had no such authority she would not have taken us under her care and supervision, that I for one was subject to her and would always be glad to act under her direction, etc. Then I received this fine reprimand: "There is such a glorious liberty in this country that the people themselves are free to elect, accept and also dismiss their preachers. It is not right to attempt to deprive them of this liberty and to subject them to a Classis, which can then force upon them such ministers as she desires. Christians have liberty and are in this world under no head, Christ alone is their head in heaven."

He also remarked that the people had called me only temporarily, until they could get another minister. I showed him my call. He said there was nothing in it, that they had called me for life. Then I answered him: "The Reverend Classis had recognized it as a lawful call, if he was wiser than the Classis, he would have to take it up with her. I furthermore reminded him, that I also regarded Christ as the head of his church, yet I believed that Christ ruled his church on earth through agents, wherefore I would rather be under supervisors divinely appointed, in order to preserve good order in the Church of Christ, than stand up on my own freedom." On this point he did not agree with me.

It is interesting to see the difference in the character of these two men, thrown into such strong relief in this conversation. Boehm methodical, exact, strong for order and church government, firmly attached to the customs and traditions of the fathers, seeing in them the safeguards of the Church. Miller, easy-going, chafing under restraint, glad to be free from the restrictions of the old world, caring little for traditions and customs, or even for the visible Church. To his sanguine temperament the ideal and spiritual alone appeals. He thinks of the liberty of the children of God and the glory of the invisible Church. This

conversation furnishes us therefore the key to his later conversion.

The elders of Skippack, writing with Mr. Boehm to the Reformed ministers of New York, under date November 5, 1730 (in the enclosure, marked F, referred to the above), make the following statement about Miller:⁷⁹

The harmful division, caused in our congregation by Mr. George Michael Weiss and continued by him until his departure from here, contrary to all order and the solemn covenant made with him, all this has hitherto been kept up by Mr. Miller, who came to this country this fall. Coming into this country as an unordained minister and willing to be ordained by the Presbyterians in Philadelphia (as we hear), we have no other prospect before us but a continuous division in our poor congregation. Our hope for a good and God-pleasing harmony, established in brotherly love, which we expected to be able to report with rejoicing, after the departure of Mr. Weiss, has been entirely taken away from us through the above mentioned Mr. Miller.

The same unwillingness which the people of Skippack manifested to submit themselves to the supervision of the Classis of Amsterdam, appeared also in Philadelphia, under the inspiration of Weiss and Miller, for Boehm writes again:⁸⁰

With respect to the Reformed people of Philadelphia, I have been compelled to hear repeatedly, with a sad heart, from several of them the reply, (when I recommended the good work to them): "We are here in a free country, and the Classis of Holland has no right to give us any orders." This statement, however, has been prompted, as I believe, by the persuasion of Mr. Weiss alone, which is now continued by Mr. Miller.

It is rather curious to see how eager these independents

⁷⁹ *Journal of P. H. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 59; *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 219.

⁸⁰ *Journal of P. H. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 44; *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 205.

were to accept the benefactions of the Classis of Amsterdam, but when it came to accept their well meant advice, they drew the line. Consistency, thou art a jewel!

ORDINATION OF MILLER IN PHILADELPHIA.

We must now turn to the story of Miller's ordination by the Presbyterians in Philadelphia.

On September 19, 1730, the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia passed the following resolution:⁸¹

It is agreed by Synod, that Mr. John Peter Miller, a Dutch probationer, lately come over, be left to the care of the Presbytery of Philadelphia to settle him in the work of the ministry.

Unfortunately the minutes of the Philadelphia Presbytery from 1717 to 1732 are lost, so that it is impossible to give the exact details. A well known letter of Rev. Jedidiah Andrews, from 1698 to 1747 pastor of the old Buttonwood Presbyterian Church, supplies the omission partially. It was written on October 14, 1730, to his friend, the Rev. Thomas Prince, pastor of the Old South Church of Boston. In it he writes:⁸²

There is lately come over a Palatine candidate of the ministry, who having applied to us at the Synod, for Ordin'n, 't is left to 3 ministers to do it. He is an extraordinary person for sense and learning. We gave him a question to discuss about Justification, and he has answered it, in a whole sheet of paper, in a very notable manner. His name is John Peter Miller, and speaks Latin as readily as we do our vernacular tongue, and so does the other, Mr. Weis.

Many years afterwards Peter Miller himself wrote the following account of his ordination to a friend in a letter dated December 5, 1790:⁸³

⁸¹ *Records of Presbyterian Church*, Vol. I, p. 99.

⁸² *Hazard's Register*, Vol. XV, p. 201.

⁸³ *Hazard's Register*, Vol. XVI, p. 254.

As concerning our transactions during that long term of our residence at Ephrata, I wish I could satisfy thine curiosity. I have published a *Chronicon Ephratense*, of which I could make thee a present, if thou art master of the German language. However I will do something to satisfy thee. In August 1730, I arrived at Philadelphia, and was there at the end of said year upon order of the Scotch Synod, ordained, in the old meeting house by three eminent ministers, Tenant, Andrews and Boyd.

Peter Miller served the congregations, Skippack, Germantown and Philadelphia, according to Boehm's letter of November 12, 1730, till the fall of 1731. On September 21, 1731, the Rev. John Bartholomew Rieger arrived at Philadelphia, who became Miller's successor in these congregations.

Lancaster 21^{to} 26^{to} Novemb^r 1745
gehorsame
Joh. Barthol. Rieger
predicant

On November 22, 1731, the Reformed congregation of Philadelphia wrote to the Rev. Dr. Wilhelmus of Rotterdam:⁸⁴

In order that the minister's chair might not remain vacant, since Mr. Weis has left us, we have, sometime ago, elected and accepted as our teacher the newly arrived Candidate Rieger, to whose planting and watering among us the Lord may grant his blessing from on high.

As a result we find Miller turning to the interior German settlements. He first appears at Goshenhoppen. In

⁸⁴ The original is in the Hague archives, 74, I, 10.

his report of 1739, Mr. Boehm locates him definitely at Goshenhoppen:⁸⁵

Of this congregation [Goshenhoppen] I know little, for it never wanted to be under our church-order, but desired to be its own master. When Do. Weiss, as stated above, came into the country and caused great confusion, they faithfully adhered to him. When he traveled to Holland in order to obtain the well known moneys collected there, they immediately clung to Miller, who, assisted by another person, continued to serve Goshenhoppen. By their services at Skippack, they kept the congregation there in a state of continued restlessness, which had been begun by Weiss. All my petitions, entreaties and warnings were in vain.

In course of time Miller extended his activity. In 1733 we find him ministering to the Reformed people in the Conestoga valley, Lancaster County, and in the Tulpehocken valley, Berks County.

On March 4, 1733, Rev. John B. Rieger and the Philadelphia physician, Dr. John Jacob Diemer, write in a letter to the Synodical Deputies:⁸⁶

The church at Conestoga and vicinity has a preacher by the name of Joh. Petrus Müller, who was ordained in the Presbyterian church here. He administers divine services there [at Conestoga]. The churches at Schippach, Germantown and Philadelphia have a preacher who came over a year and a half ago, Bartholomeus Rieger, who has taken the place of Do. Wys. He preaches one Sunday at Schippach, the second at Germantown and the third at Philadelphia.

We learn still more about the activity of Miller in the Conestoga valley from a very important letter of Conrad Tempelman, who did for the Conestoga valley what Mr. Boehm did for the Perkiomen valley. He began the first

⁸⁵ *Minutes of Coetus*, p. 9.

⁸⁶ The original is at the Hague, archives 74, I, 15.

Reformed services in that region. In this letter Tempelman writes to the Synods of North and South Holland under date February 13, 1733:⁸⁷

LETTER OF CONRAD TEMPELMAN REGARDING THE REFORMED
CHURCH IN CONESTOGA, FEBRUARY 13, 1733.

The church at Chanastoka took its origin in the year 1725, with a small gathering in houses here and there, with the reading of a sermon and with song and prayer, according to their High German church order, upon all Sundays and Holidays, but, on account of the lack of a minister, without the administration of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper.

Thereafter Dominie Böhm served them, at first [1727] voluntarily at the request of the people, later, after being fully ordained, he administered baptism and communion to them for the space of two years [1730-1731], upon a yearly call, although he lived a distance of 21 hours [about 63 miles] away from them, being satisfied with their small, voluntary gifts. He also subsequently established a church-order [constitution] among them and the congregation chose elders and he himself exercised a strict and careful supervision, so that things went on in good order in this congregation.

Further the writer reports that the congregation, on account of its enlargement and the great distances between the members, has divided itself into six meeting-places in Chanastoka, whereof three places are served by a Reformed minister, Johan Peter Müller, by name, by whom also another strong congregation is served about seven hours [21 miles] distant, called Dalbenhacken [Tulpehocken].

But that they now, by reason of the division of the congregation, cannot any longer be served by Do. Boehm, as also not by the aforesaid Müller, both by reason of the great distance of the localities and because of the manifold occupations and heavy labor wherewith he is overburdened. . . .

⁸⁷ Only an abstract of Tempelmann's letter in Dutch has been preserved at the Hague, archives 74, I, 14.

The entire north side, 20 hours [60 miles] distant from Philadelphia, named Chanastoka (which is no town, but a tract of land so named after a certain creek) is settled by Germans and English. There are three of the meeting places of the Reformed people, covering an area 7 hours [21 miles] long and 7 hours [21 miles] wide. But they say further, that they can give no report to the Rev. Christian Synods of the 3 places, ministered unto by Do. Müller. Nevertheless they hope that the said preacher will make known his own needs (inasmuch as he cannot well subsist by the free-will gifts of his people) as well as the condition of his congregation and his elders. . . .

Regarding the three first named meeting places they give further report to the Rev. Christian Synods [Classis] of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, concerning the members and elders belonging to them, with the autograph signatures of the latter.

It is signed

CONRAD TEMPELMAN

Reader of the Congregation

(N.B. He seems to be the writer of the letter.)

Members 55, Elders: Rudolf Heller (L.S.)
Michel Albert (L.S.)
Andries M . . . (L.S.)

At the second meeting place there are the following number of members and elders:

Members 51, Elders: Hans Georg Swab (L.S.)
Johannes Göhr (L.S.)
Conrad Werns (L.S.)

At the third meeting place there are the following members and elders:

Members 30, Elders: Johann Jacob Hook (L.S.)
Andries Halsbrun (L.S.)
Nicolaus (L.S.)

The fact that Tempelman has given us the names of the elders of these congregations enables us to identify them.

The first of these preaching places is now represented by Heller's church in Upper Leacock township.⁸⁸ The second is the Cocalico church near Ephrata, and the third is the Lancaster church. Its elder, John Jacob Hock, was elected the first pastor of the Lancaster church in 1736.

As to the congregations served by Miller, we can only speak with some degree of probability. One was probably Muddy Creek, for in the Lutheran Muddy Creek record two children are recorded as having been baptized by Peter Miller, one on January 20, 1730[31], the other on February 3, 1733.⁸⁹ The second congregation seems to have been Reyer's Church (now at Brickerville), Elizabeth township, where Tempelman made entries in an old church record, beginning with the year 1735. The third was most likely Zeltenreich, near New Holland, where a Reformed Church was in existence in 1744, ministered to by Jacob Lischy.

Sometime during this period (1730-1734), probably before the division into six preaching places had occurred, Miller also preached at Cocalico, near Ephrata, for in a list of pastors of that congregation, drawn up in 1766 by the Rev. John George Wittner, the name Peter Miller occurs. As this important list has never been published, it may be well to insert it here in full, with some comments:

⁸⁸ A full discussion of the evidence was given by the writer in the *Reformed Church Messenger* of January 4, 1900; also by Prof. Jos. H. Dubbs, D.D., in the "Earliest Church in Lancaster County," a paper read before the Lancaster County Historical Society, *Proceedings*, Vol. V (1900), No. 1. See also *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 64.

⁸⁹ A photographic reproduction of that page is given by Dr. Sachse in his *German Sectarians in Pennsylvania*, Vol. I, p. 237.

LIST OF ALL THE TEACHERS AND PASTORS WHO FROM THE FIRST BEGINNING
HAVE OFFICIATED IN THE CONGREGATION AT THE COCALICO, OR THE
SO-CALLED KELLER'S CHURCH.

- [1] Böhm [John Philip].
- [2] Bechtold [otherwise unknown].
- [3] Hooek [John Jacob, of Lancaster].
- [4] Tempelmann [John Conrad].
- [5] Wieser [otherwise unknown, unless it be George Michael Weiss].
- [6] Rieger, post et Med. D. [John B. Rieger, afterwards Doctor of
Medicine].
- [7] Fock [Lewis Ferdinand Vock].
- [8] Peter Miller, in Ephrata Jaibetz.^{89a}
- [9] Löscher [unknown, unless it be Jacob Lischy, who preached at
Cocalico].
- [10] Joh. Waldschmidt [1752-1762].
- [11] Deckert [John Henry Decker; 1762-1763].
- [12] Friz Müller [Frederick Casimir Müller; 1763-1765].
- [13] Berger from Reading, supplied the congregation for two years.
- [14] J. G. Wittner [1766-1770].
- [15] Joh. Christoph Gobrecht [1770-1779].
- [16] Anthony Hautz [1786-1790, September].

The first part of the list up to the fourteenth minister is in the handwriting of Rev. Mr. Wittner, by whom the record was begun. With regard to the earlier entries (Nos. 1-9) it should be noted that they are *not* in strict chronological order. Hence from the position of Peter Miller after Vock, who was pastor in 1750, it should not be inferred that Peter Miller served the congregation after that time, when he was Prior of the convent at Ephrata. The Reformed people would never have permitted that. The only safe inference to make is that Peter Miller was one of the early pastors of the congregation, while other evidence makes it certain that Mr. Wittner did not insert him in his proper chronological

^{89a} In Ephrata Peter Miller adopted the name Jabez, based on I. Chronicles 4: 9. It is there explained as meaning "Borne with sorrow." It refers no doubt to his remarkable conversion. The words "in Ephrata Jaibetz" were added about 1786 by Anthony Hautz.

place. This applies equally to all the other early ministers from the first to the ninth.

In the light of all the available evidence, I offer the following *chronological* list of the earlier pastorates:

- 1725.—Origin of the German Reformed Church in the Conestoga valley.
 1725-1727.—Religious meetings in private houses conducted by Conrad Tempelman.
 1727, October 15.—First Reformed Communion service in the Conestoga valley. Brief ministry of Rev. John Philip Boehm.
 1728-1729.—Ministry of George Michael Weiss.
 1730, May 30.—Formal organization of the Conestoga Congregation, now Heller's in Upper Leacock township.
 1730-1732.—Origin of the Reformed congregations at Lancaster and Cocalico, and probably also at Muddy Creek, Reyer's and Seltenreich.
 1733, February 13.—Six Reformed preaching places in existence in the Conestoga valley.

REFORMED MINISTERS AT COCALICO, NOW BETHANY, NEAR EPHRATA.⁹⁰

1. Ministry of John Philip Boehm, 1730-1731.
2. Ministry of John Peter Miller, 1731-1734.
 Miller's conversion, 1735, May.
 Visit of Boehm to Conestoga, 1735, May 11.
3. Ministry of Bechtold, 1735-1736.

The ministry of Peter Miller at Tulpehocken has left its traces in several documents.

Miller himself, in the Ephrata Chronicle (Engl. Ed., p. 70), gives the following account:

At that time the region of Dulpehakin was settled entirely by Protestants. These had agreed among themselves not to suffer among them any who were differently minded; so that many who were of like persuasion came to them. But shrewdly as they contrived it, God yet at last set up his candle on a candlestick in that then dark region, as will soon be narrated. These now had called the afore-mentioned P.M. [Peter Miller] to be their teacher,

⁹⁰ A history of the Cocalico congregation was given by the writer in the *Reformed Church Messenger*, January 4-18, 1900, and continued in the *Reformed Church Record*, February 15-March 1, 1900.

which office he served among them and in other places during four years.

The Moravian church record of Tulpehocken, now preserved in the archives at Bethlehem, tells the following story of the origin of the Lutheran congregation there and Peter Miller's ministry among them:⁹¹

In the year 1723 Tulpehocken was first settled and inhabited by people who had dwelt in Schocheri. Most of them were brought under conviction and made restless in their hearts while still residing in Schocheri [Schoharie] through Bernhard von Thieren, who was their pastor there, and who had promised these people also to move to Tulpehocken and continue to be their minister. But he made only occasional visits, administered the Lord's Supper at various times, baptized also the children and then went back again to Schocheri. There came also at times a preacher named Henckel from Falkner Swamp to visit us and administered occasionally the Lord's Supper. He advised us to build a church, which was done in 1727. Peter Müller a Reformed preacher also came to us and preached sermons for almost two years. Afterward he went among the Seventh Day people [Siebentäger].

It was during the ministry of Peter Miller at Goshenhoppen that the three Reformed congregations in the Goshenhoppen district first come into view.

Old Goshenhoppen appears first in the year 1730. On November 12, 1730, Rev. John Philip Boehm wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam:⁹²

⁹¹ The claim of the writer, in the *Reformed Church Record* and in the *Reformed Church Messenger*, to have "discovered" this record in the Bethlehem archives has been questioned (*History of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 447, note 520). The facts in the case are as follows: In the summer of 1902 the writer spent five weeks in the archives of the Moravian Church at Bethlehem and found there among other documents this church record. It was spoken of as a discovery (in the articles mentioned above), because *it was at that time unknown to Reformed historians.*

⁹² *Journal of P. H. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 43 f. *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 204.

The same action [namely a request for organization] was taken in another small congregation, of about fifteen families, with the same humble request to the Reverend Classis. It is situated about ten miles from here. The place has as yet no definite name, but it is called after the river on which it lies Bergjamen [Perkiomen].

As there is no other Reformed congregation along the Perkiomen Creek, about ten miles from Boehm's home in Whitpain township, than Old Goshenhoppen, we have little hesitation in identifying the two names. This identification is indirectly corroborated by the fact that, according to the Old Goshenhoppen Lutheran record, "in the year 1732 a warrant was taken up jointly by the Lutherans and the Reformed. In the fall of that year a union schoolhouse was built upon this land." In this schoolhouse, the first of its kind in the charge, the religious services of the congregation were no doubt held.

In 1734 the congregation at Great Swamp appears for the first time. On December 12, 1734, Rev. John Martin Boltzius, a Lutheran minister at Ebenezer, Georgia, wrote to Dr. G. A. Francke, head of the Institutions at Halle, Germany:⁹³

In the above mentioned Great Swamp there is also a small Reformed congregation, which has its own pastor.

In a preceding reference to Great Swamp the writer remarked:

Not far from Oley is the Great Swamp, where the Evangelical [Lutheran] congregation has a preacher named Kaspar Steber [Stoever], whom the Rev. Schultze had ordained before his departure. This Steber is at present involved in a quarrel with his congregation, because they do not want to give him the salary that was promised to him. They are said to promise often something,

⁹³ Quoted in Mühlenberg's *Selbstbiographie*, Allentown, 1881, p. 213.

but when the minister preaches and applies the truth too strongly, they become rude and refuse to pay the minister's salary.

The Reformed pastor in Great Swamp in 1734 can hardly be any one else than Peter Miller. This is corroborated by a letter of Boehm, who in a report to the Holland Synod, dated October 18, 1734, refers distinctly to Peter Miller's activity in the Goshenhoppen district. He writes:⁹⁴

Nevertheless one of them is still in this country, namely, Peter Miller. When this man could not bring the people over to his opinion, he quitted the ministry altogether and he is now an oil-miller. But what he was after, and thought of persuading the people to do, is plainly to be seen from this, overlooking everything else: About two years ago he went with one of his elders, whom he had installed in the congregation at Goshenhoppen into the house of a Seventh Day "Tumpler" [Dunker], and there they allowed themselves to be called brethren and to have their feet washed by him; and this is the truth, whereupon followed his complete apostasy.

The two references of Mr. Boehm to Peter Miller's activity in Goshenhoppen, the one made in 1734 and the other in 1739 (already quoted above), definitely settle the fact that from 1731 to 1734 Peter Miller was the Reformed pastor in Goshenhoppen. This is corroborated by the New Goshenhoppen church record, in which 69 baptisms were entered by one hand from June, 1731, till July, 1734. At one of these baptisms, on April 16, 1732, "Johann Peter Müller" acted as sponsor. This is no doubt the pastor. As these are the only baptisms which Peter Miller most likely entered himself, we reproduce the page bearing his name in facsimile.

Miller's inclination toward the Ephrata Community

⁹⁴ *Coetus Minutes*, p. 2 f.

began in 1732. Two years later it led to the surrender of his ministerial functions. But it was not till May, 1735, that Miller actually joined the Seventh Day Dunkers by public immersion. This act of Miller threw the Reformed people into consternation, as can be seen clearly from the accounts of Boehm, describing this remarkable and important event. On January 14, 1739, Mr. Boehm wrote as follows to Holland, regarding the Conestoga congregation:⁹⁵

Then Do. Weiss slandered me in this congregation by a very abusive letter, which I have in my possession. He thereby misled them and drew the congregation to himself. But soon afterwards he again left them, whereupon Miller went there to carry on the work of Weiss. At that time Miller drew also Tulpehocken to himself. I warned them frequently against this false spirit, but the misguided and simple-minded people clung to him, until finally the deception, with regard to which I had warned them so faithfully came to light, and this Miller publicly went over to the wicked sect of the Seventh Day "Tumpler" [Dunkers] and was baptized in Dunker fashion at Conestoga in the month of April 1735.^{95a} He took with him about ten families, Lutheran and Reformed, from the congregation of Dolpighacken [Tulpehocken] who followed his example.

This caused a great alarm among the congregations. Those that were kept by God sent therefore again messengers and letters to me and once more asked for help, which I did not dare to refuse. Hence I again went to them, and there were on May 11, 1735, in the above mentioned first congregation or Hill church, at Conestoga, 92 communicants.

It is interesting to place alongside of these statements

⁹⁵ *Coetus Minutes*, p. 8.

^{95a} Miller himself stated repeatedly that this baptism took place in May, 1735. See *Ephrata Chronicle*, Engl. Transl., p. 73; also Miller's letter of December 5, 1790, quoted below, p. 92.

of John Philip Boehm the well known account of Peter Miller himself in the Ephrata Chronicle:⁹⁶

The Superintendent [Conrad Beissel] soon after found occasion to make a visit to Tulpehocken with several of his disciples, where he was received by the teacher [Peter Miller] and elders with the consideration due to him as an ambassador of God. While on his return the teacher and C.W. [Conrad Weiser], an elder, accompanied him over the mountains for six miles. The result of their visit in Tulpehocken was that the teacher, the elders and several others withdrew from the church; whereupon a venerable Pietist, by the name of Casper Leibbecker, took the teacher's place in the church. Among these seceders was C.W., an elder of the Lutheran faith, a man who had received from God remarkable natural gifts and sound judgment. . . .

Accordingly they were baptized together under the water, after the teaching of Christ; which was done on a Sabbath in May of the year 1735. Thus the teacher, the schoolmaster, three elders, besides various other households, went over from the Protestants to this new awakening.

These same events are briefly reviewed and an excellent description of Peter Miller, as he appeared to his contemporaries, is given by the Rev. Israel Acrelius, Provost of the Swedish Churches in America and Rector of the Old Swedes Church, Wilmington, Delaware. In his well-known "History of New Sweden," he gives a description of his visit to Ephrata, which he made on September 7, 1753, in company with his friend, George Ross. After describing the cloister and the religious life fostered there, he draws the following pen-sketch of Peter Miller himself:⁹⁷

⁹⁶ See English edition, pp. 71, 73.

⁹⁷ Acrelius, *History of New Sweden* (Memoirs of the Hist. Society of Pa., Vol. XI), Philadelphia, 1876, p. 374.

There was also a brother named Jabez, who, before his rebaptism was called Peter Müller. He had been a German Calvinistic Minister, came into the country, according to their custom, as a candidate for the Ministry of the Reformed Church of the country, was afterwards ordained by the Presbyterian Minister, Mr. Andrew, in Philadelphia, and for a long time preached in the various parts of the country among the Germans before that, eighteen years since [1735], he betook himself to Ephrata. He is a learned man, understands the Oriental languages, speaks Latin, discusses theological controversies as well as other sciences; although, in his present condition he has forgotten much. He is of a good stature, with a friendly face and friendly manners, on which account strangers always get introduced to him, and seek his society. He is open-hearted toward those to whom he takes a liking, and is modest and genial. The brethren have great respect for him, and not without reason, for he is a prudent man, upon whom their order chiefly depends, although he gives himself no higher name than that of a single brother. In their Public Worship he reads the Scriptures and also baptizes when so directed by Father Friedsam.

Another remarkable incident in connection with this conversion of Miller is told by Mr. Boehm in his now extremely rare book, which he published in 1742 against the Moravians. It was the dramatic burning of Reformed and Lutheran devotional books by the new converts. Thus far we had only traditional accounts about this event, which are now superseded by this contemporaneous account of Mr. Boehm.

Criticizing especially the conduct of Conrad Weiser, Boehm writes:⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Boehm's *Getreuer Warnungsbrief*, Philadelphia, 1742, p. 29. The only known copy of this now exceedingly rare book is in the possession of Rev. Dr. J. I. Good, who bought it at the sale of late Governor Pennypacker's library.

But whether we can entertain any hope with regard to him, let every Evangelical Christian think what kind of a man he is. Will he help to establish the honor of the gospel of Jesus Christ? For when Peter Miller, the former pretended Reformed minister of Dolpiahaken, became a regular disgrace to our Reformed Church by letting himself be baptized in Dunker fashion as a member of the Seventh Day Tumbler [Dunker] sect, together with several others, this Conrad Weiser was one of them. (He was indeed a Lutheran and at that time an elder of the Lutheran congregation at Dolpiahacken.)⁹⁹ Moreover, when four Seventh Day Tumbler [Dunkers], namely Peter Miller (above mentioned) Michel Miller, Conrad Weiser (above mentioned) and Gottfried Fidler, burnt with fire the Reformed Heidelberg Catechism, the Lutheran Catechism, the Psalms of David, the "Paradeys-Gärtlein" and the "Exercise of Piety" [Übung der Gottseligkeit], in all 36 books in derision and in disparagement, in the house of Gottfried Fidler, he was one of them. Nor has it become known that since that time he has turned from them in repentance and has again betaken himself to his former Lutheran religion.

⁹⁹ The Lutheran membership of Conrad Weiser has been called in question recently, see Dubbs, *Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 97, note 96, but without sufficient reason. All contemporary writers are agreed that he was a Lutheran. This is the testimony of Boehm and Miller, in the extracts from their writings quoted above. Zinzendorf makes the same statement, see Fresenius, *Nachrichten von Herrnhutischen Sachen*, Vol. III, p. 710. Weiser took part in a Lutheran communion service, see *Hallesche Nachrichten*, new ed., Vol. I, p. 202. Muehlenberg reports him as a Lutheran, cf. *Hallesche Nachrichten*, new ed., Vol. I, p. 362. "At Tulpehocken, many years ago, some Lutherans, among whom was Mr. Weiser, had taken up a piece of land." Finally Weiser himself stated, according to Muehlenberg, that "he held the principles of our Evangelical religion," see *Hallesche Nachrichten*, new ed., Vol. I, p. 449. The fact that Mr. Weiser acted as trustee of the Reformed Church at Reading (see D. Miller, *History of the Reformed Church in Reading*, p. 17), proves nothing, for he was also a trustee of the Lutheran Church at Reading, see J. Fry, *History of Trinity Lutheran Church*, Reading, 1894, p. 18.

The account of Peter Miller's activity as a Reformed pastor may fittingly be closed with another account of his conversion, written by himself on December 5, 1790, to a friend:¹⁰⁰

Your Excellency's

most humble Friend

Peter Miller

MILLER'S ACCOUNT OF HIS CONVERSION.

Having officiated among the Germans several years I quitted the ministry and returned to private life. About that time our small state was in its infancy: I never had an inclination to join it, because of the contempt and reproach which lay on the same; but my inward Conductor, brought me to that critical dilemma, either to be a member of this new institution, or to consent to my own condemnation, when also I was forced to choose the first. In my company had been the schoolmaster, three elderlings (Conrad Weiser one), five families and some single persons, which raised such a fermentation in that church, that a persecution might have followed, had the magistrates consented with the generality. We have been incorporated with said congregation in May, 1735, by holy Baptism; When we were conducted to the water, I did not much differ from a poor criminal under sentence of death. Whoever [!] the Lord our God did strengthen me, when I came into the water and then in a solemn manner renounced my life with all its prerogatives without reservation and I found by experience in subsequent times, that all this was put into the divine records; for

¹⁰⁰ First printed in *Hazard's Register*, Vol. XVI, p. 254 f.

God never failed in his promise to assist me in time of need. At that time the solitary brethren and sisters lived dispersed in the wilderness of Canestogues, each for himself, as Heremits, and I following that same way, did set up my Hermitage in Dulpehakin at the foot of a mountain,¹⁰¹ on a limped spring, the house is still extant there with an old orchard. There did I lay the foundation to solitary life, but the melancholy temptations, which did trouble me every day, did prognosticate to me misery and affliction: Whoever [!] I had not lived there half a year, when a great change happened: for a camp was laid out for all solitary persons at the very spot, where Ephrata stands, and where at that time the President lived with some hermits. And now, when all hermits were called in, I also quitted my solitude and exchanged the same for the monastic life, which was judged to be more inservient [!] to sanctification than the life of a hermit, where many under a pretense of holiness did nothing but nourish their own selfishness.

The profound impression which this remarkable conversion made upon the Reformed churches is seen by the fact that in popular story the number of converts gradually increased until it has reached several hundred. On March 1, 1738, the Rev. Peter Henry Dorsius, who had not been in Pennsylvania when the events took place, wrote to the Synodical Deputies as follows:¹⁰²

In this connection [I wish to state that] Do. Muller, having fallen away from our faith, has persuaded no less than three hundred souls to go over with him to the errors of the Dunkers [Dompelaars], whereof very many promise to return to our Christian religion, if only they were deemed worthy, through the providence of God, of being provided with an orthodox minister.

¹⁰¹ The same fact is told, with some additional detail, in the Ephrata Chronicle: "Soon after the Brethren erected a solitary residence for the teacher at the foot of a hill in Tulpehocken, where, however, he lived no longer than till the next November," *Chronicon Ephratense*, English translation, p. 73.

¹⁰² The letter of Dorsius was spread upon the Minutes of the Deputies, under date June 16-20, 1738.

Mr. Boehm gives as usual the best survey of this period in the history of the congregation. In his report of October, 1734, he gives the number of members at Goshenhoppen (presumably New Goshenhoppen), "according to the statement of some members as about 40." Of the charge as a whole he writes:¹⁰³

BOEHM'S ACCOUNT OF GOSHENHOPPEN IN 1734.

A fourth minister would greatly be needed at Goshenhoppen, about thirty-six miles from Philadelphia.¹⁰⁴ He might conduct services there every three weeks, and use the rest of the time to feed the poor sheep at the end of the wilderness, in the above mentioned Saucon, Macungie, Maxatawny and Great Swamp, who thirst for the hearing of God's word as the dry earth for water. Many people of these regions have already been to see me in great sadness, and complained of the pitiable state of their souls. There were also some, who being able to make the journey, have come at various times to communion in the congregation entrusted to me at Falkner Swamp, a distance certainly of twenty-five to thirty miles, and brought children to baptism, which journey, however, is impossible for old persons and weak women, so that it is not to be wondered at (especially when one remembers that there are children who for lack of a minister cannot be brought to baptism until they are several years of age) that my heart breaks and my eyes are full of tears about this condition. But I cannot accomplish this work alone, for my years are beginning to accumulate, and my poor body is also getting feeble, since I must not only make long

¹⁰³ *Minutes of Coetus*, p. 2.

¹⁰⁴ This statement refers to New Goshenhoppen, as can be seen from a quotation of Thomas F. Gordon's *Gazetteer of Pennsylvania*, 1832 (quoted by Mr. Dotterer in his *Perkiomen Region*, Vol. I, p. 14): "New Goshenhoppen, a post town and village in Upper Hanover township, Montgomery County, situated in the forks of Perkiomen creek, 37 miles northwest of Philadelphia, and about 21 northwest of Norristown." The same authority states of Upper Hanover township: "The central distance from Philadelphia is 35 miles northwest," *l. c.*, p. 12.

journeys and preach, but also, because these poor people are not able to support me, must support my large family with manual labor.

After being for many years the moving spirit in the Ephrata community, Miller died there and was buried in the little cemetery belonging to the cloister. His tomb is next to that of Conrad Beissel, the founder of the society. It bears the following inscription:

Hier Liegt Begraben
PETER MILLER
Gebuertig im Oberamt
Lautern in Chur Pfalz
Kam als Reformirter
Prediger nach America
Im Jahr 1730. Wurde
Unter die Gemeine in
Ephrata getaufet im
Jahre 1735 und genant
Bruder Jaebez. Auch ward
Er nachmals ihr Lehrer
Bis an sein Ende. Entschlief
Den 25sten September, 1796.
Alter 86 Jahr und 9 Monath.

In English it would read: "Here lies buried Peter Miller, born in the Oberamt Lautern in the Electoral Palatinate. He came as a Reformed preacher to America in the year 1730. He was baptized into the congregation at Ephrata in the year 1735 and was called Brother Jabez. Became afterwards their teacher until his end. Fell asleep the 25th of September, 1796. His age 86 years and 9 months."





CHAPTER III.

MINISTRY OF JOHN HENRY GOETSCHY, 1735-1740.

AFTER the departure of Peter Miller, Goshenhoppen remained without a pastor for nearly a year. In the summer of 1735, however, a new minister appeared in the person of young John Henry Goetschy.⁶⁰⁵

On May 29, 1735, the ship *Mercury*, William Wilson, master, from Rotterdam, landed in Philadelphia with 186 passengers. Among them were Esther Goetschy, aged 44 years and her eight children: Henry, 17 years; Rudolph, 12 years; Mauritz, 10 years; Anna, 24 years; Barbara, 18 years; Esther, 16 years; Beat, 8 years; Magdalena, 6 years. With them came also Conrad Wuertz, who had married Anna Goetschy, and like John Henry Goetschy became a minister of the Reformed Church.¹⁰⁶

These people, who arrived in Philadelphia on May 29, 1735, with the ship *Mercury*, formed a colony from Switzerland, and, as it is one of the few colonies whose his-

¹⁰⁵ For earlier accounts of John Henry Goetschy see Harbaugh, *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, Vol. I, pp. 292-296; Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1725-1792*, pp. 171-189; Dotterer, "Goetschy's Colony," in *Historical Notes*, pp. 171-173, 179-186; Dubbs, *Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, pp. 104-110; Corwin, *Manual of the Reformed Church*, 4th ed., pp. 489-492; also *Life and Letters of Boehm*, pp. 51-54.

¹⁰⁶ *Penna. Archives*, 2d Series, Vol. XVII, pp. 113-117.

tory can be told with some detail, it will be interesting to trace them in their journey from Zurich, Switzerland, until they step upon the shores of the New World.

The leader of this colony was the Rev. Maurice Goetschy, whose son, John Henry, became pastor at Goshenhoppen in 1735.

The members of the Goetschy family had been for many generations citizens in Zurich, Switzerland. The first person of that name who is mentioned in the genealogical records of the city was Henry Goetschy, who in 1315 A.D., was mayor of the city. Maurice Goetschy was born in 1686.¹⁰⁷ On December 4, 1702, he matriculated in the Latin school at Zurich. On February 24, 1710, he married Esther Wernkli, and was in the same year admitted to the ministry. In 1712 he became first deacon at Bernegg in the Rhine valley (Canton of St. Gall), and in 1720 pastor at Salez. In 1733 he was deposed from the ministry. On March 8, 1718 his son John Henry was born. The younger Goetschy matriculated in the Latin school at Zurich on March 23, 1734. But before he had spent half a year at school, his father with his whole family left for Pennsylvania.

On October 7, 1734, the *Nachrichten von Zürich*, a newspaper of the city, published the following account of the departure of the colony of Maurice Goetschy:¹⁰⁸

DEPARTURE OF MR. MAURICE GOETSCHY FROM ZURICH,
OCTOBER 4, 1734.

The past Monday [October 4th], Mr. Maurice Goetschy, together with his wife and children and with a considerable number

¹⁰⁷ The statements regarding Maurice Goetschy and his family are taken from the *Lexicon Geographico-Heraldico-Stemmatographicum*, zusammengetragen von Johann Friedr. Meyss, A°. 1740, Vols. I-VII, manuscripts in the city library of Zurich (Msc. E. 54), Vol. II, Letters D-G, p. 806.

¹⁰⁸ Printed by Mr. Dotterer in *Historical Notes*, p. 172.

of country people, old and young, took passage on a boat, and started for the so called Carolina island, in the hope of meeting there with better fortune than he had found in his native land. He was urgently dissuaded by our gracious Lords [of the government] and by the local clergy, but he persisted in his resolution, and took his departure. Shortly afterwards another boat followed him with like, we must say, silly people, making a total of 174 persons for that day. Many thousands saw them depart with great pity for them, especially because they were undertaking so thoughtlessly, with wife and child, and but poorly provided for, the dangerous journey of 300 hours in cold, rain and wind, now, when the days are getting shorter. Nevertheless, kindhearted and distinguished persons supplied them with all kinds of articles, such as bread, shawls, caps etc. The following day the third boat started off. These were liberally provided, from the office of charities, with a large amount of bread, flour, stockings and other supplies. Especially the neighborhood of the exchange showed itself deeply sympathetic; nor will they be likely to forget what was given to them at the Salthouse for bodily refreshment. In like manner many merchants assisted them. Upon the last boat were 82 persons, who would have been worthy of more consideration if they had been compelled to leave for the honor or the truth of God. They must bear the consequences of their act, be they good or ill. At the same time, upwards of 20, induced by the wise representations of worthy gentlemen and citizens, changed their intentions, choosing the better part. They remained here and will be very kindly returned to their homes. Meanwhile we should pray God that the great number who have gone on this journey, may either soon return or reach the destination they so much wish for. May He fill their hearts with patience, and, as many sad hours are likely to embitter their voyage, may He comfort them with the thought that, if they remain faithful, a far better life is reserved for them.

The journey of the colonists from Zurich to Basle down the Rhine is told at length in a pamphlet which Ludwig

Weber, one of the emigrants, who returned to Zurich from Holland, wrote and published at Zurich in 1735 as a warning to later venturesome spirits.¹⁰⁹ We shall follow his story in tracing the movements of the party.

The emigrants turned from Zurich northward till they reached the Rhine at Laufenburg. Then taking a boat on the Rhine they came, on October 5, to Rheinfelden, where they had to show their passports. Towards evening of the same day they reached Basle. There they had to wait until a passport could be secured from Comte du Jour, the commanding general of the French army at Strassburg. It cost 44 guilders, which some gentlemen at Basle paid for them. After securing this passport they waited two days longer for the ships that were to carry them down the Rhine. Meanwhile several became impatient at the delay. A tailor from Lichtensteg advised them to take the road through France, claiming that he knew the way and was able to speak French. Thirty-one persons followed him, but nothing more was heard of them. From forty to fifty others resolved to travel through Lorraine by way of Namur to Rotterdam. They were fortunate enough to secure alms at several places along the route and, although they had many quarrels and difficulties, they finally reached Rotterdam eight days after the main party.

At Basle eighty refugees from Piedmont joined them in a separate ship. The main party, consisting of 194 persons, embarked in two ships. They suffered intensely on the ships through rain and cold, against which they were but poorly protected with scanty clothes and provisions.

¹⁰⁹ The title page of this pamphlet reads: *Der Hinckende Bott von Carolina oder Ludwig Webers von Walliselen Beschreibung seiner Reise von Zürich gen Rotterdam, mit derjenigen Gesellschaft welch neulich aus dem Schweizerland nach Carolinam zu ziehen gedachte*, Zürich, MDCCXXXV, pp. 32. Only known copy in the city library at Zürich.

After leaving Basle their first encampment was upon an island, covered with trees and shrubs, in the middle of the Rhine. Such continued to be their night quarters, although the nights were wet and cold. Moreover the ships were crowded so badly that there was hardly enough room to sit, much less to lie down. There was no opportunity for cooking on the ships; and as they were sometimes compelled to stay days and nights on the ships; the cries of the children were pitiful and heart-rending. Whenever they could get ashore they cooked, warmed themselves and dried their clothes. Many would have liked to return home, but as the armies of the French and the Austrians lay on both sides of the river, they did not dare to risk it. Quarrels among men and women were frequent. Mrs. Goetschy, the chronicler tells us, often quarreled with her husband, called him all kinds of names and one morning tore a cane from his hand and belabored his back soundly.

At night they saw the camp fires of the imperial troops on one side and of the French on the other, which terrified them by their ghostly appearance. As they were afraid of an attack from one or both armies almost at any time, they refrained carefully from making the least noise, so as to pass by unnoticed. Nevertheless, they were stopped repeatedly. At Old Breysach, in the Breisgau, all their chests were opened and examined. Goetschy, who called on the commandant of the fort, was advised to leave immediately, as the French on the other side of the river were aiming three field pieces at the boats. Of course they made off with all possible speed. At Ketsch, near Schwetzingen, west of Heidelberg, the dragoons of the imperial army stopped the boats and compelled Mr. Wirtz of Zurich, who acted as self-appointed commissary, to go to Heidelberg and secure a passport for 30 guilders, from

the Duke of Wurtemberg, the commanding general of the imperial army. They were also forced to make an extra payment of two ducats for each vessel.

Nine miles below Mayence the dragoons again rode after them and would not have allowed them to pass on, if their leader had not been of the Reformed religion. They took the meat away from Goetschy's plate with their sabers, which they swung about his head, so that he quite lost his appetite. Shortly before reaching Mayence from forty to fifty men had exhausted all their money, so that they did not even have enough to pay their boat fare. They were compelled to continue the journey on foot.

At Mayence they were delayed four days because they could not agree with the captain of the boats about the passage money to be paid to Rotterdam. Finally they agreed on three guilders for adults and half fare for children.

After leaving Mayence their journey was a little more comfortable, for they had at least a chance to cook on the ships. Their spiritual needs, however, were sadly neglected, for, if we can believe the chronicler of the journey, the pastor, Mr. Goetschy, always had the pipe or the wine-glass near his mouth. Mornings and evenings, one of the men, Heinrich Scheuchzer from Zurich, read a prayer. When Goetschy actually did preach a sermon, in which he compared some of the leaders of the company to the followers of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, he almost caused a riot.

When they reached Neuwied four couples were married by a Reformed minister :

1. Hans Conrad Wirtz and Anna Goetschy.
2. Conrad Naff, of Walliselen and Anna N.—
3. Jacob Rathgeb and Barbara Haller, both of Walliselen.
4. Conrad Geweiller, a gardener.

The Count of Wied desired them to remain in his territory, offering to give them houses and land, but as he did not promise as much as they expected to receive in Carolina, they did not accept his offer, but left.

From Neuwied they continued their journey down the Rhine until they reached Collenburg (now Culenborg) in Holland. There they were compelled to stop four days because of a strong contrary wind. Goetschy was invited to preach in the principal church at Culenborg, which he did with much acceptance. As a result a collection was taken up by the congregation for the party, so that each received one guilder. From Culenborg Goetschy sent a party of three men to Rotterdam, where he said two English ships were waiting for them. The party consisted of Abraham Bünninger, a carpenter of Bachenbülach, Jacob Issler, a tailor, and Abraham Weidman, a blacksmith of Luffingen. At Culenborg they also sold their ships, which they must have bought at Basle, for 45 Dutch guilders, apparently a very small sum. Then, contrary to their agreement, they were compelled to take another ship to convey them to Rotterdam. In their hurry to get off several children fell overboard into the water, from which they were rescued with difficulty. Early the following morning they reached Rotterdam.

Having reached Rotterdam they heard to their dismay that no ships were waiting for them. Moreover the captain of the ship with which they had come wished to return at once, so they had to unload their goods quickly and, having no other place, they dumped them on the bank of the river on one heap.

Mr. Goetschy received a letter from a certain Mr. Schobinger, a native of St. Gall, who was living at the Hague, asking him to come to the Hague. So he left the

emigrants to their own devices and with his son-in-law hurried off to comply with the request.

In a few days Mr. Wirtz returned and comforted them with the news that several oxen would be sent to them from the Hague, that the States General would send them to England at their own expense and that a large sum of money had been collected for them in England. Unfortunately none of these statements proved to be true. A few days later Goetschy also returned and reported that the States General had offered him a position as a minister of great importance, that he and his family had thus received unexpected help and he advised them to secure similar help for themselves.

In this extremity some indeed tried to help themselves by begging, but in that they were soon stopped by the magistrate with a threat of a fine of 25 guilders. Meantime some became sick from want and hunger, and two of them died. A tailor from Buchs, Sebastian Neracher by name, who was married in Rotterdam, came to see them. Most of them were in an inn outside of the city. He took care of those from Buchs. He brought with him a Mr. Schapenhautd, who interceded for them so successfully that many people took pity on them and distributed food and clothes among them. They also paid for their lodgings at the inn.

Mr. Schapenhautd presented their sad condition to Rev. Mr. Wilhelmi of Rotterdam, who advised them to go to the Hague and apply there to Mr. von Felss, at the English embassy, to present their needy condition to him. Three men were sent to the Hague. When they reached the Hague, they first hunted up Mr. Goetschy and told him of their intention. He was greatly displeased with their plan and told them he had already spoken with Mr.

Felss, who was sufficiently well informed about their plans and condition. Goetschy entertained the three men at dinner and then offered to send a letter with them to Mr. Wilhelmi at Rotterdam. After waiting an hour for the letter, he sent them word that he had already dispatched it with his boy. Hence they had to return to Rotterdam without having accomplished their purpose.

Meanwhile Goetschy had been very successful in his interview with Mr. Felss, whom he calls an antistes,¹¹⁰ but who was a prominent statesman, probably the Grand Pensionary himself.

In a letter, dated November 26, 1734, Goetschy gives a glowing account of this interview to Mr. Friess of Zurich,¹¹¹ the city treasurer and a near relative of his. After having related their experiences to Mr. Felss, he answered him (according to Goetschy's letter) as follows:

My dear brother, for six years we have been searching for a man through whom the churches of God in Pennsylvania, which consist of more than 60,000 souls, of whom 20,000 have not yet been baptized, could be organized. Divine Providence has sent you to us. Now I shall promote your call as general superintendent of the whole of Pennsylvania, which has more than eight cities and more than 600 boroughs and villages. You shall receive a yearly salary of more than 2000 thalers, until all has been accomplished. I shall see to it that the people get support from the Dutch government. But first you must write to your government for the requisite testimonials and then you will be examined before the General Synod.

Consequently Goetschy implored Mr. Friess to help him in securing the necessary testimonials. His son, John

¹¹⁰ Antistes is a term used in Switzerland for the chief minister of a town. It was originally a Latin term, used of the chief priest of a temple, literally it is one who stands at the head, *antisto* = *antesto*.

¹¹¹ A copy of this letter is preserved in the city library of Zürich. *De Rebus Saeculi XVII*, Vol. XXXV.

Henry, supported his father's request in a separate letter, saying that, if the testimonial from Zurich would be favorable to his father, Mr. Felss had promised him to send him to the University of Leiden to study there for the ministry, so that he might become the successor to his father.

Meanwhile Rev. John Wilhelmi [Wilhelmus] of Rotterdam wrote also to Switzerland, to the Rev. John Baptista Ott of Zurich, to learn more of Goetschy's past. On February 5, 1735, Mr. Ott replied to him. He sketched Goetschy's life as student in the Zurich Gymnasium, as deacon at Bernegg and as pastor at Salez. He praised him for his scholarly attainments, as an evidence of which he states that it was popularly reported that he conducted family worship with the Bible in the original language before him. He acknowledged that he had been guilty of immorality, but expressed the hope that as the authorities in Zurich had dealt leniently with Goetschy, simply dismissing him as a minister, so the Dutch people would find him worthy to send him out as their missionary.¹¹²

Whether this letter reached Holland before the time of the departure of the emigrants is doubtful, as Ludwig Weber states in his report that after his return to Switzerland he heard that the party had left Holland on February 24, 1735.

When Goetschy had received from Mr. Felss the assurance of his appointment as minister to Pennsylvania, he returned to Rotterdam and acquainted his party of emigrants with his changed plans. Most of them readily accepted his proposal to change their destination from Carolina to Pennsylvania. There were, however, some who refused to have anything to do with him. Weber reports

¹¹² All these letters referred to above are in the city library at Zurich.

88 as taking ship to England, but what became of them is unknown. The rest, 143 persons, signed their names for passage to Philadelphia. They agreed with the owner of a ship [Schiffpatron] to pay six doubloons for an adult and three for a child. If any of them should die, the survivors pledged themselves to pay their passage money.

The names of those who registered to sail for Pennsylvania were, according to Weber's report, as follows:

EMIGRANTS IN GOETSCHY'S COLONY.

Home in Switzerland.	Name of Head of Family.	Number.
Appenzell	Jacob Mettler	1
Bachss	Jacob Bucher, shoemaker	4
Basserstorff	Heinrich Brunner	1
Basserstorff	Heinrich Dübendorffer	5
Basserstorff	Jacob Dübendorffer	2
Basserstorff	Kilian Dübendorffer	5
Basserstorff	Heinrich Hug, wheelwright	1
Bertschicken	Rudolph Walder	3
Buchss	Jacob Schmid	6
Buchss	Jacob Murer (Maurer)	5
Buchss	Heinrich Huber	4
Buchss	Conrad Meyer	3
Diebendorff	Jacob Dentzler	6
Esch	Rudolf Egg	1
Flunteren	Balthasar Bossart	5
Flunteren	Jacob Schellenberg and servant ..	2
Greiffensee	Johannes Heid	2
Hirsslanden	Caspar Nötzli and his children ...	
Illau	Rudolf Hotz	1
Iloten	Verena Kern	3
Langenhuet	Hans Ott	1
Luffingen	Abraham Weidemann, blacksmith..	2
Hennidorff	Hans Ulrich Ammann	1
Mülliberg	Jacob Possart	6
Opffikon	Barbara Eberhardt	1
Riesspach	Heinrich Schreiber, "blatmacher" ..	4
Rumlang	Rudolf Weidman, tailor	3
Steinmeer, Upper	Hans Meyer	4
Stein	Conrad Geweiler, and second wife..	2

Sultzbach	Jacob Frey	5
Wallisellen	Heinrich Merck	6
Wallisellen	Martin Schellenberg	3
Wallisellen	Ludwig Lienhardt	1
Wallisellen	Jacob Wüst	1
Wallisellen	Hans Rudolf Aberli	1
Wallisellen	Conrad Keller	3
Wallisellen	Jacob Näff	5
Wallisellen	Conrad Näff	5
Wallisellen	Jacob Näff	2
Wangen	Caspar Guntz	1
Windli	Hans Ulrich Arner	6
Winckel	Jacob Meyer	5
Zummikon	Jacob Bertschinger	1
Zurich	Heinrich Scheuchzer	1
N.—	Hans Müller	4
N.—	Jacob Müller and brother	2
N.—	Abraham Wäckerli	4
N.—	Hans Kübler	4

This company with some others who evidently joined them after Ludwig Weber had started on his return journey to Switzerland, and whose names he could not therefore record, reached Philadelphia on May 29, 1735, in the ship *Mercury*, William Wilson, master. It carried in all 186 passengers, 61 men, 51 women, 37 boys and 34 girls. The above list forms an important supplement to the list in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, as it gives in each case the place in Switzerland from which the several persons came.

The journey itself and some of the later experiences of the Goetschy family are given in a letter which John Henry Goetschy, then a boy of 17 years, wrote on July 21, 1735, to Mr. Werdmüller, deacon at St. Peter's church in Zurich. As this letter has never been published and is quite interesting, we present it in full:¹¹³

¹¹³ Original in Zurich library, see *Zusätze zum Lexicon Geograph.-Herald-Stemmatogr.*, Vol. II, F-H, pp. 196-199 (Msc. E. 62).

LETTER OF JOHN HENRY GOETSCHY TO ZURICH, JULY 21, 1735.

Very Reverend, Very Learned Mr. Deacon!

I, the most submissive servant of my very reverend, highly and very learned Mr. Deacon, cannot forbear to report to your Reverence, how we are getting along. After we had left Holland and surrendered ourselves to the wild, tempestuous ocean, its waves and its changeable winds, we reached, through God's great goodness toward us, with good wind, England within 24 hours. After a lapse of two days we came to the island of Wicht [Wight] and there to a little town, called Caus [Coves], where our captain supplied himself with provisions for the great ocean [trip] and we secured medicines for this wild sea. Then we sailed, under God's goodness, with a good east wind away from there. When we had left the harbour and saw this dreaded ocean, we had a favorable wind only for the following day and the following night. Then we had to hear a terrible storm and the awful roaring and raging of the waves when we came into the Spanish and Portuguese ocean. For twelve weeks we were subjected to this misery and had to suffer all kinds of bad and dangerous storms and terrors of death, which seemed to be even more bitter than death. With these we were subject to all kinds of bad diseases. The food was bad, for we had to eat what they call "galley bread." We had to drink stinking, muddy water, full of worms. We had an evil tyrant and rascal for our captain and first mate, who regarded the sick as nothing else than dogs. If one said: "I have to cook something for a sick man," he replied: "Get away from here or I'll throw you overboard, what do I care for your sick devil." In short, misfortune is everywhere upon the sea. We alone fared better. This has been the experience of all who have come to this land and even if a king traveled across the sea, it would not change. After having been in this misery sufficiently long, God, the Lord, brought us out and showed us the land, which caused great joy among us. But three days passed, the wind being contrary, before we could enter into the right river. Finally a good south wind came and brought us in one day through the glorious and beautiful

Telewa [Delaware], which is a little larger than the Rhine, but not by far as wild as the latter, because this country has no mountains, to the long expected and wished for city of Philadelphia.

When we reached here our dear father, because of the great and tedious journey and the hardships so unbearable to old people, was very sick and weak. On the last day, when we were before Philadelphia, the elders of the Reformed congregation came to him and showed their great joy over him. They spoke with him as their pastor, who had been appointed to that position by the ruling persons in Holland, as was shown by his testimonials which he had with him. They discussed one or other church affair with him and showed their great joy. He spoke heartily with them, as if he were well. The following day they came and took him to the land. When he reached the land he was so exhausted by his sickness that he could not walk alone, but was carried in a chair to the house assigned to him. When they were there, they wished to talk with him about one or other subject. Of his own people none were with him but mother, the children were yet on the ship on the water. Then he said: "It is so dark before my eyes, let me lie down and sleep." As they did not want him to sleep in that room, since people were coming in continually and he would have been unable to sleep, they carried him upstairs to the bed room. In the middle of the stairway he sat down, lifted his hands to his heart and his eyes to heaven, heaved a sigh and died. On the third day a very distinguished funeral took place in the principal English Presbyterian church in Philadelphia, with a large attendance of people. All the members of the consistory of the Reformed church and very many of the congregation were present.

Now we, his wife and eight poor, forsaken orphans, are in a strange land among strange people, who do not know us, poor and without comfort. We, therefore, commend ourselves most submissively to all those in Zurich to whom our misfortune will become known and whose hearts will be touched, in order that they may graciously grant us their assistance. It can easily be sent into this country, if they will only send it through Mr. Wilhelmius at Rotterdam, for which I ask most humbly, for the sake of the merciful Jesus.

Very Reverend Mr. Deacon, when I showed my testimonials, and the people saw that I had been engaged in study, they almost compelled me to preside over the congregations as well as I could. Hence, through the goodness of God, I preach twice every Sunday and teach two catechetical lessons. For this I make use of the books which I have brought with me and through good diligence I am enabled, thank God, to perform this in such a way, that each and every person is well satisfied with me. Now the first Sunday I preach in Philadelphia both in the forenoon and the afternoon and always give with it catechetical instruction. On the second Sunday in Schippach, which is a very large congregation, a sermon and catechetical instruction in the forenoon. In the afternoon at Old Goshenhoppen, two hours [six miles] from Schippach, a sermon and catechetical instruction. It is also a pretty large congregation, as large as any in the canton of Zurich. On the third Sunday I preach in New Goshenhoppen and have catechetical instruction there in the forenoon. In the afternoon at Great Swamp [Grossen Schwam], which is also one of the large congregations. All this I can do through the strength given me by God's spirit, to the great satisfaction of the people. I expect to be consecrated next Christmas by the English Presbyterians, in order that I may be able to administer the communion, unite people in marriage and baptize children. With the help of God I intend to do this. I would be able to do this all the better and put forth greater efforts for the souls of abandoned and confused sheep, if I had my library, which is in charge of Mr. Gorchen [George] Kromer. I therefore ask your Reverence most humbly, if at all possible, to send it to me very kindly, not only for my sake and the large number of poor orphans left by my sainted father, but also for the sake of the many thousand strayed and shepherdless sheep, who go about in error and in a destitute condition, yea for the sake of the many heathen, who thereby might be led to the Lord Jesus, as has already been done.

Given on the 21st of July 1735.

HENRY GOETSCHUIS,

Philadelphia in Pennsylvania.

The condition of the land is as follows: There are in it Englishmen, Germans and French from all parts of Europe. Most of them are Reformed. The others are people of all kinds of imaginable sects, Atheists, Anabaptists, Quakers, Arians, Enthusiasts, Nestorians, Pietists, Mennonites, Waldensians etc., etc, many hundred kinds, for in this country there is perfect liberty of conscience. The Reformed are scattered through seven congregations and thus there is among many thousand sheep no shepherd.

This letter bears the following inscription:

Letter of Henrich Goetschi, minister at Philadelphia to
Mr. Werdmüller, "Diacon" at St. Peters in Zurich.

In order to prepare himself for the next important step in his life, his ordination, Mr. Goetschy wrote on September 26, 1735, to John Lavater, professor of Latin and Greek in the "Collegium Humanitatis" at Zurich, asking him for a certificate of his work and conduct while there. This certificate was written on May 28, 1736,¹¹⁴ and it testified to the fact that, after having been instructed in the fundamentals of the arts and ancient languages by his father he had entered the Latin school and spent there a year and that he had been "faithful and diligent in his studies, upright in his life and morals, modest and pious in his conduct."

On May 27, 1737, Goetschy applied to the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia for ordination. The minutes of that meeting¹¹⁵ state that,

a letter was brought in from Mr. Henricus Goetschius to Mr. Andrews, signifying his desire and the desire of many people of the German nation, that he might be ordained by order of Synod to the work of the ministry, upon which the said Mr. Goetschius was desired to appear before the Synod, that they might see his credentials and have some discourse with him; which being done, he

¹¹⁴ Archives of Classis, Pennsylvania Portfolio, new letters, No. 11.

¹¹⁵ *Records of Presbyterian Church*, Vol. I, p. 133.

produced testimonials from Germany, which were ample and satisfactory to the Synod respecting his learning and good Christian conversation; whereupon he was recommended to the care of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, to act upon further trials of him, with respect to his ordination, as to them should seem fit.

Formerly it was supposed, without further investigation, as a matter of course, that the Presbytery granted his request. But when the writer some years ago examined the unpublished minutes of the Philadelphia Presbytery, he discovered that this supposition was not correct.

On the same day, May 27, 1737, the Presbytery met and took up the case referred to them by Synod. The minutes state:¹¹⁶

The affair of Mr. Henry Goetschius his tryale and ordination, being by the Synod recommended to this Presbytery, they took the same under consideration and agreed to meet tomorrow morning at Mr. Andrews' chamber, in order to take his tryale and then conclude upon what is further to be done in his affair as things shall then appear and Mr. Andrews agrees to give him notice that he may be present at the above time and place.

May 28, 1737.

Memorandum that three members of this Presbytery and three other ministers met at Mr. Andrews's chamber as above directed and having read an exegesis composed by Mr. Goetschius on the article of justification and discoursed with him largely in order to discover his qualifications for the ministry, they unanimously came to this conclusion, that tho' he appeared well skilled in the learned languages, yet inasmuch as they found him altogether ignorant in college learning and but poorly read in Divinity, his ordination to the ministry must at present be deferred. And therefore for his

¹¹⁶ *Minutes of Presbytery of Philadelphia*, Vol. III, 1733-1784, a manuscript preserved by the Presbyterian Historical Society at Philadelphia. The extract given above was printed, from copy furnished by writer, in *Ecclesiastical Records of New York*, Vol. IV, p. 2684 f.

better instruction advised him (being willing to encourage him) to put himself under the tuition and care of some minister for some competent time, that he may be better accomplished for the work he is engaged in; and they also agreed, that, considering the necessitous condition of the people, that they desire his labours, he may sometimes preach to them in the meantime, as he has done for some time past.

The presence of Mr. Goetschy in the Goshenhoppen region soon made itself felt in the activity of the people.

At Old Goshenhoppen, the Lutheran church record informs us,

in the year 1737, on January the 26th, the church land was surveyed and it was found to contain $38\frac{1}{4}$ acres of land, with allowance for roads. In the same year, February 7th, [it was] entered in the office for Recording of Deeds for the City and County of Philadelphia, in Patent Book A, Volume VIII. p. 325, by Mr. Brockden. Anno 1738, January 12th, the expenses were paid by Mr. Michael Reiher in behalf of the Lutherans and by Jacob Keller in behalf of the Reformed. They were as follows:

	£	S.	D
1. For $38\frac{1}{4}$ acres of land.....	5.	17.	9
2. To Surveyor General for warrant and return.....	—	9.	0
3. For the patent to the Secretary of the Proprietor.....	1.	5.	0
4. For the recording by Brockden.....	—	5.	0
5. To Mr. Grashold for his trouble.....	—	7.	6
Total	£8	4	3

At Great Swamp warrants for land were taken out on May 23, 1738, and

there was surveyed on the twenty-seventh day of September, following unto Michael and Joseph Everhart a certain Tract of Land situate in Upper Milford Township, formerly in the County of Bucks, now Northampton . . . containing one hundred and thirteen Acres and seventy perches and the usual allowance of six Acres per cent for Roads and Highways . . . in Trust for minister,

Elders and Congregation for the time being of the said reformed Calvinist and their successors settled and to be settled from time to time in the said several Townships of Upper and Lower Milford, the said Congregation having now erected [1762] on the said Tract a Church and School House for the use of them and their successors.¹¹⁷

At New Goshenhoppen John Henry Sproegel had donated a tract of land consisting of fifty acres. Unfortunately no deed was given and hence the date and the circumstances cannot now be determined. But that it took place at an early time is vouched for by the report of John Philip Boehm, written to the Synods of Holland on April 20, 1744. He writes:¹¹⁸

Regarding the congregation at Goshenhoppen, it has also a suitable frame church upon a piece of land consisting of 50 acres, donated by some one, that all religions and sects should have the privilege of building a church thereon, and I lately learned from an old elder of theirs that the church is paid for. Two years ago four of them bought a plot. They intended to hand it over to the congregation for a parsonage if they were reimbursed for their outlay. How much it costs I do not know.

The fact that John Henry Sproegel^{118a} was the donor of

¹¹⁷ Printed by Dr. Weiser in his *Monograph*, pp. 42-46.

¹¹⁸ *Minutes of Coetus*, p. 26.

^{118a} John Henry Sproegel (Sproegel) was born February 12, 1679. His father, John Henry, was an eminent Lutheran minister and head of a Lutheran Seminary at Quedlinburg, Germany. His mother was a daughter of the celebrated composer of music, Michael Wagner. Godfried Arnold, the church historian, married his sister. He came to Pennsylvania with his brother, Ludwig Christian, about 1702. In 1727 he is reported as having lived in the province twenty-five years, see Pennypacker, *Hendrik Pannebecker*, p. 86. In 1705 Pastorius says (see Pennypacker, *History of Germantown*, p. 76) that "about two years ago one John Henry Sprogel arrived in this province." In the beginning of 1705 both brothers were naturalized. John Henry Sproegel purchased about 600 acres in Pottsgrove, on which he settled with his family. The present Sprogel's run

this land is not only traditional but it rests on good documentary evidence. The congregation still owns a draught made by the surveyor, David Schultze, of which we present a facsimile, which is described by the surveyor as "a draught of a tract of land divided into several tracts, situate in Upper Hanover Township in the County of Montgomery and State of Pennsylvania, containing together Fifty acres and 26 Perches of land. Being part of 13,000 acres, in former Times belonging to John Henry Sproegel and afterwards to Thomas Tresse, Senior, deceased."

A curious fate overtook the donation of John Henry Sproegel. He died without giving the congregation a deed. The same happened to the Falkner Swamp Lutheran Church. As a result the New Goshenhoppen congregation was compelled to purchase the land of the heirs of John Henry Sproegel. For David Shultze states on his draught, above referred to, that "in the year 1749 [it] was by the Agents or Trustees of the said deceased Tresse's Family, sold to the settlers thereof, and the above tract *was jointly purchased of them*, by the Calvinists and Mennonists Congregations for the use of Churches, Meeting House, School House and Burying Ground." To an-

was called after him and flows through this tract. From a stone in an ancient graveyard east of the borough line we learn that his wife, Dorothea, died August 7, 1718, aged forty years. A son, Frederick, died in 1716, one year old. (See Buck, *History of Montgomery County*, p. 110.) In 1719 John Henry Sprogell gave fifty acres of land to the Lutherans in New Hanover township. Hendrick Pannebecker surveyed it and laid it out, the survey being completed April 17, 1719, see Pennypacker, *Hendrick Pannebecker*, p. 73 ff.

His brother, Lodowick (Ludwig) Christian Sprogell, died at Philadelphia in 1729. His will is No. 129 of 1729, Book E, p. 114.

His sister, known as widow Sprogell, lived on Second Street, Philadelphia, see advertisement in *Weekly Mercury* of February 10, 1730, quoted above, p. 45. She died at Philadelphia December 20, 1760, see *American Ancestry*, Vol. IV, p. 5.

ticipate the later history, it may be noted here that in 1749 the congregation was again unable to secure a deed. Not before February 23, 1796, was the deed actually made out and the final transfer of the land to the congregation consummated.

The church at New Goshenhoppen reported by Boehm as standing on the Sproegel tract in 1744, can be traced to a still earlier date. It had been erected before January, 1739, for at that time Mr. Boehm reported to Holland:¹¹⁹

Goshenhoppen. As I have heard from people that live there, they have built a pretty large church at that place, which will be sufficient for them for some time, but it is poorly made of wood.

Of the ministry of John Henry Goetschy at Goshenhoppen we have a somewhat extended description by John Philip Boehm in his report of January, 1739. Goetschy, like Weiss and Miller, soon after his arrival came in conflict with Mr. Boehm, because he entered several of his congregations. Hence Boehm condemned his work severely. Continuing the history of the Goshenhoppen church after the departure of Miller, Boehm writes:¹²⁰

After these men had failed, they arbitrarily made Henry Goetschi their pretended minister, when he was hardly eighteen years of age and but half a year before had received the Lord's Supper for the first time from Do. Rieger at Germantown. Goeschi then undertook to administer the Lord's Supper and to baptize, to install elders and to marry people. In short, he did what belongs to the office of a regular minister. Goshenhoppen has him at the present time [1739] as its preacher, and permits him to establish and to carry on all this disorder from Goshenhoppen as a center, not only at Skippack, but at other places also. He has done this, at Oley, where he has misled the congregation,

¹¹⁹ *L. c.*, p. 12.

¹²⁰ *L. c.*, p. 10; *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 277 f.

which was established by me in 1736 at their request, and he now also serves this congregation. At Tulpehocken he attempted to do the same thing through three un-called-for visits, but he was refused. Yet he continues such improper actions.

Meanwhile this Goshenhoppen is a congregation or a place where a faithful shepherd and minister is greatly needed, through whose wise administration a flourishing congregation ought soon to be established. There are also several places near Goshenhoppen which should be provided for, as Great Swamp and Saucon Creek. These, although they might be served by the minister of Goshenhoppen with the administration of the sacraments and sometimes with a sermon, yet need to be provided with readers, who have the ability to catechise, especially at Saucon Creek, because it is a somewhat out-of-the-way place and many Reformed people live there.

We learn more about the extensive activity of young Goetschy from the title page of the oldest New Goshenhoppen Reformed Record, by which he informs us that he preached at eleven preaching places, namely at Skippack, Old Goshenhoppen and New Goshenhoppen in Montgomery County; Great Swamp and Egypt in Lehigh County; Saucon in Northampton County; Maxatawny, Moselem, Oley, Berne and Tulpehocken in Berks County. In four of these places church records, begun by him, or containing at least entries by his hand, are still in existence.

In New Goshenhoppen he entered 60 baptisms, beginning on April 25, 1736, and ending on September 24, 1740. He also wrote the title page of this record, probably in 1736, when he began his entries. Moreover, we have from his pen the first list of members at New Goshenhoppen, 45 in all, written about 1736; and the first list of elders, elected April 25, 1736, namely John Steinmann, John Bingemann, J. Georg Welcker and Henry Gallman.

At Great Swamp he started a church record on April 24, 1736. On that day he wrote the title page of this

record and entered, at the same time, a brief but comprehensive constitution for the congregation and six baptisms into the record. In all he recorded there but fourteen baptisms, the last on February 28, 1738.

On March 22, 1739, he opened the Egypt record with a Greek and Latin sentence. The Greek sentence reads: Οὐδὲν ἀλὲς γράφης, which means neither "Ohne Versuch schmeckt man nichts," as Dr. Weiser renders it,¹²¹ nor "nothing without writing," as Mr. Roberts translates it,¹²² but "Mayest thou write nothing crowdedly," or rendered freely: "Write everything plainly." These and other doubtful Latin and Greek phrases are of course reminiscences of the Latin school at Zurich, and were evidently used by the young preacher to impress the German farmers of his congregations with his great learning.

22. Martii 1739.

J. Henricus Goetschius. ~~Ab~~
Helveticus - Tigurinus.

Only three baptisms in the Egypt records are in the handwriting of Goetschy. They took place on June 12, June 27 and September 30, 1739, but two other children were also baptized by him on earlier dates. John Traxel, son of Peter Traxel, was baptized "by Rev. Mr. Götschi" on October 26, 1736, and Peter Roth, son of Daniel Roth on July 27, 1737. These two entries were probably made by Peter Traxel, "Vorsteher der Reformirten Gemeinde allhier," who acted as sponsor at the second baptism.

¹²¹ See *Monograph*, p. 15.

¹²² *Pennsylvania Archives*, 6th Series, Vol. VI, p. 134.

Das Buch Kost. 5 - Schilling 1

Tauf Buch
der Gemeinde von Goshenhoppen.

In welchem Aufzeichlet sind die Namen
der Kinder

Welche durch die L. Tauff nach dem Befehl Jesu
in dem die. Amicus Gottes als Glieder an-
genommen worden, im Enghen Schriften Tauff
Jahren, der Namen samt der Geburten Kinder.
Ebenes von dem Tauff Meßigen Jahren Jahr
eingeführt worden.

Wohl Wolla Iffra Neuman
mit dem Kind Jesu aus
dem Tünder Tauff aus löfle;
sind in das Leben Tauff
im Goshen. Amicus.

Joh. Henricus
Gatsching M
Helveticus
et
Pronuncius Tertitalem in

Schippuch, Alt Goshenhoppen, Van Goshenhoppen, Jannan
Soren, Stigisten, c. Kordorua, Myallken Oli, Bern
Zelrenhacen.

On March 24, 1739, the Berne church record was opened by Mr. Goetschy. An earlier baptism which had taken place in May, 1738, was also most probably entered in March, 1739. On July 11, 1739, three children were baptized by Mr. Goetschy at Berne. At one of the baptisms, that of John Henry Jaeger, son of Philip Carl Jaeger, Goetschy acted as sponsor. Later dates on which baptisms were performed by Mr. Goetschy at Berne were: July 12, September 12 and November 26, 1739. In all there are fifteen baptisms entered by Mr. Goetschy at Berne from April, 1738, till November 26, 1739. Eleven other baptisms, from March 1, 1740, till August 20, 1740, though entered by a different hand, may possibly have been performed by Mr. Goetschy also, as we know from the New Goshenhoppen record that he officiated in the charge till September, 1740.

It was during the ministry of Mr. Goetschy that the first schoolmaster appeared in the Goshenhoppen region. It was John Conrad Wirtz, the brother-in-law of Goetschy. The exact time of his stay is uncertain, but the fact of his presence at Goshenhoppen is vouched for by Mr. Boehm. In his last letter to the Classis of Amsterdam, dated December 2, 1748, he writes about Wirtz:

He was accepted at Old Goshenhoppen to teach school, but they soon got tired of him and sent him away. Afterwards the Mennonites at Cannastocka accepted him for the same work, but he was dismissed by them just as quickly.

Later he assumed the ministry in various country congregations. From September, 1742, to December, 1743, we find him at Egypt in Lehigh County. When Schlatter came in 1746, he was ministering at Saucon, Springfield

and the Forks of the Delaware, now Easton. He was in these churches probably from 1745-1749.

September 27, 1750, he applied to the Presbyterian Synod of New York for admission. He was received as a probationer by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, September 3, 1751, and was ordained by this Presbytery as pastor of Rockaway, N. J., June 5, 1752. He served this church and others in its neighborhood until 1761. He was then dismissed by the Presbytery to become the pastor of the Reformed Church at York, Pa., where he officiated from May, 1762, to September, 1763. He died

*Joh: Conrad
Wuerly P. S. M.
Adelric P. S. M.*

at York, September 21, 1763. His numerous descendants have recently presented a beautiful memorial tablet to the Church in York, to commemorate his labors.

Mr. Goetschy came in conflict with Mr. Boehm by circulating everywhere a letter of Rev. Wilhelmus of Rotterdam, which Boehm claimed was forged. This letter gave the Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania the privilege to engage and dismiss their ministers at pleasure.

Finally, in the spring of 1740, the letter fell into the hands of Mr. Boehm, who sent at once a copy of it to the Classis of Amsterdam and wrote the following important

letter concerning it, in which he also touches upon his relation to Mr. Goetschy.¹²³

LETTER OF BOEHM TO THE CLASSIS OF AMSTERDAM, APRIL
4, 1740.

Very Reverend Classis, Reverend and Devout Church Fathers!

I had serious doubts about sending the enclosed copy to the Reverend Classis, believing that on its account I might be regarded with displeasure. Yet I thought it indispensably necessary, in whatever aspect I considered it, to let the Very Reverend and Devout Church Fathers see it, for they, in their exalted wisdom, will know what to do with it, in order that your poor fellow-servant may be guarded against further trouble.

This letter caused constant mischief and was the continual support of the wicked associates of Jacob Reiff, since the time of its arrival in this country. (Do. Weiss brought it along from Holland). The Christian Synods in their letters to his Reverence, Mr. Dorsius, have sufficiently declared their displeasure with the unordained preachers and hirelings.

About eight years ago, I was shown this letter (of which the enclosed is a copy) from a distance, with the statement that they did not concern themselves much about me and my church-order; here they had a right church order and they knew what power and liberty they had.

But although I tried hard during all this time, yet I could not obtain the letter, until a few weeks ago. It came by accident out of their hands into mine.

Now I believe firmly that this letter was cunningly forged, for 1st. A long time ago I heard from the lips of Reiff himself that he had received the same from Do. Wilhelmi in the Dutch language and that he had it translated into the German language in Holland. 2nd. The signature is written by the hand of the translator, while the name of the translator is not mentioned. This ought to be entirely different.

¹²³ The original letter of Boehm is in the Classical Archives at Amsterdam. First printed in *Life and Letters of Boehm*, pp. 300-303.

3rd. The letter consists of six sheets, which have been sewed together with a blue silk ribbon and sealed. I cannot believe that it is Do. Wilhelmi's seal, for I have his seal on two letters in three forms, none of which is like it.

4th. In these letters Do. Wilhelmi wrote me, after I had notified him that they did such things in the name of his Reverence (which they did as the letter shows) and he assured me, if such was done in his name it was done without his knowledge and approval. His letter was dated June 30, 1736.

5th. The so-called "Report and Instructions concerning Pennsylvania," drawn up by ten commissioners and printed by order of the Christian Synods (probably in 1731) is almost uniform with the regulations of the enclosed letter. But nothing is mentioned [in the Report] about that which is contained in the beginning of the letter, in regard to the power and liberty which the letter grants to the people of this country and to the exercise of which it urges them.¹²⁴ The letter likewise does not say to whom money

¹²⁴ The letter of Dr. Wilhelmus is too long to be given entire. But a few of the more important paragraphs of the first part of the letter may be quoted. In the beginning of the letter the writer expresses his pleasure that he was permitted to appeal in behalf of the Pennsylvania churches to the church of Holland, with the result that the latter would take up the cause of the Pennsylvania churches and assist them with counsels and contributions. He expresses his regret to hear of their troubles and divisions, caused by the ordination of Mr. Boehm. He reports that he had transmitted their letters to their destination. The first he had sent to the Classis of Amsterdam, which, however, he informs them, continued to be of the opinion that Dom. Boehm should be supported in his position. Hence on November 21 [1730] he had submitted their second letter to the Classis of Rotterdam with the result that a committee of ten persons had been appointed to investigate the whole case. But as their report would not be submitted to the Classis before next Easter, and as he did not want Mr. Weiss to return empty-handed, he would give them his own personal opinion in the matter.

First of all he advises them to accept the counsel of the Classis of Amsterdam in order to preserve by it peace and harmony among the churches, until after the death of Mr. Boehm a change would take place. By doing this they would be sure of gaining the favor and good will of the Classis, inasmuch as the ordination of Boehm had taken place in answer to a

had been given in Holland. The printed pamphlet, however, mentioned that a considerable sum had been placed into the hands of Do. Weis in Holland.

Therefore I cannot believe that Do. Wilhelmi ever wrote such a letter.

For this reason no one would be a more fitting person to lead the poor misguided people back upon the right way and to bring about unity, love and a God-pleasing order, by exposing such cunning and fraud, than his Reverence, Do. Wilhelmi, whom God may graciously reward for it. This would certainly be the case because many have passed away without being reconciled, and many have gone over to the sects on account of the trouble and disharmony occasioned by this letter, so that my heart often bled and sighed to God. I should be very glad to have a letter regarding it in my hands (for if it gets into the hands of Reiff's adherents, it will be hidden). Then, with the help of God, I would soon gather my sheep and perform my work among my congregations petition received from them and Mr. Boehm could not be removed from his office without much scandal and bitter feeling.

After these sensible admonitions, there follow four paragraphs which are out of harmony with all that precedes and follows and which were no doubt inserted by Reiff and his followers. It is inconceivable that Dr. Wilhelmius could have written them. They read as follows:

"In case this advice be not acceptable to you and your minds cannot unite with him, nor be edified, improved and comforted by his ministry and your church be exposed to ridicule and contempt, as you write in your letter and I have heard from the two delegates, I give it as my own personal opinion, that, in order to remove the present and future quarrels, you have the divine right, given to you by God in Christ Jesus, which you can and must use, to elect on your own responsibility a minister according to the word of God and the church order.

"For your nation, which is living in a free land, is a perfectly free church, dependent upon none, which has in herself the right to govern herself, to elect such elders as she may please, if it be only done according to the word of God. Being independent of every church in the world, whichever it may be, you can accept advice and follow it or decline to do so. This is entirely different with the churches in New Netherland, which have been organized by the church of Holland.

"Inasmuch as this is so, the congregation of Schippach, Schwam and

with a double joy and my bitter sorrow would soon be sweetened.

But as long as this letter has been here my work has been rendered useless among many. The slanderers and liars found it a weapon against me and I had to put up with a small compensation for all my difficult and wearisome toil and labor and thus lose my food for the support of my body. But the most painful result was that I had to see my labor made fruitless with many, because of the letter, and had to behold more harm in all the congregations of the whole country than I could bring about growth.

The Reverend Classis can, therefore, clearly see that it is not my fault that our true church in this country did not grow. For Henry Goetschy has shown this letter everywhere and thereby caused me very much persecution, until he learned differently from his Reverence, Inspector Dorsius. Then he heartily repented and asked my forgiveness in the presence of his Reverence, which I granted him with all my heart. I also wish him success and intercede for him with God and our Reverend Church Fathers. He obediently submitted to the decision of the Reverend Christian Synods and desisted immediately. May God give him blessing and grace that he may become an efficient instrument to edify others.

neighboring places, has the divine right herself to elect a minister whom she may find fit for that position, and it is my opinion that the following procedure should be adopted: The consistory should assemble and investigate the conduct of the men, who in the name of the whole congregation wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam, asking for Boehm and when it shall appear that they did not act truthfully, or that they themselves were deceived, the consistory must bring them to a confession of their guilt, and exclude these men from the table of the Lord and his communion, they being the cause of this disturbance. They should treat Dom. Boehm in the same manner, and if it be found that he deceived these men in their simple-mindedness, by his cunning and artifice, I suggest that these things be properly recorded and sent to the Classis, in order to justify yourselves and to assure the Classis that her resolution was based upon deceptive tales.

“After this has been done, the consistory shall notify all male members to meet at the specified time and vote one by one for the election of a minister, acting according to the church order of the Palatinate, then pro-

I also made this suggestion to his Reverence, Inspector Dorsius, to propose to the Christian Synods, in sending the desired ministers, to ordain each for his particular place. For some places are more acceptable than others and the people also differ. I think that thereby future quarrels could be avoided entirely, and all would have to be content. May God give his gracious blessing upon his work for the salvation of many.

Your obedient servant commends herewith the Very Reverend Classis, your reverend persons, with all your families and holy service to the dear heavenly father and to the word of his grace and himself to your blessed and affectionate care, and he remains,

Very Reverend Classis,

Your most submissive and obedient servant,

JOH. PH. BOEHM,

Minister at Falckner Schwam, Schip Bach
and Weitmarge.

Witpen Township, Philadelphia County,
Pennsylvania, April 4, 1740.

ceed to the ordination, and, in order that all this be done orderly, the advice and guidance of the nearest regular minister, that can be secured from Staten Island or Bucks County, should be requested, who should be present and preside over the whole transaction."

No arguments are needed to prove that these sections constitute the forgery of which Boehm complained. It is incredible that any minister in his right mind could have written them. They are not only inconsistent with Dr. Wilhelmus' preceding advice to submit to the counsel of the Classis of Amsterdam, but they are also inherently absurd. The ridiculous insistence on a supposed "divine right" of the congregation is enough to discredit them. Moreover, why should the writer have taken the great trouble to work out elaborate rules for the guidance of the churches in Pennsylvania (which follow these sections immediately), if in his opinion the Palatinate church order was sufficient for their government? The pity of it all was that the "Fathers" in Holland paid no attention to these just complaints of Boehm, allowing his enemies to go on unrebuked. The letter of Wilhelmus is dated December 31, 1730. Boehm's copy of this letter is in the Pennsylvania Portfolio, archives at Amsterdam, new letters, No. 10. It was printed in full in *Life and Letters of Boehm*, pp. 303-311.

In the spring of 1740, Mr. Boehm visited the Goshenhoppen congregations to secure from them, as he had secured from all the other Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania, a statement as to what they were willing to give towards a pastor's salary.

In March, 1740, Boehm reported as follows to the Classis regarding his visit to Goshenhoppen:¹²⁵

Concerning the congregation of Goshenhoppen I know not what to say. I have been there three times, yet I have not been able to do anything, although I entreated them very urgently not to cast aside the grace of God, now so clearly visible. When I went to them the third time, they [namely the elders] held a meeting on the 21st of February, and a part of them promised me at last to come to me on the 26th or 27th in order to sign the paper. I also heard that the people in Great Swamp and those at Saucon Creek were not at fault. However I did not see any of them.

Shortly afterwards, however, they sent in a report through Mr. Goetschy; the New Goshenhoppen congregation promising ten pounds, Great Swamp five pounds and Saucon Creek five pounds. The paper signed by the elders of the three congregations was as follows:¹²⁶

(1). The congregation in New Goshenhoppen promises Ten Pounds.

Herman Fischer	}	Elders
George Steinmann		
Caspar Holtzhauser		
Andreas Greber		

(2) The congregation in Great Swamp promises Five Pounds.

Felix Brunner	}	Elders
Michael Eberhard		
Christian Willauer		
Jacob Wetzel		

¹²⁵ The original of Boehm's report is in the Classical archives. Printed in *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 296 f.

¹²⁶ Also in archives of Classis. See *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 293.

(3) The congregation at Saucon Creek promises Five Pounds.

Georg Best	}	Elders
Frantz Blum		
Friedrich Scholl		
Tobias Baal		

At the same time when Boehm secured these pledges for pastor's salary, he also proposed to the Classis that the congregations in Pennsylvania be organized into six charges. The last and sixth charge to consist of New Goshenhoppen, Great Swamp and Saucon Creek. It is strange that he passes Old Goshenhoppen by entirely, which was certainly in existence, as is evident from the documents which we have already presented.

In repartitioning the congregations in 1740 (an earlier partitioning into four charges had been proposed by him in 1734), Boehm suggested not only how the congregations might be most advantageously combined into charges, but he also pointed out where the residences of the ministers might be most conveniently located. Thus he wrote of Goshenhoppen:¹²⁷

VI. Goshenhoppen. As in the last two congregations [Oley and Tulpehocken], a place might here also be found for a minister's dwelling which would not be too inconvenient in order to supply Great Swamp and Saucon Creek from it.

The good feeling and spirit of coöperation, which was established between Boehm, Dorsius and Goetschy in 1740 did not last very long. In the winter of 1739-1740, Mr. Boehm had made an extended tour of visitation to all the Reformed congregations, traveling 300 miles on horseback to visit the various congregations, in order to ascertain how much each was willing to pay towards a pastor's salary.

¹²⁷ *Minutes of Coetus*, p. 16; also *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 298.

The result of his visits was embodied by him in an elaborate report, which he placed into the hands of Dorsius, in order that he might transmit it to Holland. Instead of doing so, Dorsius made a summary of it in Dutch and sent that to Holland in his own name, giving there the impression that he himself had secured all the information which had been requested.¹²⁸ When Boehm heard of it he became very angry and on July 25, 1741, wrote a long letter of complaint to the Classis. In it he wrote:¹²⁹

It seems to me that my sending over [a copy of] this letter [of Do. Wilhelmus] accounts largely for the ill-will, which his Reverence, Mr. Dorsius, bears me. For after I had secured this letter from Mr. Goetschi, after many efforts, and it became known to Mr. Dorsius, Goetschi came directly to me, brought me greetings and implored me to give him the letter again, under all kinds of pretense. He also said, that the Inspector, Mr. Dorsius, deemed it advisable to return the letter to the people, otherwise trouble might arise. But I thought that they were trying to make the letter disappear. I, therefore, declined in a friendly way and retained the letter. Now, whether his Reverence, Mr. Dorsius, is also of the opinion that every one in this country may do as he pleases, I leave to men, endowed with wisdom, to find out. For his Reverence ordained this young Goetschi, who caused so much harm here through the assistance of disorderly people and by the arbitrary transgression of our Reformed church order and customs. This ordination took place after he left Goshenhoppen, and had lived half a mile from his Reverence and studied under him for one year, on the 7th of April last [1741], with the assistance of Do. Freilinghausen, of Randany [Raritan] and of another whose name I have not been able to find out as yet. But as far as I have heard, he is said to be one of the Tennents, who are of the Whitfield fol-

¹²⁸ Incorporated into the minutes of the Synodical Deputies, under date March 7-8, 1741.

¹²⁹ In Classical Archives, Pennsylvania Portfolio, No. 14; see *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 324 ff.

lowers, otherwise called Presbyterians. I shall try to make certain. This Goetschi, as reported in my last submissive letter, had indeed asked for my forgiveness, in the presence of Mr. Dorsius, of the wrong committed against me and promised to live according to all order. This occurred on the 21st of February 1740. But what he did soon afterwards (and it can hardly be thought that he did it without the knowledge of his Reverence, Mr. Dorsius) may be seen from the enclosure, marked C. He likewise made two oral offers to my regular congregation in Oley (according to their testimony) whereby this congregation also was separated and divided.

Enclosure C. is a letter from the elders at Tulpehocken,¹³⁰ addressed to Mr. Boehm, dated April 20, 1740, informing him that Mr. Goetschy had written to them a letter in which he notified them that he and Mr. Dorsius would come to Tulpehocken in May and administer the Lord's Supper there.

In his report of 1744, Mr. Boehm confirms and enlarges upon his previous statements regarding the ordination of Mr. Goetschy and the conditions prevailing at Goshenhoppen. He writes:¹³¹

This congregation up to this time has claimed the privilege accorded to them in the letter which Reiff had when he returned from his collecting tour, and which purported to have been written by his Reverence, Doctor Wilhelmi of Rotterdam (whereof a copy may be found among the Pennsylvania papers). Hence they will not submit to any church-order. And no matter how much I may admonish them, they remain of the same mind. They had taken young Goetschi to be their pastor, but when Do. Dorsius arrived he withdrew from them, went to him, and studied a year with him, and after this year he was ordained as minister for Long Island in the month of April 1741, by Mr. Dorsius, assisted by Do. Fre-

¹³⁰ Classical Archives, Pennsylvania Portfolio, No. 17. Printed in *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 342.

¹³¹ *Minutes of Coetus*, p. 26; also *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 419.

linghuysen, of Raritan, and still another (as I learned afterwards) Tennant by name, of whom it was said that he was one of the Whitfielders.

In 1739, the Synods of Holland had notified the Pennsylvania churches (see *Life of Boehm*, p. 284) that they could expect no help from them, unless they would "refuse to hear the unordained ministers and hirelings." As a result Goetschy stopped preaching in 1740 (see p. 124), went to Dorsius, studied with him for a year, and was then ordained by Dorsius, Frelinghuysen and Tennent on April 7, 1741.

In October, 1740, Mr. Goetschy had gone to Long Island where he visited the congregations of Newtown, Jamaica, Hempstead and Oyster Bay, which extended a call to him.¹³² This he accepted and moved to Long Island in the following year. Thus he left the German Reformed churches of Pennsylvania and assumed the ministry of the Dutch Reformed churches of Long Island. The validity of his ordination in 1741 was questioned and in order to preserve peace among his congregations and remove all objection he submitted to another examination and ordination in 1748.

In 1743 Goetschy published a sermon on the "Unknown God," which he had preached in Dutch in 1742 at several places. After a long and successful ministry of thirty-four years in the Dutch Reformed Church he died at Schraalenberg, N. J., November 14, 1774.¹³³

¹³² Corwin, *Manual of the Reformed Church in America*, 4th ed., p. 490 f.

¹³³ Corwin, *l. c.*, pp. 489-492; Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 15-17; Taylor, *Annals of the Classis of Bergen*, 1857, p. 185.



CHAPTER IV.

MINISTRY OF REV. PETER HENRY DORSIUS,
1741-1744.

IN Boehm's report of 1744, quoted above, is found the earliest reference to the next pastor at Goshenhoppen. Continuing the history of Goshenhoppen after the departure of Goetschy to Long Island, Mr. Boehm writes:¹³⁴

Meanwhile, since Goetschi is no longer with them, Do. Dorsius has several times administered the Lord's Supper to this people before his journey to Holland.

This passage introduces us to a young minister, who had come to Pennsylvania in 1737.

As early as May 3, 1730, the elders of the Dutch Reformed congregation at Neshaminy, Bucks County, had written a letter to Rev. David Knibbe of Leyden and Rev. John Wilhelmius of Rotterdam, Holland, stating that, although small in number, they were anxious to secure a minister and had for that purpose canvassed the congregation and found that they were able to give 60 pounds, Pennsylvania currency, as salary to a pastor. Hence they asked these two Dutch pastors to secure them as a minister "a suitable young man of about 30 years of age, who has a distinct enunciation, is well grounded in the doctrine of

¹³⁴ *Minutes of Coetus*, p. 26.

the truth, able to instruct, admonish and to silence all adversaries, but no less edifying in his life."¹³⁵ They also guarantee him a free dwelling, fire wood and a free passage for himself and his baggage to Pennsylvania.

On May 29, 1734, Rev. Wilhelmus notified them that he had found a young candidate by name of Masius, whose father was pastor in the Low-German Reformed congregation at Altona near Hamburg. But when the time of his departure for Pennsylvania had come near, he had withdrawn. But, he informed them, that he had continued his efforts and had, a few weeks before, found "a certain young man suitable and pious, 24 years of age, who still needs one year to complete his studies. He shows great desire and eagerness to preach the Word of God among you. This man, I believe, will, under God's gracious blessing, be a useful and successful preacher among you, and I heartily recommend him to you. But the question is whether you will grant him a year's time to complete his studies, and whether I can advance him for this purpose such an amount of the money which I have received from you, as will be necessary for it and for his examination and ordination in this country." He reports further that the money which Reiff had given him in their name was still in his care and that the reason why he had not written sooner was partly because he had had no earlier opportunity, partly because Reiff had failed to call on him before his departure in order to take a letter along.

On October 30, 1734, nineteen members of the Neshaminy

¹³⁵ This letter, as well as the later letters exchanged between the Dutch ministers in Holland and the Reformed Church at Neshaminy, Bucks County, are deposited in the archives of the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick, N. J. This letter is printed in full in a paper, submitted by the writer to the Bucks County Hist. Society, January 19, 1918, entitled "Life and Work of the Rev. Peter H. Dorsius."

miny congregation answered the letter of Dr. Wilhelmius. They expressed their willingness to wait for their pastor and gave Wilhelmius authority to use their money for him, but with the condition that he should see to his examination, ordination and transportation to America. They also reported that they were already busy in buying 40 or 50 acres as glebe land for their pastor's use.

On March 1, 1735, Dr. Wilhelmius sent another letter to the Bucks County people. He expressed his pleasure that they were satisfied with his choice of a pastor. He reported that the young man, just about 26 years old and unmarried, had already made such good progress in the ancient languages, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, that he was instructing others in them. He was also well advanced in theological studies. He was a pious young man and was burning with desire to preach the gospel of Jesus in another part of the world. He had made him sign a paper, in which he obligated himself to go to Pennsylvania immediately after completing his studies, or to return the money advanced to him with double interest. Wilhelmius stated that the bearer of his letter was a Reformed minister from Switzerland [Rev. Maurice Goetschy], through whom they hoped the churches in Pennsylvania would be well organized.

Another set of letters was exchanged between Wilhelmius and the congregation in 1736, and finally on May 22, 1737, Dr. Wilhelmius reported that Do. Dorsius had been ordained at Groningen and had left for Philadelphia with Captain Stedman.

On April 5, 1734, Dorsius had matriculated at the University of Groningen and on September 17, 1736, at Leyden. The entry in the matriculation book of the latter university is as follows:

Petrus Henricus Dorsius, 1736 Sept. 17.
Meursanus, 25. T.

This means that on the above date Peter Henry Dorsius, a native of Meurs, 25 years old, matriculated as a student of theology. This corrects the statement of Dr. Wilhelmus as to his age. According to his own statement in the matriculation book he was born in 1711.

Fortunately we are now able to present definite information regarding the family and age of Mr. Dorsius from the church records at Meurs (now Moers), which the present pastor, Rev. W. Rotscheidt, very kindly communicated to the writer,¹³⁶ for which he deserves the gratitude of the Reformed Church in the United States.

Peter Henry Dorsius was the son of Johann Henrich "Dorschius" of Moers. His father was a widower when he married Peternella Gravers of Altkirch, on September 15, 1708. Their children were as follows:

1. Alethea, baptized November 15, 1709.
2. Peter Hendrich, baptized January 2, 1711.
3. Abraham, baptized August 5, 1712.
4. Isaac, baptized December 22, 1713, died soon afterwards.
5. Isaac, baptized March 8, 1715.

An older relative of his, who acted as sponsor at his baptism, Samuel Dorsius, entered the Gymnasium Adolphinum at Moers on May 8, 1708. Isaac Dorsius, probably his younger brother, entered the gymnasium on May 5, 1727. His own name does not seem to be registered there. Hence he probably studied somewhere else. In 1734 he entered the university of Groningen, as we have seen, and in 1736 that of Leyden. In the following year he left Holland for Pennsylvania.

He himself has given a description of his journey to

¹³⁶ In a letter, dated February 16, 1914.

Pennsylvania and his first experiences there in a letter, which he addressed to the Synodical Deputies in June, 1749. He writes:¹³⁷

It is about twelve years ago, after I had been received, on April 30, 1737, by the Classis of Schieland at Rotterdam among the number of the candidates of theology, and on May 29th of the same year had been ordained by the very learned theological faculty at Groningen to be a minister of the gospel, that, on July 11 [1737], I undertook the great and dangerous journey from Rotterdam to Pennsylvania, when we did not arrive safely at Philadelphia till October 5th; however, with the loss of many persons, who had died at sea and had been buried in the great ocean. Then I inquired immediately after my location. I learnt at once at the beginning that I, as well as others, had been woefully misled, and thus was sadly compelled to preach in the barn of one farmer after another, because there was no house of God; and at the same time take up my lodging with one family after another in the woods [bosch], as they are accustomed to call it in this land. This made me think of returning speedily, but I was kept back by my conscience and the example of early Christians. Through the encouraging and cheering letters of the very learned Rev. Mr. Ernest Engelbert Pröbsting, p. t., scribe of Synod, written to me in the name and by the order of the Reverend Deputies of both Synods, I was much strengthened to continue in the difficult work of the ministry which I had undertaken.

Mr. Boehm refers to the arrival of Dorsius in a letter addressed to the Classis of Amsterdam on March 10, 1738, in which he says:¹³⁸

Last fall there came to this country Do. Dorsius, as a regular minister of the Dutch Reformed congregation at Neshaminy, Bucks County, and with him another by the name of Van Basten, who,

¹³⁷ Hague Archives, 74, II, 12.

¹³⁸ Classical Archives, Pennsylvania Portfolio, No. 1. See *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 259 f.

although he was not ordained, yet travels here and there through the country and preaches, saying that he had been sent from Holland. But he has given us absolutely no cause for joy.

Turning to the immigrant lists of Rupp, we find that on September 26, 1737, John Herman von Basten,¹³⁹ "Candidatus S. Th.," arrived at Philadelphia in the ship *Andrew Galley*, John Stedman, master, from Rotterdam. This must have been the ship on which Mr. Dorsius came. We know from the letter of Dr. Wilhelmus, quoted above, that he came with Captain Stedman, and we know from his own letter of June 1749, that he arrived on October 5, 1737. The latter is the date according to the "new style." It is, however, surprising that the name of Dorsius does not occur in the list as given by Rupp, while in the list given in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Vol. XVII, pp. 138-140, both names are wanting.

The bill for the ship's passage of Mr. Dorsius from Captain Stedman and the receipt of Dorsius given to his consistory on September 28, 1737, are still in existence.¹⁴⁰ They read as follows:

Myn Heer Dorsius	Dr.
To John Stedman	
to his passage & goods.....	P. 15:—
to Duty in England.....	P. 1:½
to City Dues.....	3/2:
to fresh Provision in England.....	P. 2:½
Total	P. 19:0

¹³⁹ The immigrant list in Rupp's *Thirty Thousand Names*, p. 109, give us at last the correct Christian name of Van Basten. In December, 1738, Dorsius reports him as having preached at Amwell, N. J., and on Long Island and as being at that time at Fishkill, N. Y., see *Ecclesiastical Records of New York*, Vol. IV, p. 2741. In 1739-40 he is reported as preaching at Jamaica, Success, Oyster Bay and Newtown, N. Y. But he was addicted to drink, hence his activity as a minister was brief. After 1740 he disappears. See Corwin, *Manual*, 4th ed., pp. 807, 1011, 1016.

¹⁴⁰ Part of church records at New Brunswick, N. J.

Receipt of Rev. P. H. Dorsius,

I, the undersigned, acknowledge clearly and distinctly to have received from the Reverend Consistory, elders and deacons, the sum of six and twenty pounds, fifteen shillings and two pence, Pennsylvania currency, for the passage money of person and goods, together with the expenses from Rotterdam to Pennsylvania for Captain John Stedman.

Given in Philadelphia, September 28, 1737.

P. H. DORSIUS, minister in Bucks
County, Pennsylvania.

Dorsius and Boehm worked together very harmoniously till the spring of 1740, when Boehm in answer to the request of the Holland Synods, communicated to him through Dorsius, had prepared his elaborate report of 1739, and had handed it to Dorsius with the request to send it to Holland. When Dorsius failed to do this, Boehm became very indignant.

On November 30, 1740, the elders of Boehm wrote a defence of their pastor to the Classis, with affidavits regarding the events that had taken place.

In the affidavit it is said:¹⁴¹

When Mr. Dorsius, minister at Neshaminy, was at Goshenhoppen on the 24th of September 1740, and baptized children, in his anger against our minister, Mr. Boehm, he burst out without any reserve, in the following expressions among others: "If Boehm says that I have not sent the letters, which he wrote regarding the church, to Holland, he lies like a scoundrel" and this he repeated several times.

Privately to Boehm, Dorsius had admitted that the letter had not been sent off. In support of Boehm his elders wrote:¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Classical Archives, Pennsylvania Portfolio, No. 15. See *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 338.

¹⁴² *L. c.*, No. 16. See *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 339.

His Reverence [Mr. Dorsius] visited the congregations Saucon and New Goshenhoppen on his return home from Minisink. As far as we know he did not visit any other congregations in the back woods. At that time his Reverence had the young Goetschi preach the sermon and read the baptismal formula, while he baptized the children. Afterwards all that is stated above took place. It is impossible for us to let the case rest here because his Reverence has not only treated our beloved and faithful pastor so unkindly, but he also attacked the respect due to the reverend men and devout church fathers, who established our pure divine worship in this country.

During the ministry of Dorsius, in the year 1742, the second schoolmaster appears in Goshenhoppen. On December 21, 1742, the Bethlehem Diary reports a visit at Bethlehem of "John Adam Luckenbach, schoolmaster at Goshenhoppen." He was born in 1713 at Winkelbach, near Hachenburg, in Nassau, Germany. On September 30, 1740, he arrived with two other members of his family at Philadelphia. He served as schoolmaster in various localities, first at Goshenhoppen. In 1743, we find him at Muddy Creek, where he assisted Jacob Lischy. When Lischy moved to York County, in 1745, Luckenbach accompanied him and became schoolmaster in Kreutz creek. In 1754, he was schoolmaster in Allemaengel, Lynn township, Lehigh County. He married Eva Maria Spiess, who bore him one son and two daughters. He died in 1785 at Saucon and was buried in the Moravian cemetery at Bethlehem.^{142a}

According to Boehm's report of 1744, already quoted, Dorsius administered the Lord's Supper "several times" before his journey to Holland, which took place in 1743.

^{142a} See Reincke, *Register of Moravians*, pp. 111, 131, Schultze, *Guide to the Old Moravian Cemetery at Bethlehem* (PROC. OF PA. GERM. SOC., Vol. XXI, p. 14).

In perfect agreement with this statement we find thirteen children baptized at New Goshenhoppen on August 30, 1741, and six children on September 4, 1742. Then there is a break in the baptismal record till May, 1744. In the interval Dorsius undertook a journey to Holland. This was undertaken, as he explained later to the Deputies, because there was no prospect of growth for the Dutch Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, first, because their number was becoming constantly smaller through sickness and death; secondly, because through intermarriage the members were lost to the church, and thirdly, because they had no school-teachers to teach the children the Dutch language. In view of this condition Dorsius desired permission either to accept a call to another church or to remain in Holland. As his letter to the Deputies, written in June, 1749, gives an interesting account of this journey, it may be quoted in part:¹⁴³

I considered all this very carefully, besides, the continual complaints of the consistory (which had to collect the pastor's salary), that they were no longer able to pay the 68 pounds of salary which they had promised, without injuring their own families, as they were not able to secure the promised salary from the congregation, but had been compelled to add each year enough money so as to complete the salary; hence after full deliberation I concluded to return to my fatherland and to undertake the difficult and expensive journey in the strength of the Lord of Lords, also to call the consistory together, submit to them my plans, ask for a certificate, in case it should happen that I would not return. This was done on the 9th of March, o.s. My just request was granted and a certificate was given to me, together with a petition to the Rev. Deputies for another faithful shepherd and teacher, at a lower salary, in as much as I might feel inclined to stay in my own country. This certificate and also the letters written to me by the

¹⁴³ The same letter of Dorsius quoted before, see note 137.

learned Mr. Pröbsting, I handed over to the Christian Synod of North Holland in the year 1743, in answer to the request of the Rev. Mr. Cornelius Houthoff, p. t., deputy of the Synods. These writings are most likely still in the hands of the reverend gentlemen.

Then I began the great journey on the 26th of May, 1743, o.s., from New York to Amsterdam, where I arrived safely and well on the 14th of July at Texel. Then on the 26th and 27th of July I appeared before the Christian Synod of North Holland held at Hoorn, in order to make known the lamentable and desolate condition of the American Reformed churches, especially of the Dutch people, over whom I had been placed as shepherd and teacher. This, however, did not have the result or effect, which I had desired or expected. I could not stay in Holland because on the one hand it was to be feared that the fire of war might break out between France and England, which would make the Spanish Sea, over which we had to sail, unsafe and dangerous to travelers, as to our grief, it proved to be the case in the spring of the following year. On the other hand, my domestic affairs (of which I do not wish to speak further) could not be arranged so as to make it possible for me to stay longer in Holland. Moreover, a suitable opportunity offered itself so that I could readily bear the expense of the journey and return home again.

Hence on the 19th of October 1743, o.s., I again undertook the great journey across the sea, when after suffering, especially in the neighborhood of Ireland, many hardships and dangers on the ocean, common to the winter season, I did not reach Philadelphia till January 16, 1744, o.s., though in good health. From there I returned to Bucks County, where I tried to discharge the duties of the ministry faithfully.

Shortly after his return from Holland, Dorsius visited Goshenhoppen again. Boehm in his report of 1744 refers at length to this visit:¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ *Minutes of Coetus*, p. 26 f.; also *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 419 f.

BOEHM'S ACCOUNT OF GOSHENHOPPEN IN 1744.

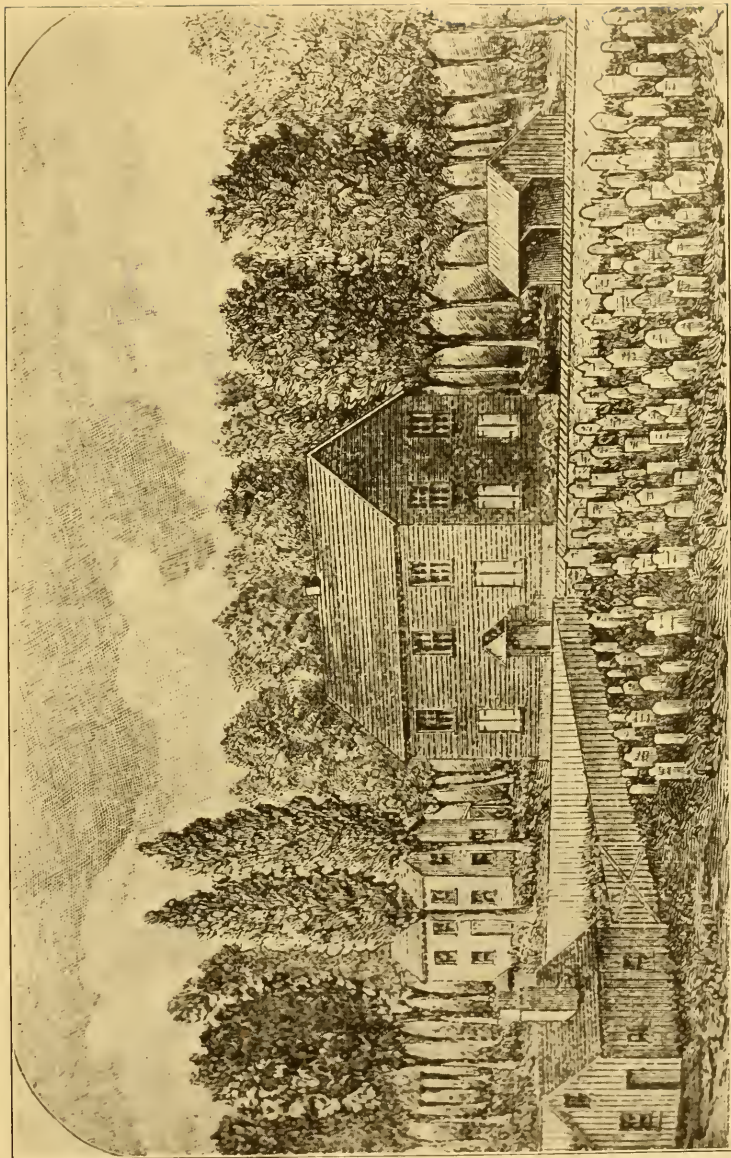
As I learned on Tuesday after last Easter at Goshenhoppen from a ruling elder, it is arranged that he [Dorsius] shall again administer the Lord's Supper to them in the next coming month of May. On this Tuesday after Easter, when I happened to come to Goshenhoppen, I found this among them: On Good Friday, they allowed the base deceiver, Jacob Lischy, to preach in their church, who at the same time baptized two children. When I represented to two elders, who were together on this Tuesday after Easter, the impropriety of this act in the presence of several people, in having permitted a Moravian to do such things they answered me that they themselves had held it up to him, but he had protested with an oath and called upon God to forsake him if he were a Moravian. He claimed to be a Reformed preacher from Switzerland. Then I showed them his Moravian hymn book, entitled "Shepherd Songs of Bethlehem, for the use of all who are humble," which before this was his own pocket hymn book, and came to my hands in a wonderful but honorable way, in which he had written his name with his own hand; When they compared the letter he had written to them with it and saw that it was his own handwriting, they realized his wicked conduct, the more so because, when they told him that I had this little book, he denied it was his, saying that he knew nothing of the book, that others could easily write his name in a book; he could not prevent that, and that for this reason he had long regarded me as a treacherous Boehm, of whom he had heard before in Holland, etc. Then they acted as if they were sorry. But one among them, Michael Radner, confessed that it was his fault alone that Lischy had come into the church. Whereupon I took my departure. The next day I spoke with another ruling elder, who was not present the day before. This one said to me with a sad heart, almost with tears: "But what shall we do? Mr. Dorsius has told us we should not think that we could get ministers from Holland. We should ourselves see to it, what was to be done." The Hollanders had said: "What do the Pennsylvanians imagine themselves to be? They live in a

free country, have nothing to pay to any royal court, yet want to give but ten pounds in such a large congregation to a minister; then we cannot provide them with a minister," etc. Nevertheless I admonished them to remain steadfast in prayer, and without being discouraged to wait upon God's favor. As for me, I felt assured that if our pious church Fathers desired to admonish us or were displeased about anything, they would not thus rudely present it, but speak of it in an amicable and friendly manner, becoming to servants of God. But according to my expectations the affairs of our church would take quite a different turn under the providence of God and his guidance. And thus we separated. . . .

Do. Dorsius has also promised the people at New Goshenhoppen to administer the Lord's Supper there on May 6th, and that on the 7th he would be at Old Goshenhoppen, situated about four miles from Skippack, where the Lutheran and Reformed people wish to build a union church (whereby again some members will be drawn away from Skippack, for until now this district had belonged to Skippack) and on May 7th he will there lay the corner-stone. On this occasion the Lutheran preacher, Andres by name, and Do. Dorsius are each to preach a sermon. Do. Dorsius asked said Lutheran pastor to announce this from his pulpit for the benefit of his Lutheran congregation, which he did on April 8th. Afterwards I was told by some of my elders who were present that the Lutheran minister distinctly said: "Rev. Inspector Dorsius will administer the Lord's Supper on May 6th at New Goshenhoppen for the Reformed people, and on the 7th ditto, at the laying of the corner-stone of the union church at Old Goshenhoppen, he as well as myself (the Lutheran pastor) will preach the first sermon (which words a certain man who had heard them told me with astonishment in my house on the 16th of April). . . .

P.S. On May 6th, Do. Dorsius administered the Lord's Supper at New Goshenhoppen, several persons from Falkner Swamp communed there without saying anything.

On May 7th, the corner-stone of the above mentioned union church was to be laid; a considerable number of people were pres-



OLD GOSHENHOPPEN CHURCH, BUILT 1744.

(DRAWING MADE BY WILLIAM J. BUCK IN 1858.)

ent, but the day was rainy. Do. Dorsius did not come. It was postponed till Whit Monday, May 14th, old style. Do. Dorsius again did not come. But an elder of New Goshenhoppen was appointed to represent Do. Dorsius, and the work was thus accomplished.

The presence of Do. Dorsius at New Goshenhoppen in May, 1744, is corroborated by the church record, for on May 5, 1744, six children were baptized, and their baptisms entered into the church record by one of the elders. The pastor who officiated was undoubtedly Mr. Dorsius.

The cornerstone laying at the Old Goshenhoppen church is described more fully in the Old Goshenhoppen Lutheran record, which has also preserved the agreement, then drawn up by the Lutheran and Reformed people. It is as follows:

AGREEMENT PLACED IN CORNERSTONE OF OLD GOSHENHOPPEN
CHURCH, MAY 14, 1744.

Anno 1744, May 14th, through the wonderful providence of the all-wise God and against all expectations, these two congregations, Lutheran and Reformed, began to build a large, beautiful stone church. In this year was laid the cornerstone, in which the following writing was put and deposited:

IN THE NAME OF THE BLESSED TRINITY, AMEN.

Through the all-wise providence of God it has come to pass that both Evangelical congregations, Lutheran and Reformed, concluded to build a new stone-church, for which the corner-stone was laid today in the name of God. Inasmuch as under such circumstances, and for the safety of both parties, a written agreement is necessary, showing in what manner each congregation is to conduct itself and what rights each possesses, therefore, the following contract has been made and established by us:

First: We implore unitedly and with burning hearts the almighty

and all-gracious God, that he may not allow any discord or dissension to arise among us, but may preserve us in love and unity, that our Christian work, undertaken by us, may have a happy issue.

Secondly: No congregation, neither Lutheran nor Reformed, shall have any preference in the divine service, nor shall any congregation have more rights in the church than the other, but everything shall be done in love, without confusion and disorder, nor shall either congregation disturb the divine services of the other.

Thirdly: We stipulate mainly and earnestly, that no false teacher, suspected of heresy, who adheres to neither the Lutheran nor the Reformed doctrines, shall under any circumstances be permitted or tolerated in our house of God, but in such a case either congregation shall have authority, right and power to close and lock the church against such a false teacher.

To our posterity we wish temporal and eternal blessedness. And, inasmuch as Jesus Christ is the only corner-stone and foundation of our faith, who is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption, therefore may he grant that this our faith may be continued and preserved to all times, in order that we all at last, when heaven and earth perish, may be translated from the church militant unto the church triumphant, and then, before the throne of the Lamb, all of us, with one accord, may honor and praise God, through our dear Lord Jesus Christ.

In testimony whereof the elders of both congregations have affixed their own signatures.

Old Goshenhoppen, May 14, 1744.

Reformed:

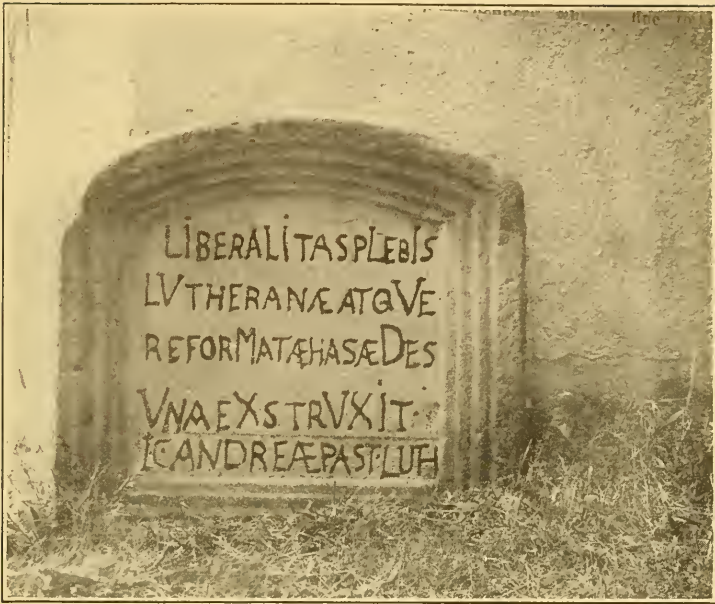
CHRISTIAN SCHNEIDER
CHRISTIAN LEHMANN
BERNHARD ARND
JOHANN ZIEWER.

Lutherans:

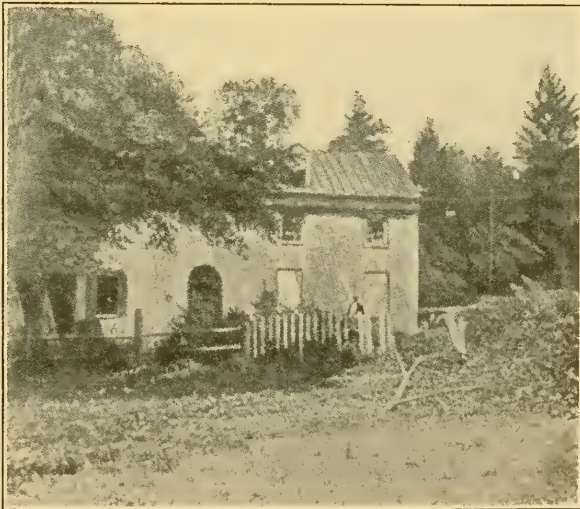
MICHAEL REIHER † his mark
BALSAR GERLACH
PHILIP GABEL
CONRAD SCHNEIDER.

* As to the cost of the church nothing certain is at hand, because, in the first place, the two congregations have helped and given much, and in the next place, other friends have also contributed their share.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



CORNERSTONE OF OLD GOSHENHOPPER CHURCH, 1744.
(SEE PAGE 145.)



HOUSE OF WILLIAM DEWEES, WHITEMARSH.
(REFORMED PEOPLE OF WHITEMARSH MET HERE, 1725-1745.)

The cornerstone of the first church at Old Goshenhoppen is still preserved in the right hand corner of the present building. It bears an interesting Latin inscription:

LIBERALITAS PLEBIS	i. e. The liberality of the people
LVTHERANÆ ATQVE	Lutheran and also
REFORMATÆ HAS ÆDES	Reformed this house
VNA EXSTRVXIT.	unitedly has erected.
I. C. ANDREÆ. PAST. LVTH.	J. C. Andreae, Luth. pastor.

The inscription is unique because the capital letters when added together give the year 1744. This can be easily demonstrated:

Line 1.	LI.	LI.	LI. = 153
Line 2.	L.	V.	V. = 60
Line 3.	M.	D.	= 1500
Line 4.	V.	X.	VXI. = 31
			1744

This ingenious method of indicating the date is probably due to the Lutheran pastor, J. C. Andreae, whose name was put into the last line of the inscription.

Shortly before the cornerstone laying of the Old Goshenhoppen church took place, the church wardens or trustees of the two congregations had drawn up a "declaration of trust," which because of its contents and remarkable English deserves to be published in full, spelling and all, verbatim and literatim. It is dated April 16, 1744:

DECLARATION OF TRUST BY OLD GOSHENHOPPEN ELDERS,
APRIL 16, 1744.

TO ALL CHRISTIAN PEOPLE to Whom these Presents Writings Shall Come Know Ye that We Michael Reyer, Churchwardens of the Lutheran Congregation & Jacob Keller, Churchwardens of the Reformirth Congregation of Upper Sollford Township in the

County of Philadelphia are Lawfully Invested by a Warrant of the Hounorable the Propriedais Date the twelfth Day of January anno Domini 1737 there was Surveyed and laid out on the Sixteenth Day of the Said Month unto us the said Michael Reyer and Jacob Keller of the County of Philadelphia a certain Tract of Land Seituete in the s^d Upper Sollford Township in the s^d County BEGINNING at a Post in a Line of other Land of the said Jacob Keller and Extending thence by the Same South East Seventy Perches to a Post thence by other Land of the Said Michael Reyer Southwest ninety three Perches to a Post at a Corner of Adam Mayrers Land thence by the same North west Seventy Perches to a Post thence by Vacant Land North East Neinty three Perches to the place of Beginning Containing thirty Eight acres and a quarter and an allowance Proportional to Six acres Per Cent. for Roads and Highways as in and by the Survey thereof remaining in the Surveyor Generals Office may appear—

Now KNOW YE that we the s^d. Michael Reyer & Jacob Keller, Chosen Churchwardens of both the said Congregations have gathered so moch money as woult pay for s^d tract of Land and Cost and Charges to pay, and was agreed between them two said Congregations that this place shall be for no other use but to built a Shoolhouse and in Fouture to come a Chirch to keep a Schoolmaster upon said pleace Either between the both Congragations or Every on for them selves and also built a Church between both s^d Congregation or Every one for them selves and we Paid for said Land & patend warrant and Recortern and sum other Costs Eight pounds nine Shillings & Three pence of the money we gathered. Now because the Patend and also the Draught of s^d tract is made upon us and in our names weilst it Could not be Done otherwise, So we Prodest and Declear by and with this presents, that we or our Heirs, Exect^s, Administ^s, or Assigns shall have no claim or Demand of in or to the s^d Land or any part thereof From or after our Decease but to permit and Suffer the s^d two Congregations their Heirs and Assigns and Every of them to have, possess and enjoy to their own use for Ever the said Land and Every part thereof without any Let or disturbance of or by us our Exect^s

Administ^s or Assigns or of or by any other person or persons or by this or any of their acts means consents or procurements Clearly released acquitted and Discharged of and from all Incumbrances What So Ever by them had, made and Committed or Done or to be had made Committed or Done but the two Congarigations between them shall pay the Quittrend Due and for Ever to come to the Hounorable the Propriedars according as it is mentioned in the patend we have and Shall also have the two Congrigations the Reight and Power given in the patend to us, that we never have any more to Demand than another man of the s^d two congrigations and that also for the true performans We give to Every Congrigations this writings from unter our hands and Seals Dated this 16th Day of Aprill in the year of our Lord one Thousand Seven Hundred and fourty four Annoque Domini 1744.
Sealed & Delivered in the presence of us

CHRISTIAN \times LEHMAN
his
mark

ADAM \times MEYRER
his
mark

MICHAEL \times REYER (SEAL)
his
mark

CHRISTIAN SCHNEYDER in place
of JACOB KELLER (SEAL)

Philad^a 12th Jan^y 1737. Received of Michael Royer and Jacob Keller five pounds Seventeen Shillings & nine Pence in full for thirty eight acres of Land Surveyed to them in Salford Township in the County of Philadelphia. Received for the use of the Proprietaries.

£5 17s. 9d.

JAMES STEELYARD.

After 1744, Dorsius visited Goshenhoppen no more, although he remained pastor of Neshaminy, Bucks County, till 1748, when he returned to Holland. There he died about the year 1757.¹⁴⁵ The last reference to him is in

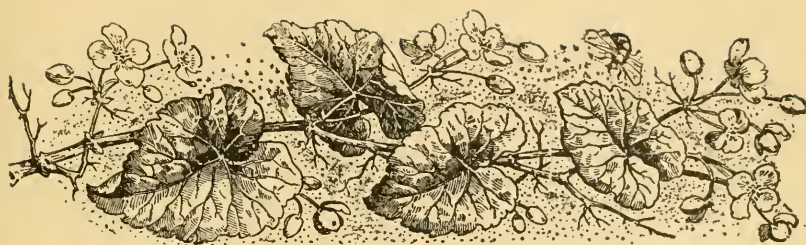
¹⁴⁵ For earlier accounts of Dorsius see Harbaugh, *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, Vol. II (1872), p. 375 f.; Good, *History of the Reformed Church*, pp. 190-199; Dubbs, *Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, pp. 92-94; Corwin, *Manual of Reformed Church*, 4th ed., pp. 429-31. The most

the minutes of the Classis of Amsterdam, under date October 5, 1750.^{145a} From 1752 to 1776 his widow received support from the Coetus of Pennsylvania.

extensive account of the "Life and Work of the Rev. Peter H. Dorsius" was given by the writer in a paper submitted to the Bucks County Hist. Society, see above, note 135.

^{145a} *Ecclesiastical Records of New York*, Vol. IV, p. 3138.





CHAPTER V.

MINISTRY OF FREDERICK CASIMIR MUELLER, 1745-1748.

ON July 7, 1745, a new handwriting appears in the New Goshenhoppen record. It is that of Frederick Casimir Mueller. On September 27, 1745, he acted as sponsor at the baptism of a son of Johan Adam Mengel.

On March 23, 1746, a son of Frederick Casimir Mueller himself was baptized with Johann Hoffmann and Friedrich Helwig as witnesses. The record itself gives no indication that Mueller was actually the pastor of the congregation. All that can be inferred from the record is that between July 7, 1745, and April 28, 1750, he entered thirty-five baptisms into the record. But what is lacking in the record is fully supplied by other evidence.

In Schlatter's private diary we read under date September 20, 1746:¹⁴⁶

I preached in the new stone church at Old Goshenhoppen, but inasmuch as a considerable part of the New Goshenhoppen congregation adheres to a certain hireling, Frederick Casimir Mueller, who was a school teacher but now wants to be a minister, I was not able to accomplish anything. I concluded to investigate this

¹⁴⁶ Printed in *Journal of P. H. S.*, Vol. III, p. 111 f.

matter at some other time and then fix the salary. I shall also endeavor to bring about, with the help of God, unity in the congregation, since Do. Weiss is generally liked. But, whereas some adhere to the above-mentioned Fred. Mueller, it is necessary to use prudence, because he is a bold fellow and was in the congregation before Do. Weiss returned from Rhinebeck.

At a later place in the same diary Schlatter refers at length to Casimir Mueller and sheds considerable light on his activity:¹⁴⁷

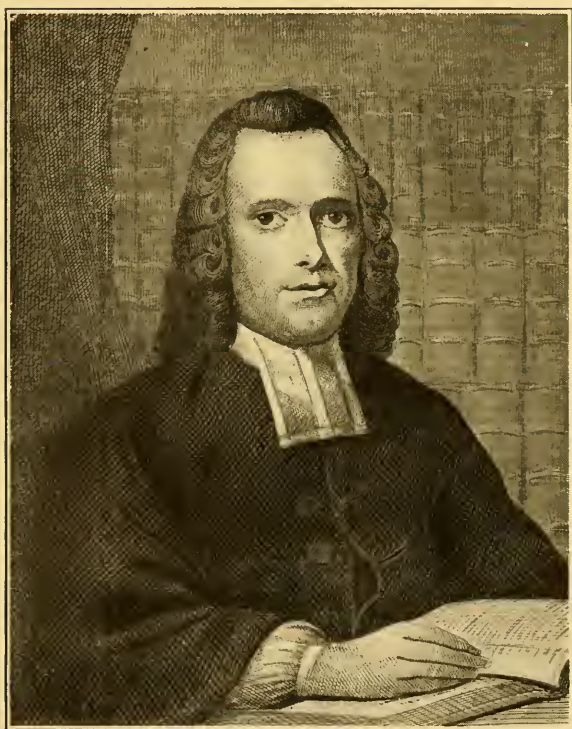
The above mentioned Frederick Casimir Mueller is the only one thus far known to me, who is not willing to submit to any order, but, as he states himself, will create as much dissension and division as possible. But I trust to Almighty God, that Mueller alone will not be able to hinder the progress of God's work, which otherwise is blessed everywhere.

He has now 10 or 12 small congregations in and about Oley and in New Goshenhoppen about 18 men, who adhere to him and refuse to side with Do. Weiss, being so to speak bewitched with his bragging and assurance. During the whole week he rides about and tries to make the kind intention of the Reverend Synods obnoxious to his adherents, pretending that if they submit to them they will lose their liberty and accept unbearable fetters.

I asked him to come to see me in Oley on September 23rd. At that time he appeared to me rather favorable, and in view of your Reverences' counsel, I made to him the following proposition in the presence of Do. Weiss: Whether, if he were a true Reformed man, he would from now on abstain from administering the Lord's Supper and from uniting people in marriage, until I had written to the Reverend Fathers and received their answer, whether the Reverend Synods deemed it wise that, like Dom. Boehm in former years, he be ordained by a Coetus and be installed as a regular minister in a regular congregation? To this he heartily agreed, but on the following Sunday, through God's wonderful providence,

¹⁴⁷ *L. c.*, p. 119.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



Michael Schlatter

he made himself unworthy of the good opinion which I had formed about him. For he baptized children as before and announced the administration of the Lord's Supper in four weeks. Hence I lost all desire to write to you in his behalf.

From the Hebron Diary, written by the Moravian pastors at Lebanon, it appears that Frederick was the call name of Frederick Casimir Mueller, for his name always appears there as Frederick Mueller. The same conclusion can be drawn from his own signature, which is usually Friederich C. Müller.

Rupp's *Thirty Thousand Names*, notes the arrival of three Friedrich Muellers from 1727-1744. On September 30, 1743, a Friedrich Miller qualified, whose name was written by the clerk, probably because he himself was unable to write. On September 24, 1742, a Friederich Müller qualified, who came in the same ship as John Jacob Riess, another Reformed pastor at Goshenhoppen. A third Friedrich Müller arrived October 28, 1738. We are inclined to regard the second Mueller identical with our Frederick Casimir Mueller, because he was apt to make his presence felt shortly after his arrival.

In spite of Schlatter's unfavorable opinion, Mueller preached acceptably to numerous Reformed congregations and no doubt did a good work, in his own way. It may serve, therefore, a useful purpose to put together the scattered references to his life and work.

In a letter of Schlatter, dated October 3, 1746, which is lost in the original, but an extract of which has been preserved in the Minutes of the Synodical Deputies of March 21-22, 1747, Schlatter states that Mueller had been a school teacher at a place near Mayence, in the Palatinate. In July, 1745, he appears for the first time in Pennsylvania, as pastor of the New Goshenhoppen congregation.

On October 19, 1746, Schlatter visited New Goshenhoppen again, in order to restore if possible order and harmony in the congregation. His private diary describes his experiences at that time as follows:¹⁴⁸

On the 19th, I traveled to New Goshenhoppen, 18 miles, together with Dos. Boehm and Weiss, in order to remove if possible the division which had been caused in the congregation by the above mentioned Miller.

I preached from II. Chron. 15: 2-4. After that I tried to gain the adherents of Miller with love and kind words and win them for Do. Weiss, but Miller, who was in the church, controlled his party to such an extent that all my efforts were in vain. He is said to have declared from the pulpit, last Sunday, October 16th, that even if the black and white wigs (meaning the Hollanders and Switzers), would come, they could not drive him away. Finally I wanted to know how strong his adherents were and asked them to raise their right hand, but they refused, saying that they would not swear an oath. Then I asked them that, as a sign of their difference, they should put on their hats, but they refused that also. At last I asked that those who held with Do. Weiss should cover their heads, thus I was able to count the others against their will, namely 17 or 18 families. Thereupon I admonished them all to be peaceful and I caused the party of Do. Weiss, numbering about 30, to put upon paper their contribution toward his salary, which amounted to about 15 pounds and thirty bushels of wheat.

In Schlatter's diary, as published by Dr. Harbaugh in his "Life of Rev. Michael Schlatter," p. 140, is this additional sentence: "Although we did not, at this time, succeed in accomplishing this object, yet the Lord interposed some time afterwards and restored order."

Almost immediately after the visit of Schlatter, Mueller wrote him a letter on October 29, 1746, which, following the "old style," he dated October 18, 1746. As it is the

¹⁴⁸ *L. c.*, p. 160.

only letter of Mueller in existence and reveals clearly his attitude and spirit, we shall give it in full:¹⁴⁹

LETTER OF FREDERICK C. MUELLER TO SCHLATTER.

Goshenhoppen, October 18, 1746.

I have thought much about you, since I saw and heard you at Goshenhoppen, for the reason that I expect you to organize everything in good order. You ought to know that church questions cannot be treated like secular affairs, which was done nevertheless. At the city hall I saw how people were asked to raise their hands or make a sign with their hat. That is the way it looked at your organization, to the amusement of the sects.

I do not wish to make you proud, but simply to write you the thoughts of my heart. I care little or nothing whether you send a petition to Holland or not, nor will I allow you to forbid me anything. If I need a petition, my congregations are willing to draw it up themselves, for they can give the best testimonial regarding me. I am ready to submit to an honorable Church Council, but not to beg for anything, and if my congregations submit a testimonial to the honorable Church Council as to you and take as much interest in it as you, I shall have good help, but they will not drive me away from the congregations which love me heartily. You should know that neither money nor anything else will induce me to give up the congregation, even if Mr. Weiss's salary for two years be offered to me. You promised to secure me a place as a schoolteacher. I hope you will stand by your word, but if you are unable, because you can issue no command which the farmers must respect, I shall look for such a place myself.

I wish you heartfelt humility from him who can give abundantly. I shall report the outcome of the affair to the Rev. Mr. Bruynings in Amsterdam, whom I know and love heartily.

Your ever ready (Servant)

FRID. CASIMIR MÜLLER.

¹⁴⁹ Hague Archives, 74, I, 51 (9).

We cannot state definitely when Mueller left Goshenhoppen. It may have been in 1747, for on September 29, 1747, Rev. George Michael Weiss reported New Goshenhoppen as one of his congregations.¹⁵⁰ But inasmuch as Do. Weiss dates the beginnings of his ministry in 1748, it is more likely that Mueller withdrew in that year. Weiss heads his baptismal entries with the statement "from 1748 till the year 1758, the following adult persons were baptized, upon the profession of their faith." Also his catechumens were recorded from the year 1748. Nevertheless, Mueller continued his visits to Goshenhoppen, for in 1749, January to July, he entered five baptisms into the record and one on April 28, 1750. The record book remained in the hands of Mueller's followers till 1757, when it passed into the custody of Weiss. But even as late as 1752 we hear of a Mueller faction in New Goshenhoppen.

In order to realize the importance of Mueller for the Reformed Church, we must review his labors outside of Goshenhoppen. It is at present impossible for us to identify all of the ten or twelve congregations in and about Oley, which Schlatter reports him as serving in 1746. We can, however, trace his activity in a number of congregations.

In 1746, he appears in Berne, Berks Co. An entry in the Berne record by his hand reads: "Register [showing] how many and whose children were entered by me Friedrich Casimir Müller, at this time preacher, 1746." His handwriting stops in November, 1746. Then there is a break till February, 1749, when a new set of entries begins running till April, 1752. Though not written by Miller himself, it is barely possible that the baptisms were performed by him.

¹⁵⁰ *Minutes of Coetus*, p. 33.

In 1748, Mueller appears in Long Swamp, Berks County. After stating that the first church there had been begun in September, 1748, Jacob Weimer, the faithful schoolmaster, writes in the Long Swamp record: "After having completed this church to the honor of God and for their own salvation, they called the Rev. Fridrig Casemer Miller to dedicate this house and they accepted him as their preacher, who served them for some time." How long Mueller stayed at Long Swamp is not certainly known, but probably till 1752.

In October, 1752, the Minutes of Coetus report¹⁵¹ that he was "supported by a part of that congregation" at Muddy Creek, whereby he was causing considerable trouble to the pastor, Rev. John Waldschmidt.

On October 11, 1753, Mueller applied to the factional Coetus, held at that time at Cocalico, to be received as a member. But his request was not granted.¹⁵²

In the same year Mueller appears as pastor of Coventry (now Brownback's), in Chester County. On February 18, 1753, he baptized there the first child. His entries extend there till November, 1761.

In 1762 he signed an account at the Heidelberg Church (now Hains' Church), near Wernersville, Berks County. In the same year he appears as pastor of the Reformed Church at Lebanon. On July 18, 1762, he dedicated the newly-built Reformed Church there, as is stated in the Hebron Diary. He opened the church record at Lebanon on November 24, 1764.¹⁵³ His entries, eighteen in number, extend till April 5, 1766. On September 28, 1764,

¹⁵¹ *Minutes of Coetus*, p. 73.

¹⁵² *L. c.*, p. 108.

¹⁵³ For the ministry of Frederick Casimir Mueller at Lebanon, see the writer's "History of Tabor Reformed Church, Lebanon, Pa.," in the *Reformed Church Messenger* of August 4 and September 8, 1904.

the Hebron Diary reports the death of Rev. Mueller's wife, who was a daughter of Veronica Leidolt. The Moravian pastors at Lebanon speak of Mueller in a friendly way¹⁵⁴ and exchanged visits with him. But while Mueller's handwriting stops in the Lebanon record in April, 1766, it is continued at Swatara till July 3, 1768. He probably died soon afterwards.

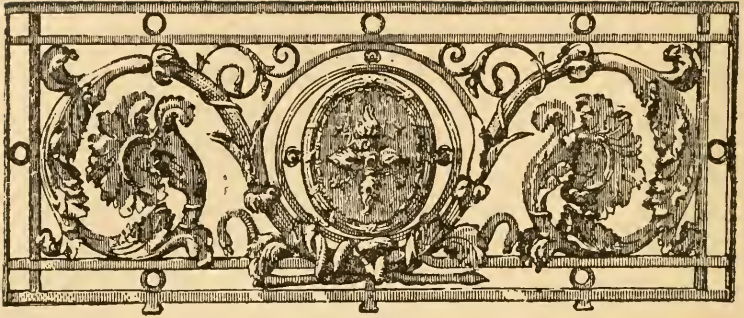
Frederick Casimir Mueller has had the distinction of having had two doubles.

In 1855, Rev. Henry Wagner published a *Kurzgefasste Hundertjährige Geschichte der Bergkirche in Lebanon County, Pennsylvania*, in which he refers, p. 4, to a Mr. Friederich, a Swiss minister, who followed Tempelman in 1760. He is said to have had a quick temper and soon returned to Europe. His name is perpetuated by Dr. Harbaugh in his *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, Vol. II, p. 384; by Dr. Corwin, *Manual*, 3rd ed., p. 265; and also by Dr. Good, *History of German Reformed Church*, p. 649. Later, when the *Hebron Diary* became known, it was found that, beginning with 1762, it men-

¹⁵⁴ What appears at first sight as a very serious charge against Mueller is made in Saur's paper, *Pennsylvanische Berichte*, under date June 16, 1749, where the following notice is inserted: "Henry Adam of Maxetani makes known that his wife Maria has left him faithlessly and turned to (hat sich gewendet zu) Friedrich Casimir Müller. None may loan or give her anything on his [Adam's] account, as he will not pay it." This statement does not necessarily prove that the woman had eloped with Mueller. She may have left her husband and entered Mueller's family as a servant. The New Goshenhoppen record proves that Mueller was married in 1745. The Hebron diary at Lebanon shows that Mueller's mother-in-law, Veronica Leidolt, was living with him in 1765. While in between these years he was constantly serving Reformed congregations. This would no doubt have been impossible if he had been guilty of adultery. The well-known facts of his life are best reconciled with the notice in Saur's paper by the supposition that Mrs. Maria Adam had become Mueller's maid servant in 1749.

tioned Frederick Miller as the Reformed pastor at Lebanon; see Klopp, *History of Tabor First Reformed Church, Lebanon*, 1892, p. 54. Alongside of these two men, Frederick Casimir Mueller was known as the Reformed pastor at Long Swamp, see Harbaugh, *Fathers*, Vol. II, p. 380. Thus it came to pass that Mr. Frederick, Mr. Frederick Miller and Mr. Frederick Casimir Miller figured as three Reformed pastors in history, see Good, *History*, pp. 517, 649. The truth is that all three are but one man. The Lebanon Reformed church record shows unmistakably the handwriting of Frederick Casimir Mueller. Moreover, of the 18 children whose baptisms Mueller entered, he acted as sponsor in the case of three, signing his name Friedrich C. Müller, in his well-known wretched script.





CHAPTER VI.

MINISTRY OF REV. GEORGE MICHAEL WEISS,
1746-1761.

WHEN Michael Schlatter arrived in Pennsylvania in September, 1746, he found a new minister in the Goshenhoppen charge. It was the Rev. George Michael Weiss. We left Weiss in 1732 as pastor of Catskill and Coxsackie, N. Y. There he remained till 1735. His last baptism was entered July 6, 1735. From Catskill he went to Burnetsfield or German Flats, now in Montgomery County, N. Y. There he was pastor from 1736 to 1742. In the latter year he removed to Rhinebeck, Dutchess County, N. Y., where he served as pastor from 1742 to 1746. He then returned to Pennsylvania.

While pastor at Catskill, Mr. Weiss was married by the Rev. Petrus Van Driessen on November 25, 1733, to Anna Broenckh, daughter of John Broenckh, one of his parishioners, in her father's house. Weiss himself entered the record of the marriage into the marriage register at Catskill. The couple had no children.

The time of Mr. Weiss's removal from the State of

New York is fixed as about June, 1746, in a letter of Schlatter to the Synodical Deputies, dated October 3, 1746. The letter itself is no longer in existence, but an elaborate abstract of it was inserted in the Minutes of the Synodical Deputies, from which we take the following statement, regarding Schlatter's visit to Old Goshenhoppen on September 20, 1746. He writes:

On September 20th he [Schlatter] preached in the nearly completed stone church at Old Goshenhoppen from II. Chron. 15: 1, 2. To this place Do. Weiss was called from Albany and has now [September 1746] been pastor there for three or four months. Here he [Schlatter] attempted to restore order, but he could not persuade the congregation at New Goshenhoppen to unite with Great Swamp for this purpose, because they allowed themselves to be served by a hireling, Miller (who had been a schoolmaster at Stetichheim¹⁵⁵ near Mayence in the Palatinate), although there was hope for this [union] in the future.

The same time of removal is indicated in the first part of Schlatter's private journal, dated December 15, 1746, and published by the writer in the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*.¹⁵⁶ There we read:

Do. Weiss returned about six months ago from Esopus in the government of [New] York, for fear of the war about Canada and at the request of the congregation at Goshenhoppen. He is now willing to remain with his wife in Pennsylvania.

To complete the evidence about Weiss's coming to Pennsylvania, we may add the passage from Schlatter's Diary, as printed by Dr. Harbaugh in his "Life of Rev. Michael Schlatter":¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ This name has not been transcribed correctly from the Minutes of the Deputies or from Schlatter's letter, for an inquiry at Mayence brought the answer that there is no such place near Mayence.

¹⁵⁶ *Journal of P. H. S.*, Vol. III, p. 108.

¹⁵⁷ *Life of Rev. Schlatter*, p. 132 f.

Mr. Weiss, who several months ago, had fled from his church at Rhinebeck near Albany in New York, from fear of war, had come hither on invitation of this and other congregations in this vicinity. He is also beloved by many, yet, on account of the adherents of the one who had irregularly thrust himself into the service of the church, it is necessary still to exercise great prudence.

On October 12, 1746, Weiss met with Schlatter, Boehm and Rieger at Philadelphia for a preliminary conference with a view to perfecting an organization of the Reformed churches and ministers in Pennsylvania. "This was the first assembly in which these Reverend Brethren had all been together, notwithstanding one and another of them had already been laboring about 20 years in this part of the Lord's vineyard."¹⁵⁸

On October 19, 1746, Schlatter, Boehm and Weiss met at New Goshenhoppen in order to overcome, if possible, the division existing there through the presence of Frederick Casimir Mueller. But although Schlatter succeeded in ascertaining the number of Mueller's and Weiss's adherents, being eighteen and thirty heads of families respectively, and although the latter promised fifteen pounds and thirty bushels of wheat to Do. Weiss's salary, yet Mueller could not be dislodged. It was probably not till 1748, when the baptismal record of Weiss begins at New Goshenhoppen, that Mueller withdrew, although he continued to make occasional visits till April, 1750.

Schlatter's estimate of Weiss was quite favorable in 1746, for in the first part of his private diary, dated December, 1746, he reported to Holland:¹⁵⁹

Do. George Michael Weiss is now minister at the above mentioned places. He is, as far as I can see, innocent in the affair

¹⁵⁸ *L. c.*, p. 136.

¹⁵⁹ *Journal of P. H. S.*, Vol. III, p. 117.

with J. Reif, for the latter always received the money, according to his own confession. Moreover Do. Weiss has asked him a thousand times for God's sake to settle this matter. His Reverence has otherwise a good reputation in this country and Do. Boehm himself told me, that Do. Weiss has always carried himself as a quiet, diligent, sober and orthodox minister. He also took the trouble to travel with me to "Tolpehaken" and "Canastoke."

*Mich. Schlatter —
Eccl. of Christo colligiter Philadelphia
in America Pastor.*

At the first meeting of the Coetus of Pennsylvania, held from September 29 to October 2, 1747, at Philadelphia, George Michael Weiss was present with delegates of his three congregations, namely, Christian Schneider and Daniel Hister, of Old Goshenhoppen, John Huth and Philip Ried, of New Goshenhoppen, and John Huber and Nicholas Montbauer of Great Swamp.

From the second meeting of Coetus, held on September 29, 1748, at Philadelphia, Weiss was absent. But shortly afterwards, on December 12, 1748, he sent a letter to Schlatter, excusing his absence because of sickness. In this letter he makes the following report regarding his congregations:¹⁶⁰

In my congregations nothing of importance has taken place. They are quite harmonious. They only lack money in order to pay for the newly built church at Old Goshenhoppen and to give their minister his salary according to promise. For I have not yet been fully paid for the first year and now am still expecting the salary of almost a year and a half. The conditions with regard to this are very bad. The one pays, the other does not. Many

¹⁶⁰ Hague Archives, 74, I, 51 (19).

depend upon the promised help from Holland. I stand on a very loose footing. If my congregations will not be able to give me my dues, I shall not be able to stay, but must seek my fortune elsewhere.

With regard to the debt resting on the Old Goshenhoppen church, Schlatter states in his private diary that it amounted to about 600 guilders or about 240 dollars.¹⁶¹

The Old Goshenhoppen Lutheran record states with regard to this subject:

As to the cost of the church nothing certain is at hand, because in the first place the two congregations have helped and given much, and the next place other friends also have contributed their share.

And again:

As to the interior finishing of the church, on July 12, 1748, a joint contract was made by the two congregations with the carpenter to make and paint the seats and gallery for 15 pounds.

The pulpit was ordered and presented by Gabriel Schuler, Reformed.

The story as to how the church debt was finally paid is given in the Old Goshenhoppen Lutheran record as follows:

In the year 1751 there remained 30 pounds of church debts and, after consultation, we deemed it proper to send out collectors by the Evangelical Lutherans alone, because each congregation had its separate debts. Hence on November 7, 1751, the beginning was made by two collectors appointed for the purpose, who brought home on the 14th of December of this year 13 pounds and 14 shillings, not counting 1/3 of the proceeds which went to the collectors. For this may the rich Lord bless all benevolent givers in body and soul.

Anno 1752, two joint collectors were sent out, one by the Lu-

¹⁶¹ *Journal of P. H. S.*, Vol. III, p. 170.

therans, the other by the Reformed, in order to collect contributions in the State of New York. They returned in this year, as our exclusive third part, 11 pounds, 3 shillings and 9 pence.

At the Coetus meeting held in 1749 at Lancaster, Weiss acted as secretary.

In the year 1750 two important events occurred which stirred the congregations deeply.

On May 1, 1750, the following notice appeared in Saur's Germantown newspaper, called *Pennsylvanische Berichte*:

It is reported from Goshenhoppen that there is a woman who has left two husbands that are still living and wanted to marry the third man. There are in that district three preachers, the one was so white [play on the name Weiss] that he would not marry the pair, but the other [play on the name Andre] who had before married the good woman to another man hesitated indeed, because the second husband lived so near, but the bridegroom, knowing that everything can be obtained from some people for money, heaven and salvation, Christ and forgiveness of sin, offered no small remuneration for the marriage. The reverend minister was pleased to accept and married them in the name of God, without proclamation (otherwise there might have been some objection) for 30 shillings. The farmers in his three congregations were startled, not knowing whether all their wives might not be married away to others. They formed a church council and consistory, deposed their minister, for they preferred to be out of danger.

In June, 1750, the Goshenhoppen region was startled by a murder. The wife of one of its most respected citizens, David Schultz¹⁶² (whose tomb is in the New Goshenhoppen Reformed churchyard) was brutally slain by one of her servants.

¹⁶² For a sketch of David Schultz's life, see the PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN, Vol. IX, pp. 499-505.

George Schultz, his wife and their son David arrived in Philadelphia with the ship *Pennsylvania Merchant*, John Stedman, captain, on September 18, 1733. They settled in the Perkiomen Region. On October 29, 1745, David Schultz married Anna Rosina, daughter of Abraham Beyer. In May, 1749, he bought 180 acres and 60 perches of land for 72 pounds 3 shillings, lying in Upper Hanover township, what is now East Greenville, Pa.

As he was a surveyor, David Schultz was much away from home. During his absence the management of the farm naturally fell to his wife. In June, 1750, he had a servant, Hans Ulrich Sailer, whom his father-in-law, Abraham Beyer, had brought with him from Holland during the previous summer, on condition that he serve him seven years for the passage money. He was a Swiss boy, of a lazy and surly disposition. David Schultz thought that he could manage him with kindness, hence he took him and his indenture along to his farm. His wife found frequent occasion to urge him to do his work better. Afterwards the young man claimed she even slapped his face, which may not be true. At any rate he took a decided dislike to his mistress and determined to get even with her.

In the night of June 14, 1750, he climbed through a window into her bedroom with a long, pointed knife. But as she turned around in bed, he left the room again. After some time he entered the second time but she turned again. On his third entry he found everything quiet. Then he stabbed her in the neck, cutting the jugular vein. After thus satisfying his revenge, he ran out and hid in a neighbor's haystack. Mrs. Schultz rose from her bed and went downstairs to call for help, but fell at the foot of the stairs upon her face, where she was found dead the next day. The murderer was soon caught and confessed every-

thing. He was taken to Philadelphia, where he was placed on trial and found guilty of murder on October 22. He was executed by hanging on Wednesday, November 13, 1750.¹⁶³

Close to the New Goshenhoppen church is the tomb of Mrs. Schultz, with this inscription:

Anna Rosina Schultzin
Murdered June 14, A.D. 1750.
Aged 29 years. Funeral Text:
Jeremiah 9: 21.

In 1750 and 1751 the people at New Goshenhoppen made the first effort to secure a deed for their minister's farm. The details have fortunately been preserved by David Schultz, who interested himself more than any other in securing the property for the congregation. On February 3, 1776, he sent a letter to Mr. Rundle¹⁶⁴ regarding this land, from which the following statements are taken:

After all the land had been surveyed to the settlers thereof, agreeable the general agreement this tract was left vacant.

Sometime before the general agreement was made, Edward Scull was ordered to survey the greatest part of his 13,000 acres, but after the general agreement was made and the remaining surveys were to be completed, he not having time to do it himself, ordered me to finish the remainder, under his examination; which was done and [I was] employed with the Mr. Parsons, Ross and Greenway. I accordingly surveyed the tract now in question on the 19th No-

¹⁶³ The story of Mrs. Schultz's murder and of the trial and execution of her murderer is given at length in Saur's *Pennsylvanische Berichte* of July 16, 1750, November 1 and 16, 1750; cf. also *Colonial Records*, Vol. V, p. 488. The New Goshenhoppen record shows that David Schultz married his second wife, Elizabeth Lar, on June 27, 1758. This union was blessed with four daughters.

¹⁶⁴ This letter was first printed in the *Daily Norristown Register* of March 6, 1883. It was reprinted in the *Penn Germania*, Vol. I, pp. 364-368.

vember 1750, for the said congregation, in the presence of the elders or church wardens thereof, containing 42 acres, with allowance (of six acres per hundred for roads) at their request, with an intention to build a house thereon for their minister to live in, and continually to keep this same for such use forever.

Also with intention, when it should suit them, to agree and pay for the land, with the above named three gentlemen.

They immediately built a dwelling house and stable on it, dug a well and began to clear some land in the spring 1751. Their minister came to live there with his negro family; at his request the congregation allowed him for his better support to clear some more land. He continued from time to time with cleaning, though sometimes forbid by the congregation, till almost all was cleared a few acres excepted.

In August, 1752, Mr. Weiss and other Reformed ministers hastened to Philadelphia to welcome Schlatter and the six young ministers, whom he had brought from Holland. Their arrival was an event of great importance¹⁶⁵ for the Reformed church in Pennsylvania and was fittingly marked by a meeting of all the Reformed ministers in the province at Philadelphia, from August 10 to 13, 1752.

On September 2, 1752, Rev. John Philip Leydich, pastor at Falkner Swamp, sent a letter to Rev. Jacob Lischy,

¹⁶⁵ The importance of this event was duly recognized by a Circular Letter, issued in 1752 by Messrs. Weiss, Leydich and Lischy. It was entitled: *Circular Schreiben der Vereinigten Reformirten Prediger in Pennsylvanien, an dasige sämmtliche nach Gottes Wort Reformirte Gemeinen: Darin sie kürzlich darlegen, wie der grosse Jehovah die von Sr. Ehrw. Michael Slatter, V.D.M., an unsere Hochw. Christl. Kirchenväter übernommene Commission zu ihrer Rettung und Hülfe, in Gnaden gesegnet etc. Zu Allgemeiner Nachricht herausgegeben von Georg Michael Weiss, Joh. Phil. Leydich, Jacob Lischy.* Lancaster, Gedruckt bey H. Müller und S. Holland, 1752, 4to, pp. 11. The title page was published from a photograph taken by the writer, by Prof. Jos. H. Dubbs, in his *Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 165. The only known copy of the booklet is in the archives at the Hague, 74, II, 21.

pastor at York, in which he refers to the third schoolmaster at Goshenhoppen, whose name has been preserved. He writes:¹⁶⁶

Let me add a few words, regarding the bearer of this letter,

Circular-Schreiben
der Vereinigten
Reformirten Prediger
in Pennsylvanien,
an dasige sämtliche nach Gottes Wort
Reformirte Gemeinen:

Darin sie kürzlich darlegen,

Wie der Große J E S U S die von Sr. Ehren.

MICHAEL SLATTER, V. D. M.

an unsere

Hochw. Christl. Kirchenväter
übernommene Commission zu ihrer Rettung und Hülfe,
in Gnaden gesegnet:

Und

Wie solches von sothanen Gemeinen sollte gebührend erkant, mit Dank-
sagung angenommen, und recht gebraucht, ja, zum Lobe Gottes
und dem Heil ihrer unsterblichen Seelen angewandt werden.

Zu

Allgemeiner Nachricht

herausgegeben von

GEORG MICHAEL WEISS.

JOH. PHIL. LEYDICH,

JACOB LISCHY.

LEIPZIG, Gedruckt bey H. Müller und S. Hollandt, 1752.

namely John William Wigand, at present schoolmaster at New Goshenhoppen, a man with excellent testimonials, as their presentation will show you in detail. He cannot subsist in said congre-

¹⁶⁶ Hague Archives, 74, I, 72 (3).

gation because of the division caused by the so-called Fritz-Mueller and Weiss parties. He has a special desire to work under the dear Brother [Lischy] and according to his instructions.

In the following year the schoolmaster at Goshenhoppen received £5 s.8 support from the donations sent from Holland.¹⁶⁷

In 1752 five hundred folio Bibles, sent by the Classis of Amsterdam, were distributed among the Reformed ministers at the meeting of Coetus. It was resolved to place one copy of these Bibles in each pulpit and to distribute the rest among the various ministers.

It was resolved to send Do. Weiss 24 copies of the folio Bibles, one half to be sold and one half to be given to the poor, and with the same understanding the others were assigned.¹⁶⁸

These so-called "Schlatter Bibles" are becoming exceedingly scarce. None seem to have survived in the Goshenhoppen congregations. For their identification the following may be noted. As stated in the minutes of Coetus, it was a large folio Bible, printed at Basel, "im Verlag Johann Ludwig Brandmüllers, im Jahre Christi MDCCXLVII.

When in 1753 serious dissensions arose in the Coetus, Weiss sided with Leydich, Steiner, Rubel, Waldschmidt and Wissler against Schlatter and his friends. This separation was due among other causes to the desire, as expressed by Weiss, to "maintain love and peace among their congregations, inasmuch as they were not in favor of subordination to Holland and to our Coetal institutions and directions."¹⁶⁹

On September 10, 1753, a convention was held by the

¹⁶⁷ *Minutes of Coetus*, p. 89.

¹⁶⁸ *L. c.*, p. 69.

¹⁶⁹ *L. c.*, p. 92.

dissatisfied ministers at the house of Mr. Weiss at Goshenhoppen and then an attempt was made by them to convene a regular Coetus at Cocalico, in Lancaster County, on October 10 to 12, 1753. At this meeting Mr. Weiss presided. But this attempt to wrest the control of Coetus from Schlatter and his friends failed, as the "Fathers" in Holland refused to recognize Weiss and his followers and threatened to withhold all donations from them. This threat was more powerful than all arguments and had the desired effect. At the Coetus, held at Philadelphia in October, 1754, a reconciliation took place and the two parties pledged themselves to forget their differences.

Beginning with the spring of 1753, the ample donations from Holland put ministers and schoolmasters in more comfortable circumstances. The following table shows the total amounts distributed and the share that fell to Mr. Weiss and the Goshenhoppen schoolmaster:

Year.	Total Amounts.	Weiss's Share.	Schoolmaster's
1753	£363 s. 8	£20	£5 s. 8
1754	£289 s. 7	£20	-----
1755	£418 s.15 d.6	£35 s.15	-----
1756	£366 s.12	£27 s.10	-----
1757	£357 s. 2 d.10	£27 s.10	£1 s.10
1758	£385 s.14	£30	£1 s.10
1759	£339 s. 9	£30	£1 s.10
1760-61	£337 s.17 d.10	£30	£2
1762	£321 s. 5	£10	-----

The last amount in 1762 was given to Mr. Weiss's widow. His salary during this period amounted to 40 pounds annually.

Besides these contributions from Holland, Reformed ministers and schoolmasters shared in the benefactions of an English society, organized to maintain charity schools among the Germans in Pennsylvania. The first payment

from this source was made on June 16, 1756, when ten Reformed ministers received 91 pounds.¹⁷⁰ Similar payments followed in the next three years. At each of these occasions Weiss received ten pounds, although no charity school was established in the Goshenhoppen region.

The development of the Goshenhoppen congregations during this time cannot be followed in detail. Only at Old Goshenhoppen has the Lutheran church record preserved some interesting details of congregational activity.

During the year 1753, beginning May 3, the churchyard was enlarged at Old Goshenhoppen and it was surrounded by new posts, clap boards and new gates were put up.

In 1754 a new stove was bought for 4 pounds. In 1755 all church debts were completely paid by the Lutherans and let us hope by the Reformed people also. In the same year a new well and spring house were made. In 1757,

the church was improved both inside and outside with carpenter work. Five new windows with glass were inserted, new seats were put in and painted and a new roof was put on the kitchen of the schoolhouse. All was paid and the [Lutheran] congregation has still a balance of 6£ 18s. 9d.

In 1757 a long and lingering sickness befell Mr. Weiss, which made it impossible for him to attend the meetings of Coetus any longer. In October, 1759, Coetus met at Goshenhoppen "in the home of the sick Do. Weiss."

Of the year 1759 we have the first statistical report by Mr. Weiss regarding his congregations. It was submitted to the Coetus that met May 28, 1760, at Falkner Swamp, and was as follows:¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ *L. c.*, p. 144; also p. 198.

¹⁷¹ As the references to the *Minutes of Coetus* can be located in the printed minutes without difficulty, it is not necessary to give in every case

At Old Goshenhoppen Do. Weiss has 30 families, at New Goshenhoppen 45, and at Great Swamp, 33. In 1759 he baptized in the three congregations 60 children, and instructed 33 persons in the confession of Faith and received them as members. About the schools he could give no report.

At the meeting of Coetus on October 21 to 22, 1760, held at Germantown, the congregations of Weiss expressed their willingness "patiently to bear with his age and infirmity."

In 1761 Weiss reported 120 families in his churches. "He baptized, during 1760 and up to the present time, 45 children and received 36 members."

This is the last reference to Weiss. He died in August, 1761. David Schultz, Esq., in a letter to Daniel Rundle, dated February 3, 1776, writes: "Anno 1761 in August, their said minister, Geo. Michael Weiss died."

Shortly before Mr. Weiss died, in May, 1761, the Great Swamp congregation made an effort to pay for its church land. Accordingly a paper was circulated (now much worn and partly torn) on which the members subscribed certain sums to pay this debt. A similar effort seems to have been made in December, 1748, but was probably only partially successful. At that time the following members made subscriptions for this purpose:

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR CHURCH LAND AT GREAT SWAMP.

Anno 1748 (?), December 26th, an agreement was made by the members of our congregation that we are willing to pay for our church land. Each one gives at his own free will as follows:

	£	s.
Michel Köhler	—	10

the exact page reference. The minutes of Coetus were edited by the writer in 1903 under the title: *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregation in Pennsylvania, 1747-1792.* Reformed Church Publication Board, Philadelphia, 1903.

	£	s.
Johannes Bleyler	—	15
Johannes Huber	—	10
Jacob Wetzel	—	15
Jacob Dubs	—	10
Christian Willauer	—	10
Paul Samsel	—	10
Caspar Erb	—	10
Johannes Griesemer	—	5
Michel Nussbach	—	10
Alexander Diebenderfer	—	15
Peter Walbert	—	10
Ludwig Bitting	1	—
Abraham Ditlo	—	15
Henrich Hitz	—	5
Nickel Mombauer	—	10
Henrich Huber	—	5
Abraham Faust	—	10
Henrich Bach	—	5
Michel Braun	—	5
Peter Scholl	—	5
Nickel Bach	—	3
Philip Heger	—	6
Ruthe Fricki	—	6
Dewalt Brauchler	—	5
Jacob Rite	—	5
Michel Eberhard	—	10
Matheis Bischof	—	10
Abraham Kreither	—	5
Ruthe Huber	—	5
Philip Brunner	—	13
Joseph Eberhard	1	—
David Streib	1	—
Ulrich Riser	—	5
Görg Lein	—	5
Michel Hornberger	—	5
Conrad Zimmerman	—	10
? Endross	—	5
? ?	—	10
Total	£17	s.13

As the cost of the land was only £17 11s. 7d., it would not have been necessary to start a second subscription list,

unless for some reason the first had not been paid, or at least had not been paid in full. The latter seems to have been the case. For on the same paper with the above subscription is the note:

Today, April 10, 1749, I, Michel Köhler have paid for the church land eleven pounds ten shillings and for a warrant one shilling and six pence.

JOHANN GEORG BLATT.

On May 30, 1761, twenty members signed £20 2s. 9d. on another subscription list. This may have been only tentative, for on June 8, 1761, still another list was signed which read as follows:

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR CHURCH LAND AT GREAT SWAMP, JUNE 6, 1761.

On June 6, 1761, we have made an agreement to pay for the church land and whatever we promise we shall faithfully keep and pay. Christian Willauer and Valentin Huber are the deputies. The head of each family signs what he will give to the Reformed congregation in Great Swamp:

	£	s.	d.
Ulrich Spinner pays	2	0	0
Peder(?) Bleiler pays	1	0	0
Henrich Huber, the tailor pays	0	15	6
Henrich Huber, the wheelwright pays	1	0	0
Dewalt Brauchler, pays	0	10	0
Peter Samsel pays	1	0	0
Paul Samsel pays	0	5	0
Nicklaus Mumbauer pays	0	10	0
Henrich Hitz pays	0	7	6
Henrich Crob pays	0	10	0
Rudi Huber pays	0	10	0
Abraham Ditlo pays	0	15	0
Henrich Bleiler pays	1	0	0
Rudi Frick pays	—	10	0

Jacob Huber, the [. .] pays	—	10	0
Total	£11	2	6
Nicklaus Faust	—	3	—
Jacob Meier	—	5	—
Adam Willauer	—	7	6

Lutwich Hersch pays 3 sh. for the farmer.

Paul Samsel pays one sh. for the churchyard.

Nicklaus Mumbauer pays one sh. for the churchyard.

Peter Weber pays 5 sh. for the churchyard.

DISPOSAL OF REV. MR. WEISS'S PROPERTY.

WHEN MR. G. M. Weiss died in August, 1761, he left no will. For some unknown reason his widow, Anna Weiss, delayed asking for letters of administration till October 2, 1764, when they were granted to her and to Christian Schneider, as executors, inventory to be exhibited in the Court at Philadelphia on or before October 2, 1765. Before the inventory was filed, Mrs. Anna Weiss herself made a will on May 9, 1765. She died within a month afterwards, on June 2, 1765. On August 20, 1765, her will was probated. By the terms of her will she not only freed, under certain conditions, her negro family, consisting of a man and his wife, together with nine children, but also bequeathed to them all the improvements of the farm, belonging to the congregation, on which she lived. By this act she involved the congregation in a long and tedious law-suit, and thus the history of the disposal of Mr. Weiss's property becomes part of the history of the congregation. In order to clear up this whole case, which has often been alluded to by historians, but was never fully understood, we present the following documents:

[I. LETTERS OF ADMINISTRATION GRANTED TO MRS. WEISS.]

Book of Administration, Register of Wills Office, Philadelphia, Vol. G. p. 417.

Memorandum, that Letters of Administration were granted to Anna Weiss and Christian Schneider in the Estate of the late Michael Weiss, dec. Inventory to be exhibited on or before the

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2nd day of October 1765. Given under the seal of the Register General's Office, at Philadelphia, the 2nd day of October 1764.

WILLIAM PLUMSTED,
Reg. Genl.

[II. INVENTORY OF THE ESTATE OF GEORGE MICHAEL WEISS.
OCTOBER 2, 1764.]

Office of Register of Wills, Philadelphia,
1764, No. 114.

Inventory of the Estate chattels, moveables and Household goods of Michael Weiss late of Upper Hanover Township in the County of Philadelphia and Province of Pennsylvania, Minister of the reformed congregation, deceased, as the same being valued and appraised by Adam Hillegas and John Coleman on this 11th day of September Anno 1764.

	£	s.	d.
Six books mostly Latin, in quarto	1.	0.	0.
To one Book in folio, five dito in octavo, Latin.....	0.	15.	0.
to six books octavo Latin, Greek & Hebrew	0.	12.	0.
to fifteen small books, mostly Latin	0.	7.	6.
to the Table	1.	0.	0.
to the round Table	0.	3.	0.
to two old chairs	0.	1.	6.
to another round table	0.	15.	0.
to an old looking glass and a pair of Pictures	0.	7.	6.
to a pair of fire dogs	0.	7.	6.
to five pewter Dishes, two Basons	1.	15.	0.
to one dozen plates and one dozen spoons	0.	7.	6.
to two pewter Tea Pots & a coffee pot	0.	7.	6.
to six delft tea cups & saucers	0.	2.	6.
to two Cannisters & a funnel	0.	1.	6.
to Tea Kettles	0.	10.	0.
to a water pot	0.	4.	0.
to two Iron Pots with Pot-hooks. Two Pans	0.	12.	0.
to three Tubs two buckets	0.	3.	6.
to his Bed with the Bedstead and appurtenances	2.	10.	0.
to another Bed with Bedstead	2.	0.	0.
to three Cows, two Calves	9.	0.	0.
to a side saddle	1.	5.	0.

	£	s.	d.
to an old Horse	3.	0.	0.
to one gray Horse	4.	0.	0.
to an old waggon with the Geers	11.	0.	0.
to the Plough and Harrow	1.	0.	0.
	£43.	7.	6.
The amount of the first page brought over	43.	7.	6.
to an ax, cropping Howe dung fork, pitch fork	0.	10.	0.
amount to	£43.	17.	6.
appraised by Adam Hilligas Johannes Gallman			
There is fifteen acres of land a 35/	26.	5.	—
four Hogs a 10/	2.	—	—
five sheep a 6/	1.	10.	—
	£29.	15.	—

[The last four lines are crossed out with the remark "to be left out."]

Besides the above there is a Negro Family belonging to said Minister deceased, viz.

A negro Man named Gideon, aged about 44 years old, but now a cripple, who is not appraised.			
His wife Jenny, aged 42 years with a female child about six months old, valued at	£30.	0.	0.
A negro lad, named Jacob, old 20 years	50.	0.	0.
A negro wench, named Elizabeth, 18 years old	40.	0.	0.
A negro lad, named Henry, 16 years old	40.	0.	0.
A negro wench, named Anne Mary, 14 years old	30.	0.	0.
A negro girl, named Catherine, 11 years old	30.	0.	0.
A negro girl, named Margareth, 9 years old	25.	0.	0.
A negro girl, named Susan, 6 years old	20.	0.	0.
A negro boy, named John, 4 years old	15.	0.	0.
Amounts to	£280.	0.	0.

appraised by

ADAM HILLIGAS

JOHANNES GALLMANN

[Endorsed]

Inventory of Mich^l. Weiss's Estate
Exhibited 2. October 1764.

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[III. ACCOUNT OF MICHAEL WEISS'S ESTATE.
JULY 8, 1766.]

Register of Will's Office, Philadelphia,
1764, No. 114.

The accompt of Christian Schneider, surviving Administrator of the Estate late of Michael Weiss deced. as well of all and singular the Goods, Chattels, Rights and Credits which were of the said deced. and which came to this Accomptant's Hand and Possession as of the several payments and disbursements made out of the same. Imprimis 1764.

The said Accomptant charges himself with all and singular the Goods Chattels Rights and Credits which were of the said deced. as mentioned in an Inventory remaining in the Reg^r. Genl. Office at Philad^a. am. to. £280. 0. 0

The said Accomptant charges himself with the further sum of £129-11, being the app^d. value of the goods and what the deceased's goods sold for more than appraised at including y^e negroes } 129. 11. 0.

The said accomptant charges himself with the following sum reced for work done by the Negroes to the following persons, viz.

from Adam Hillegas	£ 3.	3.	10.
from Jacob Derr	3.	5.	3.
from John Wisler	—	4.	—
from Peter Hilligas	—	17.	8.
from Andreas Greaver	—	10.	—
from George Miller	—	2.	3.
from Bernard Bispham	3.	10.	—
	£ 11.	13.	—

Ditto with the sum of 30/ being what a large Bible sold for and not included in y^e aforesaid 1. 10. —

Inventory £422. 14. —

Item

The said Accomptant prays Allowance for his several payments and disbursements made out of the same as follows, viz.—

By cash paid for Letters of Adm. — 17. —

paid sundry Expenses on appraising Goods amounting to	£ 1.	2.	6.
paid David Shultz for services, etc.	—	5.	—
paid to Frederick Snyder for eight days services on business of the Estate by order of Wm. Plumsted, then Reg ^r . Gen ^l	4.	—	—
paid John Ross for advice	1.	10.	—
paid B. Chew Esq. for ditto	1.	14.	—
paid Conrad Frank for sundry services in and about the Estate, allowed & approved by Wm. Plumsted, Esq.	6.	—	—
paid to Advertisements	—	6.	3.
paid Christian Hambach per receipt	1.	14.	—
paid at the office for these amounts 17/6 and a Clk for services 7/0	1.	5.	—
	£ 18.	13.	9.
By an allowance for reced			
£422. 14	21.	2.	6.
ditto on paying 4. 18. 13	—	18.	8.
Ballance of £381. 19. 1 to be disposed of according to Law as follows:			
To the widow, one half	£190.	19.	6½
To the Heirs of the deceased	£190.	19.	6½
	£381.	19.	1
	£422.	14.	—

Philadelphia July 8, 1766.

Error excepted

Examined & pass'd

CHRISTIAN SCHNEIDER

July 8, 1766. The Adm^r. being first thereto sworn by

BENJ. CHEW,

Reg^r. Gen^l.

[IV. ADDITIONAL ACCOUNT OF THE ESTATE OF G. M. WEISS.
DECEMBER 12, 1771.]

The Additional Acct. of Christian Schneider surviving Administrator of the Estate of Michael Weiss, deceased.

The said Accomptant charges himself with the Ballance

of the last settlement on the other side of this paper. .£381. 19. 1.

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The said Accomptant prays Allowance for the several payments and disbursements made out of the same since last settlement, viz.

Paid expenses of Arbitration at Daniel Etters p. account	1.	18.	0.
Paid James Tilghman, Esquire, for his counsel and assistance in the affair of the Negroes	6.	0.	0.
paid Expenses of Arbitration at Mr. Davenport p. account	1.	13.	—
paid Mr. Lewis Weiss for translating sundry writings from Germany	—	15.	—
paid for stating the add ^l . acc ^t . 7/6 and for examining & passing etc. 17/6	1.	5.	—
	£ 11.	11.	—
By Leonard Thomas Bond for Negroes sold him at Vendue not received	82.	—	—
By Andrew Oel for the remainder of his Bond for one Negro sold him	40.	5.	—
By the sum of 30.—being for one negro boy sold George Righter, received by Leonard Melchior	30.	—	—
By paying £11. 11 at 5 p. cent	0.	11.	0.
	£164.	7.	0.
Ballance on this settlement exclusive of the above bonds £130	217.	12.	1.
	£381.	19.	1.

Philadelphia, December 12, 1771.

Error excepted

CHRISTIAN SCHNEIDER.

[V. FINAL ACCOUNT OF THE ESTATE OF G. M. WEISS.
NOVEMBER 6, 1789.]

The final Acc^t. of Leonard Melcher and Christian Schneider as Administrators etc. of George Michael Weiss and Ann his wife both deceased.

To Ballance on their first acc ^t . settled in Register's Office July 8, 1766	£381.	19.	1
Bal ^l . in favor of the said Administrators	£272.	0.	—½
	£654.	9.	1½

N. B. Sundry Papers respecting the foregoing account are tied in a Bundle and lodged in the desk of this office.

By Am ^t . of their disbursements on 2nd Acc ^t . rendered in Reg. Office Dec. 1771	£ 12.	2.	—
By Am ^t . apprais ^t .s & sales of Negroes charged to the said Administrators in their first acc ^t . (the said negroes having since obtained their freedom and the Adm ^{rs} . obliged to refund	193.	5.	—
By Am ^t . of Interest costs paid to Michael Bishop over and above first cost of Negro sold him	8.	6.	9
By Am ^t . ditto paid Sam ^l . Heads Adm. over & above first cost of Negro sold him	70.	8.	8
By Am ^t . disbursements etc. as per 1st acc ^t . settlm ^t . of Ann Weiss rendered 8th March 1769	109.	10.	8
By am ^t . ditto on 2nd Acco ^t . of d ^o . rendered Dec. 17, 1771	12.	—	—
By am ^t . monies remitted to the Heirs in Germany..	103.	13	10½
By Cash paid at Philad ^a . by Christian Schneider to Geo. Mich. Weiss & Martin Weiss, Agents & Representatives of the Heirs in Germany	20.	2.	2.
By Am ^t . of Principal of Andrew Ohl & Leonard Thomas two Bonds given for Negroes sold to them—which Bonds the said Schneider assigned & delivered to the said George Mich ^l . Weiss & Martin Weiss as Agents & Representatives	122.	5.	—
By Cash paid Clerk for stating Acco ^t	2.	5.	—
By d ^o . paid Reg ^r . for examining & passing this acco ^t . with copy	—	10.	—
	£654.	9.	1½

Frederick Schneider and Henry Frantz, executors for the Testament and last will of Christian Schneider, dec^d., who was the surviving Administrator of George Michael Weiss afors^d., on their solemn oaths do depose and say that the foregoing account as it stands stated and settled both as to the charge and discharge thereof is true and just to the best of their knowledge and belief. Sworn the 6th day of November 1789.

FREDERICK SNIDER
HENRY FRANZ

Before me

GEO. CAMPBELL, *Reg^r*.

[VI. WILL OF MRS. ANNA WEISS, DATED MAY 9, 1765, PROBATED AUGUST 20, 1765.]

Book of Administration, Register of Wills Office,
Philadelphia, Vol. H. p. 1.

In the Nance of [God] Amen.

Whereas I, Anna Weiss, as Relict Widow of George Michael Weiss late of Upper Hanover Township in the County of Philadelphia, Reformed Calvinist Minister deceased, do find myself in an advanced age and very weak in body but of sound mind and understanding and Memory, thanks be to God, and calling to Mind the Mortality of my body and knowing that it is appointed to all men once to die, so do I on this ninth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand and seven hundred and sixty five make and ordain this my last Will and Testament.

And first of all, I recommend my soul into the Hands of Almighty God that gave it, and do desire that after my death my body be buried in a Christian like and decent manner and as touching to my worldly estate I do hereby dispose of the same in the following manner.

Imprimis, it is my will that all my Just debts contracted by me or my negroes be duly paid and discharged, and also that my hereunto named Executors shall demand ask and get in all the outstanding debts that are due to my deceased Husband for his services if they can be got,

And further it is my will and I give and bequeath unto my beloved Cousin Leonard Brunk living in the County of Albany in the government of New York and to his Heirs or Assigns all my fine Clothes and Garments as also six great silver spoons and also my three Golden Rings as in full for his Hereditary Share and Portion of my Estate to be delivered to him on demand by my Executors.

And whereas I have a Negro family consisting at Present of Eleven Persons as the Negroe man named Gideon and the wife named Jenny, the man aged about forty four years and the woman's age about forty two, their children's names are Jacob about Twenty

years old and Elizabeth about Eighteen years, and Henry about sixteen years and Anne Mary about fourteen years and Catherina about eleven years, and Margareth about nine years, and Susanna about six years and John about four years and also a young female child about one year old named Eva, which all accordingly have been baptized to the Christian Protestant reformed Religion.

And whereas lately some claim hath been made by a Relation of the s^d. deceased Rev^d. Minister my s^d. Husband in favour of his other Relations in Germany claiming the half of our Estate, as also with an intention to sell said Negroes for slaves contrary to the sentiments and Intentions of my s^d. deceased Husband who died Intestate, so it is my will that the said Negroe children may be bound out to serve from time to time or as long as necessary in order to make up such a sum of money as may be required or ordered to be sent to the Brethren and Relations of my s^d. deceased Husband in Germany for their Hereditary share and Portion, and further it is my will that all my said whole Negroe family shall after the time of my death be free, and I do hereby declare them altogether without distinction or Exception to be an entire free Negroe family, so that they never shall or may be bound out to eternal slavery, but shall hereby fully have and enjoy their liberty, only hereby excepted as above said to get so much money by servitude as necessary on the above said demand, as from year to year or otherwise as it shall seem best to my hereunto named Executors:

And I do hereby further give devise and bequeath unto my said Negro Man Gideon Moor and to his Heirs and assigns as to my said whole Negroe family forever a certain Tract of Land situate in Douglas Township in the County of Philadelphia adjoining the land of Michael Read, Mathias Walther, Andreas Weiler and Philip Leidecker and containing fourteen acres and six Perches of Land which I lately Purchased of Peter Hillegas & obtained a Deed for the same with all Hereditaments and Appurtenances whatsoever. To hold to them my said Negroe family and for their use and behoof forever,

And I further give and bequeath all my Right Claim and de-

mand (if any I have) of in and to any Improvement and Land where I now live unto the said Gideon Moor and for his and their Proper Use and Behoof for ever, saving to others their Right to the same if any they have,

And I do hereby further give devise and bequeath unto my said Negro man Gideon Moor and to his Heirs and Assigns forever all the remainder of my Moveable and personal Estate as my other Clothes, chests, money, furniture and all and every sort of household goods and Tools whatsoever. To hold to him the said Gideon Moor his Heirs and Assigns and to their only proper use and Behoof for ever, Provided hereby that all my debts now due by me be all regularly paid and I devise that all may be done according to the true Intent and meaning hereof,

And I further devise that care may be taken that all the said Negroe Children may be taught & instructed in the Doctrine of the true Christian reformed Religion, in the best manner it can be done, and I do hereby wish that they all may enjoy hereafter endless Felicity.

And I do hereby nominate constitute and appoint my trusty and beloved friends as Jacob Arndt, Esquire, one of his Majestys Justices of the peace for the County of Northampton and Peter Hillegas of Upper Hanover Township in Philadelphia County yeoman to be the sole Executors of this my Last Will and Testament and I do hereby declare this and no other to be my last will & Testament.

In Witness and Confirmation whereof I the above named Anna Weiss have hereunto set my Hand and Seal. Dated the day and year as first above written.

her
ANNA Δ WEISS (Seal)
mark

Signed sealed published and declared by the said Anna Weiss as her last Will and Testament in the presence of us the subscribers.

JOHANNES WISHLER
DAVID SCHULZ
JOHANNES TAUBST

PHILADELPHIA August 20th 1765,

There personally appeared Johannes Wissler and David Shultze two of the witnesses to the foregoing will and on their solemn affirmation according to Law did declare they saw and heard Anna Weiss the Testatrix therein named sign seal publish and declare the same will for and as her last Will and Testament and that at the doing thereof she was of sound mind memory and understanding to the best of their knowledge.

Coram BENJAMIN CHEW, Esq^r. *Reg. General.*

Memorandum that Letter of Administration of the Estate of Anna Weiss dece^d. with the will of the said Anna annexed were granted to Christian Schneider and Leonard Melchior (the Executors in the said will named having first renounced) Inventory to be exhibited on or before the 20th day of September next and an acct. on or before the 21st day of August 1766.

Given under the seal of the Register General's Office at Philadelphia the 20th day of August 1765.

p. BENJAMIN CHEW,
Reg^r. Gen^l.

[VII. LETTER OF DAVID SCHULTZE, ESQ., TO MR. DANIEL RUNDLE, FEBRUARY 3, 1776; PRINTED IN *Daily Norristown Register* OF MARCH 6, 1883.]

TO MR. DANIEL RUNDLE.

Sir!

Whereas the Reformed Calvinist congregation in these parts have already had a considerable deal of trouble with that negro-man called Gideon Moor, who was a slave to their minister, the late Geo. M. Weiss, so that they are engaged in a tedious lawsuit with him and though I never inclined to be very much troublesome to you about this affair, yet as it seems that that congregation might possible lose their cause: if not properly assisted. So I find myself under necessity to give you some information of the matter, as short as possible, as the said congregation also most humbly request your assistance therein, as far as thought necessary. The more

especially, since you had a hand in the land affairs from the beginning, and for the present time are looked upon by the parties as the chief of those parties concerned therein. We also hope that you will remember that about five or six years ago some of the members of the said congregation applied to you about the same cause, when you gave them your promise that they should have that land as soon as the affair with your partners was settled.

But the better to explain their cause I shall be obliged to repeat the affair from its beginning.

After all the land had been surveyed to the settlers thereof agreeable the general agreement this tract was left vacant.

Sometime before the general agreement was made, Edward Scull was ordered to survey the greatest part of his 13,000 acres, but after the general agreement was made and the remaining surveys were to be completed, he not having time to do it himself, ordered me to finish the remainder under his examination which was done and employed with by the Mr. Parsons, Ross and Greenway, I accordingly surveyed the tract now in question on the 19th November 1750, for the said congregation, in the presence of the elders and churchwardens thereof containing 42 acres with allowance [of six acre per hundred for roads] at their request, with an intention to build a house thereon for their minister to live in and continually to keep this same for such use for ever.

Also with intention, when it should suit them, to agree and pay for the land, with the above named three gentlemen.

They immediately built a dwelling house and stable on it, dug a well and began to clear some land in the Spring of 1751. Their minister came to live there with his negro family; at his request the congregation allowed him for his better support to clear some more land; Though who [he] continued from time to time with cleaning Though sometimes forbid by the congregation, till almost all was cleared, a few acres only excepted. The timber required for building, and mostly rails, was carried there by said people from their own lands. Since there was scarce any on the premises. The greatest part thereof was but a barren plain. They applied to Mr. Greenway about the land about 1767 or 1768, he returned for

answer, that they should have the land, but since some of the heirs were under age, he would not undertake to make a deed for it. We applied to you about it and received nearly the same answer.

Anno 1761 in August, their said minister, Geo. Mich. Weiss died and though the said congregation got another, yet out of compassion to the deceased's widow, allowed her to live on that land with her negro family and left her the full use thereof, without demanding a penny rent of her for it. They rented another house for their new accepted minister to live in, until in the year 1765, June 2nd, the said, relict widow Anna Weiss died also, having no children, only her said negro family, he died without a will, but she made a will, whereupon she gave all her estate to the said negro family and also her right to the improvements, if any she had.

But in my opinion she could claim no further right thereon. She only had the use and produce there during her stay on the premises and that only by permission of the said congregation. Then in about three months afterwards, the said negro family were all sold for slaves by Christian Schneider and Leonard Melchior, who had administered for the estate. The said negro man with his wife and two children were sold to Leonard Thomas, an inhabitant of this township. Sometime afterwards the congregation got an inmate to live in the house on the premises.

The said Leonard Thomas, weary of his negroes, allowed the man liberty and time to try for to obtain his freedom, during which interview the said Gideon, by some lawyer's contrivances came and took possession again of the said premises, about the latter end of 1767 or the beginning of 1768. This occasioned new trouble to the congregation.

They soon after applied for the land to you and to John Margotroyd and received yours and his promise in their favor, to get it done as soon as those affairs were settled, but they could have a deed for mortgage, on the 16th of February 1768. Sent with order to that negro-man to go off from the premises with his family and effects within a week, otherwise he would sue him for trespass. Until, as I suppose in April 1769 (some think 1770) the congregation being tired with the like vexations, went there and carried

his family and goods to his said master's house, repaired and fitted up the dwelling for their new minister to live in, who resides thereon since. He put the fences in good condition to save the winter grain for the benefit of the said negroes, who got the grain next harvest. But in return said Gideon sued them for trespass, which occasioned the trial in September court 1770, when those of the congregation who done that act were obliged to pay a small fine, with a considerable deal of costs. Since this time the said Gideon hath sued them again for damages, that he says, he suffered merely by some trivials on rags, which he left lying before in the weather and muddled before his said master's house. His loss can be but very small, but though it be ever so little, yet it may prove probably possible, that the congregation might be sued again and also obliged to pay a considerable deal of costs too, and thereby be obliged to submit to this hero Lord South, if not timely supported. I have further to add that several witnesses were also sued to give evidence in favor of the said negro but they refused to appear. Then before March Court last, I also had a subpoena sent me to attend in favor of the negro, but by reason of my weak state and condition of health, I did not attend nor any other witness, nor did I incline to meddle with it till August last a writ of attachment was served on me and also on the other witnesses, for disobedience or contempt of court, by the high Sheriff himself, so that we have to thank the high Sheriff's generosity and benevolence for it, for not putting us to goal for it, for near a whole month till September court about this affair. A strange instance indeed to observe, that this great Lord South, who was but lately a slave and to whom almost every one of us, at one time or another, out of compassion to him proved to be a benefactor, on his being supported by others, should have obtained so much power as to send six freeholders to gaol at his pleasure. God beware, that the mighty Lord South does not obtain power to treat the members of our honorable Congress in the same manner.

This affair disturbed my mind terribly at that time, but we appeared in town on the 6th of September last, as the day appointed by the high Sheriff. Wm. Lewis and Fisher are the two lawyers

on the negro case. Mr. Lewis examined us, but found my testimony not to be that told him, but told us the case could not be tried now, but was put off.

Andrew Maurer, who had been sued for said damages and thereby obliged to stand foremost on the congregation's part, did not take a lawyer till September court last, when he employed Andrew Allen to act on their behalf. The trial was to be had on the 8th of January, now past, when I was obliged to go to town again, at the request of Mr. Allen, for Mr. Lewis had acquitted me in September court, since I could not give my evidence in favor of the said negro-man's cause before September last. I had not been in town for the space of five years together, chiefly by reason of my weak condition of health. When on calling at Mr. Allen's he informed us that we should have some deed or agreement or writings to show that the owners of the land had either sold or at least promised the same to the congregation, in order to show it as their title to the land at court, without which he could not consent to let the trial go on. This was the reason that we called at your house three times on the same morning, the 8th of January past, in order if possible to obtain such writings. But by reason of your indisposition, we were prevented to speak to you about it, or to inform you of the importance of it, so that Mr. Allen thought it suitable to remove the cause to the Supreme Court, but we find that Mr. Lewis bound over his witnesses to appear again on the 9. March next, as at the next close of the Common Pleas Court. So I have now thought necessary to inform you of the circumstances of this affair, in order that you may observe how troublesome the negroman hath already been to the said congregation who always have been and are yet ready to agree with you about the land and pay for it and have been long soliciting for it. For I conclude from the examination made on me by Mr. Lewis, that they intend yet to lay claim on the improvements, to which I think by no means that the negro can have a right, since whatever he did thereon, while a slave, they had the full use thereof, during their stay thereon; and I don't doubt, if you can spare time as to consider the matter all over again, you will be of the same opinion.

I am sorry to trouble you with this long detail, but I should think it a defect, if I should not do, what is possible in behalf of the congregation.

Well what we most humbly desire of you, Sir, to be done is this: That you would be pleased to make an agreement with some of the members of the said congregation and put the same in writing, for the said tract of 42 acres and allowance with . . . per land. I have made a new draught for the same to them, or if a deed could be made out now to the congregation, it will be found the better, before the time of the trial comes. Then we suppose all the vexations of the negro fellow and his supporters against the said congregation would terminate and be at an end. We think in these turbulent times we have and yet may expect trouble and calamity enough already.

We shall ever remain, dear Sir, your most affectionate and humble servant.

D. SCHULTZE.

By some boastings dropt by said Gideon, it seems that his lawyers intend to scruple the validity of our title in general to the land at court.

All to Daniel Rundle, the 3rd February 1776, sent Febr. 6th pr. Andrew Maurer.

[VIII. LETTER OF DAVID SCHULTZE, ESQ., TO ANDREW ALLEN, ESQ., FEBRUARY 3, 1776. PRINTED IN THE *Daily Norristown Register*, MARCH 6, 1883.]

TO ANDREW ALLEN, ESQUIRE! 1776. February 3rd.
Sir!

About the affair of the bearer hereof, Andrew Maurer, I have to inform you at first, since we could not speak to Mr. Daniel Rundle, when in town, by reason of his indisposition, who is one of the three parties or owners to the land in question, so I have now wrote a letter to him of the affair very circumstantially, and alleged the necessity to get either a deed for the premises if possible or at least an agreement signed from under their hands.

I also wrote another letter to Thomas Pugh, who is executor for the last deceased Thos. Tresse, Junior, another of the said partners to the land.

I spoke to him about it when in town, who promised to do all in his power in favor of the congregation, as to John Margotroyd, as the third partner. We could not learn where he lives now. What Mr. Rundle's answer will be I cannot know. One difficulty may perhaps obstruct the affair, for those three parties have been at variance with each other for many years past, and not yet settled, which hath been the chief reason, that no deed could be got out ever since the dec'd of old James Margotroyd—otherwise this land would have been long ago paid for. If our proposal for a particular agreement should not succeed, we have yet in reserve the general agreement, made with Parsons, Ross and Greenway, in April 1749, which on certain conditions includes the whole tract of 13,000 acres, signed by their own and many of our hands. Though it may not suit so well now, than if a new particular one can be obtained.

We have further to mention, when on our return to town, we met the other three witnesses, that they then informed us, that on that afternoon Mr. Lewis had bound them over by recognizance in Mr. Biddle's offices, to appear and attend again on the 9th of March next, as at the close of the next Court of Common Pleas, as if the cause was then to be tried. Though as we understand from you, that the cause was removed to the Supreme Court, which we should like much better, in order to gain more time, for we cannot know what difficulty we may find or what time will be required to obtain what is required.

Now if you could prevail on Mr. Lewis, to send a written order to his three witnesses, Jacob Miller, Jacob Wissler and Ulrich Graber, not to attend on the said 9th of March next. Then they will stay at home, otherwise they will certainly attend for fear of falling into the same unwelcome disgrace as in August last.

For what reasons Mr. Lewis hath, that he then acted in this manner we cannot know, if to increase the costs or for some other advantage?

So we humbly desire that you would be pleased to rectify this affair.

By some boasting words, dropt by that negroman, as I was told of when in town, I suspect that his lawyers intend to dispute the validity of our title in general to these lands, which I think is a matter of no concern at all to them, we had trouble enough in former times already, until the cause was decided by the Supreme Court, anno 1754 in favor of Parsons, Ross and Greenway. I could make out a large description of the whole, but I should now think it unnecessary, see paper No. 2.

It is strange to observe that these gentlemen Fisher and Lewis and their supporters, of whom Mr. Israel Pemberton is looked upon as their chief, under the applauded pretext by assisting the needy and oppressed, by their endeavors are doing a considerable injury to a large number of people, especially at a time, when the utmost necessity requires it for every one to be as cautious as possible to avoid contentions nor to give offence to any.

I observed to you formerly, that I suspect those lawyers will perhaps lay claim again to that improvement, which if they do, it will seem so much the more strange, if they take for their foundation the foolish fancy of that old Irish low Dutch woman. I look upon them as gentlemen, who would proceed on good reasonings. They forget themselves so far, while under a laudable pretext, they are putting numbers to loss and unnecessary charges. This small tract of land will cost the people dear enough besides.

The whole affair about the estate of that deceased minister hath to my opinion not been transacted according to law, nor agreeable to his will, nor even (if I dare say) to equity, for agreeable to the law, will and equity, the half of his relict estate should have been transmitted to Germany to his relations, to his brother eldest son, which hath not been done.

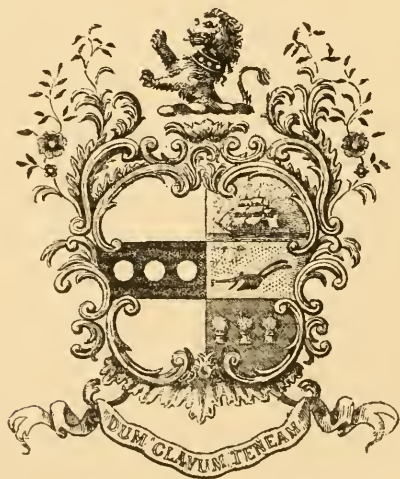
There is a strong supposition that the minister had a good purse in ready cash, which was concealed at the appraisement by his widow and afterwards by the negroes, for she paid almost no debts contracted by his negroes during the four years she outlived her husband. Christian Schneider was after his death obliged to pay

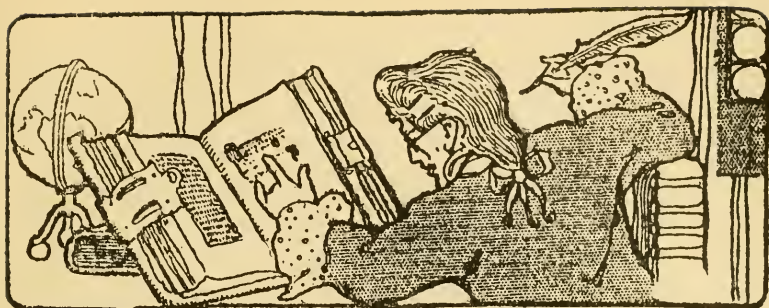
above a hundred pounds debts and costs, if he has been repaid, I did not inquire. It must be true, since that can be proved by living witnesses, thus running the estate so much in debt in so short a time by his negroes while all the produce of the premises were also left him, it will appear, that he was none of the best economists, by the congregation gratis benevolence.

Did any of his supporters consider the matter with more deliberation, or think if any of their deceased tenants negroes should re-enter their premises and claim a right to their works done for their master, while slaves, how they would behave. I hope they would desist from what they are doing. Their own consciences (if any they have) would probably give them better instructions.

TO MR. ALLEN

Febr. 3, 1776.





CHAPTER VII.

THE PERIOD OF SUPPLIES, 1762-1766.

WHEN Mr. Weiss died, the Goshenhoppen churches lost a faithful and able pastor. They struggled along for a few years with supplies, without being able to find a worthy successor.

At the Coetus of 1762, held on June 30 and following days at New Hanover,

three elders from Old and New Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp were admitted and reported that these three congregations would remain inseparably together. They then urgently asked that a minister of the Coetus be given to them in place of their faithful pastor, Do. Weiss, now deceased. And if they might be permitted to name the minister they would choose Do. Otterbein. The Reverend Coetus took this under consideration and promised them to make known the answer through Do. Leydich. After they were dismissed Do. Otterbein refused their request because of trifling reasons.

As Otterbein declined to serve Goshenhoppen, Leydich took his place. This is evident from the first entry in the second New Goshenhoppen record book, which reads:

Church Record for the Congregation of New Goshenhoppen, from the year in which Rev. Weiss died [1761] [containing the

names of] all the children, who from that year to the year 1766 were baptized by me, Jacob Riess, Leyte [Leydich] and Michel and also those of later years.

Taking the statement in the Coetus minutes and this entry in the church record together, the most probable inference is that Mr. Leydich followed Weiss immediately. In view of the willingness of the congregations to apply to the Coetus for a minister, the most natural supposition is that a minister of the Coetus first supplied them after the death of Weiss and that, when he was no longer able to hold them, they drifted into the hands of independent ministers.

I. THE MINISTRY OF REV. JOHN PHILIP LEYDICH,
1762-1763(?).

John Philip Leydich was in 1762 pastor of Falkner Swamp and Providence (now St. Luke's at Trappe), Montgomery County, and of Vincent, Chester County.

John Philip Leydich was born April 28, 1715, and baptized May 5 of the same year, at Girkhausen, near Berleburg, in Westphalia.¹⁷² He was the son of the Rev. Leonhard Leydich, then pastor at Girkhausen. John Philip Leydich studied for the ministry and in course of time became assistant to his father. In July, 1748, he appeared before the Synod of South Holland, then held at Briel, where he was commissioned for service in Pennsylvania. We next meet him in Philadelphia. Schlatter in his *Journal* states:¹⁷³ "On the 15th of September, 1748, to my exceeding great joy, came to my house, healthy and

¹⁷² The facts about the birth and parentage of the Rev. John Philip Leydich were discovered by Mr. Dotterer, see his various articles in his *Historical Notes*, pp. 2, 50, 59 f.

¹⁷³ *Life of Rev. Schlatter*, p. 182.

happy, John Philip Leydich, with his wife and two children." Immediately after his arrival Leydich became pastor at Falkner Swamp and Providence. This incident is touchingly described by Mr. Boehm in his last letter, written on December 2, 1748,¹⁷⁴ to the Classis of Amsterdam:

Shortly afterwards came my dear and kind brother, the Rev. John Philip Leydich, who was found to be suitable to take my place. At the Coetus of this year Do. Leydich willingly accepted his call to Falkner Swamp and Providence, as Do. Hochreutner to Lancaster and Do. Bartholomie to Tulpehocken. Coetus commissioned me to install Do. Leydich and Do. Bartholomie in their charges, which commission was carried out on October 16th at Falkner Swamp and on October 23rd at Tulpehocken.

Johann. Philipp Leydich
V. D. M.

Leydich was pastor at Falkner Swamp from 1748 to 1765; at Vincent, Chester County, from 1753 to 1765; at Coventry, now Brownback's, in Chester County, from 1769 to 1784; at Upper Milford and Salzburg, in Lehigh County, from 1766 to 1771, and at Pottstown from 1770 to 1784.

During the first twenty years of his ministry, Mr. Leydich took a prominent part in the work of the Coetus. He preached the opening sermon of the second Coetus, September 28, 1748, but a few weeks after his arrival. The same is true of the third Coetus, which was opened September 27, 1749, at Lancaster, "with a well arranged

¹⁷⁴ Classical Archives, Pennsylvania Portfolio, No. 33. See *Life and Letters of Boehm*, p. 449 f.

and edifying sermon by Do. Leydich." He was the president of Coetus in 1757 and 1760, and acted as its secretary in 1753, 1756 and 1768. In 1753 his salary is given as 40 pounds. After the year 1768 he retired to the background. That may have been due to his failing health, for in 1757, 1771, 1772 and 1776 he is reported as absent because of sickness or infirmity of old age.¹⁷⁵

On October 16, 1749, Mr. Leydich purchased one hundred and five acres of land in Frederick township, on the banks of the Swamp Creek. This became the family homestead.¹⁷⁶

He died January 14, 1784, leaving three sons and four daughters. He was buried on Leydig's graveyard, a private burial place, in part located on land originally purchased by him. The inscription on his tombstone reads in an English translation:

John Philip Leydich
Reformed Minister
was born 1715
the 28th of April
Died January 14, 1784
Aged 69 Years
2 Tim. 2: 3.

How long Leydich supplied Goshenhoppen cannot be made out with entire certainty, but probably a year, for at the Coetus meeting of May 5 to 6, 1763, Goshenhoppen is referred to as vacant.

On May 19, 1763, the Commissioners of the Classis of Amsterdam wrote as follows to the Coetus of Pennsylvania:

¹⁷⁵ For other sketches of Mr. Leydich's life see Harbaugh, *Fathers of Reformed Church*, Vol. II, pp. 24-28; Good, *History*, pp. 493-496.

¹⁷⁶ Dotterer, *Historical Notes*, p. 60.

Inasmuch as the congregations of Old and New Goshenhoppen as well as some others desire a minister, we have now a good opportunity to send them a well tried teacher, who has done camp service with much praise in a Swiss regiment in the service of our country. This gentleman, who has a wife and several children, cannot decide to come over to you unless the congregations which desire his services shall have indicated how much they will be able to raise for his yearly salary and how much they are willing to send over for the traveling expenses of himself and his family; to which we expect a speedy answer.

When Coetus informed the Fathers that the sending of traveling expenses to Holland was impossible, the expected minister from Holland did not materialize.

2. THE MINISTRY OF PHILIP JACOB MICHAEL,
1763-1764(?).

In the opening statement of the New Goshenhoppen record, quoted above, Mr. Michael is placed after Mr. Leydich as the next pastor at Goshenhoppen. This is indirectly confirmed by the minutes of the Coetus of May 2 to 3, 1764, which state:

Regarding Goshenhoppen, we mention that it is provisionally supplied with preaching by another minister, until it shall be in a better condition to call a regular pastor.

The fact that the name of the minister is not given is rather surprising. Was it because Coetus was employing one who was not one of its members and did not want the Fathers in Holland to know the fact? This question suggests itself naturally and an affirmative answer becomes highly probable, because recently another letter has come to light, in which the same state of affairs is said to have prevailed in another congregation. In January, 1773, Simon Dreisbach, a member of the Indian Creek congre-

gation (now Stone Church in Northampton County) wrote to Rev. John Henry Helffrich about his congregation as follows:

A minister was promised us, as soon as one should come in [from Holland]. Meanwhile Rev. Mr. Leydich and Rev. Michael were to supply us until a minister should come in. Each of these congregations gave twelve pounds to the said ministers to come to us on a week day, every three weeks, for one year, which was done and our congregation got its share, until several ministers came in [Stapel in 1761 and Weyberg in 1762].¹⁷⁷

In view of these facts it is highly probable that the unnamed supply of Goshenhoppen in the Coetus minutes of 1764 was Philip Jacob Michael. It was at this same meeting of Coetus that he asked for admission. Although he was an independent Reformed minister, yet he did a useful work, that is well worthy of recognition.

When Michael appeared before the Coetus in 1764, he is said to have been 48 years of age, hence he was born in 1716. Rev. Wm. A. Helffrich states in his "History of Some Churches of Lehigh and Berks Counties," "that he was a weaver by trade."¹⁷⁸

A Jacob Michael, and the only person of that name before 1744, qualified in Philadelphia on October 14, 1731, having arrived with the ship *Snow Louther*, Joseph Fisher, master. We are probably justified in identifying this Jacob Michael with the Reformed minister, Philip Jacob Michael. Inasmuch as in Germany the second

¹⁷⁷ This letter was first quoted by Ben. Trexler in his *Skizzen aus dem Lecha = Thale*, Allentown, 1886, p. 107. More recently it was again brought to light by Rev. John B. Stoudt of Northampton, Pa., and published by him in the *Cement News* of Siegfried, Pa., January 30-February 13, 1914; also in the *Reformed Church Review*, April, 1914, pp. 206-218.

¹⁷⁸ Wm. A. Helffrich, *Geschichte verschiedener Gemeinden in Lecha und Berks Counties*, etc., Allentown, 1891, pp. 8, 79.

Christian name serves as call name, the first is usually omitted.

Mr. Michael first appears as minister in the year 1744. His first field was Heidelberg, Lehigh County. Rev. Wm. A. Hellfrich says of him in his "History":¹⁷⁹

"In the year 1744 a log church was built [at Heidelberg] and dedicated by Philip J. Michael." On March 28, 1745, he signed a contract drawn up by the Reformed and Lutheran congregations, worshipping in that church.

In 1750 we find him present at the dedication of Ziegel church in Lehigh County. On July 6, 1750, he signed a contract drawn by the Reformed and Lutheran members of that church. At the dedication of the church, July 29, 1750, Michael preached the first sermon and was the first pastor of the congregation.

In the same year, 1750, the first church building of Jacobs church, in Jacksonville, Lynn township, was erected. Here again Michael officiated at the dedication of the church and was elected as the first pastor of the congregation.¹⁸⁰

Two years later we meet him at Longswamp, in Berks County. Of this Jacob Weimer, the schoolmaster of the congregation, reports in the old church record:

After this work [the building of the church] had been completed to the honor of God and for their own salvation, they accepted the honored Mr. Frederick Casimir Miller for the purpose of dedicating this church and accepted him as their preacher, who served them for some time. But when he left them, they looked for another shepherd and accepted the honored Mr. Philip Jacob Michael as their minister. During his and the preceding pastor's ministry, Fridrich Hölwig has acted as cantor and precentor until the present time when this was written.

¹⁷⁹ *L. c.*, p. 32.

¹⁸⁰ *L. c.*, p. 52.

The ministry of Michael at Longswamp extended probably from 1752-1753.

In 1753 Michael appears in Reading, where he baptized a number of Reformed children. Curiously enough the baptisms are entered into the Lutheran record, possibly because the parents became later members of the Lutheran church. The last baptism of Michael at Reading took place on November 10, 1754.¹⁸¹

In 1761 Michael dedicated the first church of the Ebenezer congregation, also called "Organ Church," in Lynn township, Lehigh County, and acted as its pastor from 1760 to 1770.

In 1761 Michael began his ministry also in the Weisenberg congregation, in Weisenberg township, Lehigh County. He served that congregation until the middle of the seventies, or about 1775.¹⁸²

During the same time, from about 1759 till 1770, he was pastor at Maxatawny, Berks County, now De Long's Church, at Bowers. In October, 1771, the minutes of Coetus report Maxatawny, "formerly served by Do. Michael," as vacant for some time and appealing to Coetus for a minister.

In 1764 Mr. Michael appeared before Coetus. The minutes state:

Philip Jacob Michael appeared with an earnest petition that he might be admitted as a member of Coetus. His credentials, from far and near show that, according to the rules of our Reformed Church, he has been faithful in doctrine, life and conduct for four-

¹⁸¹ Daniel Miller, *History of the Reformed Church in Reading, Pa.*, Reading, 1905, p. 12. A sketch of Michael's life is given there by the writer, pp. 13-15.

¹⁸² For Michael's work in these two churches see Helffrich's *Geschichte*, pp. 47, 39-41.

teen years [1750-1764] and constantly served the same congregations in Maxatawny and therefore, he does not deserve the name of an adventurer or Moravian. He showed that twelve years ago [1752] Mr. Schlatter would not recognize or admit him because of unfounded reasons. Wherefore he would not apply again, although he labored continually in harmony with us.¹⁸³ We can state this all the more readily, because all his congregations are well known to us and we know how he has unweariedly aimed for this end, and even now, in his 48th year of his age, he supplies with the greatest zeal twelve congregations. This earnest request and petition we could not refuse. But since he has not been ordained, according to the order of our church, we herewith request permission, and proper authority from the Reverend Synods to ordain him. And as several of our number have heard him preach, and in his ministrations all is clearly in accordance with the Reformed church-order in doctrine and life, we expect that our request will not be in vain, so that we may thus be strengthened, by bringing under our control the congregations which he is serving, and comply with his reasonable request. We would not put our pen to this were we not convinced that it would be of advantage to us, and of greater profit to his congregations. We expect at the earliest opportunity a favorable reply from the Reverend Synods.

In spite of this earnest plea the Holland Fathers refused to consent to his ordination in Pennsylvania, but demanded that he should come to Holland. That was of course impossible. Hence he did not press his request. The minutes of 1765 state:

We shall leave Mr. Michael to himself, and say nothing further about him, because the Reverend Fathers seem much disinclined to grant our request, and he being aged does not press his case, and his congregations are satisfied with him without ordination.

¹⁸³ This statement supports our contention, p. 198, that Coetus appointed Michael to supply Goshenhoppen in 1764.

In 1769 Michael founded the Lowhill congregation, in Lehigh County. On September 3, 1769, the first church was dedicated by him and he served as pastor of this congregation from 1769 to 1772.¹⁸⁴

In the same year he also founded Michael's Church (named after him) in Upper Berne township, Berks County.

When the War of the Revolution broke out Michael resigned his churches. On May 17, 1777, he was appointed as chaplain of the first battalion of the Berks County militia.¹⁸⁵

After the war he again entered upon his duties as pastor at Longswamp. There he had served a second pastorate from 1762 to 1774. His last baptism was on October 23, 1774. A third pastorate began there in January, 1781, and ended sometime in 1785. A baptism on December 25, 1785, was probably performed by Heinrich Hertzell, his successor. His will is dated May 6, 1786, and was probated at Reading, June 17, 1786.¹⁸⁶ Between these two dates he must have died. His will shows that he was the owner of 94 acres of land, situated partly in Rockland and partly in Longswamp township. He left to survive him a widow and five children.

The last will and testament of Mr. Michael is an interesting document, which deserves preservation. It reads as follows:

¹⁸⁴ Helffrich, *Geschichte*, p. 43.

¹⁸⁵ *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d Series, Vol. XIV, p. 257. The name given there is Jacob Michael, but that is in perfect harmony with German custom, which uses the second Christian name as a call name, dropping the first entirely.

¹⁸⁶ *Pennsylvania German*, Vol. VIII, p. 191.

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF THE REV. PHILIP JACOB
MICHAEL, MAY 6, 1786.

(Register of Wills Office, Reading, Pa.)

In the name of God, Amen. I, Philip Jacob Michael, of Rockland township, in the County of Berks and State of Pennsylvania, Minister of the Gospel, Being of an old age and weak and sick in Body, but of a Good and Sound mind, memory and understanding, Thanks be to Almighty God, and Calling in mind the Mortality of my Body, I being willing to make this my Last Will and Testament, In manner and form following:

First of all, I recommend my Immortal Soul into the Hands of Almighty God, through the merits of Jesus Christ, our Precious Lord and Saviour, and my Body to be Buried in a Christian like, decent manner, at the Direction of my Dear Wife Sara.

It is my will and I do Order that my said Dear Wife Sara shall hold and Enjoy free and Clear Dwelling abode in my Present Dwelling house, undisturbed and unmolested During her Natural Life, if she remains a Widow, and also such Proper Pieces of Ground and of the Garden as she will Properly want to and for her use near the said dwelling abode. And so much of my movable Estate as will be Necessary to and for her use in housekeeping, and so much Income of my Estate that will Properly be sufficient to and for her Livelihood, support and maintenance during her natural life, if she remains a Widow aforesaid, But in case she should Marry again, all aforementioned shall be disallowed unto her and she shall then receive nothing out of my Estate.

It is my will that all my Messuages or Tenements and Lands I hold and possess, situate Partly in Rockland and Part in Longswamp Township, in the County of Berks aforesaid, Consisting in two Parts, Containing in the Whole Ninety-four Acres of Land, or thereabouts, be the same more or less, Shall after my decease within the time of one Year, be appraised by three honest, reputable freeholders at a Reasonable rate and value thereof, and such Proper

Terms as may seem meet, having Regard to such Reservations for my Dear Wife aforesaid, And it is my will That then my oldest son John Michael shall have the first Choice to hold and Enjoy for him, his Heirs and Assigns forever my said Real-Estate, with all and every the appurtenances, at and for said sum, as the same will be appraised aforesaid, And in Case he should not except [!] thereof, then It is my will that my son Moses Michael shall have the next choice for him, his Heirs and assigns forever as aforesaid, And in case he would not except thereof, then it is my Will that it shall come to the choice of my son Philip Michael, to have and to hold the same unto him, his Heirs and Assigns forever as aforesaid, Provided that such of my said three Sons aforementioned, who shall or will hold my said Real Estate as aforesaid, shall out of such appraised valuation Pay all my just Debts and then the Remainder sum It is my will shall be equally divided to and among all my Children, to wit, John Michael, Moses Michael, Philip Michael, William Michael, And Sara Michael, share and share alike.

Item. It is my will that such of my Sons aforesaid as will hold my Real Estate aforesaid, Shall also hold my Wagon, Horses & Mares, with the Geers, Ploughs and Harrows and the Stock of Horned Cattle by the Appraisement, if he Chooses, and It is my will that my said five children shall have due regard for their said Mother, after my decease, and for her Livelihood, Support and Maintenance as herein aforesaid, And I give and Bequeath unto them my said five above named Children (observing my directions aforesaid) Equal shares and Portions, Share and Share alike of my whole Estate, And I do hereby ordain, Constitute and appoint my Trusty Friend Paul Grosscup, Esq. to be the Executor of this my Last Will and Testament, and I do hereby revoke and make void all former wills and testaments by me made, Hereby Ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my Last Will and Testament.

In Witness Whereof I, the said Philip Jacob Michael, have

hereunto set my Hand and Seal the sixth day of May, In the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred and Eighty-six.

Signed, sealed pronounced and declared by the said testator as his last will and testament in the presence of us, who at his request have hereunto set our names as witnesses to the same.

PHILIP JACOB MICHAEL
(SEAL)

HENRY HOFFMAN
GEORGE BOWER

Register of Wills Office, Reading, Berks County, June 17, 1786.

Personally appeared Henry Hoffman & George Bower witnesses to the above written will and upon their oaths did severally Depose and say that they were present and did see and Hear Philip Jacob Michael, the Testator therein named, sign seal pronounce, Publish and Declare the above Writing to be his Last Will and Testament, and that at the time of Doing thereof, he was of sound mind, memory and understanding, as they verily believe, and further that the names of said Deponents by them respectively subscribed thereunto as Witnesses, are each of his own handwriting, done in the presence of each other at the request and in the presence of the said Testator.

Coram me

HENRY CHRIST, *Register.*

His ministry at Goshenhoppen probably did not last longer than a year. In 1765 a new minister had come into the charge.

3. MINISTRY OF JACOB RIESS, 1765-1766.

The next minister of Goshenhoppen is introduced to us by the Coetus minutes of May 8 to 9, 1765. Here we read:

Goshenhoppen, about which your Reverences inquire, has taken an old, ordinary man, a shoemaker [Jacob Riess] for their minis-

ter, because we could not provide the members with some one to their satisfaction.

Not much is known about Jacob Riess. It is probable that he is identical with Johan Jacob Riess, who on September 24, 1742, qualified at Philadelphia.

We first find Riess as minister at Tohickon. There he opened the first church record in 1749:

Church Record for the Reformed Congregation on the Tohickon in Bedminster township, in which I have recorded those children which I, Jacob Riess, have baptized as Reformed preacher from the year 1749.

The first baptism was entered by him on August 27, 1749, the last on March 28, 1756.

At Indian Field, Bucks County, Jacob Riess opened the first record on June 3, 1753. The first baptism recorded by him took place on July 14, 1754. From that date till August 11, 1766, he entered nearly 250 baptisms into the Indian Field record.

At Springfield, Bucks County, Jacob Riess opened the church record on August 24, 1760. From that date till December 18, 1763, he entered forty-seven baptisms into that record.

At New Goshenhoppen Riess began the second record book, but the exact time cannot be determined. The baptisms are entered by families and he evidently made it a point to enter all the children of the families in which he performed any baptisms. Thus of the Cunius family he probably baptized himself only the last child, born on October 7, 1765. The children born before July, 1761, were baptized by Mr. Weiss. Some of them are actually found in the first volume. His last baptism at New Gosh-

enhoppen was that of two negroes, father and son, brought to baptism by Thomas Mabry on January 26, 1766.

The elders at New Goshenhoppen during the ministry of Mr. Riess were Johann Ehrhart Weiss and Michael Moll, the deacons Ulrich Greber and Peter Hillegas.

At Old Goshenhoppen the oldest record book, now in possession of the congregation, was also begun by Mr. Riess. Here again earlier baptisms were entered by him. The first baptism which he himself may have performed is dated June 5, 1764, although the baptism which is actually placed first took place on January 22, 1765.

The elders during his ministry at Old Goshenhoppen were Jacob Hauck and Johannes Goetz, the deacons Isaac Sumne and Andreas Ohl.

It may be that David Schultz had this minister in mind when he wrote, on February 3, 1776, to Daniel Rundle:

Anno 1761 in August, their said minister, Geo. Michael Weiss died, and though the said congregation got another in his stead, yet out of compassion to the deceased's widow, allowed her to live on the land with her negro family, and left her the full use thereof without demanding a penny rent of her for it. They rented another house for their new accepted minister to live in, until the year 1765, June 2nd, the said relict widow Anna Weiss, died also, having no children, only her said negro family, he died without a will, but she made a will, whereupon she gave all her estate to the said negro family and also her right to the improvements, if any she had.¹⁸⁷

The last baptism by Jacob Riess at Old Goshenhoppen took place on March 15, 1766. After that he disappeared. His tomb is in the graveyard adjoining the To-hickon church. His tombstone bears the following inscription:

¹⁸⁷ See above, p. 186.

Jacob Riess
 Gewesener Reformirter Prediger
 Geboren den 10. April 1706.
 Gestorben den 23. December 1774.

The minutes of the Coetus, held September 3 to 4, 1766, at Reading, inform us that

Old and New Goshenhoppen, as well as Great Swamp have dismissed their shoemaker, Ries by name. They earnestly request that we provide them with a minister. Resolved that they be taken under the care of Coetus, and that they shall have one of the first new ministers.

At Great Swamp Riess has left no traces, but the above extract shows that he preached there as well as in the two Goshenhoppen churches. But while at Goshenhoppen Riess was preceded by Michael and Leydich, this does not seem to have been the case at Great Swamp. Tradition as well as direct evidence point to another pastor at Great Swamp, filling out the interval between the death of Weiss and the coming of Riess into the field. It was the Rev. John Rudolph Kittweiler.

4. MINISTRY OF JOHN RUDOLPH KITTWEILER AT GREAT SWAMP, 1762-1764.

On September 28, 1749, Hans Rudolph Kittweiler appears as one of 242 immigrants, brought to Philadelphia in the ship *Ann*, John Spurrier, master. The immigrants are described as "foreigners from Basel, Wirtemberg, Zweibrücken and Darmstadt."¹⁸⁸ Kittweiler belonged to the first group, for later he was known in his congregations as the "Schweitzer Pfarrer."

According to recent investigations, carried on at the

¹⁸⁸ Rupp, *Thirty Thousand Names*, p. 214.

request of the writer by Mr. Fritz Hensler, assistant in the University Library of Basel,¹⁸⁹ "Johann Rudolf Kindweiler" (this form or Kindwyler is the one commonly used at Basel) was born (or perhaps baptized, which took place at the latest eight days after birth) on May 26, 1716, at Basel, as son of Hans Jacob Kindweiler and his wife Catherine, née Spörlin. This baptism, together with that of several other children, is entered into the church record of the St. Elizabeth congregation in Basel.

There is no evidence that Hans Rudolph Kindweiler studied in the University of Basel or was an ordained minister in Basel, as is stated by Rev. William A. Helffrich.¹⁹⁰

From documents in the state archives at Basel it appears that in the year 1749 three hundred persons emigrated to Pennsylvania from villages, then belonging to the territory of the city of Basel. The first of such emigrations from Basel had taken place in 1738. When the new movement began in 1749, the government wanted to know what induced the people to leave. They gave poverty as the reason of their desire to leave for Pennsylvania.

The name Kindweiler does not appear in the lists of emigrants at Basel, probably because he was a free citizen of Basel. But when they arrived in Philadelphia, we find him as one of a company of Swiss emigrants.

Mr. Kindweiler (or Kittweiler as he was known in Pennsylvania) appears first as pastor of the Weisenberg congregation, in the northwestern corner of Weisenberg township, Lehigh County, where he organized the congregation and was present at the dedication of the first church

¹⁸⁹ The following facts were communicated to the writer by Mr. Fr. Hensler, assistant librarian in the University Library at Basle, in a letter, dated February 10, 1914.

¹⁹⁰ Helffrich, *Geschichte*, p. 26.

in 1754. Rev. Wm. Helffrich gives the following account of these events in his "History":¹⁹¹

The organization of the congregation took place about the year 1747. Divine services were held in private houses as elsewhere. From 1749 that was done by Rev. Kitenweiler, who was known as the "Swiss Preacher" and resided within the congregation. John Holben is named as an elder of the congregation at that time. The building of the first church took place in June 1754. The church was, as everywhere else at that time, a log church; but it was built better than others. . . . As the Rev. Daniel Schumacher testifies, the church was dedicated by Rudolph Kitweiler and Jacob Frederick Schertlein, the first pastors of the congregation. . . . Both preachers, Kitweiler and Schertlein, were ordained ministers.

He was pastor of the Weisenberg church till about 1761, when he was succeeded by Philip Jacob Michael.

Kittweiler also appears at Longswamp. The church record there informs us that "when the above mentioned preacher [Michael] had made his farewell, they accepted, about the middle of May, 1754, Mr. Rudolph Kidenweiler, who preached 7½ years to the congregation. When he could not gain his purpose, he left the congregation defiantly." That must have been about the close of the year 1760.

In 1759 Kittweiler was present at the dedication of the Eastern Salisbury Church, also called "Die Morgenland Kirche," Lehigh County. The Rev. Daniel Schumacher, first Lutheran pastor of the congregation, has preserved the following record of it in the old Lutheran church book:¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ *L. c.*, p. 39.

¹⁹² *Hallesche Nachrichten*, new ed., Vol. I, p. 593; and "History of the Jerusalem Church, Eastern Salisbury," in *Proceedings of the Lehigh County Historical Society*, Vol. II (1910), p. 72.

The Christian Evangelical Lutherans and Reformed, both adhering to the Protestant religion, have together erected a church in Salzburg township in Northampton County, in the year of the Lord 1759. This church was built after the Indians had again ceased to burn and kill in this neighborhood, and by poor people only, who were, however, assisted by their brethren with small contributions.

The first preacher on the part of the Reformed congregation, at the dedication of this new church, was the Rev. Rudolph Kittweiler, popularly known as the Swiss preacher.

How long Kittweiler served this congregation is not known.

The time when Kittweiler came to Great Swamp cannot be determined definitely, but it was probably some time after the death of Weiss, that is, about the year 1762. The evidence of his presence at Great Swamp consists of an entry in the Great Swamp account book and of his tombstone in the graveyard near the church. The inscription on the tomb reads as follows:

HIER LIEGT BEGRABEN
DER GEWESENE REFORMIRTE PREDIGER
JOHANN RUDOLPH KITWEILER
SEIN ALTER WAR 47 JAHR 9 MONAT
IST GEBOREN DEN 2 JANUAR 1717
GESTORBEN DEN 2 OCTOBER 1764.

The entry in the account book, made March 31, 1766, states:

Of the above mentioned money of Ulrich Spinner there was paid to the wife [widow] of Rev. Rudolph Gittenweiler £1.0.6.

It is probable that during the pastorate of Kittweiler the Great Swamp Church secured a deed for its land. Although printed before, this document is important enough to be given a place here. It reads as follows:¹⁹³

¹⁹³ First printed in Dr. Weiser's *Monograph*, pp. 42-46.

PATENT OF GREAT SWAMP CHURCH LAND, DECEMBER 16, 1762.

Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, Esquires, true and absolute Proprietors and Governors in Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania and Counties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, To all, unto whom these Presents shall come, Greeting: Whereas in pursuance of Warrants under seal of our Land Office, dated the twenty third day of May, one thousand seven hundred and thirty eight, there was surveyed on the twenty seventh day of September, following, unto Michael and Joseph Everhart a certain Tract of Land situate in Upper Milford Township, formerly in the County of Bucks, now Northampton, Beginning at a marked white oak, a corner of the said Michael and Joseph Everhard's Lands, thence by Land of Bartle Hornberier South-West one hundred and thirty perches to a post, Thence by Land of Lawrence Erb North West one hundred and forty eight perches to a post, thence by Land of Felix Brunner North-East one hundred and thirty perches to a stone in a line of the said Joseph Everhard's Land, thence by the same South-East one hundred and forty-eight perches to the place of Beginning, containing one hundred and thirteen acres and seventy perches and the usual allowance of six Acres per cent for Roads and Highways, as in and by the said Warrant and Survey remaining in the Surveyor General's Office and from thence certified into our Secretary's Office more fully appears, And Whereas the said Warrant was granted and the said Tract surveyed thereon at the instance and request and by the direction and at the proper cost and charges of the Minister, Elders and Congregation of the reformed Calvinist Society settled in Upper Milford aforesaid and adjacent Township of Lower Milford, who have now humbly besought us to grant unto the said Michael Everhard and to Joseph Everhard, the son of the said first Joseph Everhard, who is since lately deceased, in Fee the said described Tract of Land in Trust for the Minister, Elders and Congregation for the time being of the said reformed Calvinist and their Successors settled and to be settled from time to time in the said Two several Townships of Upper and Lower Milford the said congregation having now

erected on the said Tract a Church and School House for the use of them and their successors. And we favoring their request. Now know ye that for and in consideration of the sum of seventeen pounds eleven shillings and seven pence lawful money of Pennsylvania to our use paid being the money of the said congregation by the said Michael Everhard and Joseph Everhard their heirs and assigns, the Receipt whereof we hereby acknowledge and thereof do acquit and forever discharge the Michael Everhard and Joseph Everhard their heirs and assigns by these Presents and of the yearly Quit Rent hereinafter mentioned and reserved. WE HAVE given granted released confirmed and by these Presents for us our Heirs and Successors as give grant release and confirm unto the said Michael Everhard and Joseph Everhard their Heirs and Assigns the said one hundred and thirteen acres and seventeen perches of Land as the same as now set forth, bounded and limited as aforesaid. With all Mines Minerals Quarries Meadows Marshes Savannahs Swamps Cripples Woods Underwoods Timber and Trees Ways Waters Water Courses Liberties Profits Commodities Advantages Hereditaments and appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining and lying within the bounds and limits aforesaid. Three full and clear fifth parts of all Royal Mines free from all deductions and Reprisals for digging and refining the same and also one-fifth part of the ore of all other mines delivered at the pitts-mouth only excepted and hereby reserved and also free leave right and liberty to and for the said Michael Everhard and Joseph Everhard, their Heirs and Assigns to Hawk Hunt Fish and shoot in and upon the hereby granted Land and Premises or upon any part thereof. To have and to hold the said one hundred and thirteen Acres and seventy Perches of Land and Premises hereby granted (except as before excepted) with their appurtenances unto the said Michael Everhard and Joseph Everhard their Heirs and Assigns forever. IN TRUST nevertheless and for the use of the Minister Elders and Congregation for the time being of the said reformed Calvinist Society and their Successors settled and to be settled from time to time in the said two several Townships of Upper and Lower Milford and to and for no other use or

purpose whatsoever TO BE HOLDEN of us our Heirs and Successors, Proprietaries of Pennsylvania as of our Manor of Tamor in the County of Northampton aforesaid in free and common Socage by Fealty only in lieu of all other services. YIELDING AND PAYING thereof Yearly unto our Heirs and Successors at the Town of Easton in the County aforesaid at or upon the first day of March in every year from the first day of Marsh last one-half Penny sterling for every acre of the same or value thereof in coin current according as the exchange shall then be between our said Province and the City of London to such Person or Persons as shall from time to time be appointed to receive the same and in case of non-payment thereof within ninety days next after the same shall become due then it shall and may be lawful for us our Heirs and Successors our and their receiver or receivers unto and upon hereby granted Land and Premises To-Re-enter and the same to hold Possess until the said quit-rent and all arrears thereof together with the charges accruing by means of such non-payment and Re-entry be fully paid and discharged.

WITNESS James Hamilton Esquire Lieutenant Governor of the said Province, who by virtue of certain powers and authorities to him for this purpose (inter alia) granted by the said Proprietaries hath hereunto set his Hand and caused the Great Seal of the said Province to be hereunto Affixed at Philadelphia this sixteenth day of December in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty two. The Third Year of the Reign of King George the Third over Great Britain.





CHAPTER VIII.

MINISTRY OF REV. JOHN THEOBALD FABER, SR.,
1766-1779.

AFTER four years of supplies, the congregations were again provided with a regular pastor in the fall of 1766. It was the Rev. John Theobald Faber, Sr.

He was born February 13, 1739, at Zozenheim, south of Bingen, at one time in the Palatinate, but now in the archduchy of Hesse. He matriculated at Heidelberg University, February 5, 1760, as student of philosophy and theology.

His examination as candidate for the ministry took place at Heidelberg on April 20, 1763. Three years later he left the Palatinate for Holland. At his departure he requested and secured the following certificate:¹⁹⁴

Inasmuch as the Consistory of the Electoral Palatinate has learned with special pleasure that the Palatine Candidate for the Ministry, Faber of Zozenheim, according to the commission given to him, intends to go to America as minister, therefore his petition made to us yesterday, namely that his eventual return to his father-

¹⁹⁴ The German text is given, with several misprints, in Dr. Weiser's *Monograph*, p. 63.

land might not be forbidden to him, is hereby not only granted, but on the contrary in such a case special regard shall be given to his advancement. In witness whereof the large seal of the Consistory's Chancery and the usual signatures have been affixed.

Heidelberg, the 28th of April 1766.

Consistory of the Electorate Palatinate

J. W. F. HADS, *Antz.*

Seal of the

{SEAL}

Reformed Consistory of the Palatinate.

On June 27, John Theobald Faber, John George Wittner, another candidate from Bellheim in the Palatinate, and Carolus Lange, a third candidate, from Innsbruck, Tyrol, appeared before the deputies, were examined and received their commissions and 250 fl. each as traveling expenses to America. Their ship left Rotterdam for New York on July 10, 1766. They arrived in Pennsylvania in September, 1766.

Shortly after their arrival, Rev. John George Alsentz of Germantown wrote Mr. Faber the following letter:¹⁹⁵

LETTER OF ALSENTZ TO FABER, SEPTEMBER 19, 1766.

GERMANTOWN, the 19th of
September 1766.

Very Reverend

and much esteemed Sir!

My heart is full of thanks to the faithful Father for His gracious guidance of your Reverence and your happy arrival in our vineyard. My heart rejoices and I congratulate myself because of the help that has reached us, which we so much need. I have

¹⁹⁵ This letter is now in the library of the Reformed Theological Seminary at Lancaster. It was placed at the disposal of the writer, together with a number of other letters from the correspondence of Mr. Faber, through the courtesy of Prof. Geo. W. Richards, D.D.

understood that you preached yesterday in Philadelphia and that you will come up to me next Sunday. I have accordingly informed the Rev. Weyberg that I had announced a communion service and that you might choose a sermon fitting for the occasion. If that letter should have been delayed, I ask you herewith to make note of this. In addition I wish to ask you to notify me whether you prefer to preach in the forenoon or afternoon, so that I may be governed by your choice. This I may tell you in advance that in the morning the church will be best filled, because many people live far away. Hence it is the best service for a strange minister to be heard. Besides I ask you to inform me whether you are a Mr. Faber from Zozenheim and what the names of the other gentlemen are,

I remain very respectfully

Your Reverence's

Faithful Brother

JO. GEO. ALSENTZ.

P.S. More orally. Please attribute my brevity to my ill health.

Faber reached his charge in October, 1766. On October 21, 1766, he performed his first ministerial act, by officiating at a funeral at New Goshenhoppen. He made his home at first with Daniel Hiester. On February 29, 1769, £1.12.10, was paid by the Great Swamp congregation as "house rent for the minister to Daniel Hiester."¹⁹⁶ This remained the place of his residence probably till he married on August 7, 1770, Barbara Rose, daughter of Erhardt Rose of Reading. After his marriage he moved into the parsonage, built on the glebe land near the New Goshenhoppen church.¹⁹⁷

At the Coetus of 1768, held September 8 to 9, 1768, at Easton, Faber reported for the first time the statistics of his congregations. Old Goshenhoppen had then 30 fami-

¹⁹⁶ According to an entry in the account book of the congregation.

¹⁹⁷ See letter of Mr. Schultz, printed above, pp. 184-9; esp. p. 187.

lies, New Goshenhoppen 90, and Great Swamp also 30 families. He had baptized during the preceding year 60 and confirmed 22. These figures increased only slightly during the next four years. Thus in 1771 he reported 40 families at Old Goshenhoppen, 90 at New Goshenhoppen and 40 at Great Swamp, 63 baptized and 25 confirmed. It is, however, remarkable that in his report of 1773 the sum total of his membership jumps from 170 families in 1772 to 260 in 1773, together with 87 baptized and 36 confirmed. In the last year of his pastorate, 1779, the figures were 270 members in the three congregations, 69 baptisms and 48 confirmed. Complete statistics cannot be given from the Coetus Minutes, as the reports for two years (1774 and 1778) are missing.

It may, however, serve a useful purpose to give a summary of his pastoral activity on the basis of the various church records. Into them he entered 764 baptisms, 262 funerals and 127 weddings. The record for the separate congregations stands as follows:

At New Goshenhoppen he entered from January, 1767, till October 6, 1779, 312 baptisms; he officiated from October 21, 1766, till August 5, 1779, at 126 funerals, and married from March 3, 1767, till September 30, 1779, 56 couples. His first class of catechumens was confirmed on April 17, 1767, his last on April 2, 1779.

At Old Goshenhoppen he recorded from November, 1766, till September 24, 1779, 282 baptisms; from December 26, 1766, till October 18, 1778, he held 82 funerals; and from January 20, 1767, till October 5, 1779, he officiated at 52 weddings.

At Great Swamp he baptized from November 19, 1766, till October 27, 1779, 170 children; he entered 54 funerals from April 21, 1767, till June 11, 1779, and united in

marriage 29 couples from March 5, 1767, till August, 1779.

These entries make it plain that Faber's pastorate extended from October, 1766, till October, 1779.

Faber was honored by the Coetus in being elected its secretary in 1771 and its president in 1772.

The ability of Faber as a preacher was recognized by other congregations than his own. When the congregation of Lancaster became vacant in 1769 through the removal of Mr. Hendel to Tulpehocken, they called Faber. The minutes of 1770 state: "The congregation made an urgent request for an ordained minister and gave a special call to Do. Faber of Goshenhoppen." But since he had many scruples with regard to leaving his congregations he asked for four weeks' time to consider, which was granted him by the Reverend Coetus, and it was at once resolved that he might accept the call without waiting for a further decision of the Coetus. The Coetal letter of that year, written on December 7, 1770, reports that "Faber has concluded to remain at Goshenhoppen."

In 1775 Lancaster became again vacant through the removal of its pastor, Charles L. Boehm, to Hanover, hence the Lancaster congregation renewed its call to Mr. Faber. At the Coetus held May 10 to 11, 1775, at Lebanon, "two delegates from Lancaster appeared with a written call for Do. J. Th. Faber, who, however, could not decide to leave his congregations."

In 1779 the call of the Lancaster congregation was renewed for the third time and was at last accepted by Faber.

Before, however, recounting these final events in the ministry of Faber at Goshenhoppen a few other facts ought to be mentioned.

In 1773 the Minutes of Coetus state :

Trumbauer Congregation, in Bucks County, which was at first served by Do. Gobrecht, and afterwards, from time to time by Do. Faber, asked the Reverend Coetus for Do. Gebhard.

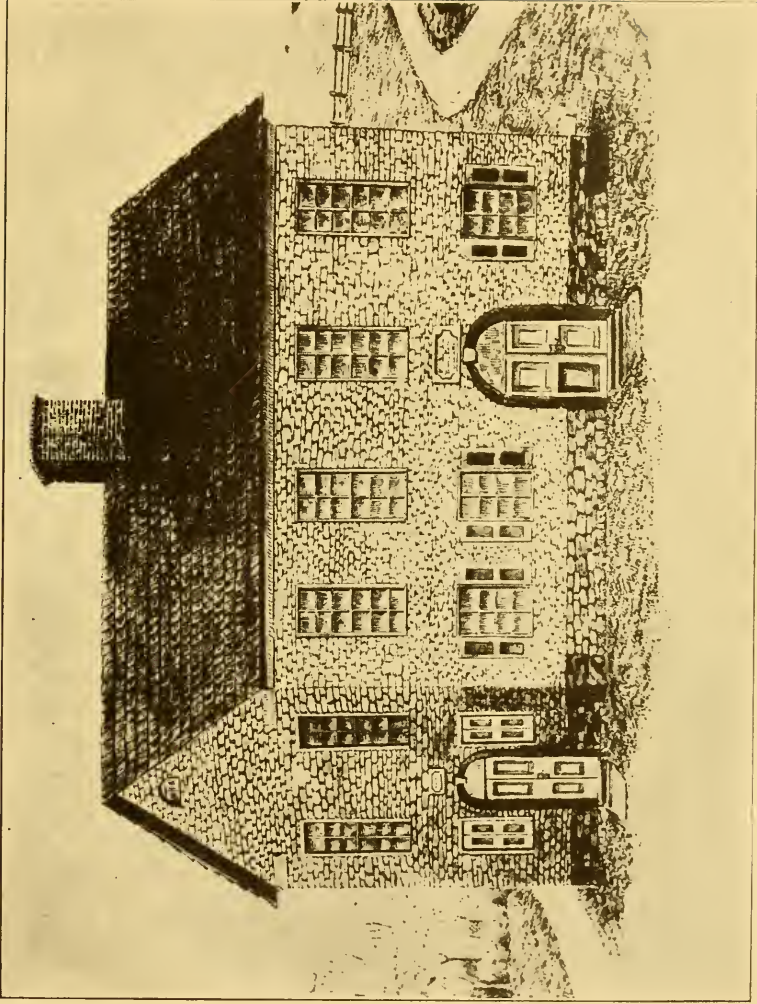
Gobrecht was in Bucks County as pastor of the Tohickon charge from 1766 to 1770, hence Faber must have supplied that congregation from 1770 to 1772, when Mr. Wack became the pastor at Tohickon.

A remarkable entry in the Coetus Minutes, connecting Gobrecht with Great Swamp ought to be mentioned. The statistics of 1769 and of 1770 report Gobrecht as serving Tohickon, Indian Field and Great Swamp, while at the same time Faber is reported as the pastor of Great Swamp and, moreover, the Great Swamp church record shows that the baptismal entries of Faber at Great Swamp run without break through 1769 and 1770 as through all the other years from 1766 to 1779. Perhaps the easiest way to get rid of this difficulty is to regard it as a simple mistake of the clerks of Coetus. Such an explanation would seem to be demanded for 1769, where the statistics of Gobrecht and Faber follow each other immediately and where Gobrecht is said to have reported for Great Swamp 30 families, 16 baptisms and 1 catechumen. Incidentally the same figures are reported by Faber for Great Swamp. Surely there must be a confusion in this case. But what caused the confusion in 1770, if there be one, remains unexplained.

The progress of the charge under the care of Mr. Faber is seen in the fact that during his ministry two of the congregations built new churches.

In 1769 the cornerstone was laid and in 1770 a large new stone church was completed at New Goshenhoppen.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



NEW GOSHENHOPPEN CHURCH, 1770-1857.

At Old Goshenhoppen a similar stone church was built in 1772. In the same year a new parsonage seems to have been built at New Goshenhoppen. For in the Old Goshenhoppen account book we find the following entry in 1772:

Two and Twenty Pounds and eleven shillings were paid by Christian Hollebusch for the parsonage at New Goshenhoppen to Adam Hillegas and in addition 3 pounds to Abraham Seckler, as per receipt, dated June 7, 1772. Thirteen shillings 6 pence were paid to me by Ulrich Hertzell on account of the building expenses of the parsonage.

WEYGAND PANNEBECKER.

The organist and schoolmaster at Old Goshenhoppen from 1772 to 1778 was Henrich Hemsing, who at first (in 1772) received five, later six pounds as salary for playing the organ.

The organist at New Goshenhoppen during this period is unfortunately not known, but the organ has been preserved and what is more remarkable it is still in use. It is probably the oldest organ in use in the Reformed church. It was put into the second church in 1770 when it was finished. It was built by the well-known organ-builder Tannenhäuser of Lititz, Lancaster Co., Pa.

In August, 1779, the congregation at Lancaster sent the following call to Mr. Faber:¹⁹⁸

CALL OF LANCASTER CHURCH TO FABER.

LANCASTER, August 30, 1779.

Reverend Sir:—It is without doubt already known to your Reverence, that the Rev. Mr. Helffenstein has left our congregation for some time past. In order, therefore, to obtain another pastor, the congregation assembled yesterday in the schoolhouse; on which

¹⁹⁸ Weiser, *Monograph*, p. 67.

occasion your Reverence was unanimously elected. If you will, then, have the goodness to visit us and preach for us we will be very thankful. The Consistory, accordingly resolved, with the consent of the congregation, to send the bearer, William Jacob Schaeffer, to wait upon you, and urge upon you our call. Should you consent to preach a trial sermon, on some day of your own choosing, we will then be fully prepared to extend you the proper call. To this end, Mr. William Jacob Schaeffer is authorized to confer with you in detail.

Meanwhile we remain your Friends. Done in the name of the Consistory of the German Reformed Church, Lancaster,

NICHOLAS JOB
WILLIAM BUSH
LUDWIG SCHELL.

But the people at Goshenhoppen were not willing to give up their pastor. Hence they framed and forwarded a protest to the Coetus. In it they stated that his charge "unanimously desires to retain him as their pastor; that he is greatly beloved by all, and that he is very useful." They furthermore promised "to give him £225 lawful money, sixty bushels of wheat and rye, the use of the parsonage, fuel and the hay of a meadow." They expressed the hope that the Reverend Coetus "would grant their desire and allow Mr. Faber to remain with them."

In spite of this protest, however, Faber left Goshenhoppen in October, 1779. The Coetus Minutes of 1781 report: "Mr. Faber has accepted Lancaster. He left Goshenhoppen because they did not give him the necessary support which they were sufficiently able to do." This plain statement stands in glaring contrast to the promises of the congregations. Indeed the salary of Faber as reported for 1770 and 1771 was only £65. In 1785 he reported it at £100, while the highest salary any

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



ORGAN OF NEW GOSPEHHOPPEN CHURCH.

(BUILT BY DAVID TANNENHÄUSER, 1770.)

minister of the Coetus received in 1785 was £150. We are, therefore, justified in questioning the accuracy of the above translation. If a supposition may be ventured, the writer would suggest it to be a misprint for £75 or perhaps £85. That would be in harmony with general conditions.





CHAPTER IX.

MINISTRY OF REV. JOHN WILLIAM INGOLD, 1780-1781.

SOME time in September, 1780, the following heading was put over a series of baptisms in the Old Goshenhoppen Record:

“The following children were baptized by me, Johann Wilhelm Ingold, pastor loci.”

This heading is followed by fifteen baptismal entries, in the handwriting of Ingold, extending from September, 1780, to July 30, 1781. These entries introduce us to a minister of an entirely different type than his predecessors.

On August 4, 1754, “Joh. Wilhelmus Ingoldius” matriculated in the University of Heidelberg, as a student of theology, from Simmern, in the Palatinate, at present in the Rhine province, in the “Regierungsbezirk” Koblenz. He was ordained at Heidelberg May 10, 1762. He appeared before the Deputies June 1, 1774. He produced as his testimonials a letter of recommendation from Hospital, consistorial councillor at Heidelberg, dated May 23, 1773. He also had a letter from the German Reformed Church of London, where he had been pastor for four months, dated February 20, 1774. His credentials were found to be sufficient, and he was appointed by the Synodical Deputies. On June 9, 1774, a letter of introduction to the Coetus of Pennsylvania was given to him and 150 fl.

as traveling expenses. Shortly afterwards he left for Pennsylvania, where he arrived in the fall of that year. He had a very checkered career. From 1775 to 1790 he is mentioned in the Minutes of Coetus, serving in these fifteen years no less than seven different charges. His whole ministry was filled with quarrels. He paid no regard either to the resolutions of the Coetus or the wishes of his congregations. Hence he was constantly in difficulty. The verdict of Coetus on his ministry is expressed in these words: "Rev. Ingold during his stay with us has not conducted himself to the satisfaction of his brethren."¹⁹⁹

Shortly after his arrival he took Witpen and Worcester in Montgomery County. At Witpen (now Boehm's Church at Blue Bell) his baptismal entries begin November 7, 1774, and end May 25, 1775. At Worcester (now Wentz's Church) a receipt for salary shows that his ministry there began on November 10, 1774. It lasted for one year. At the end of that time the people were unwilling to continue paying him £75 as salary.

At the close of the year the congregations offered a smaller sum, and said if he should not be satisfied with this they would close the church against him. Thereupon Mr. Ingold preached no longer for them, but continued to live in the parsonage until he no longer dared to remain there. He then moved to another house in the neighborhood, where he wholly consumed the gathered crumbs. His brethren were sorry for him, gave him oral and written advice, and helped him to Saucon. But here again he left immediately and went to Easton, hoping to draw the united congregation to him.^{199a}

In Easton his baptismal entries begin on July 7, 1776,

¹⁹⁹ *Minutes of Coetus*, p. 373.

^{199a} *Minutes of Coetus*, p. 373.

and continue from that date uninterruptedly till March 17, 1786. It was thus while pastor at Easton that the Goshenhoppen charge became vacant and was entered by him. The Minutes of 1781 continue the story:

Easton being a small congregation and unable to support him, and he in addition losing the love of the people, and finally even being persecuted, tried to gain the favor of Goshenhoppen. He offered to take only as much salary as their kindness and free-will would give. The result was that two small congregations [Old Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp] allowed him to preach in their churches; but the strongest congregation, New Goshenhoppen, protested against this, and many persons also in the two smaller congregations did not want to have anything to do with him, until he should be accepted by the three united congregations as their minister. Nevertheless, Ingold settled among these congregations on his own account. Hence there arose the greatest confusion among them which a committee of Coetus tried to settle. But Ingold opposed and frustrated the attempt of his brethren. When all these actions of this man were placed before Coetus, the following resolution was adopted:

a. That the three united congregations shall meet for the election of a minister. Mr. Ingold may be a candidate in this election, if the congregations so agree.

b. That this action be recommended, in writing, to the congregations and Mr. Ingold likewise be advised to help in bringing about this election; otherwise the Coetus will be compelled to take extreme steps in his case.

When Coetus met again on May 1, 1782, at Reading, they report:

Mr. Ingold, who was not present at the Reverend Coetus, having left the congregations in Goshenhoppen half a year ago, informed the Reverend Coetus by a letter presented by an elder, that he had begun to serve the congregations Easton, Dryland and Greenwich. The Reverend Coetus was obliged to approve of this action, because

for several years it has been thought advisable to allow all vacant congregations to call a minister of the Coetus according to their pleasure; even as a minister is also at liberty to accept such congregations at pleasure.

This entry shows that Ingold left Goshenhoppen about November, 1781, probably because the election was unfavorable to him.

The activity of Ingold in the Goshenhoppen charge can only be traced at Old Goshenhoppen. Besides the baptisms, to which reference has already been made, he entered a class of catechumens (22 boys and 19 girls) into the record on April 21, 1781. Besides, he signed the account of the treasurer on May 18, 1781, with A. M. Ache, the schoolmaster.

At Great Swamp different hands entered eleven baptisms from September 18, 1780, till July 22, 1781. According to the minutes of the Coetus of May, 1781, Caspar Wack,²⁰⁰ pastor of Tohickon and Indianfield, was supplying the Swamp church. In the minutes of the Coetus of 1782, held May 1, 1782, at Reading, we read:

The congregations Tohickon, Indianfield and Great Swamp, which, by the departure of Mr. Wack, had become vacant, asked, through delegates for another minister. The Reverend Coetus could do nothing but give these congregations liberty to call a minister.

²⁰⁰ Caspar Wack was the son of John George Wack, who arrived at Philadelphia on September 16, 1748. Caspar Wack was born at Philadelphia August 15, 1752. He was educated by Rev. Caspar Weyberg; licensed by Coetus in 1770; catchist at Lancaster, 1770-71; ordained June, 1772. His first pastorate was at Tohickon and Indianfield. 1772-1782, to which Nacomix was added in 1773. He was pastor of German Valley, Foxhill and Rockaway, N. J., 1782-1809; of Germantown and White-marsh, 1809-1821; of Whitemarsh alone 1821-23. He died at Trappe, Montgomery County, July 19, 1839. See Harbaugh, *Fathers*, Vol. II, pp. 173-192; Good, *History*, pp. 570-72.

During this period we find at New Goshenhoppen 17 baptisms recorded from June 18, 1780, till March 12, 1781. Most of these entries are in the handwriting of the Rev. John Henry Helffrich,²⁰¹ then pastor of Maxatawny, Heidelberg, Lowhill, Upper Milford, and Salzburg, all of which, except the first, are located in Lehigh County. He was one of the strong men of Coetus, who did much to uphold order and religion in his own as well as in neighboring congregations.

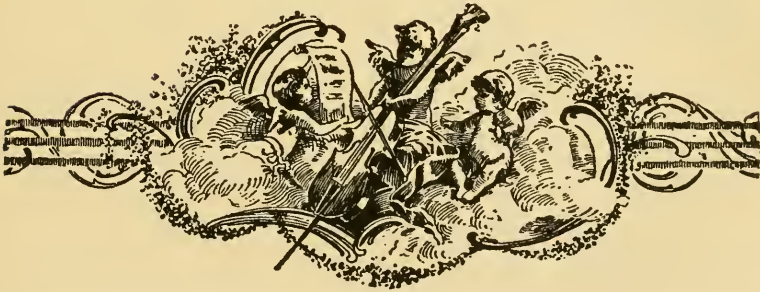
After Ingold left Easton in 1786, he went to Reading. His call to that congregation is dated September 14, 1786. After serving that congregation for a year and a half, which was rich in quarrels, he left it in April, 1788. Coetus does not want to put all the blame on him, but remarks that "a repulsive conduct is likely to bring about such consequences." From there he went to Indianfield, Tohickon and Trumbauers. At Indianfield his baptismal entries run from June 19, 1788, till November 1, 1789. While pastor there, he lost his wife. He himself made the following entry in the Indianfield record:

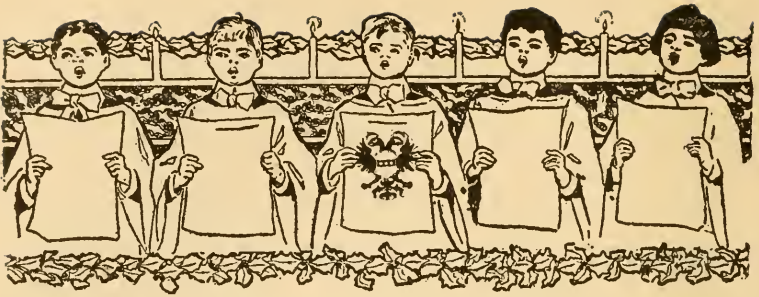
"March 29 [1789], Mrs. Catharine Barbara Ingold, wife of the pastor died, aged 40 years, 6 months, 3 weeks and 4 days." At the meeting of Coetus held in June, 1790, he is reported as having been "rejected by his congregations." After that his name appears only once more in the official records of the church. It was to make his

²⁰¹ John Henry Helffrich was born at Mosbach in the Palatinate, October 22, 1739. He matriculated at Heidelberg University, February 2, 1758. He was ordained in September, 1761; became assistant pastor to his father at Sinsheim and Rohrbach; was then vicar at Reyen, Kirchhard and Steinfurth; was commissioned for Pennsylvania July, 1771; arrived at New York January 14, 1772. He was pastor of the Maxatawny charge all his life, 1772-1810, which consisted among others of Lowhill, Heidelberg, Kutztown, etc. He died December 5, 1810. See Helffrich, *Geschichte*, pp. 73-86; Harbaugh, *Fathers*, Vol. II, pp. 240-251.

separation from the church complete and final. In 1801 Synod notified him that by his continued absence he had excluded himself from the church. His name was therefore dropped.²⁰²

²⁰² For sketches of Ingold's life see Harbaugh, *Fathers*, Vol. II, p. 399 f.; Good, *History*, pp. 561-563; Miller, *History of the Reformed Church in Reading*, pp. 86-90.





CHAPTER X.

MINISTRY OF REV. FREDERICK DELLIKER, 1782-1784.

AT the same meeting of Coetus, at which the departure of Ingold from Goshenhoppen was announced, we also find the announcement of the arrival of a new pastor.

Mr. Daelliker informed Coetus why he had left his former field in New Jersey, including the congregations Rockaway, Valley, Foxhill, and a few months ago, accepted a call from the congregations of Goshenhoppen.

Frederick Delliker (or Dälliker) was descended from an old Zurich family. They became citizens in Zurich, 1376. During the seventeenth century there were at least three ministers in the family. The coat of arms of the family showed a man with two burning candles in his hands. This design was based on the name of the family which was originally "Talliker," meaning the "candle maker" (cf. the German Talg and the English tallow). These facts, taken from the "Lexicon Geographicum-Stemmatographicum"²⁰³ in Zurich, dispose entirely of the old tradition that the name of the family was originally

²⁰³ In the city library at Zürich, Msc. E. 54; Vol. II, pp. 5-8; cf. also above, p. 97, note 107.

De la Cour and that he was, therefore, of Huguenot descent. The family was rather an old Swiss family and could not possibly have been Huguenot. What actually happened was that Frederick Delliker adopted for a time, while in French services, a French name.

Hans Rudolph Dälliker, the father of Frederick Dälliker, was a painter and in 1750 became "Oberster Salzhauediener," which position was probably equivalent to the manager of the saltworks. His mother was Maria von Brunn of Basel, who married his father on March 23, 1732. She died March 23, 1754, while the father died April 23, 1769, at Schaffhausen.

Frederick Delliker was born in 1738, according to the Zurich records. Dr. Harbaugh²⁰⁴ gives February 2, 1738, as the date of his birth, but that cannot be correct. His tombstone at Falkner Swamp states that he died January 15, 1799, aged 60 years, 10 months and 17 days,²⁰⁵ hence the date of birth must have been February 27, 1738. According to the genealogical records in Zurich, Frederick Dälliker was ordained in 1757. In the year following (1758), he became German "Diakon," or assistant minister in Geneva. In 1760 he became chaplain of the French regiment "Lochmann." It was while he was a French chaplain that he assumed temporarily the name De la Cour. The French name never appears in his later life. In 1766 he left French services.

In December, 1766, he arrived at Amsterdam, and on April 17, 1767, he appeared before the Classical Commissioners. In May his presence and application for service in Pennsylvania was announced to the Synodical Deputies. He was examined at the Hague, June 25, 1767, signed

²⁰⁴ Harbaugh, *Fathers*, Vol. II, p. 382.

²⁰⁵ Roth, *History of the Falkner Swamp Reformed Church*, 1904, p. 37.

the formula of unity and was given his commission. When he arrived in Pennsylvania in the fall of 1767 (probably October), he was sent to Amwell, New Jersey, now at Ringoes, Hunterdon County, N. J. In 1768 Germantown gave him a call but he declined it and announced that he had determined to serve, in addition to Amwell, Alexandria (Mt. Pleasant), Rockaway (Lebanon), Foxhill (Fairmount) and German Valley, four new congregations, which asked "to be taken into the fellowship of Coetus." At Rockaway his entries begin in the church record on November 6, 1768.²⁰⁶ In 1769 charges were brought against him at Amwell, as a result of which he left Amwell, but continued to serve the other congregations. The statistics of 1769 report him as unmarried, residing at Rockaway, and serving the four congregations mentioned above.

Delliker continued as pastor in New Jersey until the spring of 1782, when, through the departure of Ingold from Goshenhoppen, these congregations had become vacant. In May, 1782, he informed Coetus that he had gone to Goshenhoppen "a few months ago." In entire harmony with this statement we find that his baptismal entries begin at New Goshenhoppen on March 3, 1782, at Great Swamp on March 10, and at Old Goshenhoppen on March 17, 1782. On June 6, 1783, he signed a receipt for salary at Old Goshenhoppen from February 1, 1782, to February 1, 1783. This fixes the beginning of his ministry definitely as February 1, 1782. On May 1, 1782, Delliker made the following report of his congregations: "170 families, 33 baptisms, 35 confirmed and 3 schools." This is the first definite evidence in the Coetus Minutes that each of the three congregations had a parochial school.

²⁰⁶ Chambers, *Early Germans in New Jersey*, p. 105 f.

At the meeting of Coetus on May 14, 1783, in Philadelphia, Delliker is reported as supplying six congregations in New Jersey, part of them his former charge, Rockaway, Valley and Foxhill, also in part Nolton, Hartwick and Newton. At the same time he made detailed report about the three congregations of which he was the regular pastor. Of New Goshenhoppen he reported 95 families, 37 baptized, 17 confirmed, 2 schools with 48 scholars; of Old Goshenhoppen 45 families, 18 baptized, 8 confirmed, 1 school with 32 scholars; of Great Swamp 37 families, 12 baptized, 26 confirmed, 1 school with 31 scholars. Unfortunately we know nothing more of the two schools at New Goshenhoppen.

The pastoral activity of Delliker in the Goshenhoppen charge can be summed up as follows: 141 baptisms, 21 funerals and 16 weddings. The record for each of the churches is as follows:

At New Goshenhoppen he entered 77 baptisms, beginning on March 3, 1782, and ending March 21, 1784. There were 12 funerals from June 5, 1783, to March 11, 1784, and 7 weddings from March 24, 1782, to March 16, 1784.

At Old Goshenhoppen he officiated at 30 baptisms from March 17, 1782, to January 18, 1784, at 4 funerals from February 12, 1783, to January 15, 1784, and at 5 weddings from August 6, 1782, to May 20, 1783.

At Great Swamp he had 34 baptisms from March 10, 1782, till March 18, 1784, 5 funerals from April 17, 1783, and 4 weddings from April 23, 1782, to April 1, 1783.

From these summaries it is apparent that the pastoral activity of Delliker at Goshenhoppen extended from March, 1782, till March, 1784. During this time he was

not, as has been commonly reported, the pastor at Falkner Swamp. The ministry of Rev. Nicholas Pomp came to an end at Falkner Swamp after the meeting of Coetus on May 14, 1783, when he is still reported as pastor of Falkner Swamp and Vincent. He did not leave these congregations till the fall of 1783 for Baltimore. Pomp's first baptismal entry made in the Baltimore records was on September 15, 1783, and he himself states in that record that he preached his installation sermon [Eintrittspredigt] on the first Sunday of September, 1783.

In the spring of 1784, Delliker was called to Falkner Swamp to become Pomp's successor. Delliker's first entry in the Swamp records was made on April 9, 1784. At the Coetus meeting held on May 12, 1784, Delliker is reported as having gone from Goshenhoppen to Falkner Swamp.

He remained pastor of Falkner Swamp and Vincent to the end of his life. He died at Falkner Swamp June 15, 1799, and was buried in the Falkner Swamp graveyard.^{206a}

He was a prominent member of Coetus, as is seen from the fact that he was the secretary of Coetus in 1774, 1783, 1786, 1788, 1789, and its president in 1775, 1787 and 1790. In 1789 he had the honor, as secretary of Coetus, to send a congratulatory address to Washington, on having been elected first president of the United States.²⁰⁷

An old man who personally remembered him described him to Dr. Jos. H. Dubbs as "a little, good-humored, red-faced man, with a shock of white hair."²⁰⁸

^{206a} While pastor at Falkner Swamp Frederick Delliker married Maria Juvenal, October 12, 1786. The marriage is recorded in the church record of the First Reformed Church at Philadelphia (see *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d Series, Vol. VIII, p. 663) and also in the Falkner Swamp Record, see *Pennsylvania Archives*, l. c., p. 603.

²⁰⁷ *Minutes of Coetus*, p. 434.

²⁰⁸ Dubbs, *Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 195.



CHAPTER XI.

MINISTRY OF REV. FREDERICK WILLIAM VAN DER SLOOT, 1784-1786.

AT the meeting of Coetus, held May 12, 1784, in Lancaster, "the congregations of Old and New Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp request Do. Frederick William Van der Sloot for their pastor. This Van der Sloot was born in Anhalt-Zerbst, and, according to his testimonials, has preached frequently, as candidate of theology, in the Cathedral of Berlin. For two and a half years he acted as inspector of the Joachimsthal Gymnasium. As his other circumstances are the same as those of Do. Wynckhaus, mentioned in the previous article (they were not sent by the Fathers in Holland), the same action was taken regarding him; that he shall minister to the said congregations until we have ascertained the opinion of the Reverend Fathers."

The new minister at Goshenhoppen seemed by descent and training well fitted for his position and work.

He was descended from a ministerial family. Both his grandfather as well as his father had been ministers before him. His grandfather, Friederich von der Schloth, was pastor at Barby on the Elbe River, southeast of Magde-

burg.^{208a} His father, Friedrich Heinrich von der Schlott, was pastor of the Reformed church of Aken, 1725 to 1743, and of St. Nikolai at Zerbst, in the principality of Anhalt-Zerbst, from 1743 to 1751. While pastor of this church he married Sophia Wilhelmine von Boller, August 20, 1743. Their only son was Philip Wilhelm Frederick von der Sloot, born in Zerbst, September 27, 1744. Apparently later in life he changed his Christian name to Frederick William. He studied for the ministry and became pastor of Zornitz, Poetnitz, Scholitz and Nauendorf in the province of Brandenburg. Later he was conrector of the Latin school at Dessau and then for two and a half years Inspector of the Joachimsthal Gymnasium in Berlin. There he married, May 5, 1772, Louisa Henrietta, daughter of the Rev. Prof. Schultz, professor in the same school.

According to his great-grandson,²⁰⁹ he came to Pennsylvania in 1779 or 1780, leaving his wife and family (one son at least) in Germany. His first charge was in Allen township, Northampton County.

In April, 1784, he came into the Goshenhoppen charge. At Great Swamp he entered the first baptism on April 18, 1784, at New Goshenhoppen on April 25, 1784, and at Old Goshenhoppen on May 2, 1784. At New Goshenhoppen he entered 21 baptisms between April 25, 1784, and November 21, 1784; at Old Goshenhoppen 6 baptisms between May 2, 1784, and October 14, 1784, and at Great Swamp 16 baptisms between April 18, 1784, and May 14, 1786.

The reason for the sudden termination of his work at

^{208a} The antecedents and history of Mr. Van der Sloot have been cleared up by one of his descendants, Lewis Vandersloot, who in 1901 published the *History and Genealogy of the Von der Sloot Family*, Harrisburg, 1901, pp. 68; see especially pp. 9-17.

²⁰⁹ *L. c.*, p. 16.

New and Old Goshenhoppen is furnished by the Coetus Minutes of 1785, which read:

As was stated in Art. VI of last year's minutes, Fred. Wm. Van der Sloom preached at Old and New Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp. The former two congregations have now locked the churches against him on account of a very disgraceful and unlawful act; but the latter congregation, namely Great Swamp, still allows him to preach. This was the deed. He had left a wife and child in Germany, but married here a single woman. A short time after his marriage it became known through his own statements that he had another wife, whereupon his father-in-law took his daughter back to his home. Then Van der Sloom was locked out by the two Goshenhoppen churches.

In corroboration of this statement we find the following entry in the New Goshenhoppen record, made by Van der Sloom himself:

June 29, [1784], Rev. Däliker married me, Friedrich Wilhelm Von der Sloom, only son of Friedrich Heinrich Von der Sloom, late minister in Anhalt-Zerbst, Germany to Anna Margaretha Riedt, oldest daughter of Jacob Ried of Hatfield township, Philadelphia County.

Judging by the church records, the ministry of Van der Sloom at Great Swamp ended in May, 1786. There was a baptism as late as May 14, and a funeral on April 3, 1786, by Van der Sloom. But it is possible that he was then merely a visitor, for even at the Coetus meeting of April 27 to 28, 1785, Faber reported Tohickon, Indianfield and Great Swamp as the congregations which he was then serving. The actual removal of Faber, however, to the Goshenhoppen field did not take place till the spring of the following year.

Van der Sloom meanwhile returned to Northampton County, where he ministered to congregations in Allen, Moore and Lehigh townships. He died there in 1803.



CHAPTER XII.

SECOND MINISTRY OF JOHN THEOBALD FABER, SR.,
1786-1788.

WE left Faber in 1779 as pastor of the Reformed Church in Lancaster. He began his work there in November, 1779, but he stayed hardly three years. The city life evidently contrasted unfavorably to his mind with the quiet country life in the Goshenhoppen valley. He became restless and homesick. One evidence of this is that the consistorial minutes were almost entirely neglected during his ministry. He, therefore, determined to return to the lower counties as soon as possible.

In September, 1781, the Indianfield and Tohickon congregations in Bucks County became vacant through the removal of Rev. Caspar Wack. Hence Faber accepted a call to that field, only fifteen miles from his former charge. His ministry at Indianfield began on July 14, 1782; at least on that day he entered his first baptism into the Indianfield record. From that time till April 27, 1786, he recorded 57 baptisms in the Indianfield record. The latter date must have marked approximately the end of his ministry in that field, for in May, 1786, his entries begin in the New Goshenhoppen record.

On May 17 to 18, 1786, the minutes of Coetus report:

J. Theobald Faber left Indianfield, Tohickon and Trumbauer's Church and accepted his former congregations of Old Goshenhoppen, New Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp.

Apparently he was very happy to get back to his first friends. Dr. Weiser has preserved a tradition²¹⁰ that on the day of his return his parishioners had gathered in the parsonage to welcome him.

When nearing the premises, he stood up in a large wagon, and with uncovered head cried out: "*Ihr Goschenhoppener! Ich verlass euch in meinem Leben nicht mehr. Hier will ich leben und sterben.*"

The reunion was a happy one and resulted well for pastor and people. In 1787 Faber reported of his three congregations 230 families, 76 baptized, 93 confirmed and 78 scholars in the schools. The whole record for his second pastorate at Goshenhoppen is as follows: 179 baptisms, 67 burials and 28 weddings. Unfortunately his ministry was not of long duration. His death was sudden and unexpected. The Coetal letter of 1789 gives us a contemporaneous record of it:²¹¹

We have to report that the Lord has taken from us a brother, namely Do. Theobald Faber, late minister in New Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp. His departure was unexpected. On November 2, 1788, a deathly weakness attacked him while in the pulpit. Having finished half of the sermon, he, with difficulty, repeated the Lord's Prayer, He was then carried from the pulpit and an hour and a half later died in the school-house. It was remarkable that his sermon was on death, for he was just preaching on Jairus'

²¹⁰ Weiser, *Monograph*, p. 74.

²¹¹ The traditional account given by Dr. Weiser, *Monograph*, p. 74 f., varies from this statement in several interesting particulars; cf. *Minutes of Coetus*, p. 431.

daughter, Matt. IX being the gospel lesson of that day. How dear he was to his people is proved by the fact that, altogether contrary to the custom of this country, they gave him a burial-place under the altar, also that they desired his oldest son for his successor, if this is at all possible.

The elder Weiser placed a memorial tablet over his remains with this inscription:

TRITT LEISE!
 HIER RUHET DER
 EHRW. JOH. THEOB. FABER,
 EHEMALS GEWESENER PREDIGER
 DIESER GEMEINDE.
 GEBOREN DEN 13TEN FEBR. 1739,
 STARB DEN 2TEN NOV. 1788.
 ALTER 49JAHR 8 MO. UND 18 T.

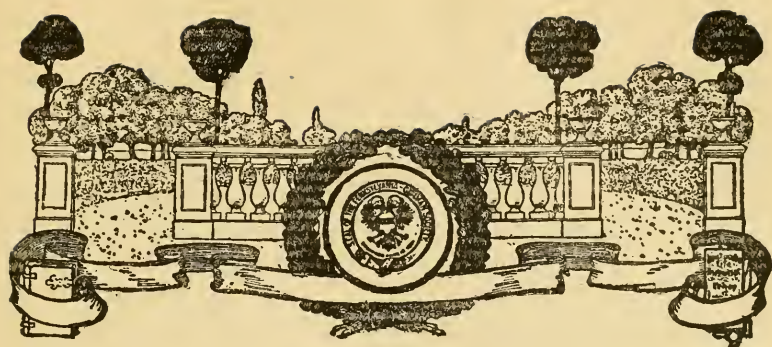
His funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Blumer, then pastor at Allentown. His text was Hebrews 13: 17.

Mr. Faber left behind him a wife and seven children, whom the congregation permitted to remain in the parsonage for several years. They also aided his oldest son in his studies to become his father's successor.

To Dr. C. Z. Weiser, Mr. Faber was described as "a man of small, portly figure, full of vivacity and jovial."

His widow married again, a Mr. Christian Sheidt of Sumneytown. She outlived even her second husband and died, 82 years old, in the home of her son-in-law, Dr. Tobias Sellers.²¹²

²¹² Weiser, *Monograph*, p. 75 f.



CHAPTER XIII.

MINISTRY OF REV. NICHOLAS POMP, 1789-1792.

AFTER the death of Mr. Faber the congregations of the Goshenhoppen charge were for more than a year without a regular pastor. An entry in the Old Goshenhoppen records throws some light on this period:

After the death of the sainted Mr. Faber, when the congregation was without a minister, the following children were baptized, some by Mr. Roller, some by the ministers who visited this congregation, and, at the request of the parents, their names were entered by Johann Daniel Jung, schoolmaster.

Rev. Conrad Roeller was from 1772 to 1799 the pastor of the Old Goshenhoppen Lutheran congregation. Four baptisms were entered by Mr. Jung from February to November, 1789.

In the New Goshenhoppen record the history is continued by the next pastor:

After the Rev. J. Theobald Faber had died unexpectedly on November 2, 1788, and the congregation had been without a pastor for more than a year, I, N. [Nicholas] Pomp, was called to serve in his place and commenced my ministry here, in the name of God,

in these congregations, in the beginning of the month of December 1789.

Dr. Weiser in his "History"²¹³ has preserved an interesting letter of Mr. Pomp, which reveals his spirit and the conditions under which he entered upon his work in the new field. It reads as follows:

LETTER OF REV. N. POMP TO THE GOSHENHOPPEN CHURCHES.

BALTIMORE, MD., October 2nd, 1789.

To the three united Consistories at Old and New Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp:

Since it has seemed good to the Rev. Ministers, Hendel, Dellicker and Helffrich, that I should supply the three congregations of your charge, now without a pastor, I have concluded to lay before [you] certain conditions, without compliance therewith, I could not under any considerations acquiesce in your wish.

First: The Widow and Family of the late Pastor Faber, still abiding among you, must not be made to suffer any sacrifice by my coming. The sainted Faber and I were bosom friends, and I can, therefore, rejoice the more over the warm and true regard which the charge has manifested toward his bereaved household, from love to his memory.

Secondly: The membership must prove of one mind in the choice of myself as their temporary pastor. I cannot tolerate any dispute to arise, and will not consent to serve, unless the people are a unit.

Thirdly: No definite period of time must be fixed. I shall labor solely for the welfare of the flock, and in the same spirit in which I served at Falconer Swamp. As soon as you determine upon the services of the young Faber, or of any other devoted Pastor, I wish it in my power freely to relinquish the field in his favor.

Fourthly: In regard to Parsonage and Salary I shall say nothing. I will leave all that over to yourselves, and agree to be satisfied with what you consider right and just. My family is small—

²¹³ *L. c.*, pp. 77-79.

myself and wife. We need no roomy house then. It will not prove a hard task, I think, to find a spot for me to occupy.

Fifthly: My removal will not be attended with much trouble and expense, as my goods can be conveyed by water from Baltimore to Philadelphia, and thence by wagons.

The Consistories ought to assemble and deliberate over these several points. The matter is very important, and concerns the welfare of many souls, whose interests suffer in consequence of your want of a regular Minister. Consider well and prayerfully. May you be guided in determining on the wisest course. You can forward the result of your deliberations to Pastor Weyberg, who will report to me.

I am affectionately yours,
N. POMP.

According to Dr. Weiser, the joint consistory met at the parsonage on October 24th, concluded to comply with Mr. Pomp's conditions and extended to him a unanimous call, which he promptly accepted. In the beginning of the month of December, 1789, he moved into his new field.

Nicholas Pomp was one of the strong and influential men of the Reformed Church and deserves a more extended notice. About his life in Europe Mr. Pomp himself has left a short, but fragmentary autobiographical sketch, which we reproduce in full in an English translation:²¹⁴

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THE REV. NICHOLAS POMP.

I, Nicolaus Pomp, have deemed it well to write up an account of my life so that my late descendants may be able to read and see how their ancestor has fared in this world.

I saw the light of day in Manbüchel, then in the Duchy of

²¹⁴ It was formerly in possession of Dr. Jos. H. Dubbs, who published it in part in his *Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, pp. 190-192. It is now in possession of the writer.

Zweibrücken, January 20, 1734. My honored father was Peter Pomp. My dear mother Elisa, his lawful wife. These parents brought me on the fourth day after my birth to holy Baptism. After which only this is to be noted that for three years I lay sick, as my parents told me. Nevertheless I got well again, so that I could go to school and was able to work. In my 14th year I had read the Bible several times and was also able to recite the Heidelberg Catechism. Catechetical instruction, which I received from ministers, was so effective that I became a new man and loved the triune God heartily. With worldly people I did not want to have anything to do. Hence I sought solitude, where I could pour out my soul to God and in which my soul took much delight. My only desire for the world was this, that I might become a minister, whereby I could call sinners to repentance. But my father did not want to consent to it, because it would cost him too much to let me study, without which I could not become a minister. He, therefore, urged me against my will to take to tailoring, which trade means constant sitting and which, after a few years, undermined my health completely. Hence my father did not insist that I should continue this trade, but gave me the permission to study, so that in time I might become a minister, if my health and his resources would permit it.

I was now 20 years of age when my studying began with all seriousness. I spent a period of four years in school, where I learnt Latin and Greek as well as Hebrew pretty thoroughly. Then (in the 24th year of my age) I went to Marburg, in Hesse, to study theology in the university.

Here there is a break in the manuscript, the lower part of the page being torn off. The story is continued on the next page:

Although they had before been inclined to disparage me, being unwilling to make me a candidate [of theology], now so were so well disposed towards to me, that without my request they were ready to assist in my ordination and introduction into the ministry. When information came from Holland that the Synod there wished

to promote me to the ministry in America, I was ordained in the city of Cassel and sent with an excellent testimonial to Holland. The Synods examined me and, because they found me well qualified, they gave me 535 guilders for traveling expenses and a good recommendation to the congregations in America, which I was expected to serve. I was 15 weeks on the ocean from Holland to Philadelphia, where I arrived December 8, 1765.

At the same time my ministry in Falkner Swamp and Vincent began. After I had spent seven years with these congregations, I married Elisabeth Dotterer,²¹⁵ a widow with six children and no property, but we lived happily together. I was not rich either, but we had as much as we needed day by day. One son was born to us in wedlock, who remained our only child and whom I called Thomas.²¹⁶ After we had raised him, I myself educated him for the ministry as well as I could. He became indeed a minister and has been a great comfort to myself and his mother.

About my life I would have to say much at this place if I wished to relate everything that happened to me at Falkner Swamp. I

²¹⁵ On the same paper on which his autobiography is written, Nicholas Pomp gives also a brief sketch of the life of his wife. Her maiden name was Elizabeth Antes, born January 29 (or February 9, new style), 1734, at Falkner Swamp. Rev. John Philip Boehm baptized her (see *Perkiomen Region*, I, 51). Her father was Henry Antes and her mother Christina, née Dewees. When eight years old she was taken to Bethlehem, where she stayed till her twelfth year. In May, 1754, she married George Philip Dotterer, with whom she had six children, two sons and four daughters. Her husband died August 23, 1771. She married again, April 23, 1772, Rev. Nicholas Pomp, with whom she had one son, Thomas Pomp. She died at Easton, May 20, 1812. See also *The Dotterer Family*, by H. S. Dotterer, p. 65 f.

²¹⁶ Thomas Pomp was born February 4, 1773 in Skippack township, Montgomery County. He studied under his father, was examined and ordained in 1795. In the following year he became pastor of the Easton charge, then consisting of Easton, Plainfield, Dryland and Mt. Bethel. In place of the last Lower Saucon was substituted after some years. He remained pastor of this charge for fifty-six years, much beloved and highly respected by his people. He died at Easton April 22, 1852. See Heisler, *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, Vol. IV, pp. 15-30.

only want to say this, that I remained 18 years in the service of this congregation and then I accepted a call to Baltimore in 1783. My departure from Falkner Swamp caused much bitterness and sadness among the people, for the welfare of whose souls I had cared so long and so earnestly. Hardly a single person wanted to be satisfied with my removal, although they could soon get another and perhaps a better preacher. Yet they were not satisfied with it. I also went away with a sad heart, but with the thought that I had done more good among these people than I had believed before.

In Baltimore I could only stand it for six years [1783-1789] and, although I did my best to build up this congregation, I was unable to stay any longer with a quarreling church. For the new church which they had to build, caused a division into two parties and I could side with only one party. . . . [The rest of the manuscript is torn off.]

At the meeting of the Coetus, held June 7-8, 1790, at Falkner Swamp,

the three united congregations in Goshenhoppen sent their delegates with a call for Do. Pomp, thus far minister in Baltimore. They desired to have him as their regular pastor in place of Do. Faber, deceased. But, as the parsonage of the congregation is still occupied by the widow of Do. Faber, whom one would not like to drive out, the congregations are advised to provide a house for Do. Pomp, and to continue the kindness towards the widow, as far as possible.

At the same meeting Pomp reported about his new congregations. There were 200 families, 40 baptized, 52 confirmed, 3 schools with 120 scholars.

But the ministry of Pomp at Goshenhoppen was of short duration. At New Goshenhoppen his baptisms extend from November 26, 1789, to July 25, 1790, and his weddings from December, 1789, to August 10, 1790. At Great Swamp ten baptisms were entered by him from Jan-

uary 3, 1790, to June 18, 1790. Only at Old Goshenhoppen his ministry seems to have been longer. His baptismal entries there extend from January 3, 1790, to May 28, 1792. The annual financial settlement at Old Goshenhoppen, made on July 19, 1791, was written by Mr. Pomp. But one of the items of the account was "£2. 5s. for fire wood for Rev. Mr. Faber." At the meeting of Coetus on June 27 to 28, 1791, at Lancaster, Pomp is marked absent "on account of indisposition," but he is already called "minister in Indianfield."

In August, 1790, Mr. Pomp began his ministry at Indianfield (now called Indian Creek) and Tohickon. His entries in the Indian Creek record are headed with this statement:

After I, Nic. Pomp had been called to the service of this congregation in Indian Creek and Tohickon and in the beginning of the month of August entered upon this service, there follow now the names of the baptized children of said congregation.

The first baptism following this beginning is dated August 26, 1790. Mr. Pomp remained pastor at Indian Creek till August, 1797. From April, 1794, till August, 1796, Whitpain, now Boehm's church at Blue Bell, was part of his charge. In 1797 he retired to Easton to live with his son, Thomas Pomp, who had become pastor there. He died at Easton, September 1, 1819.

It was while pastor at Falkner Swamp that Mr. Pomp wrote a book, by which he is best known. It was a refutation of the teachings of the Universalists, as contained in the book of Paul Siegvoldck, entitled "Das Ewige Evangelium," which had been published in German by Saur, the Germantown printer, in 1768. Pomp's book, while not a profound treatise, was a creditable performance.

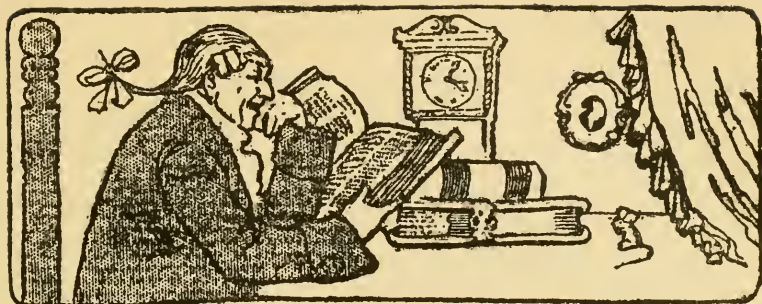
Translated into English the title reads: "Brief Examination of the Doctrine of the Eternal Gospel, by which it is clearly shown that the Restoration of all things is vainly

Kurzgefaßte
Prüfungen
 der Lehre
 des
Ewigen Evangeliums:
 Womit
 deutlich gezeigt wird,
 Daß man die Wiederbringung
 aller Dinge in der heiligen Schrift,
 vergeblich sucht.
 Auf Begehren vieler Freunde zum Druck
 befördert
 von
N. Pomp, V. D. M.

Philadelphia,
 Gedruckt bey **Henry Miller,**
 1774.

sought in Scripture. At the request of many friends published by N. Pomp, V.D.M., Philadelphia, printed by Henry Miller, 1774," 12mo, preface 12 pp., and text 200 pp.





CHAPTER XIV.

MINISTRY OF REV. JOHN THEOBALD FABER, JR.,
1791-1807.

IN 1791 the wish of the Goshenhoppen people was gratified to have their former pastor's son with them as the successor of his father.

John Theobald Faber, Jr., was born in the parsonage of New Goshenhoppen, in Upper Hanover township, as the oldest child of his parents. His father himself entered the record of his birth into the New Goshenhoppen book: "On September 24, 1771, a son was born to me, Pastor Faber, named Johannes Theobald. Witness was Daniel Gross, minister at Saucon and Springfield."

As a boy he enjoyed the advantages of the parochial school of the New Goshenhoppen congregation and the additional instruction of his father.

When fifteen years of age he headed a class of 61 catechumens at New Goshenhoppen, who were confirmed by his father on April 9, 1787.

He pursued his classical studies under the Rev. Frederick Valentin Melsheimer, pastor of the Lutheran congregation at Hanover, York County. He studied theology with

Rev. Dr. William Hendel, Sr., from 1782-1794, pastor at Lancaster, Pa. As his course of special study covered only three years it was at most incomplete and hurried.

He was licensed probably sometime in the year 1791, for his baptisms begin in the spring of 1792.

At the meeting of Coetus, held May 6 to 7, 1792, at Philadelphia, "the congregations of Old and New Goshenhoppen presented a call for Mr. John Faber, and asked that he be examined and ordained. The Reverend Coetus resolved that he be examined on the following day by Do. Hendel, Helffrich and Pomp."

On the following day the minutes report:

In accordance with the resolution of the first session, Mr. John Faber was examined by Dos. Hendel, Pomp, Helffrich and Blumer. The committee made a report in reference to the examination of Mr. Faber, and stated that he had not given such satisfactory answers to the dogmatical questions proposed as they had expected from him; still, out of regard to the Goshenhoppen congregations and his widowed mother, the examination was approved and, by a majority of votes, he was recognized as qualified for the ministry, and it was resolved that Dos. Helffrich, Blumer, Pomp and Delliker ordain him as soon as possible.

The ordination of the young candidate took place at Goshenhoppen on June 23, 1792, as appears from the following letter of Mr. Delliker, addressed to young Faber.²¹⁷

LETTER OF DELLIKER TO FABER, JR., MAY 12, 1792.

My dear Faber:

I congratulate you from the bottom of my heart, on the successful issue of your examination. The Lord sustain you continually. The request, deo volente, I will endeavor to comply with and preach the sermon on the day of your ordination. I have received

²¹⁷ Weiser, *Monograph*, p. 83.

no letter from Synod, but have at hand one addressed to Pastor Helffrich. We will speak more definitely, when I shall have the pleasure to be with you on the day before the 23rd of June.

I am, Reverend Sir, in sincere friendship,
Our highest regards to you all.

Falkner Swamp,
May 12th, 1792.

Your humble servant
FRED. DELLIKER.

Dr. Weiser has preserved a traditional account of his introductory sermon from one who heard it, which may well be repeated:

In his introductory (sermon) he did not fail to call attention to the peculiar solemn position in which he found himself placed. The death of his beloved father occurring, as it were in the very spot on which he was then speaking; his mouldering remains lying under his very feet; his youth and hasty preparation to become his sire's successor; the questionable propriety of becoming a prophet in his own country—on all these points the young pastor delicately touched with much trembling and many tears. One who heard it all says: "When he exclaimed. 'Who is sufficient for these things?' all became strangely affected, and many wept."

In the spring of 1792 young Mr. Faber began his pastoral work in his three congregations. Indeed he seems to have been so eager for his work that he officiated as a minister even before he was ordained, baptizing several children at Old Goshenhoppen in May, 1792. During the first few years he kept the various church records fairly well. Thus at New Goshenhoppen he entered 59 baptisms^s from the summer of 1792 to September, 1795, at Old Goshenhoppen he entered 24 baptisms from May, 1792, to April, 1795, and at Great Swamp 33 baptisms from the summer of 1792 till September, 1796. But after the latter date his records were entirely neglected, no entries of any sort being made after June 1, 1797. It may

of course be that he kept private records in which he recorded his ministerial acts, but judging from the incomplete and careless entries actually made in the records, that is hardly to be expected.

Fortunately the lack of information regarding his pastorate is partly supplied by the account books of the Old Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp congregations, from which the following interesting entries are taken.

In the Old Goshenhoppen account book (opened in 1772) we find that on July 19, 1791, the congregation paid to the schoolmaster, Mr. Jung, 15 shillings. On June 15, 1792, there were paid to Mr. Faber, Jr., 15 shillings; to Mr. Peter Hollebusch for expenses to go to the Coetus 7s. 6d; to the schoolmaster Jung for the year 1791, £2. 5s. On December 5, 1793, Mr. Faber signed his first receipt for salary from the congregation, amounting to £24. 8s. 11d. This was probably one third of the whole amount he received from the charge. Later on his salary increased. Beginning with the year 1803, Old Goshenhoppen paid its pastor £33. 6s. 8d. From at least 1804 to 1807 Nicolaus Weinel was the schoolmaster of the congregation, who was paid £6 for playing the organ and leading the singing. The account book makes us acquainted with three of the early schoolmasters of Old Goshenhoppen, Henrich Hemsing, from at least 1772 to 1782. Then there was probably a change. Payments to the schoolmasters are noted from 1785 to 1789, but no name is mentioned. In July, 1791, schoolmaster Jung is mentioned. How long he served cannot be made out. From 1804 to at least April 1, 1807, Nicolaus Weinel served in that capacity.

From the Great Swamp account book (begun in 1759,

but poorly kept, with many years, *e.g.*, 1770 to 1793, entirely wanting), we have culled some items of interest:

On August 5, 1794, the following payments were entered into the record:

	£	s.	d.
Paid to Mr. Hendel	—	1	10½
paid as rent to Mrs. Levy for Mr. Pomp	—	15	—
paid to Mr. Jost Wiand to fetch Mr. Faber from Lancaster	—	12	—
paid to go to Coetus	—	8	—
paid to Mr. Hendel	—	15	—
“ “ ditto	—	3	9
“ “ Mrs. Levy as rent for Mr. Pomp	—	15	—
“ “ ride to the Coetus	—	5	—
“ “ Mr. Philip Eberhard to go to the Coetus in Phila. [1792]	—	11	—

On March 19, 1796, we find:

	£	s.	d.
Paid to Mr. Faber, minister, on account of his salary ..	12.	7.	6.
paid to the administrator of the late Mr. Faber for salary still due him	24.	11.	4.
Received on March 15. 1796, from Philip Eberhard, Jacob Schmid, Johannes Jung and Philip Mumbauer, deacons and elders at this time, the sum of 100 dollars to secure a patent for the pastor's land [glebe] at Goshenhoppen.			

DAVID SPINNER.

On November 16, 1797, the following items deserve notice:

	£	s.	d.
Paid for 15 bushels of lime for the schoolhouse	—	15.	—
paid for the masons	—	18.	—
paid for 12 pounds of nails	—	15.	—
paid for glass	2.	16.	10.
paid for 100 shingles for the parsonage	3.	15.	—
paid for 205 feet of boards for the same	—	17.	—
paid for puddy	—	4.	6.
paid for a ten plated stove	6.	—	—
paid to ride to Synod	3.	15.	—
paid for grass for use of Mr. Faber	—	10.	—

paid for springhouse at parsonage	—	10.	—
paid for pump at parsonage	3.	0.	7.
On August 9, 1804, £2.14.3. were paid for repairs to the schoolhouse.			
Paid for a bake-oven in the parsonage	1.	6.	2.
On May 23, 1805, £6.2.10. were paid for repairs to the parsonage.			

From 1797 to 1804 John Jung signed receipts for repairs to the schoolhouse. He is probably identical with the schoolmaster Jung mentioned in 1791 in the Old Goshenhoppen book.

In 1801 the four united congregations of Northampton, Jordan, Union and Egypt extended a call to Mr. Faber to become their pastor, but he declined it.²¹⁸

Faber attended the meetings of Synod faithfully, except in 1803 and 1806. In the former year he was sick. In 1807 he was secretary, in 1808 president of Synod.

A letter of Rev. Jacob Senn, pastor at Tohickon and Indianfield, to Mr. Faber, referring to his sickness, is preserved in the archives of the Reformed Seminary at Lancaster. It is interesting enough to be inserted here:²¹⁹

LETTER OF REV. JACOB SENN TO REV. JOHN T. FABER, JR.

ROCKHILL, February 22, 1803.

Dear Friend and Brother!

I received your letter and heard with pleasure that you are again improving. I entertain the hope, that (God willing) you will soon regain your former health and strength, and thus be able to attend again to your ministry, which is no doubt much to be desired both by yourself and your congregations.

I have also had sickness in my family for a long time. My wife has been unwell for almost two years and sometimes I have had

²¹⁸ Minutes of the Synod of 1801, Session I, § 2.

²¹⁹ This letter also was placed at the disposal of the writer by Prof. Geo. W. Richards, D.D., of the Lancaster Seminary.

little hope for her recovery, but now (thank God) she is better again.

As regards your request, I am willing and ready to serve you, but I cannot do it at the time set by you. I can never take away a Sunday (as you no doubt know yourself) without first informing the congregation and that cannot be done before three weeks. Three weeks from yesterday I am, therefore, ready to serve you, if that is agreeable to you. You may therefore announce it, if agreeable, that I shall conduct services for you on March 13th.

With a friendly greeting to yourself and wife, I remain,

(Address)

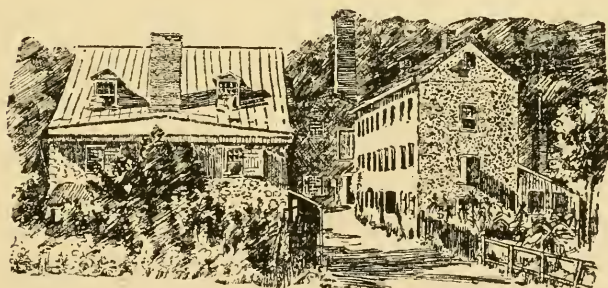
Your Friend and Servant

Rev. Mr. J. T. Faber,

JACOB SENN.

New Goshenhoppen.

In 1807 Mr. Faber accepted a call from the New Holland charge, Lancaster County, where he remained pastor till 1819, when he returned to Goshenhoppen.





CHAPTER XV.

MINISTRY OF REV. ALBERT HELFFENSTEIN, 1808—1811.

SCHOOLMASTER Nicolaus Weinel of Old Goshenhoppen introduces us to the next minister. In the Old Goshenhoppen account book he made an entry which fixes the exact time when the new pastorate began:

On June 19, 1808, the young Rev. Mr. Helffenstein delivered his first introductory sermon here in Old Goshenhoppen. On Sunday before he made the beginning at New Goshenhoppen.

Albert Helffenstein was the fifth son of the well-known Reformed preacher of Germantown, John Conrad Albertus Helffenstein, and of his wife, Catharine Kircher, a native of Philadelphia.²²⁰ He was born in Germantown, March 13, 1788. He was baptized and confirmed in his father's church.

He received his theological education from Rev. Dr. Christian Ludwig Becker, from 1795 to 1806 pastor at Lancaster, and from 1807 to 1818 pastor at Baltimore. Dr. Becker was a fine scholar and pulpit orator and well qualified to prepare young men for the ministry. Nine-

²²⁰ They were married on February 11, 1773, at Philadelphia. Their marriage is recorded in the old record book of the First Reformed Church at Philadelphia, see *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d Series, Vol. VIII, p. 678.

teen students received their theological instruction from him during the last sixteen years of his life (1800-1816).²²¹

After completing his theological training Helffenstein appeared before Synod, which met at his native place, May 15, 1808. At that time "a call was received from Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp for Mr. Albert Helffenstein."

Similar calls were received at the same time for other candidates. It was then resolved "that the candidates Messrs. Runkel, Jr., Gloninger, Schaffner, Becker and Helffenstein be examined this evening. The committee of examination consists of Messrs. Helffrich, Wack, Hoffmeier and Senn."²²²

On the next day the committee "who were appointed to examine the several candidates last evening, reported, that the young gentlemen sustained a perfectly satisfactory examination. It was resolved, that these young men be ordained this evening. Messrs. Faber, Geistweidt and Hoffmeier were appointed the committee of ordination."

Helffenstein entered upon his work at Goshenhoppen immediately after the meeting of Synod, preaching on June 12, 1808, his installation sermon at New Goshenhoppen, as the record of schoolmaster Weinel, already quoted, proves. On June 21 he had his first funeral at New Goshenhoppen. But his ministry was of short duration. On May 11, 1811, he entered his last baptism at New Goshenhoppen.

The record of his pastoral work at Goshenhoppen is not complete. He only entered 70 baptisms, 22 funerals and

²²¹ Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States in the Nineteenth Century*, New York, 1911, p. 13 f.

²²² Minutes of the Synod of 1808, Session I, §§ 3, 7; Session III, § 2.

12 weddings into the records. There are no weddings recorded by him at Great Swamp and even the other entries are incomplete, most of them stopping in 1809.

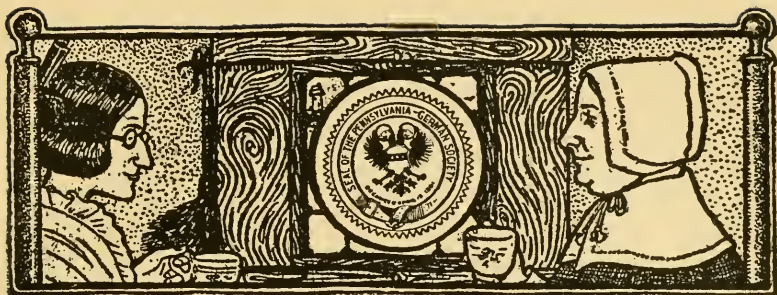
His ministry seems to have extended till October, 1811, for on October 27, 1811, he signed a receipt for salary for four months from the Great Swamp congregation. His salary was apparently one hundred dollars from each congregation. In July, 1809, 1810 and 1811, he signed receipts for \$100 each from the Great Swamp congregation.

Dr. Weiser reports²²³ that like Mr. Pomp he resided at first with a widow Levy at New Goshenhoppen, later with Mr. Pannebecker, until the new parsonage was completed.

Being a city boy and more accustomed to the English language than the German, he felt ill at ease among the German farmers at Goshenhoppen. He, therefore, accepted in 1811 a call to Carlisle, where he stayed till 1819. Then he was pastor at Baltimore from 1819 to 1835. After that he left the Reformed Church, removed to Ohio and entered the Protestant Episcopal Church. In 1851 he applied to Lebanon Classis to be received back to the church of his fathers. His request was granted with certain conditions which he fulfilled. At the same meeting of Classis he presented a call from the Elizabethtown charge in Lancaster County, which Classis confirmed. He labored in this field till 1853, when he retired from the ministry. In 1859 he removed to Shamokin, where he resided with his nephew, Chas. P. Helffenstein. There he died January 30, 1869.²²⁴

²²³ Weiser, *Monograph*, p. 89.

²²⁴ For a sketch of Albert Helffenstein's life see Heisler, *Fathers*, Vol. IV, pp. 67-70.



CHAPTER XVI.

MINISTRY OF REV. FREDERICK WILLIAM VAN DER SLOOT, JR., 1812-1818.

AFTER Mr. Helffenstein had left Goshenhoppen in October, 1811, the congregations were without a pastor for more than a year. In November, 1812, they succeeded in securing a new pastor. He himself has left a statement in the New Goshenhoppen record which fixes the time of his arrival. "On November 12, 1812, I entered upon my ministry, but funerals did not occur till 1813." This new pastor was Frederick William Van der Sloot, Jr., son of the former pastor.

Frederick William Van der Sloot, Jr., was born November 15, 1773, at Dessau, in the Duchy of Anhalt, Germany.²²⁵ The following is a translation of the baptismal entry in the church record at Dessau:

To Mr. Philipp Wilhelm Friedrich Van Der Sloot, appointed conrector of the Latin school of this place and to his wife, née Schultz, a young son was born, Friedrich Wilhelm, early at one o'clock, Monday morning, the 15th of November 1773, and was baptized in the house on the same day.

²²⁵ For the history of Mr. Von der Sloot, Jr., see *History and Genealogy of the Von der Sloot Family*, pp. 18-23.

He studied in the University of Leipzig, and, after completing his studies, emigrated to America in the year 1801. He landed at Charleston, S. C., whence he continued his journey to Philadelphia. From there he made his way in a "market wagon" to Northampton County, Pa., where he found his father ministering to seven or eight congregations.

In 1802 young Van der Sloom appeared before the Synod of the Reformed Church, which met from May 16 to 18, 1802, at Philadelphia. On Monday, May 17,

a communication was received from the congregations in Allen, Moretown, Lehigh and Hanover townships, asking Synod to hold a tentamen with young Mr. Van der Sloom, and to place him in a position to serve them as their pastor. Resolved, that a committee of five be appointed to hold a tentamen with him. The following persons constituted the committee: Messrs. Hendel, Wagner, Wack, Sen., Runkel and Wack, Jr.

On Tuesday morning, May 18,

the committee consisting of Messrs. Hendel, Wagner, Wack, Sen., and Wack, Jr., reported that they held a *tentamen* with Mr. Van Der Sloom, and found his qualifications such that he can with propriety be licensed as a candidate for the ministry. Resolved that Mr. Van Der Sloom be licensed.²²⁶

Later on in the same session we read that, to Mr. Van Der Sloom, in connection with his *tentamen*, was assigned the duty of preparing a sermon on Rom. 8: 1.

At the meeting of Synod, held May 8 to 10, 1803, at Lebanon,

application was made this morning by the congregations of Mr. Van Der Sloom for his ordination. The subject was again taken into consideration this afternoon. It was resolved that Mr. Van

²²⁶ Minutes of the Synod of 1802, Session I, § 5; Session III, §§ 1, 6.

Der Sloot be ordained. Messrs. Helffrich, Pomp, and Hoffmeier were appointed a committee to ordain him in his congregations on the second Wednesday after Whitsuntide;²²⁷ (June 8, 1803).

In May, 1811, Mr. Van der Sloot informed Synod that he had left the congregations he had heretofore served, and accepted a call from the congregation at Germantown. The call was confirmed by Synod.²²⁸

Shortly after entering upon his ministry in Northampton County Mr. Van der Sloot had been married, on November 11, 1802, to Catharine Pauli, daughter of the Rev. Philip Reinhold Pauli, of Reading, Pa. The marriage ceremony was performed by the Rev. Dr. Wm. Hendel, Jr., then pastor at Tulpehocken.

Mr. Van der Sloot remained only a short time in Germantown. As we have learned from his own entry in the New Goshenhoppen record, he came to Goshenhoppen in November, 1812.

The record of his ministry at Goshenhoppen is very incomplete. Even his baptisms were not fully recorded. At New Goshenhoppen are 21 baptisms by him from January 24, 1813, to August, 1818; at Old Goshenhoppen he recorded 20 baptisms from February 28, 1813, to December, 1817, and at Great Swamp 19 baptisms were entered into the record by him from May 22, 1814, to November 22, 1818. The records of his funerals are entirely wanting, five lonely burials at New Goshenhoppen excepted.

While pastor at Goshenhoppen Mr. Van der Sloot also supplied the Reformed congregation at the Trappe, Montgomery County.

Dr. Weiser draws this interesting picture of him as pastor at Goshenhoppen:

²²⁷ Minutes of the Synod of 1803, Session II, § 9.

²²⁸ Minutes of the Synod of 1811, Session III, § 15.

His large, burly form, his stentorian voice, his peculiar power to sing, pray and preach, his natural abilities and pulpit aptitude, his jovial nature, funded with wit and anecdote, his affable and friendly mien—all these bold features of the man are still to be freshly traced in the minds of his old parishioners, and are likely to perpetuate his portrait life-sized to another generation.²²⁹

As now a full century has passed since the beginning of Mr. Van der Sloot's pastorate at Goshenhoppen, it is hardly probable that the recollection of his jovial personality and short labors is still so vividly retained by the present generation.

His ministry at Goshenhoppen came to a close in November, 1818. From entries in the Old Goshenhoppen account it appears that his annual salary from that congregation was \$200, the other two congregations contributing probably an equal sum.

In December, 1818, we find him in Philadelphia. As nothing has appeared thus far in English regarding his activity in Philadelphia, it may be well to insert here a brief sketch of his labors there, based upon a recent investigation of the writer.

In the summer of 1818, English church services were introduced into the old Reformed church at Philadelphia. The German element of the congregation, which had for years fought against their introduction, felt so much aggrieved that they left their church and formed an independent congregation. In July, 1818, they rented the "Old Commissioners Hall" on Third Street below Green and asked a Lutheran minister, Rev. Karl R. Demme, to preach for them. On August 26, 1818, they elected the first consistory, consisting of four elders, four deacons and five trustees. On September 1, 1818, they sent a petition

²²⁹ Weiser, *Monograph*, p. 91.

to Synod, which met September 8 at Carlisle, asking that their action be confirmed and they be allowed to organize a German congregation. Their petition was readily granted and a committee was appointed to install the consistory.²³⁰ This took place on September 20, 1818. On November 9, 1818, an election for pastor took place, as a result of which Frederick William Van der Sloot was elected. He hesitated at first to accept it, but after his salary had been fixed at 1,200 dollars, he accepted on December 2. On January 1, 1819, he delivered his introductory sermon, in Zion's Lutheran Church to a large audience, preaching from the text Ezekiel 3: 17, "Son of man, I have made thee a watchman unto the house of Israel."

Under the leadership of the new pastor steps were at once taken for the building of a church. On February 15, 1819, the congregation resolved to build a church 50 feet wide and 67 to 70 feet long. On March 27 the congregation was incorporated. In April a schoolhouse was bought on Rose Alley, the present Bodine Street.

The cornerstone of the new church was laid with special services on May 9, 1819. At this time the church was named "Salem Church," which is still its name. A special feature of the celebration were a series of hymns which the pastor had written and for which the schoolmaster, Jacob Bibighaus, had composed the music. The church was dedicated October 24, 1819, with a still more elaborate celebration, for which the pastor had again composed the hymns and the schoolmaster had written the music. The following verses may be quoted as a sample of pastor Van der Sloot's German poetry:

²³⁰ Minutes of the Synod of 1818, p. 14, §§ 10, 11.

Ist's wirklich?—Nicht ein süßer Traum?
 Dass hier, aus diesem öden Raum—
 Zu Menschen Glück und Gottes Lob—
 So schnell sich dieses Haus erhob?

Chorus:

Nein! Nicht ein Traum. Der Gott, der uns're Väter
 In früh'rer Zeit berieth, der ist auch später—
 Noch unser Gott. In seinem Arm gestützt,
 Umschliesst er uns; er ist ihm nicht verkürzt:
 Umschliesst er uns mit himmlischen Erbarmen—
 Beselet uns mit Muth in Seinen Armen.

Another verse refers to the name of the new church:

Durch Christum war der Herr euch nah,
 Auf! Singet laut Hallelujah!
 Zieht jubelnd in eu'r Salem ein:
 Der mit euch war, wird mit euch sein.

But although the congregation had now a beautiful property and a new home, their joy was by no means un-mixed, for there was also a large debt on the property. But the members did not lose courage. Several committees were at once appointed. One to collect among the members of the congregation. Another committee went to Baltimore where they succeeded in raising \$208. Then they wrote letters to the different congregations of the Synod, asking them to take up a collection for them. To satisfy the most urgent creditors a mortgage of \$5,000 was taken upon the property on July 23, 1821. In November of the following year they asked the legislature of the state for permission to start, in accordance with a then prevailing custom, a lottery to pay off their debt. But their petition was apparently not granted.

As they felt that they could not meet their obligations,

the consistory, in January, 1821, fixed the pastor's salary at \$800, but when Van der Sloot expressed his unwillingness to serve for that sum, they allowed him to take up an extra collection for the remaining \$400. But such an arrangement could not be continued for any length of time. Evidently Van der Sloot, too, saw that their expenses had to be curtailed, hence he handed in his resignation on December 26, 1823. The four years which Van der Sloot had spent in the congregation had not been without success. In 1819 he reported 304 members, 26 confirmed, 50 baptisms and 19 funerals. In 1820 the number of members had risen to 346. That there was also a healthy internal growth is shown by the fact that in February, 1821, the first society of men was organized, and in April, 1823, the Sunday School. But the finances of the congregation could not be put on a sound basis till, on January 5, 1824, Henry Bibighaus was elected Van der Sloot's successor at a salary of \$400, which was better within the reach of the congregation to pay.²³¹

From Philadelphia Van der Sloot went to Virginia, where, in March, 1824, he accepted a call of eight, later ten, congregations in Rockingham and neighboring counties. Here he preached for about three years, until, in the spring of 1827, he was called to York and Adams counties, where he served nine congregations—Pigeon Hill, Holtzschwam, Straher's, Rosstown and Franklin in York County, and Bermudian, Oxford, Abbottstown and Berlin in Adams county. These congregations he served up to the time of his death, which took place in Paradise town-

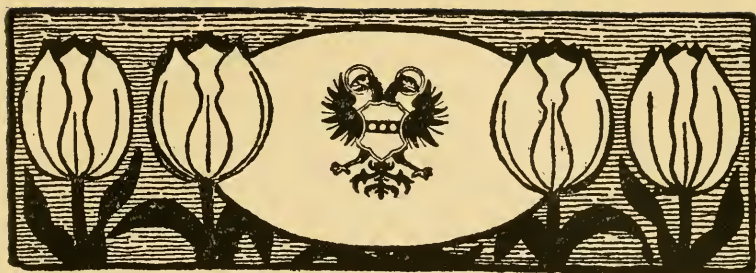
²³¹ A more extensive history of Salem's Reformed Church at Philadelphia, was read by the writer on October 15, 1899, in that church, and printed in the *Kirchenzeitung*.

ship, on December 14, 1831. He was buried in the graveyard of the Holtzschwamm church.²³²

Mr. Van der Sloot was a good linguist and he had also talent and taste for poetry. A number of his poems and hymns have been printed. As a minister he was an untiring worker. In the thirty years of his ministry he is said to have served thirty-three congregations. He was prominent in the counsels of the church. In 1821 he was elected clerk of Synod and in the following year its president. When Philadelphia Classis was organized in 1820, F. W. Van der Sloot became its first president and Jacob W. Dechant its first secretary.

²³² For a sketch of F. W. Von der Sloot's life see Harbaugh, *Fathers*, Vol. III, pp. 118-121.





CHAPTER XVII.

THE DIVISION OF THE CHARGE IN 1819, AND REV. JOHN
T. FABER'S SECOND PASTORATE,
1819-1833.

HISTORY often repeats itself. This proved to be the case at Goshenhoppen. Just as the elder Faber, after an absence of seven years, was glad to return to the field of his first labors, so the younger Faber followed in the footsteps of his father, when after the departure of F. W. Van der Sloot, Jr., he accepted a call from his first congregations to return to them. The call extended to him is an interesting historical document which deserves preservation. It reads as follows:²³³

CALL OF THE GOSHENHOPPEN CONGREGATION TO MR.
FABER, JR.

Reverend Sir:—

Inasmuch as the Rev. Mr. Von Der Sloot has resigned the office of pastor over us and accepted a call from the new German congregation in Philadelphia, we are compelled to renew our efforts to secure the services of another shepherd. At the suggestion of several members of the consistory of the congregation at Old

²³³ Weiser, *Monograph*, pp. 98-101.

Goshenhoppen, we resolved to hold an election in the three congregations. As you have been our pastor in former years, as well as your father before, and as we have always cherished a peculiar love and affection for you, it is our heart's desire that you return to us again. This general esteem and confidence which we have ever borne you, manifested itself also, at the time of our election, on which occasion the congregations at New Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp cast a unanimous vote in your favor. To this unanimity Old Goshenhoppen, it is true, forms an exception. There the election was not held on the appointed day; but that congregation will be obliged to submit to the will of the majority—as is but right and proper. After having learned the result, we, the elders and deacons, in the name of the congregations, call the Reverend John Theobald Faber, at present pastor over the New Holland charge, as our minister and pastor over our congregations, to preach the word of God among us, to administer the holy sacraments, and to discharge all those duties becoming a faithful Christian minister of the German Reformed Church. And as he who ministers at the altar shall also live by the altar, we, therefore, promise on our part, and in the name of the congregations, to pay you annually the sum of *four hundred and fifty dollars*; and besides, the possession of the parsonage, and whatsoever else is customary to be given as perquisites on funeral, marriage and confirmation occasions.

We now pray you to accept our call, which we as representatives of our charge extend to you, and to favor us with an answer, in writing, so that we may make arrangements to bring you and your dear family among us. Do not allow yourself to be discouraged by the fact that the election was not held at Old Goshenhoppen at the time appointed, but on a wholly different day—which was irregular—and that on that occasion a majority of votes was cast for the Rev. Mr. Zeller. Our three congregations constitute a pastoral charge—the majority of whose votes were cast in your favor. Though the *two* congregations elected you—unanimously, to say—and a minority of the third even, you will yet be the choice of the large majority of the charge; and you are

hereby truly and solemnly called as its minister. If Old Goshenhoppen should desire to sever her connection with us, we will, nevertheless, pay you the full amount promised. We fear greatly that our flock may be scattered, and on this account the more urgently request you to show your love toward us, by accepting our call. The Lord will in future be with us and bless His word to the salvation of our souls.

Undersigned by our hands as elders and deacons of the joint congregations, and given by us on the 31st day of March, A.D. 1819.

JOHN GERY	}	<i>Elders</i>	JOHN HILLEGASS	}	<i>Deacons.</i>
ADAM EVERHART			ADAM HILLEGAS		
HENRY OTT			MICH. ROUDENBUSH		
JACOB DUBBS					

The expectations of New Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp that Old Goshenhoppen would acquiesce in the choice of the majority were not fulfilled. The opposition to Mr. Faber was so serious that they refused to reconsider their action, but appealed to Synod for help.

At the meeting of the Synod held on September 5 and following days of the year 1819, at Lancaster,

a letter from the Old Goshenhoppen congregation was read, in which the Reverend Synod was requested to permit them to secure services on Sunday afternoon through a minister of Synod. A committee, consisting of Messrs. Wack, Sen., Hinsch and Elder Graff was appointed to take this letter under consideration.

On the following day the committee handed in the following report:

The committee appointed to consider the conditions in the Old and New Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp congregations, report: "That they had found that Rev. Mr. Faber has been elected pastor by a very large majority in the New Goshenhoppen and Swamp congregations, the Old Goshenhoppen congregation, however, does

not seem to be inclined to Mr. Faber." It is the judgment of the committee that it would be advisable for Synod to give the Old Goshenhoppen congregation the friendly advice, to unite with the other two congregations rather than sever a bond of eighty-two years standing, for the committee cannot imagine how the Old Goshenhoppen congregation will gain anything by withdrawing from the union with New Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp.²³⁴

At the same meeting of Synod, in 1819, John T. Faber reported as his congregations Old Goshenhoppen, New Goshenhoppen, Great Swamp and Trappe in Montgomery County. He had baptized 90, confirmed 35, buried 34, and 202 members had communed. He also reported one school. The inclusion of Old Goshenhoppen was probably due to the fact that the final decision as to the attitude of the congregation had not yet been rendered. When it was rendered it was adverse to accepting Mr. Faber as its pastor, in spite of the friendly advice of Synod.

At the meeting of the Classis of Philadelphia, held at Philadelphia on April 30 to May 1, 1820,

a letter was read from the congregation of the Rev. J. Faber, in which they expressed their satisfaction with his ministry. A letter from Mr. Faber was also read in which he excused his absence because of sickness. The excuse was unanimously accepted.

The minutes of Synod of 1820 show also what had become of Old Goshenhoppen. Jacob William Dechant is reported as pastor of Pikeland, Chester County, Old Goshenhoppen in Montgomery County and Hilltown. His baptisms at Old Goshenhoppen begin on December 25, 1819. On December 30, 1820, he signed a receipt in the Old Goshenhoppen account book for 170 dollars salary.

The separation of the Old Goshenhoppen congregation, which occurred in 1819, was final. It never returned to

²³⁴ Minutes of the Synod of 1819, p. 19, § 15; p. 21, § 9.

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REV. CLEMENT Z. WEISER.

the former charge. The congregation of Upper Milford took its place and remained under Faber's care to the end of his life.

There is only one later event in the pastorate of the younger Faber which deserves some notice. It is the remarkable manner of his death, almost an exact reproduction of that of his father. We quote fittingly the description of Dr. C. Z. Weiser, who has done so much to preserve the history of the congregation:²³⁵

Pastor Faber's history, like that of his sainted father, came suddenly and solemnly to a close. At the funeral services of Mrs. Peter Maurer he was taken ill in the middle of his discourse, and sank away. The excitement of the congregation cannot well be described. It was on the first day of February, just forty-five years later than the time his father had received his final call to the eternal world. Several helping hands bore the sick pastor away to the school-house and subsequently to the parsonage. Here he lingered ten days. His death occurred on the 10th of February, 1833, at an age of 61 years, 4 months and 11 days. His remains were laid alongside of those of his father, beneath the chancel of the church. Over the elder Faber's tomb were placed the words: "Approach lightly." Over that of the son: "Depart softly."

With the division of the charge and the second pastorate of John T. Faber the first part of its history came to a close. In 1827 the first century of congregational life was ended. Having reached this point, our task is accomplished and we lay down our pen, leaving the later history to some future historian.

(The Church Records of the Goshenhoppen Reformed Charge, 1731-1830, will be published in Volume XXVIII.)

²³⁵ Weiser, *Monograph*, p. 106.

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