



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

the city of Mannheim:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ursula, of Switzerland, took Communion at Schluchtern in 1665

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

Goldschmidt

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

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

Reif

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

Johann, born 1682 in Hirzel, at Sinsheim

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

Strickler

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

Treichler

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

Pressures to Move Again

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

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

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

but its dark mood seemed to strike a chord:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

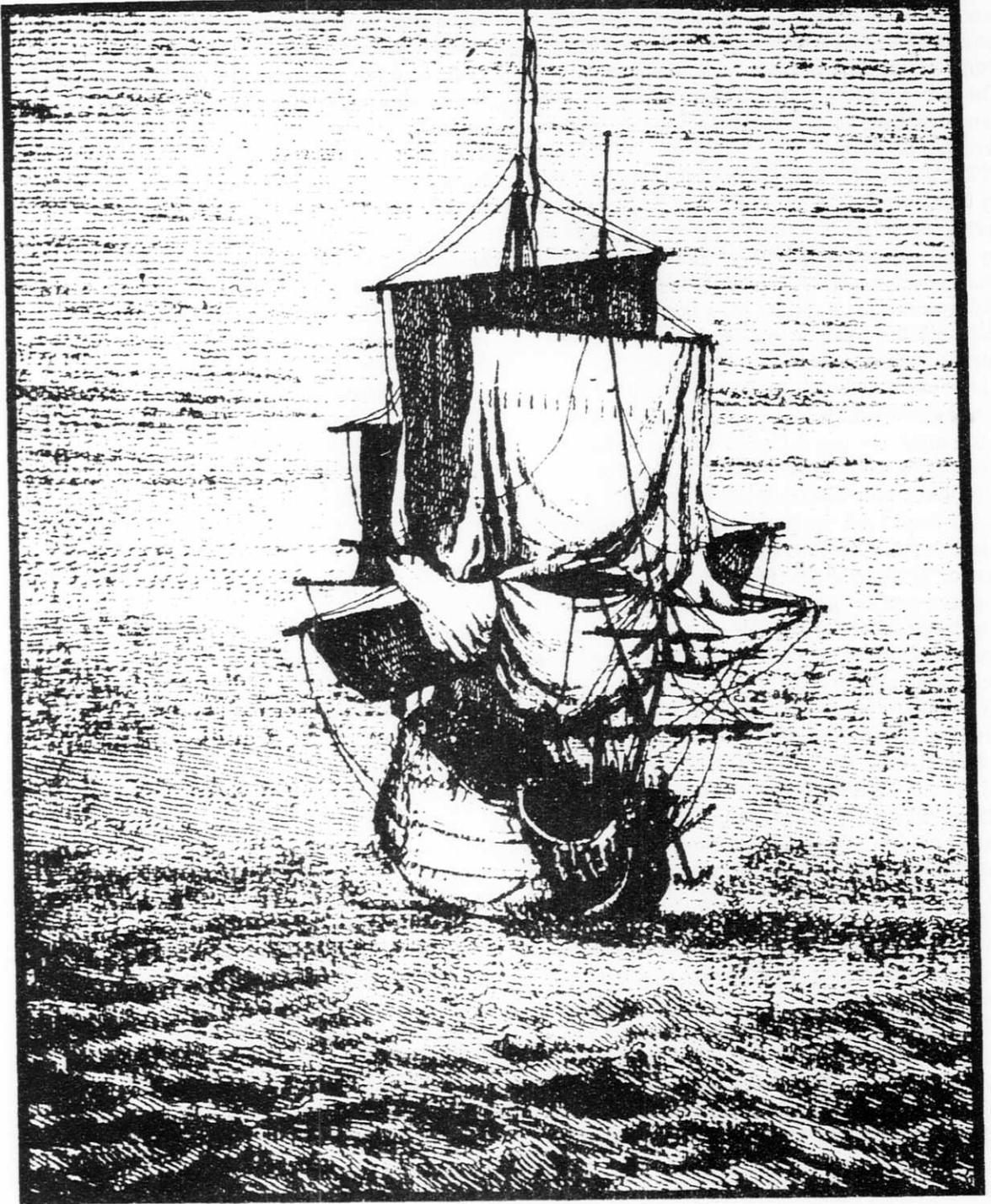
Word came from Kindig in the early spring of 1711 about the settlement on Pequea Creek in Pennsylvania — a land of religious freedom, where a community of brethren already there established kept thousands of acres beside them ready for the newcomers. Kindig visited the elders in Ibersheim, Bonfeld, Ittlingen,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

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

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

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

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



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

chapter 3
BAUGHMANS IN THE NEW WORLD
PENNSYLVANIA 1710-1760



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"To which they answer:

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

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

Valleys Lifted Up Like Bowls

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



A TENT CAMP OF REFUGEE PALATINES AT BLACKHEATH, OUTSIDE LONDON
ILLUSTRATED IN 1716 BY WOODCUT

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

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

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

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

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

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

The first lands on Pequea were sold at £10 of

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

Saucon Township

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Lord Proprietor, Death & Taxes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Baughman Farms

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

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

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

Land within Hempfield Manor was bought up in

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Part of the success of many German-American farms can be traced to a tradition of remaining anchored to one place, slowly adding acreage and passing land down to the next generation. Anticipating this inheritance, every member of their large families worked, even the small children. They introduced the habits of a four-year-rotation of crop, along with new methods for irrigation, fruit harvesting, plentiful fertilization of the fields and special attention to the housing and health of all farm animals. The schedule for resting the land followed this plan: wheat in the first year; oats, corn or buckwheat in the second; clover in the third; only plowing and sowing in the fourth.^{198:105}

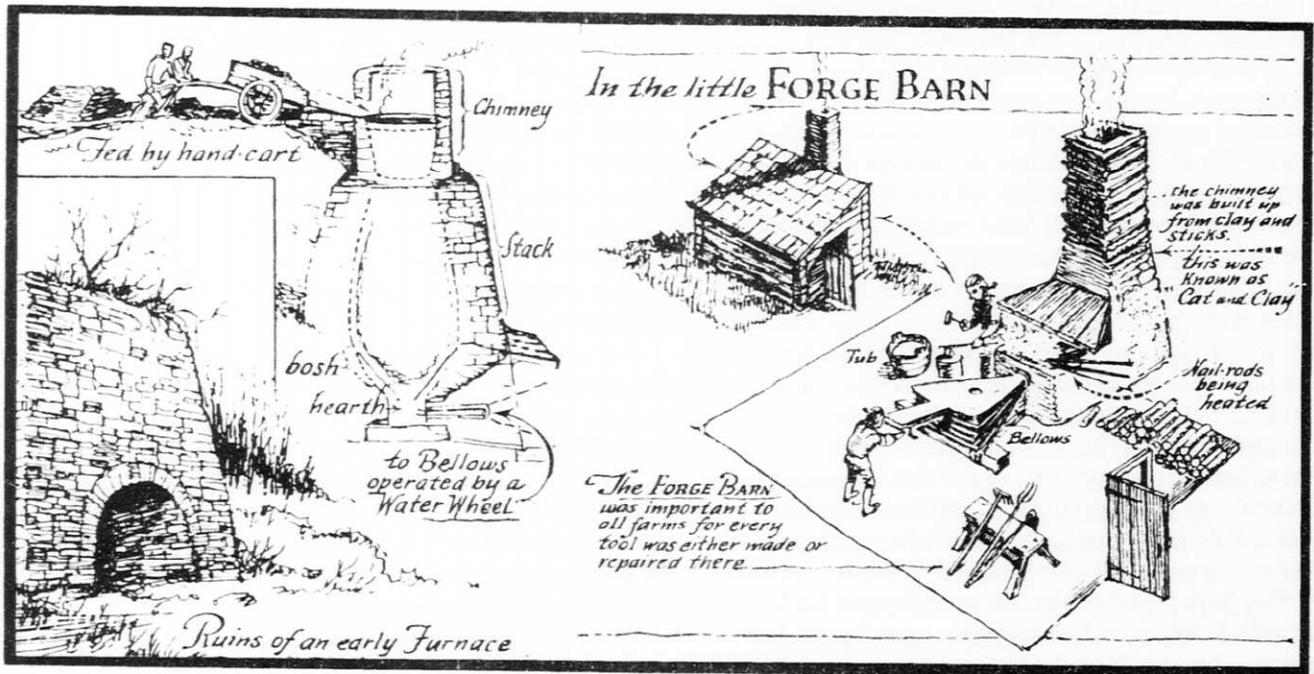
To harvest wheat grain, farmers used a hand sickle

first to cut high on the stalk. The straw was left standing for a second sweep with the long scythe. One good worker could cut one acre of hay in one day.^{164:66-68} The Germanic grain cradle combined a scythe with a frame to hold the cut stalks, speeding its later collection and doubling the productivity of a single worker. In Lancaster County, the harvester’s cradle was popular in the 18th Century, but was not taken up by Anglo farmers in New England until after 1800.^{198:112}

Soon after their arrival, the Swiss used grain fans, also known as cleaning mills, which could separate 200 bushels a day of grain from its chaff, far more than by throwing it up into the wind.^{198:110} The average harvest among all 18th Century Pennsylvania farms was six bushels of wheat per acre; but George Washington noted yields in Lancaster County averaging above 25 and sometimes up to 40 to 50 bushels per acre.^{198:116}

Makers of Iron and Hemp

JUST INSIDE THE EASTERN BOUNDARY OF HEMPFIELD Manor, one of Penn’s surveyors noticed the presence of iron ore. John Taylor, the surveyor for Kindig and Herr, received a letter from William Blunston in 1737 that asked whether anyone had taken a warrant “on the Iron Hill” where exposed outcroppings of the mineral had likely affected the needle of his surveyor’s compass. A century later, the Myers family founded a small village there called Ironville.^{166:876}



THE NECESSITIES OF BASIC IRON WORK
A FURNACE AND FORGE IN EARLY AMERICA AS ILLUSTRATED BY ERIC SLOANE

When they first arrived, the only source of refined iron in the area was in eastern Maryland, where a bloomery was opened in 1715, a year before the first forge was built in Pennsylvania.^{157:11} The Swiss blacksmiths of Hempfield Township needed bar iron from the forges to make tools and other hardware. Before the frontier roads of Pennsylvania were fit for wagon traffic, bars of pig iron six inches wide by five or six feet long were bent into giant 100-pound horse shoes and hooked in pairs over the back of each pack horse. A pair of drivers would lead and prod a single file of 12 to 15 loaded horses.^{157:31, 72} Other popular sizes of raw iron were two inches wide, half an inch thick and 14 feet long.^{157:73}

Visitors unfamiliar with the Hempfield Township area were astonished by rich ore found loose on the ground in farmers' fields. After rains, long streaks of red iron rust would stain the public roads.^{157:57} Dr. Johannes D. Schöpf, an early observer of southeastern Pennsylvania noted that "Any knowledge of mining is superfluous here... all work being done at the surface..."^{157:58} Beside the northern edge of Hempfield, iron ore deposits soon turned into the richest single source in the United States for over 100 years.^{157:48}

The first real company formed in Lancaster County, by 1726, was Kurtz's Iron Works, a bloomery forge on Octoraro Creek, near where Felix Bachman settled in 1740. John Jacob Huber started his furnace on Middle Creek, a branch of the Conestoga around 1750. Seven years later, a partnership between Johannes Bär, Heinrich Wilhelm Stiegel and Alexander and Charles Stedman bought Huber's ironworks and rebuilt it as Elizabeth Furnace. In addition to bar iron, they cast kettles, pots and pans. He also bought the Charming Forge on Tulpehocken Creek in Berks County.

Furnaces were self-sufficient worlds, often far away from any other community, surrounded by many acres of forest that were needed for firewood. The Reading Furnace had 5,600 acres; Martic had 3,400 acres. On smaller furnace plantations, the ironmaster was forced to buy firewood from the surrounding neighbors.^{157:21} Wood was usually cut for this purpose when agriculture came to a standstill during winter months.^{157:64}

During a "blast" of iron ore refining, the 36-foot-high hearths had to be tended by a team of eight to ten men around the clock. It was crucial for them to prevent a drop in smelting temperatures or anything else that might cause an explosion. The crew at Reading Furnace sometimes kept up the fire for 12-18 months at a stretch, although most of their smaller competitors never kept it up for more than nine months. Even the smaller forges put out two tons of iron per week.^{157:69-74}

Stiegel married Huber's daughter, Elizabeth, and then built a mansion house at Manheim with twin towers

and a roof-top bandstand. Whenever he departed or returned in his fancy coach from one of his furnaces, Stiegel insisted on a cannon salute. Unfortunately, his extravagance in this and many other ways bankrupted the company.^{157:127}

On Pequea Creek nearby, the Martic Iron Works were begun in 1754, led by Thomas and William Smith. Hempfield Township finally got its own Mount Hope Furnace in 1785 on the Big Chiquisalunga Creek, under the leadership of Peter Grubb, Jr. Transportation of one ton of pig iron from Lancaster to Philadelphia raised its wholesale cost of £5 by 20-40 percent.^{157:30}

Almost as soon as they arrived, the Swiss began to reapply their genius to practical arts and crafts. John Baughman, by 1715, was reported to be building furniture, houses and coffins.^{158:163} Martin Meili established workshops a mile northwest of the Hans Herr house as a master of iron and gunsmithing, and left behind a dated and monogrammed anvil from 1719, when he also had a gun barrel boring mill. Also on his estate were a grist mill and distillery.

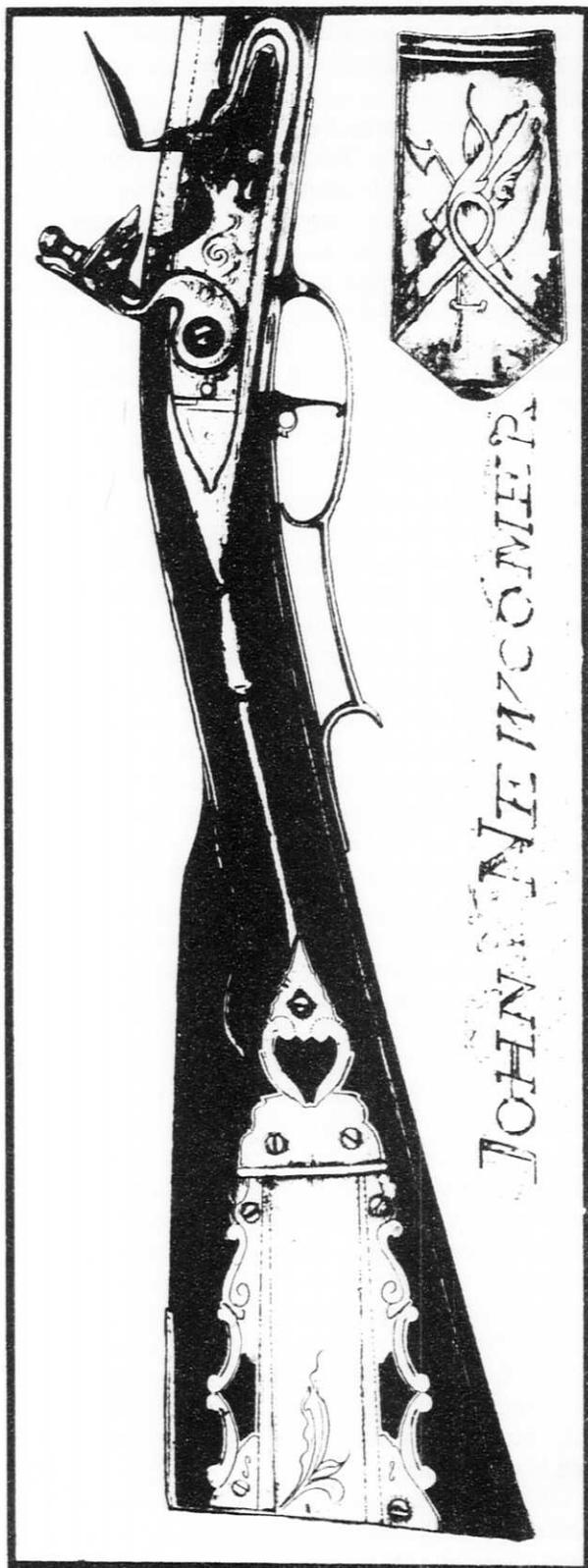
Meili shod horses, and also made and repaired countless of the Conestoga wagons that carried pioneers to the westward frontier. Wagon makers by Conestoga Creek made more than 7,000 of them in the next 30 years.^{157:30} The Conestogas were so important in early American life that even the thin black cigars that wagon teamsters smoked were nicknamed "stogies" in honor of the settlement from where the wagons came.^{198:119}

Some historians believe Meili was the one person most responsible for another colonial classic: a reliable American long arm, evolved from German design, called the Pennsylvania or Kentucky rifle.^{155:151}

In Hempfield township, John Baughman's immediate neighbor to the south was John Newcomer, another of the Mennonite gunsmiths who saw no contradiction in knowing all about guns but never choosing to shoot a fellow human being. Newcomer's trademark, a point of pride for all early American gunsmiths, came in the design of brass patchboxes inset on every rifle's shoulderstock. Each had a functional use for storing greased leather patches needed in the loading of a lead ball down the barrel; but aesthetically, these clever compartments were cut out and decorated with folk designs that turned into a unique "signature" for each gunsmith. Fathers would retire and pass the same pattern for brass patchboxes down to their son, and so it was with John Newcomer Jr. in 1780.

In 1763, the Newcomers of Hempfield were assessed tax specifically for the trade of guns. *The Pennsylvania Gazette* of 6 January 1773 carried notice that a shotgun for hunting birds, known as a fowling piece, with a barrel four feet, two inches in length, and an overall length of

six feet, made by John Newcomer, had been stolen.



THE DISTINCTIVE PATCHBOX
ON A RIFLE STOCK BY JOHN NEWCOMER

When the elder John died, his shop's inventory included gunsmithing tools (£60), Tools in Blacksmith Shop (£8:2:6), Wheelwright's tools (£25), A Lathe & Set of Wheelwright's Tools (£25), A Grindstone with crosscut saw (£3) and Some Old Brass @ 12d per lb., (£2:8).^{203:42}

Another of John Baughman's next-door neighbors also happened to make a living by blacksmithing — his son-in-law, Nicholas Jung. A Peter Laiman was also recorded as a gunmaker on Conestoga Creek.¹⁸⁰

Future generations of blacksmiths doubtless learned their trade at the *meister* Meili's feet. Besides the Meili sons in Lancaster township during the French and Indian War, Valentine Hoffman was at the anvil and before the Revolution a blacksmith Melchior Hill worked not far away.^{181:36} At the Manor in 1738, Michael Baughman sold part of his land to Abraham Stoner, a blacksmith, and another early smith was John Müller, founder of Millersville, who devised a lottery to sell five-acre lots there in 1761. Six years later, he was arrested for a debt he owed to Jacob Witmer.

Christian Oberholtzer Sr. of Hempfield Township and Jacob Hoak of Strasburg reportedly worked for William Henry producing arms for the Continental Army during the Revolution, and did not resist taking the Oath of Loyalty.^{203:44} David Rittenhouse, a Pennsylvania Mennonite, conducted experiments for the Continental Army in rifling cannons, besides supervising saltpeter, powder and casting works. After the war, he served as the first director of the U.S. Mint.^{201:163}

Among the third generation of Swiss from Lancaster County were the gunmakers, farriers and smithys Henry Barr, Jacob Becht, David Forrer, David and Jacob Hess, John Holeman, Ulrich Newcomer and Christian Oberholtzer Jr.^{181:32 & 203:32,44}

A lively commerce was also going on between the farmsteads and port city merchants. Hemp was a well-received commodity for making rope, burlap bags and a thousand other uses, and grown to such amounts by John Baughman's neighbors that their township was soon named after it. Besides his smithing, Martin Meili raised hemp and earned £22:19:4 in one lump sum for 1,378 pounds of it.

Most American colonial farmers jealously kept all the hemp they could grow. Hemp had to be pulled up by the root and then spread out in water to soften its fleshy parts. Its fibers had to be rubbed, beaten, hung up to dry, broken and combed before they could be spun into tow and linen thread.^{164:68} It took back breaking labor to turn it into handkerchiefs, tablecloths and fine linen-like clothing.

In the economic strategy of mercantilism, Great Britain would have preferred to gather the colonists' hemp at a bargain and then force them to buy it back as

expensive finished goods. Spinning and weaving at home had blossomed to such a degree by the 18th Century that self-sufficient Americans ordered only one-fourth of what British textile importers thought they should. The independent mood of colonial hemp growers was an important part of the friction leading to the American Revolution. In a ruling that probably gave great relief to the brethren of Hempfield Township, hemp was declared a vital industry to the Revolution, and anyone who had worked for at least six months making hemp rope for the Continental Army was excused from military duty for the duration of the war.¹⁵³

Early receipts for Arthur Oliver, a local merchant from Conestoga, show that the Mennonites wanted to trade dressed skins for loaf sugar, rice and rosin he got from the southern American colonies; and ginger, pepper, quinine, soap and gunpowder from international importers in Philadelphia.^{155:153} A hemp mill was operating on the Big Chikis Creek about 1740. Shellenberger's saw and grist mill was erected on Strickler's Run about 1750.¹⁸²

Wednesdays and Saturdays were market days on Philadelphia's High Street. To deliver the fruits of their labor, conestoga wagons were challenged with four huge barrels at a time, each one filled with 150 gallons of whiskey, applejack or brandy. Lewis Evans wrote that "the economy of the Germans has taught us... [how] they load their Waggon and furnish themselves with beasts, and provender for the Journey. The Waggon is their Bed, their Inn, their everything, many of them will come one hundred and fifty miles without spending one Shilling."^{198:117}

"It was no uncommon thing," wrote Benjamin Rush "on Lancaster and Reading roads, to meet in one day fifty or a hundred of these wagons, on their way to Philadelphia, most of which belong to German farmers." After a generation or two, cheese and butter were being made in such quantity that it was exported to the West Indies.^{198:113}

Loyalty Affirmed

ON 20 MAY 1718, A LETTER WAS DRAFTED TO William Penn from the newly arrived Anabaptists: "We are subject to the laws of God, you the laws of men. We do not go to your election, we do not go to your Courts of Justice, we hold no offices, neither civil or military, we do not refuse to pay for our land, but we regard it as subject for complaint that we should be subject to civil and military domination. We came to Pennsylvania to enjoy the freedom of our opinions and of our bodies, and expect no other prescriptions of the laws than such as God has commanded. Because we make no

debts and need no laws to collect such, we ought not be compelled to pay for the support of other criminals in jails."

For ten years, the royal governor could ponder whether such feelings amounted to insolence or a self-sufficiency useful to the crown. The position was finally taken that the Palatines should become naturalized citizens. In 1728, a mass enrollment was organized and the brethren finally consented to attend. The "disadvantage they were under by being born aliens, that therefore their Children could not inherit nor they themselves convey to others the lands they purchase."

Whether he wanted to avoid oath-taking and test this law, or because he missed the chance by default, elder Henry Funk did not come to the meeting and failed to be naturalized. Seven years later, his son, Henry Jr., was not allowed to receive title to 200 acres of the old homestead as called for in his father's Last Will and Testament. Only by hurriedly getting a patent reissued in his own name did their land remain in the family.^{185:5}

On 1 April 1728, two of his Majesty's Justices Henry Pierce and George Aston adjourned their Chester County courtroom and went to Martin Meili's house in Conestoga. They had been invited by the Swiss Germans to hold a naturalization ceremony.

The justices, without perhaps intending to, created a rare early American census, a document with a clear profile of the 200 or so who were obliged to sign it. They had to be Mennonites, had to have arrived in Pennsylvania between 1710 and 1718, and had to own land in the Conestoga region of Chester County. The Lt. Governor, Patrick Gordon, also commended them all for contributing "very much to the enlargement of the British Empire, and to the raising and improving of sundry commodities fit for the markets of Europe, and [having] always behaved themselves religiously and peaceably, and paid a due regard and obedience to the laws and government of this province..."

Adjoining this list was a separate petition signed by 23 Germans of other faiths. The second list was necessary because the Mennonites had been given special permission to make a solemn affirmation only, based on a model statement drafted in 1725, in deference to their religious principles. The rest were made, in the more standard tradition, to swear an oath of allegiance. These two lists forced a clear choice in 1728, even though some families diverged from the community of brethren later.

Age and damage has left the original document full of holes. When possible, the language of similar documents has been consulted to complete the phrases of royal edict-making. For accuracy's sake, brackets set off these insertions.

The Mennonites' preamble said "We... promise and Solemnly Declare before God and the world that wee will

[be] true and faithfull to King George the Second and... from our hearts abhor, detest and Renounce... That Damnable Do[ctrin]e... That Princes Excommunicated or deprived by the Pope... may be Deposed or Murdered by their Subjects...

"No foreign prince... hath or ought to have Superiority, preeminence or authority... within Great Britain or the Dominions thereunto belonging..."

In questions of loyalty and high treason, the insecurity of King George could not be satisfied so quickly. The Mennonites were further obliged to learn a bit of the crown's family tree.

"wee do believe the [person preten]ding to be Prince of Wales [dur]ing the life of the late King James, and since his Decease pretending to... Title of King of England by the name of James Third... Hath not any Right... Wee will do our [best] Endeavor to Disclose an[d] make] known to King George the Second [and his suc]cessors all Treasons and Treacherous Conspiracies which we shall know to be made... Succession of the Crown to the late Queen Ann and [heirs] of her body being protestants... and for Default of Issue of the sd [late] Queen, to [the late] princess Sophia, Electoress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover... All these things we do

Handwritten text in cursive script, likely a historical document or petition. The text is dense and covers most of the page. It appears to be a formal declaration or petition, possibly related to the Mennonites in Pennsylvania mentioned in the caption below. The handwriting is in dark ink on aged paper. There are several large initial letters, such as 'Wee' and 'I', which are written in a decorative, calligraphic style. The text is arranged in several paragraphs, with some lines indented. The overall appearance is that of a historical manuscript or a printed document that has been handwritten over.

THE MAGNA CARTA OF MENNONITES IN PENNSYLVANIA RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP IN EXCHANGE FOR LOYALTY TO KING GEORGE

plainly and sincerely acknowledge... and we do make [this r]ecognition, acknowledgement, Renunciation and promise heartily, willing and Truly.”

As echoes from Alsace, Ibersheim on the Rhine, Chestnut Hill in Hempfield and a forecast of neighbors from the Shenandoah Valley, a very interesting sequence of signers to that petition began on column A with name 102: “Michael Sigrist, hanss jorg schnebeli, Johnes Bachman, Hanss Georg Döllinger, Dafit Langenecker, Samuel Meyli, Johannes rie[nger?], hanss newkommet... [No.A-112] Reinhardt Jung... [No.A-116] henrich strickler, Francis Neff, Frances Neff, mardin kindig... [No.A-128] hanss jacob ber... [No.A-130] Christopher Sours...”

Other names with significance to John Baughman were sprinkled across all three columns of signatures, including [No.A-10] Johannes Ferrer... [No.A-38] Henrich Hiest... [No.A-52] Jacob Hiestand... [No.A-70] Jacob Hagman... [No.A-92] Jacob Miller... [No.A-97] Ulrich rot... [No.A-134] hennerich hinstman... [No.B-4] martin meilin... [No.B-20] Christan Stoneman... [No.B-36] Hennes Funck... [No.B-44] Jacob Funck... [No.B-51] Hanss Heinerich Neff, Samel aberholtzer.

Also present were many Bars, Baumgartners, Böhms, Brennemens, Ebys, Gochnauers, Grabills, Groffs, Kauffmans, Lemons, Musselmanns, Oberholtzers, Roths, Stafers and Wittmers. Further genealogical study might tie these particular men to children, grandchildren and cousins of the same name in Virginia. Absences from this list, such as Michael Bachman, should not worry the careful observer since age and accidental damage to the petition have made a dozen of the signatures unreadable. Other adjoining neighbors and future in-laws in Hempfield township, such as George Mummer and Sebastian Weidman, had simply not arrived at Conestoga or come of age yet by 1728.

On the very next morning, 2 April 1728, the justices completed the petition and sent it along to the Provincial Council at Philadelphia. On 13 February 1729/30, “An Act for the Better Enabling Divers Inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania to Hold Lands, and to Invest Them With the Privileges of Naturalized Born Subjects of the Said Province” was passed by the House.

The parchment itself had been in the possession of the Meili family at least until 1844, when it was seen first hand by an early historian of Lancaster County. Officials lost track of it sometime thereafter, and not until 1983 did it resurface from a box of miscellaneous documents in the basement of the Chester County courthouse.

In August 1729 a petition was introduced in Lancaster for “setting forth ye Necessity of a High Way through Hempfield Township from ye first unsurveyed

Land near Susquehannah to Christian Stoneman his Mill and from the sd Mill to... the head of Pequea.” The head of Pequea Creek was in the direction of Lancaster Town and the original settlements of Kindig and Herr. Henry Neife and John Brubaker were to work with four of their English neighbors, including Edmont Cartlidge to agree on the course and lay out of a road. In August 1730, a further petition from neighbors around Christian Stoneman’s Mill asked that a proper road to the town of Lancaster be built, “praying that fit persons may be appointed to view & Lay [it] out.”

Five years later, another petition came to court, still pleading for a road “from Lancaster to the Sasquehanah River” all the more useful since the Proprietary had authorized a ferry landing at the terminus. John Baughman also offered to join the previous petitioners in laying out such a route. Since the site of the river landing belonged to the honorable John Wright, a county court justice, a speedier progress was assured.

Growing Pains

RUM LICENSES WERE ISSUED BY THE COUNTY IN May 1730 to Martin Harnist, Christian Stoneman, Edward Dougharty, John Stull, John Miller, Jacob ffunk, Edmond Cartlidge, Henry Snevally, Michael Mire and John Wilkin.

During a court session held at Lancaster on 3 November 1730 “in the fourth year of George II,” ten items of business were brought up before the half dozen justices, including petitions from John Boghman, John Bire, John Mire, Ketch Miller, Samuel Taylor and Robert Dening “to be liconced & Rated for Seling rum & Brandywine by the Quart & Upward till the Tenth of June Next.” These requests were all granted, along with a separate petition by Robert Dening to keep a “publick House in Donegal for the Remaining part of ye present year.”

During the winter of 1730-1731, John must have had some success selling spirits because when his license was due for renewal the next Spring, 41 of his neighbors also sought licenses, with more to follow the next year, including Jacob and John Kindig, John and Peter Lamon, and John Snavely.¹⁷⁰⁻¹⁵

THE SIGNATURE OF JOHANNES BACHMAN
WHO SETTLED “NORTHWEST OF CONESTOGA”

At that same session of the court, a jury of 12 Englishmen found Edward Dougherty innocent of charges that he was “keeping an ilgoverned Tipling House & Selling Rum to the Indians Contrary to Several Laws of this province.” According to the county court, only William Wilkins and Edmond Cartlidge were officially allowed to trade with the Indians. Michael Baughman was actually the most immediate neighbor of the Indian Town, it being fast upon the western border of his land.

Business for some of these men — namely Barr, Funk, Harnest, Keller, Loughman, Miller and Stoneman — had grown into “publick houses of Entertainment,” which the justices gave them permission to continue. Taverns sprouted up often, such as Forry’s Tavern between Gethsemane and Columbia, and the Black Bear Tavern east of Mountville.¹⁸²

This explosion of pleasure also brought certain regrets. Martin Harnest had to resort to the courts to recover a bill of 21 shillings and sixpence that had been run up by William Evans. Harnest received the satisfaction of having the debt repaid, plus costs, and seeing Evans “Receive on his bare back at the Comon

Whipping Post Ten Lashes.” Balzar Wenrick was charged with assaulting Mary Beholow “with intent to ravish her but the jury found him not guilty.”^{170:6} Tavernkeeper Jacob Barr felt compelled to defend in court the reputation of “a Single & Unmarried woman,” Arnol ffulton, after Johannes Schwob plead not guilty to fornication with her.^{170:12}

The Almighty Dollar

IN MAY 1732, FRANCIS NEFF, JR. SAT ON A JURY WITH 11 Englishmen to hear a case against Robert Teas, charged with trying to use counterfeit Ten Shilling currency notes. The jury found him guilty and at first ordered that he be put on a pillory and have both of his ears cut off, this before receiving 31 lashes on his bare back and a fine of £100 “one half thereof to the Use of the Government And the other half to the Discoverours & shall pay the parties Grievd Double the Vallue of the sd. Bills.” On reconsideration the same afternoon, the jury had a change of heart and dropped the part about his ears. Instead, Neff and the other 11 men decided that Teas would be banned from Lancaster County.^{170:18}



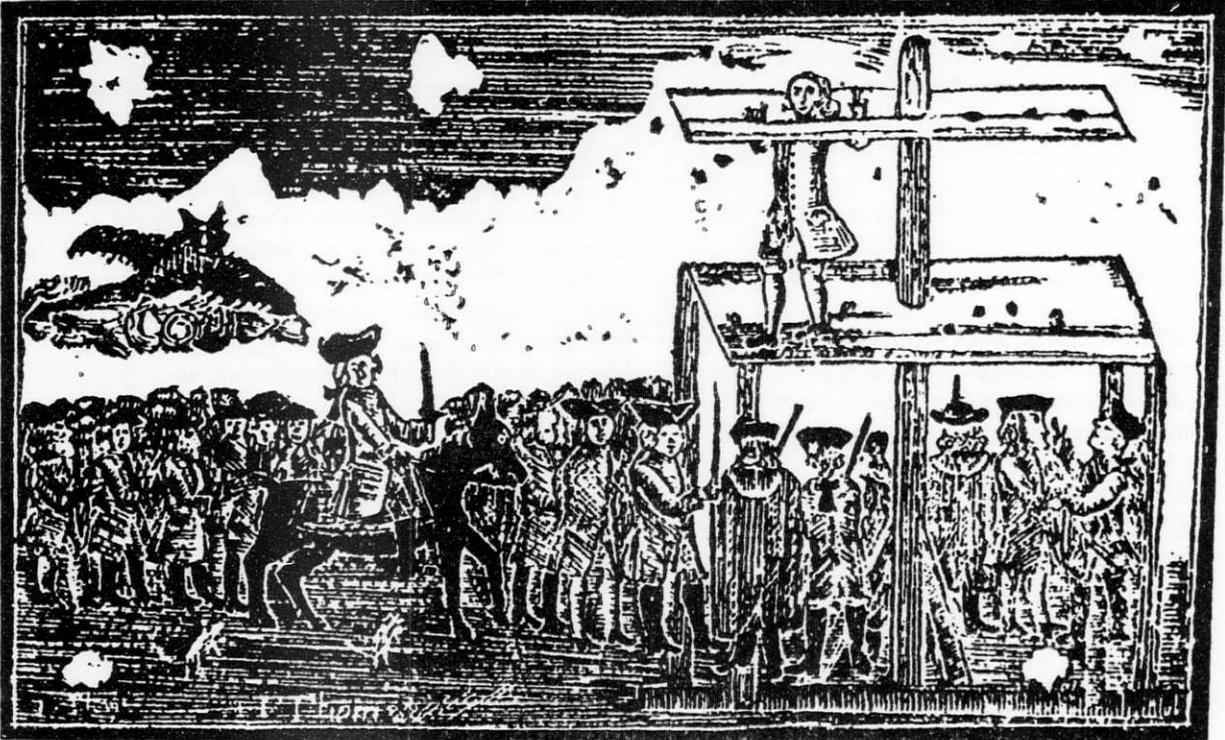
OFFICIAL AND EXCLUSIVE RIGHTS TO TRADE WITH THE INDIANS
EVEN THOUGH OTHERS WERE THEIR CLOSER NEIGHBORS

Teas very likely based his counterfeit bills on the official issue of Pennsylvania in existence since 1723. Benjamin Franklin and his partner D. Hall were contracted to print Pennsylvania's earliest banknotes, but because of the mediocre quality, Franklin hoped to discourage imitators in 1746 with a warning printed right on the money: "To Counterfeit is Death."

In 1742, a butcher from the Rhineland Pfalz named Jacob Ebberman was caught trying to pass counterfeit money in Germantown, Pennsylvania. While under the

custody of Constable Christopher Ottinger, he managed to escape. Ebberman was never recaptured, despite a £5 reward and widespread notices describing him as "short of stature, with jet black hair and a pale complexion, a very large mouth, and teeth wide-set in front."^{197:134-135}

In Lancaster County, Swiss brethren printers at the Ephrata Cloister took a turn printing money in April 1778 for the revolutionary Congress, but the quality was little changed. The contract to print yet more of the 250 different kinds of pre-independence currency in

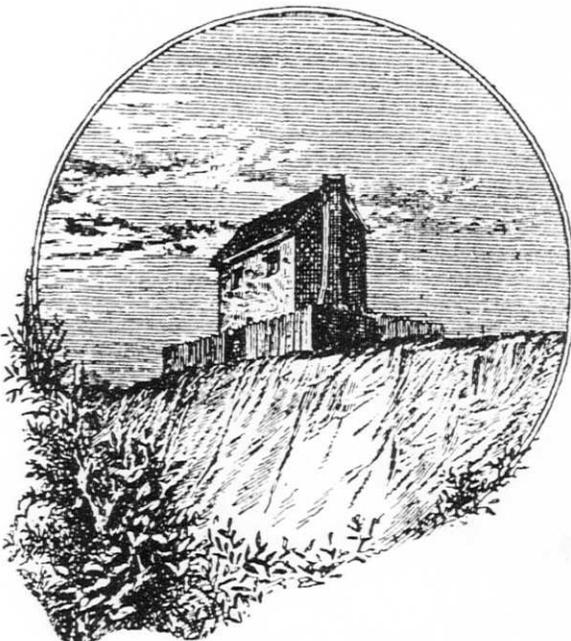


PUNISHMENT ON A PUBLIC STOCKADE IN COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA;
TWO SAMPLES OF EARLY AMERICAN PAPER MONEY

Pennsylvania passed on to the Philadelphia firm of Hall & Sellers. The new American banknote authorized by Congress was called the dollar, a slurred pronunciation borrowed from Swiss Germans for the word *taler*, an important coin from their old homeland. The Pennsylvania Germans in Lancaster County had even been referring to the British pound sterling with the name "dollar" ever since the 1730s.^{189:15}

The peoples' faith in the new United States dollars was terribly shaken during the war. In South Carolina, printers optimistically listed the exchange rate on the back of a two dollar bill as equal to £3:5:0. British secret agents undermined the rebel currency by counterfeiting eight dollar notes and pouring them into New York and Philadelphia.¹⁹⁷ The French sent an infusion of gold and silver to prop up the "continental's" value and to slow down the 1000 percent inflation, but eventually a bushel of corn sold for \$150 and a suit of clothes cost several thousand. For 80 years thereafter, the United States Government issued no more paper money.

In August 1732, The Swiss German community's heart was certainly challenged by the case of Margaret Hardine, an indentured servant, under the charge of James Smith. He requested the court to extend her servitude "for Bearing a Bastard Child during the time" and also for "certain runaway time & charge of Searching for & takeing her up." Margaret was ordered to serve one additional year for "Loss & Damage" to her master, as well as three more years and nine months for "lost charges, runaway time & trouble."¹⁷⁰



THE FORTIFIED HOME OF THOMAS CRESAP
ENTRANCE WAY FOR THE JOURNEY WEST AND SOUTH

The First Meetinghouse

AROUND THIS SAME TIME, THE MENNONITE ELDERS of Conestoga decided it was important to build the community's first meetinghouse. Since arriving, they had kept to the old Anabaptist tradition of prayer services held in one of their homes, and the stone house that the Herr family built in 1719 was used for this. With much of the community living westward by 1730, closer to the river, Benjamin Hershey consented to a new building on his property near the Little Conestoga Creek. The original building sat on the southwest corner of Abbeyville and Meadow Creek Roads for about 60 years, but then was moved to Rohrerstown and became known as the Brubaker Meetinghouse, where it finally succumbed after 220 years of age.^{190:239}

"This little colony erected... a meeting and schoolhouse for the settlement, in which religious instruction, on the Sabbath, and during the week, a knowledge of letters, reading and writing, were given to those who assembled... Among their first preachers were [Christian] Herr, Hans Tschantz, who later became a Mennonite bishop, and Ulrich Brechbill, who was accidentally killed while driving his team on the road to Philadelphia."^{193:82}

Next came the Strasburg Meetinghouse a decade later, followed in 1747 when the Byerland Church was built in Pequea Township. In 1752, the folks around Chestnut Hill could choose the new Landisville Church, it having been built due north of them in Hempfield Township.

Pequea Township got a second church around 1755 with a fine stone building at New Danville, and Millersville started its own two years later. John Baughman probably never got to see the Bachman & Herr Meetinghouse thought to have been completed three years after his death. It was most certainly a memorial completed by the next generation near where the late Michael Baughman and Abraham Herr's property adjoined at Conestoga Manor. Not until the end of the 18th Century did the families around the old John Baughman place finally see the Chestnut Hill Church built.^{190:13}

Hunger for Land

AT THE END OF THE BLUE ROCK ROAD, NAMED FOR its outcroppings of blue limestone, one of the most important thoroughfares in colonial Pennsylvania branched out to the west and south. The tavernkeeper Thomas Cresap, who at one time operated the Blue Rock ferry, complained in 1731 about settlers from the Pequea grazing their horses on the west side of the Susquehanna,

AN ANONYMOUS 18TH CENTURY BOOKPLATE FRAKTUR FROM THE CONESTOGA MANOR

"On Jesus I will always ponder Till my course in life is o'er. Then shall my soul to Thee wander, Lord Jesus, to heav'n ever more."

which he felt was his domain. Cresap specifically named "Martin Kindig, James Patterson, the Indian trader who lived near Blue Rock and others." Once again, Kindig had cast himself in the role of pioneer. His horses were only stationed there so Swiss Germans could better afford to pack off their household goods to the far-away Valley of Virginia.

First they had to cross the Susquehanna, travel on through York, turn southwest toward Hanover, into Maryland, and on down along the Shenandoah River, the backbone of Virginia. It was the earliest land route to the west, and was used by the Iroquois before the white man, as a war path to their traditional enemy, the Cherokee.^{160:30}

Some of the Pequea settlers decided to stop in York County, including a John Bachman who was the son of Michael. There was also a John Christian Bachman, born circa 1725 in Europe, who died about 1778 in York County's Manheim Township. His children were Christof, Heinrich, Dietrich, Christian, Elizabeth, John Francis and Anna Margaret.¹⁶⁸

Two wills were also recorded in York County for what seems to be two different men both born with the name Hans Bachman and who both died about 1783. One describes John Baughman of Warentown Township, who had children named Jacob, John, Barbara, Anna and Mary. The other man was written up as John Bachman, and his list of children was almost identical, with the addition of daughter Fronica, who married Rudolf Heahy. His other daughters marriages were also given: Anna to Nicholas Sell and Mary to Andrew Zooper. Witnesses to the 1774 document were John Smith and Anth. Kneisli; executors were Peter Lint and Reinhard Bold[housen].²⁰²

For many years, it was thought that the Shenandoah Valley fell within the vague western border of Pennsylvania. After it was definitively placed in Virginia, the two brothers Hans and Jacob Funk were among the first to own large areas in the state's back country. The pioneering spirit of Hans had put him among the first to settle on the Pequea. In 1735, Jacob Funk bought 2,030 acres near the present day site of Strasburg, and a year later sold 180 acres of it to Hans back in Lancaster County.^{195:7}

In 1730, Adam Müller was joined by other settlers who left for Virginia from Lancaster, Pennsylvania. They purchased 4,000 acres from Jacob Stover and formed the Massanutten community along the Hawksbill Creek.^{176:174}

A Christian Funkhouser applied for a Lancaster County survey warrant in 1734, suggesting that the Mennonite Funkhousers of Virginia first considered living there. By 1736, however, the elder John Funkhouser, born in Trub, Canton Bern, took his family

to Tumbling Run in the Shenandoah Valley.

As an example of how a farmer's sweat might be invisible on the pages of deed books, Martin Funk, son of Henry Funk the immigrant, improved and profited from a farm beside the Manor — north of Michael Baughman and beside John Shank and Andreas Kauffman — although he never owned it. Henry Funk also owned land due east of there, but neither father nor son appears on the land platt maps of the era. By the mid-1730s, the pace of improvements by the Swiss to Penn's Conestoga Manor were "gaining great momentum."^{160:43}

Without explanation, 1,500 acres on the northeast corner of the Manor were sold in 1735 to Andrew Hamilton, a Philadelphia merchant and lawyer whose friendship was being cultivated by the Penns. The Penns, of course, still kept the choicest tract, which ran three miles deep all along the river.

The sale was not made through the Penns' regular land office, and no record of a patent for it exists. Hamilton had no intention of settling there himself, but had a quick profit in mind. Even though land immediately next door in Hempfield Township was selling at the same time through the land office at one-fourth the price, the Swiss seemed eager to pay the premium.

Hamilton immediately resold "to a syndicate of Swiss farmers headed by Michael Baughman, a Swiss who had arrived in Pennsylvania in 1717, and who had for years acted as an agent of his countrymen in their dealing with the provincial authorities." Baughman immediately transferred portions of the Manor to his neighbors, including Christian Stoneman, who operated a mill where Maple Grove now is, and Samuel Oberholtzer. Two tracts went to Andrew Kauffman; for John Herr, son of Abraham, 500 acres; and Michael kept a pair of deeds, 260- and 404-acres, for himself which were later patented as one. The Brubakers, Martins and Shanks joined in, too.^{160:28}

Michael Baughman acted as the holding office for enormous quantities of land — far more than any of his other neighbors except Kindig. He had plantations in the Manor, in Manheim Township, in Warwick, in Cocalico Township, in Lebanon and Derry Townships. Baughman first settled in Lancaster Township, but soon sold this land and settled on a new tract on a branch of the Little Conestoga near Neffsville. He died leaving a large family, and each of his children received a handsome farm as an inheritance. His son Christian and son-in-law, Christian Hershey [Hörschi], married to Elizabeth Baughman, were among the first young men to build log cabins on Manor land with the authorization of the Penns. During his lifetime, Baughman made frequent trips to Philadelphia, each time making payments not

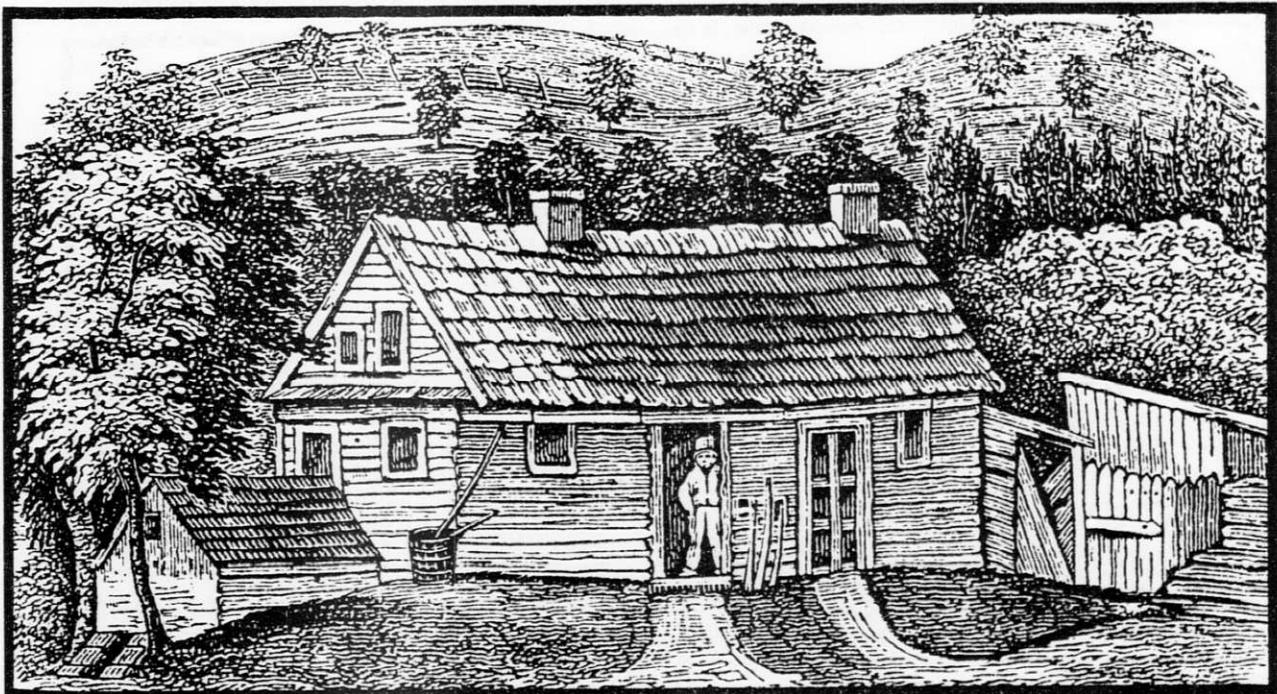
only on his own lands, but on those of his countrymen for miles around.^{160:25}

In the Orange County, Virginia, deedbook for 1735, Jacob Stover sold three tracts of land in the Valley to Ludwick Stone, recently residing on the Conestoga Creek in Lancaster County, who turned around and sold land to Michael Kreider the next year. Peter Ruffner, a son-in-law of Joseph Stehman of Manor Township is recorded in the land book of Augusta County.^{160:31} John Brubaker, of Lancaster County, was one of the first purchasers of land in the Shenandoah Valley, although he never lived there. The Swiss family Tschantz sent Abraham and Ulrich Schantz to Virginia at least by the end of the Revolution.^{154:63}

Bachmans Elsewhere in Pennsylvania

AT THE AGE OF 21, FELIX BACHMAN LEFT CANTON Zürich and boarded the *Jamaica Galley* in Rotterdam, along with Heinrich and Johannes Bachman. In February 1739, they arrived at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and soon moved on to Lancaster County. Felix chose land along the Octorara Creek that fell in Sadsbury Township, but five years later it became part of Bart Township. On 4 March 1747, Felix received a warrant from the Penns for 333 acres, and the title was issued in 1765. His farm eventually grew to 600 acres.

Like the other Bachmans of Lancaster County, Felix adopted the Anglicized surname Baughman. His sons Georg and Jacob divided the farm upon his death and many more generations of grandsons and sons-in-law



THE TOMBSTONE OF JACOB BACHMAN OF BART TOWNSHIP, LANCASTER COUNTY;
THE FIRST HOUSE IN BETHLEHEM, BUILT BY A GERMAN MORAVIAN

kept it in the family.¹⁷⁹

Felix's estate appraisal on 13 May 1765 shows that he farmed wheat, rye and Indian corn. He also kept a bull, a cow and raised honey bees. His personal property included a gun and a big German Bible, while his wife possessed a spinning wheel and a woman's riding saddle.

According to the stories passed down in his family, Felix was buried in the family cemetery on his property. A burying ground in the heart of Felix Bachman's land is located up the hill behind the Charles Gochnauer farm on the north side of Featherbed Lane, a mile south of Georgetown on Route 896. Among the 95 markers still standing, several carved in German date back to the 18th Century, and many in English trace the second and third generations born shortly after 1750.

HIR LIGT DER	Here lies the
GESTORBENER	Deceased
JACOB BACHMAN	Jacob Bachman
IST GEBOHREN D...	Was born...
AUGST IM JAHR	August in the year
1774 IST ALDWOR...	1774. His age was...

HIR LIGT DER	Here lies the
HENRICH BACH-	Henrich Bach-
MAN IN GEBOHREN	man, born
D. 1 SEPTEMBER	the 1 st September
IM JAHR 1787 IN A	in the year 1787 in age
LDWORDEN 7	was 7 months, 1 week
M.1W.G.D.A.	[G.D.A. ?] ¹⁷⁸

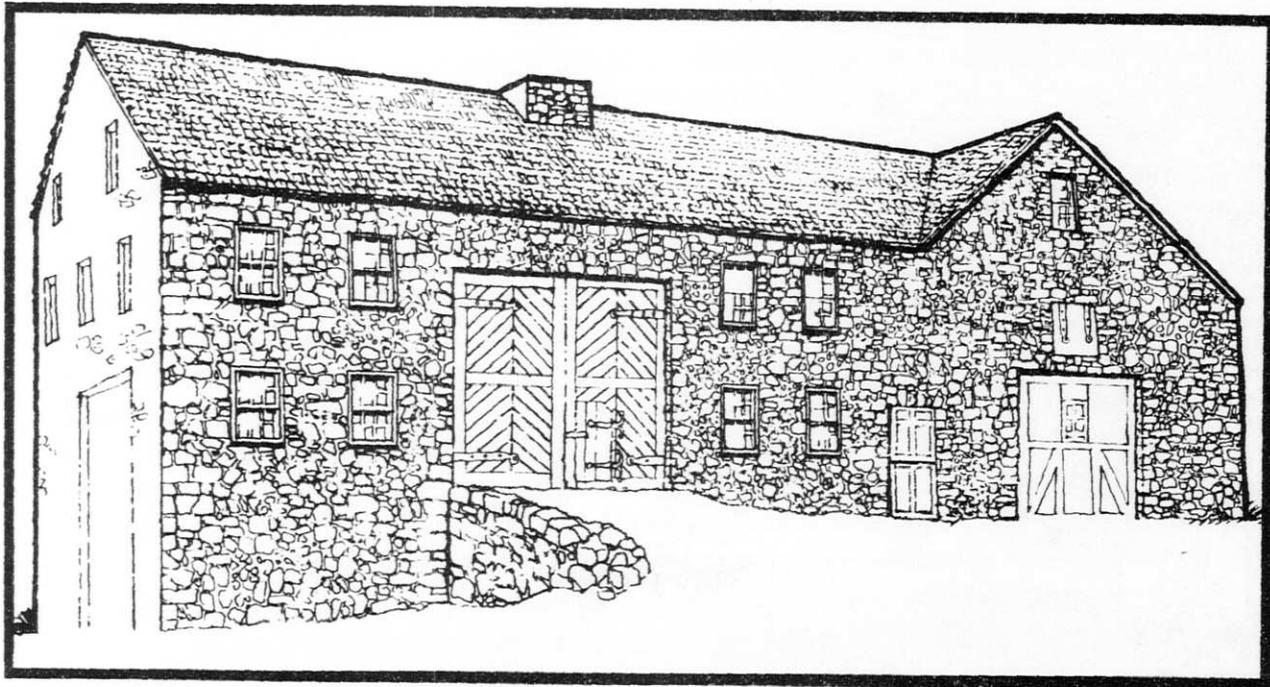
Back in Saucon Township, the volume of traffic passing his front door persuaded Georg Bachman to open an inn and tavern by 1745. A considerable number were German Moravians heading for their new settlement. On a Christmas Eve just a few years before, they founded the town of Bethlehem seven miles further north along the trail.

"The large squared logs were lathed and plastered on the outside, of a yellow tint with white lines drawn to imitate stone blocks," recalled old timers who had seen "*Der Siebenstern*," meaning "The Seven Stars," before it was torn down after 96 years. "The sign, a moon and seven stars, stood in the middle of the public road. The squared, lathed logs distinguished the owner as wealthy and 'genteel.'" Their interior was completed "with large flat stones for a floor."

"The bar room was furnished with small crude tables arranged along the walls. On these tables was wine, which was cheap and served by half pints and pints. Later, whisky and other strong drink came into use and these were served by the [four-ounce] gill."¹⁸⁶

Starting out in the German tradition, one big building sheltered both travelers and their animals. Under the same roof, better protection was insured against midnight horse thieves, and besides, the livestock could share their body heat with the whole building.

The *Siebenstern* Inn faced north on the corner of present-day Main and State Street, the exact site of which was open ground in the late 20th Century. The rectangular



THE STONE BARN AT *DER SIEBENSTERN*

GEORG BACHMAN'S THRIVING INN AND TAVERN AT COOPERSBURG, LEHIGH COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

lot considered part of the tavern grounds ran along the east side of the trail, bounded by the present-day streets of Oxford, to the north, Fourth on the east, Station on the south, and Main as the western edge. Across the lane from the tavern, a large stone barn was soon finished, right where the Coopersburg Town Hall now stands. The huge barn could accommodate 30 to 40 teams of horses at one time.^{159:6} Not too long after it opened in 1748, Georg Bachman patronized an elegant inn and resort founded at Bethlehem called "The Crown," and perhaps borrowed ideas for his own place. I

In 1752, the permanent population of the Saucon Township reached 650 souls. Georg Bachman died around 22 November 1754, and was buried at the old meetinghouse next door to his original property.^{188:8} Tombstones for the elder Bachman and the preacher Jacob Meyer are among the oldest there. His third son, Hans Georg Jr., continued to run the tavern and inn.

The year after Georg Sr.'s death, workers completed the Old Bethlehem Pike, making the last section from Bachman's to Bethlehem into a proper wagon road. It can be traced from Philadelphia, roughly following the course of present-day Route 309, onto Route 378, known north of Coopersburg as Wyandotte Street.^{184:429} See map on page 174

A revealing classified ad was placed by Susanna Bachman Ringger in the newspaper *Pennsylvanische Geschichts-Schreiber* of 16 July 1747:

"Jacob Rincker, a Swiss, arrived in this country four years ago and still has a year to serve. His mother, who is free and lives near Germantown, seeks information about him and asks that he come see her and his brothers Casper and Henrick, living with Thomas Lorentz, four miles from Merion Meeting House, across the Schukill [River in Montgomery County]."^{162:5}

Another interesting turn involved Jacob Böhm, whom Kindig had persuaded to come along in 1717. A surprising spiritual destiny awaited Jacob and Daniel Böhm in Virginia, and Kindig could never have foreseen that they would draw so many away from the Mennonite fold into evangelical Baptism.^{154:38-39}

The Golden Years of Prosperity

AT THE SAME TIME THAT HE WAS STRAIGHTENING out his acreage in Virginia, John Baughman still appeared on the 1751 tax rolls in Lancaster County. Nearing the end of his life, John was still prospering, with ten of the 300 acres he owned planted in grains. For all his property, including three male horses, one mare, two cows and three sheep, he was taxed £15 that year, but this count would only reveal taxable animals of

three years age or more. During the 1750s in Hempfield Township, there were 131 farms, the average having 44 out its 142 acres cleared, and of these only 8½ under cultivation. Patterns across Lancaster County suggest most farmers set a goal of clearing off one additional acre of their forest land each year. The typical range of animals on one farm included three horses, six cattle and five sheep.^{183:29-30}

John's neighbors, such as David Musselman and John Newcomer, farmed in very similar ways, with ten or twelve acres cultivated even though they had half as much land. Christian Oberholtzer was able to clear and plant 25 out of his 250 acres.

Among the Swiss Germans, sheep were valued in numbers just sufficient to shear and weave cloth for the



THE TOMBSTONE OF JOHANNES GEORG BACHMAN
AT THE MENNONITE CHURCH IN COOPERSBURG

family. Many felt a strong prejudice against the taste of their mutton. George Mumma kept a flock of ten and John Forrey had 20. Only one man in the county kept a flock of more than 60 sheep.

During a visit to Lancaster County in 1754, Governor Thomas Pownall was fascinated by the farming methods there: "I saw some of the finest farms one can conceive... particularly one that was the estate of a Switzer. Here was the method of watering a whole range of pasture... by little troughs cut in the side of the hill, along which the water from springs was conducted. I dare say this method may be in use in England. I never saw it there, but I saw it here first."^{198:113}

The first generation of pioneers arrived at the Conestoga before 1715 when most were in the prime of their lives. Later on in his life, John Baughman saw nearly all of them wither within one decade. In Hans Jacob Huber's will, dated 17 February 1745/6 in Lancaster County, he left £5 to "the poor of the People called Menonists in Pennsylvania and £5 to the poor of the Menonists at the place in Germania called in high Dutch, the Ubersheimer Hoff [Ibersheim]."^{156:29}

The elder Dr. Hans Heinrich Neff died in April of 1745. Martin Kindig and Peter Layman passed in 1748. George Smith died in 1749 or early 1750. Heinrich Bär died in Hempfield in 1750, at the age of 55; and the next year, Jacob Brubaker died in Hempfield, at the age of 75, along with Hans Jacob Lichti. Heinrich Musselman of Hempfield died in 1752, at 56 years old.^{163:112} John Forry of West Hempfield died in 1753.^{166:877} Michael Baughman wrote his last will in March of 1755. Hans Herr died in 1756 at the age of 79. No sale or dissolution of his 300 acre farm in Hempfield has survived in the records of Pennsylvania.

John appeared for the last time in Hempfield Township in 1756 — under the spelling of "Bochmon." According to court papers in Virginia, John Baughman died intestate sometime around 1757. The Orphans Court at Lancaster, 21 November 1757, reported: "Upon the Petition of Jacob Eshleman and Valentine Miller, Administrators of John Baughman, deceased. Setting forth that the said John Baughman died Intestate seized of a certain piece of Land situate in Martick Township, County of Lancaster, containing about 89 acres. That the Personal Estate is insufficient to discharge the debts. Praying an Order to sell said Land."^{192:219}

In the Lancaster County Estate Settlements from 1768-1772 (page 80) can be found reference to the John Baughman who died intestate in 1756. His last surviving administrator, Jacob Eshelman, was instructed to distribute £11:15:6 into the following sums, "not yet passed out." To John Baughman's widow, Ann... £3:9:6, his oldest son John... £1:19:8, Fronica... £0:19:10, and

the same amount to the remaining daughters Christina, Barbara Ann, Anna and Elizabeth. His sons-in-law included George Mumma, Benjamin Layman, Nicholas Bower, Sebastain Weidman, Joseph Charles (Carle) and Nicholas Young (Jung).

Life & Death in Lancaster Goes On

IN 1758, THREE YEARS AFTER MICHAEL BAUGHMAN'S death, the neighboring Conestoga tribe announced its intention to leave Indian Town. Their aim was to permanently resettle in a new village on the North Branch of the Susquehanna, near present-day Wilkes Barre; but the provincial authorities persuaded them not to leave. These friendly Indians, whom the English called Mingos or Susquehannas, were usefully put to spying on Indian allies of the French, namely the Seneca, Shawnee and Delaware. On a wintry December day in 1763, a gang of Englishmen known as the Paxton boys massacred every Conestoga Indian at the village — mostly children, women and the elderly — on the mistaken hunch that they were being too friendly with the French.^{160:45}

More Mennonite Bachmans arrived in Lancaster County at least until 1766. Siblings John, Jacob, Henry and Barbara settled in the vicinity of what would become Willow Street in Pequea Township. Because they arrived into a well-established Germanic culture, and because the urge of English record-keepers to convert all German names seemed to have relaxed, they had no problem keeping their original spelling.

This John had a son, John Jr., who was born in 1746 in Switzerland, and came over with the whole family. With that generation, a 151-year-old dynasty of wood workers began that has been credited with some of the finest colonial furniture in the Chippendale style. For longevity alone, the fine craftsmanship of the Bachman family has never been rivaled in America. Account books from the 18th Century show that besides furniture, their most demanded work included coffins, bedsteads, tables, kitchen cupboards and cradles. John Jr. created tall wooden cases that were filled with clock works by Christian Forrer. As many as eight apprentices worked alongside the Bachman father and sons.¹⁹⁹ Their neighborly associations at Pequea matched the earlier families of John and Michael Baughman exactly, with marriages to the Kreiders and the Kindigs.

In the fourth generation, a Jacob Bachman kept shop a mile below Soudersburg, which soon became Bachmansville in Lebanon County. He made clock cases for Joseph Bowman of Strasburg to complete with gears and face.¹⁶⁵ Later generations of his family ran a tavern, inn and "house of public entertainment."



THE FIRST LOOK AT THEIR NEW HOME
A WAGON TRAIN OF PALATINES COMES TO THE END OF THEIR JOURNEY INTO THE AMERICAN WILDERNESS



BAUGHMANS WERE PART OF the very early Swiss German settlement in Virginia during the 1730s. Well before wagon roads had even been roughed out, John Baughman visited the Shenandoah Valley for the first time.

He looked to a fellow immigrant from Germany named Jost Hite to help make a start.

Baptized Hans Justus Heyd in 1685, this ambitious pioneer came from Bonfeld, a village southeast of Heidelberg in present-day Baden-Württemberg. The son of a butcher, Hite aspired to become a linen weaver; but by 1709, he quit his homeland for America.

An outbreak of Indian attacks hit the Pennsylvania frontier in 1728, sometimes coming close to the outskirts of Philadelphia. In an appeal to the royal governor called the Colebrook Petition, citizens demanded swifter protection against the marauders. The signers of this list included Jost Hite, Peter Böhm, Daniel Stauffer and Christian Neuschanger.²¹⁹

For the dissatisfied, there was another significant change that year in Pennsylvania. Following William Penn's death in 1718, his sons John, Thomas and Richard took up a much less liberal land policy, collecting quitrents much more fervently and evicting all whose warrants were not in perfect order.^{208:9}

On 13 June 1728, the first grants of land in the Shenandoah Valley were given out: 10,000 acres to Sheriff Larkin Chew of Spotsylvania County and four others.^{227:541} When word got out that land ownership in the Valley of Virginia had officially begun, the rush was on.

By the Autumn of 1731, Jost Hite secured 140,000 acres of the Shenandoah Valley, mostly from Virginia's royal governor. As a catch, however, Hite and his partner Robert McKay had to find and persuade a hundred families to settle beside them in the next two years.

Naturally enough, the first wave of Hite's fellow travelers were his neighbors of long standing — from Kingston, in the Hudson River Valley of upstate New York, and from Eastern Pennsylvania, particularly around the Skippack and Wissahickon Creeks near Schwenksville and present-day Evansburg in Montgomery County. These included Daniel Stauffer (Stauber or Stover), Christian Neuschanger, Michael Brach (Brock), Peter Stephans (Stevens), and later, as

future sons-in-law, Georg Bauman (Bowman), Paul Froman and Jacob Chrisman. Dating all the way back to Hite's hometown church books, a 1710 notation on "Emigrants from this Village" matches Justus Heyd with "Heinrich and Martin Funck (dissenting Mennonites)," and "an anabaptist named Neff."

Hite's friend from Alsace, John Funk, started two settlements that were later named Strasburg — as one of the 1710 settlers in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and then again in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia around 1730. The Neff family were also important figures in Lancaster County and later around Holman's Creek, as physicians and in-laws of the Baughman family.

If Hite had ideas about land speculation while waiting to cross the Atlantic in Rotterdam, he might have discussed it with Jacob Stauber, who was recorded on the same page among the German-speaking immigrants there. Jacob "Stover" shadowed Hite's career at first in smaller scale, but even more audaciously. He actually got a head start on Hite, taking three months in 1729 to explore the Shenandoah Valley.^{227:543} Before his land grant application had even been acted upon in Williamsburg, Stover "resold" 4,000 acres around the Hawksbill Creek for £400 to Adam Müller.

Müller was perhaps the boldest of them all. Born in 1703 at Schreisheim in the German Kraichgau, but raised in neighboring Lambsheim, Müller paused with his wife Barbara among the Conestoga settlers after their arrival in 1724. According to family tradition, young Adam heard reports of Spotswood's 1716 expedition beyond the southern mountains and found them irresistible. Without delay, he followed the same path that Spotswood's group had taken and found a lush, secluded valley that the Indians called Massanutten nestled within the larger Shenandoah Valley.^{221:172}

Müller returned with some of his Conestoga neighbors in 1727 and began their new community there. By 1730, they were joined by John Rott (Rhodes), Mathias Selzer, and Paul and Phillip Lang (Long).^{221:174} In 1733, eight of the original Massanutten settlers petitioned Virginia Governor William Gooch for confirmation of their ownership.^{211:6} To further satisfy the Council at Williamsburg that year, a list of 100 "persons to dwell" in the Massanutten patent were put together from among the Pennsylvania Mennonites, including 30 Herrs, 14 Kindigs, 15 Funks and two Sowders.^{230:31}

Nine families, with a total of 51 people, had gathered by 1735. The Massanutten settlement extended

from Hawksbill Creek to the present-day town of Alma.^{211.6} See map on page 175 These Mennonites included Abraham Strickler and his sons Jacob and John; Abraham and John Brubaker from Hempfield Township; John and Henry Bomgarner; Christian and Daniel Stover; Martin and Michael Kauffman; Joseph Rott and the newly arrived Hans Huldeman, also known as John Holman.

Also listed in the early deed books around Hawksbill Creek were Blasius Bär, as well as Jacob, Henry and Abraham Hiestand — leaders of the second generation — in addition to Gochnauers, Guts and more Müllers.^{208.21} Also nearby were Böhms, Krums and Steinmans.^{228.438-439}

Soon after his arrival, Jacob Hiestand, the Mennonite patriarch and pioneer from Pennsylvania, drowned in a tragic accident on the Shenandoah River.^{232.609} John Rott, born 1707 to the immigrants Hans and Barbara Rott, lived first at Skippack Creek in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, but was killed with his family at Massanutten 30 years later, a horror known widely as the Rhodes Massacre.

Hite knew it was high time to join the race. He promptly sold his farm in Germantown, Pennsylvania, some fifteen miles northwest of Philadelphia, and, as soon as the weather permitted in early 1732, his caravan started out for the Valley with sixteen families. The difficult terrain made it all but impossible for their wagons to pass, forcing them to carve out a wide enough trail every mile of the way.

They most likely crossed the Potomac River at Pack Horse Ford several miles above Harper's Ferry. Hite's pioneers entered Virginia and rejoined the Indian trail that ran parallel but a mile and a half off to the side of the North Fork of the Shenandoah River. They struggled on for over 40 miles, deciding to stop at last beside Opequon Creek — pronounced locally as "O-peck'-uhn" — five miles south of present-day Winchester.

The 45-year-old Hite later recalled how they were "Obliged to Live in their Waggon till they Built some small Huts to shelter themselves from the Inclemmacy of the Weather and so far distant from any settlement but especially from any such as could supply them with any Provisions or Necessaries, they could scarce procure any one thing nearer than Pennsylvania or Fredericksburg..."

Hite's wife, Anna Maria had a brand new baby boy to raise, along with four other sons stretching up to the age of 17. Within the first two years though, strong houses got built, helped no doubt by some of the fortune — including £650 in cash — the Hites brought with them.

Jost commuted several times to the colonial seat at Williamsburg to tend to the legalities of his land

business. Hite hired one of Governor Spotswood's friends, Robert Brooke of "Farmer's Hall" in Essex County, to begin laying out the bounds within 10,000 acres of the Valley. Also helping was James Wood, who soon became the officially appointed County Surveyor. Hite's hard work was recognized by the Council, and "due proof of compliance" for 54 surveys by Brooke and Wood was noted. They granted Hite an extension until 25 December 1735 to find more settlers, and then, for his hard work and good faith, rewarded Hite with title as a magistrate of the newly formed Orange County. His taste of success was certainly made bitter within a few years when his wife Anna Maria died at the age of 52.

Hite did not have to leave business agents behind in Pennsylvania, and nothing indicates he left Virginia personally to recruit newcomers, although he did stay sometimes at Shepherdstown, immediately below the Potomac, to oversee the peopling of his lands closer to the north. On top of the news surely passing back and forth from Müller's group, the Conestoga Mennonites were keenly aware of possibilities in Virginia, dating back 20 years to those ambitious Switzers, Michel and Bundeli. Besides, many of Pennsylvania's Germans were being squeezed out of the land market there and were eager to find a future in this new valley.²¹⁹

Arrival of the Baughmans

BY THE SPRING OF 1733, JOHN BAUGHMAN BROKE his usual patterns in Hempfield Township and disappeared from all county records in Pennsylvania. Clues suggest that he arrived in the Shenandoah Valley soon thereafter.^{216.15}

Hite's venture in the Shenandoah Valley was not laid out in a single panorama, but was actually a scattered quilt work beside the river. The Great Cave Tract, an 891-acre survey completed by James Wood on 10 June 1735, was one of the smaller patches. It was named for Cave Hill, where in a sudden rainstorm the yawning mouth of one cavern could shelter two haywagons at a time. Wall markings and stone chips as far back as 200 feet into the cave proved that Paleolithic Indians had sheltered there too. The cavern's most remarkable feature remains the steep shaft and large "corridor" beneath. Explorers can walk upright beneath the Shenandoah River and hear its waters rushing past overhead.²³⁷

Six miles due west of John Holman's place in the Massanutten Valley, Daniel Holman settled 200 acres north of the Great Cave. Soon after 22 March 1735/36, the stream intersecting the North Fork of the Shenandoah River was known as Holman's Creek.^{228.466}

A "Quaker meeting house" was described by an Englishman on Holman's Creek as early as 1737, built

within a couple of miles of a new mill that was eventually part of the Neff property.^{232:433} One of the first settlers on the Great Cave Tract only made a verbal contract with Hite after which he set about immediately improving the land.^{228:467} An Adam Sherrill carved 200 acres out of the same tract from Hite but sold it to Dr. John Henry Neff on 10 July 1748, receiving a slave as payment.^{228:468}

About that time, Henry Baughman settled the next open land due west, although the first part of his plantation may have waited 17 years for its official survey.

On an undated Virginia tax roll for Orange County circa 1736-1738, there was a "Jno Bockman" described as a single tithable in the Precinct of George Smith, who was listed beside a Samuel Smith. It should be noted that the title holder to the Hempfield Township land in Pennsylvania that John farmed was also named George Smith. Next to John on the Virginia tax roll was a "M[il]l[?] Brockaman" — possibly Michael Bachman — who was responsible for two tithables.^{220:1:38}

Just as in the early tax records in Pennsylvania, Virginia also had various listings of a John Baughman/Bockman/Bohman/Bowman — proving how hard it was for English gentry to pronounce the "ch" sound of Bachman and how often they equated it with the open vowel sound of Bauman. At least the English didn't abuse John's name as much as they did to some other German farmers. On a good day, Virginia

court registrars turned Gottlieb Zink's first name in Godfrey, but on one deed he became Cutlip Sinke.^{214:86}

Twenty miles south of the Opequon, on the west side of the Old Indian Trail, Robert Brooke completed a survey of 4,600 acres for Hite on 5 November 1734 called the North Mountain Survey. Ranging between 2,500 and 3,000 feet in elevation, North Mountain is actually a series of peaks and ridges forming the first western hurdle into the Allegheny Front.^{222:76} Brooke's four-and-a-half-mile-wide mapping was laid out just in front of it.

James Wood, Surveyor of Orange County, was called upon to subdivide this land in 1737. When a neighbor gave deposition years later, she recalled that Hite and Wood had arrived together and lodged at her husband's house for one night.^{225:1629} They started out at the northwest corner where he noted "Jno. Boughman" taking the first and largest parts.^{235 & 228:392} On 22 May 1739, John Baughman bought a Guarantee Bond from Hite that officially conveyed to him 1,573 acres.^{228:401} The little spring, branches and creek and that watered John's land were at first named Baughman's Run, but later got called McNish's and then Pugh's Run.^{228:405} See map on page 176

Unfortunately, Baughman's original bond no longer seems to exist, but under the usual terms of such a document, Hite guaranteed that a patent deed from the Colony of Virginia would be issued for the land in Baughman's name. A receipt from Hite to neighbor

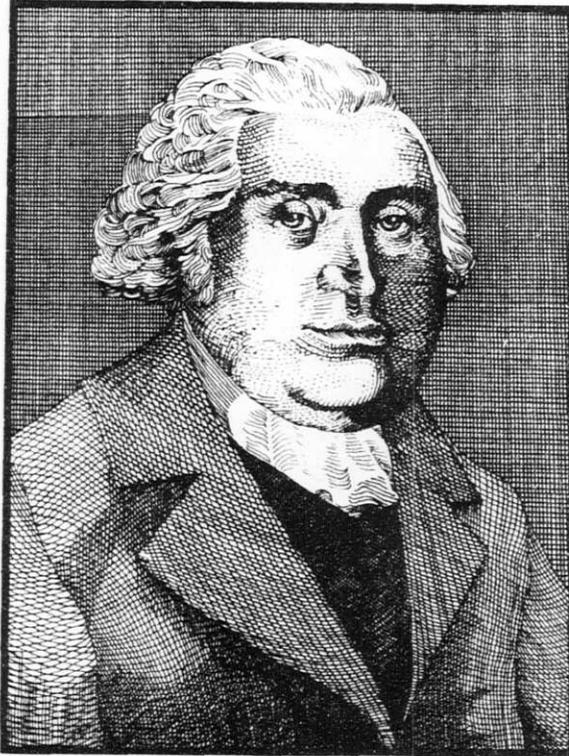


LOOKING SOUTH FROM THE UPPER-MOST END OF THE OLD INDIAN TRAIL
ALSO KNOWN LATER AS THE GREAT WAGON ROAD OR THE VALLEY PIKE

Christopher Wendell quotes a price of £3 per 100 acres, suggesting that John Baughman paid £47-19-0 for his plantation.^{228:393} Except for a few unattributed lots, the remaining two-thirds of the North Mountain acreage belonged to adjacent neighbor Friedrich Barret (815 acres) as well as Reinhard Borden (135 acres), Mary Little (400 acres), Georg Seller and Ulrich Stoner (373 acres), and Christopher and Valentine Wendel (348 acres). Peter Mauk also laid claim to 410 acres, supported by a later deed from the Lord Proprietor.^{225:1757}

On 1,200 acres just below John's land lived Jacob Müller, who founded a settlement there known as Müllerstadt — meaning Millertown. When the British established it by law in 1761 as Woodstock, the German families in the area didn't much care for the new name. They didn't try to translate the English word, but wrote about it with the roughly similar sound of "Wuttstadt, Virschini."

Another of John Baughman's neighbors in Lancaster County was Joseph Sherick. The next town south of Woodstock was first called Shryock, after the German family who lived there, or sometimes after Stony Creek, which emptied into the river by their home. Later, the Germans thought of the place as Eden-burg, after the well-known garden in the Old Testament. The British preferred to call it Edinburg. Likewise, the river beside them was transliterated into Valley German as



THOMAS, THE SIXTH LORD FAIRFAX
LORD PROPRIETOR OF VIRGINIA'S NORTHERN NECK

"Schanathor" or "Chandador" instead of the Shenandoah.^{232:124}

The oldest, most important route through the area ran south past John Baughman's land and connected him to the Müllers and the Shericks. It was known then as the Indian Road, and followed sometimes on or very close to present-day Route 11.

"We see many every day traveling out and in, to and from Carolina, some on foot and some in large covered wagons. The road here is much frequented and for 150 mile further west thickly inhabited," wrote one observer from the vicinity of Woodstock.^{232:663} One early pioneer name Morgan Bryan was trying to get to Carolina over such a dismally tough peak that he finally took the wheels off his wagon and carried the whole thing "piece-meal to the top, and had been three months on the journey from the Shanidore to the Etkin [Yadkin River in North Carolina]."^{232:665}

The most well-known trail for reaching further back into Baughman land was named Ben Allen's Path — modern County Road 642 and lately named Swartz Road. It extended from Tom's Brook in the north down to Allen's 400-acre place below Mill Creek, the site of modern Mt. Jackson.^{228:461} Virginia officials defined a path as "no wider than one wagon's width," while a road was "one where two wagons can pass within curb lines."^{228:525}

In the 1740s, several petitions from the settlers complained to the Orange County Court that "the road which is now there is very difficult for a waggon." On 25 September 1741, the court ordered that a good road be marked, laid off and cleared down to Jost Hite's Mill, which sat on the west side of the road as it crossed the Opequon. Travelers were to be kept from getting lost along the way with officially designated hatchet marks on prominent trees: "two knotches and a Cross." Proper sign posts were erected after four more years.

The next year, George Bowman and John Funk at Strasburg began to help on the road near their places. By 11 February 1745, work had gotten down to Daniel Holdman and Samuel Wilkin; and on 8 April 1745, the court ordered Abraham Strickler, Henry Falkenbrugh and two Englishmen to oversee progress further south to Cross Roads, later called New Market.^{228:519-524}

Strickler and Philip Lang had already proved their road building credentials by widening the Indian trail that formed the cross of Cross Roads. Their crew had started from Thorntons Gap in the Blue Ridge, crossed the Massanutten Valley and got to present-day West Virginia along the path of Route 211.^{228:526}

A traveling preacher from Pennsylvania, Leonard Schnell, took on the Shenandoah Valley in November 1743. He seemed glad to find Opequon Creek and "a German innkeeper, Jost Hayd, a rich man, well known in this region. He was the first settler here."

George Washington struck up a relationship with Jost, dating back as far as 11 April 1748, when the young Washington participated in a surveying tour of the Valley and "lodged at Capt. Hite's."

In 1745, administration of the area switched from Orange County to Augusta County. The Augusta Parish Vestry Book, including the activities of the Beckwith Parish of Dunmore County, were recorded there. Charles Robinson and his family took turns with Adam Räder around 8 March 1747/8 as they checked the boundary lines of each other's property, being the duty called "processioning." The law required that every four years the boundaries of each land owner had to be re-marked.^{230:22} Daniel Haldman (Holman) and John Riddle were appointed Processioners for Frederick County

between the Fairfax Line and the Narrows — the district between Edinburg south to New Market. On the same list can be found Jost Hite, his business partner Robert McKay, his son-in-law George Bowman, Robert, Daniel, Thomas and Zebulon Harrison, and Valentine Sevier.

From the Cross Roads near Holman's Creek, the same Valentine Sevier applied for a license to start an Inn and Tavern, testifying that he was "very much infested with travelers."^{228:520}

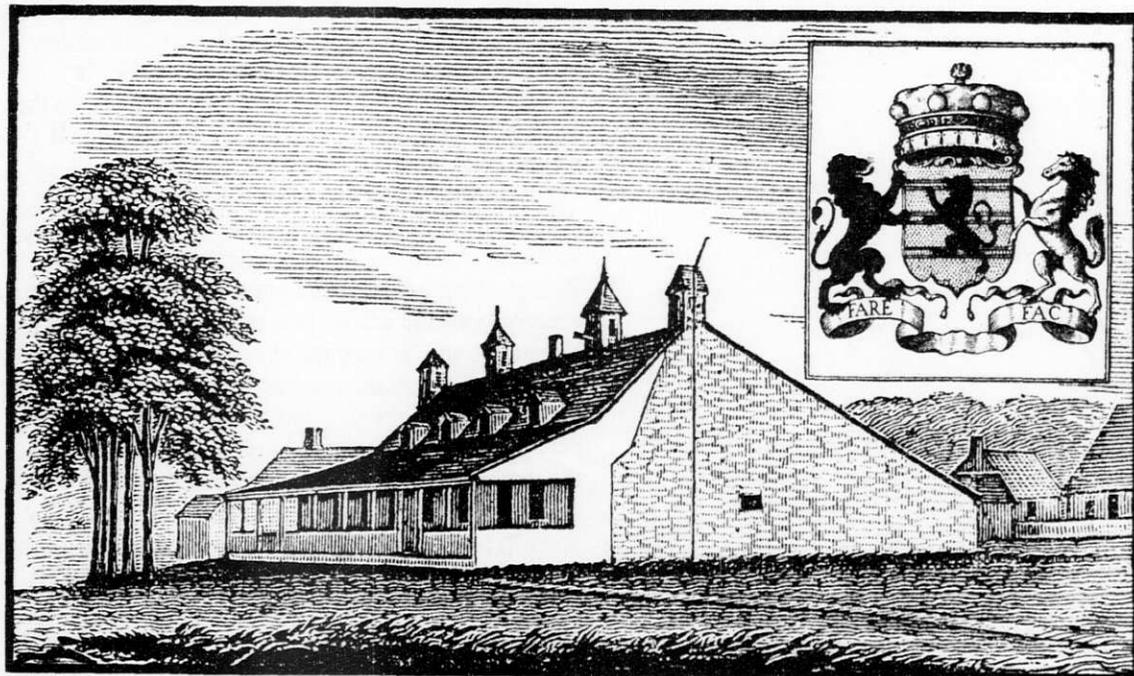
The early ties of affection and commerce between Pennsylvania and the Valley can still be seen a few miles below Holman's Creek at Räder's Church. Where Jacob Moyer served as teacher and lay leader, they had a 11¼" pewter basin for baptisms that was marked by Love of Philadelphia in the last half of the 18th Century. The Lutherans at Räder's are one of only six churches in the

Valley to still have its pewter. At St. Paul's United Church of Christ in Woodstock they have a chalice attributed to William Will of similar age, and the Zion Lutheran Church in Edinburg has a mug made by Richard Yates in England shortly after the Revolution.^{217:187}

At many Mennonite meetinghouses, only tin or ceramic cups and pitchers were used. Others favored wooden vessels, to recall the carpenter from Nazareth. Of whatever material, these items were seldom seen by following generations since most retiring ministers received them as a personal memento from the congregation.^{217:189}

The Lord Proprietor

HITE WAS WELL AWARE BY THEN OF A DANGEROUS rival — wealthy and well-connected — who was ready to tear up all his claims. Thomas, the Sixth Lord Fairfax, Baron of Cameron in Scotland, moved to the Valley in May 1735. After trying for several years to manage his lands from long distance, Fairfax decided to sort out and take control first hand of six million acres of northern Virginia inherited through his father-in-law, Lord Culpeper. Meeting Hite twice with a conciliatory air, Fairfax was ready to blame bureaucrats in London and Williamsburg for the overlap of their interests. Fairfax made a point of describing his own German grandmother, but the two men seemed to have little else in common.^{207:76}



GREENWAY COURT, INSET WITH THE FAIRFAX COAT OF ARMS,
12 MILES SOUTHWEST OF WINCHESTER, WHERE VALLEY SETTLERS APPLIED FOR THEIR LAND

In the late summer of 1737, Fairfax was asked face-to-face for a confirmation of Hite's right to a single, specific piece of land, but Fairfax answered evasively. Hite argued that the settlers were "unwilling to run any further expense, or lay out of their small fortunes in improvements... without some assurances." Furthermore, Hite added, many settlers had "determined" to leave rather than "run the risk of engaging in an expensive lawsuit" or of being "turned out of doors." Fairfax wanted more settlement as soon as possible and knew that the Shenandoah Valley would be worth far less without the Germans. The English lord tried to reassure Hite, claiming that none of the Germans "need be under the least uncasiness" and that even more should be persuaded "to come and settle."^{207:90}

When negotiations between the two men broke down entirely by year's end, Fairfax issued dire warnings to all who had bought land from Hite, causing wide anxiety amongst the settlers from Lancaster County. Fairfax forced the authorities in Williamsburg to refuse any more of Hite's surveys until the dispute could be settled. By 10 November 1741, John Baughman turned his back on Hite and began to reappear in Pennsylvania record books at Hempfield Township.^{224:G28}

Like a latter-day Solomon, King George II confirmed Lord Fairfax's claim in general, but ordered him in 1745 to validate and honor all grants previously made in the area by Virginia, including Hite's. Fairfax set about trying to find irregularities in Hite's surveys, deeds and other paperwork in order to get them thrown out. On 10 October 1749, along with all of his business associates, Hite brought suit against Fairfax in Virginia's General Court of Chancery in Williamsburg.^{236:34}

SIGNATURES OF COMPETING VALUE:
JOST HITE AND LORD FAIRFAX

All Fending Off Was to No Avail

CHARLES HODEL, A NEIGHBOR IMMEDIATELY north of John Baughman, bought 201 acres from Frederick Barret and then "repurchased" 202 acres from Lord Fairfax the following year, making a permanent dent in the acres that Baughman had bought from Hite. Another year went by, making ten years of frustration and wasted time all tolled.

Baughman's faith in Hite hit rock bottom. Beginning on 20 November 1751, three days spent with Lord Fairfax's surveyor regained him 1,499 acres. The new boundaries roughly overlapped his original plantation, but John ended up with 74 fewer acres. Parenthetically, a generation later on Holman's Creek, Henry Baughman was a next-door neighbor to Andrew Hodel, although the German surname had been almost unrecognizably Anglicized to Hudlow.

Obviously, no one thought John Baughman should have to pay Hite and Fairfax twice for the same land. The stakes in *Hite et al. vs. Fairfax* would shift a huge fortune from one side of this grudge match to the other, but meanwhile all the farmers were stuck in between. The slow pace of legal battle meant these antagonists had to co-exist in the Valley while they waited for the slow wheels of justice. In 1752, Lord Fairfax found Hite's eldest son, John, claiming a seat along side him in the vestry at the Anglican parish of Frederick. Lord Fairfax was named Lieutenant of the County Militia in September of 1755, but John Hite was appointed the following April to be Major.^{232:26 & 231:25}

Also commissioned as officers in time for the French & Indian War were Captains Jacob Funk, the miller Ludwig Steffens (known to the English as Lewis Stephens) and Cornelias Ruddle, who commanded the vicinity of his neighborhood at Rude's Hill, and all around New Market.^{231:25}

Another well-connected Englishman, eager to buy up the Valley, found the Germans there annoying. William Beverly obtained a grant from Williamsburg for western lands including "Massanutten Town," where a Mennonite community was already thriving, they having "cleared several Plantations & made great improvements thereon." These were the same Swiss families from Pennsylvania that had paid Jacob Stover for lands around the Hawksbill. Stover proved in court that he was broke and could not repay the settlers, but that he could make good on peopling the open land, producing a long list of German immigrants still eager to farm there. Beverly's suit was dismissed, and Stover was issued patents for 10,000 acres.

In 1757, another of Jost's neighbors happened to be doing a little carpentry for Isaac Hite, one of his sons, and was present during a disturbing incident. Ezechie

Sangmeister, a schoolteacher who hailed from the Cloister in Ephrata, Pennsylvania, added this account to his autobiography:

“When we were still living in Virginia and I was obliged to work out in order to pay for debts we had incurred buying land, I worked at one time for a rich man, Isaak Heut, who had many white and also black people under him. One day when the help came in after work, tired and hungry, there was hardly any bread. But they found about a quarter of a loaf of bread and ate it.

“Meanwhile some rich people had arrived for a visit. Since the said bread was eaten, Mrs. Heute began to curse and damn terribly, wishing all kinds of evil on those who had eaten said bread. Whereupon an adolescent boy replied to her as follows: ‘Is it not a terrible thing that we are being cursed and damned for a little piece of bread?’ I told the woman then not to act like that and offered to run home and fetch a loaf of bread but she declined.

“Shortly afterwards swarms of rats appeared which devoured the grain in the barn and also shocks of wheat from top to bottom, thus destroying about 100 bushels. At last, they even began to eat the shingles of the roof. All fending off was to no avail until the man (Isaac Hite) finally gathered all help and all dogs, had the barn

surrounded and killed 200 of them. They were thrown to the swine with result that two sows with young also perished. Thus he witnessed God’s revenge. They grudged their help the wheat and then had to see before their own eyes its destruction and devastation by vermin.”²²⁹

The Land Passed Down

A COUNTY COMMISSIONER AND GENTLEMAN OF THE Valley, Jonathan Clark, was engaged by the Fairfax estate lawyers in 1786 to inventory all of the lands that had been in dispute between his Lordship and Hite. Clark’s notebook, unfortunately thin on either landmarks or the details of deeds, referred simply to Baughman land, leading some to imagine Henry Baughman’s plantation on Holman’s Creek. Instead, Clark was recording the improvements made to John Baughman’s 1737 land, which had already been passed down to four daughters and sons-in-law of John Baughman during the settlement of his estate after 1757.

Son-in-law Benjamin Layman lived in a log house that had been started in 1770, but showed signs of its second story being unfinished above. It had a stone



A “RING” OF NEIGHBORS BUILDING A LOG HOUSE IN ONE DAY
ROLLING HALF OF A TREE UP A RAMP OF DOUBLE POLES

chimney and measured overall 30 by 24 feet; the barn was described as 54 by 20 feet, being made of round logs and was very old. Benjamin's land had 61 bearing apple trees; 45 acres of cultivated land, five of which was improved meadow.

John Layman had a 24 by 18 foot house made of "scalp logg," with a "half worn, stone chimney." Some 30 acres had been cultivated, counting five as improved meadow.

Nicholas Saum had bought land from Benjamin Layman, including a 1772 log house of 1½ stories that measured 28 by 24 feet. A log barn of the same age measured 48 by 24 feet, and had a thatched straw roof. That land had 60 bearing apple trees, 45 acres of cleared land, six of which was dry meadow.

Son-in-law Nicholas Wisman was living in what seemed to be the original homestead, described as "very old." Its log walls measured 38 by 24 feet and surrounded a stone chimney. It also had "a very old logg barn with straw cover" 52 by 24 feet. This farm had 80 apple trees and 20 acres of cultivated land.

George Wisman had built himself an "almost new" log house, 44 by 16 feet, with a stone chimney. He also had "one new scalp'd logg barn cover'd with board shingles, well finished, 52 by 24." Ten acres of land had been cleared. Son-in-law Jacob Shireman had a 24 by 18 foot cabin.

David Funkhouser had a new 28 by 24 foot cabin of "scalp logg" with no chimney. Mature apple trees numbered 25; 16 acres were under the plow and 3½ of those were improved meadow.

Georg Horn was living in the smallest home, a new 16 by 16 foot cabin, with his new barn measuring 22 by 18 feet. He had 48 acres of cultivated land. John Crell was "a tenant to Coffman who claims under Baughman" one 20 by 16 foot log house, with a "half worn, cat & clay chimney with an addition 16 by 16, cabin roof." He was using a log barn, 56 by 24, "half worn with straw cover." He had 50 productive apple trees, 40 acres of cultivated fields, and two of improved meadow.^{220:IV:165}

Peter Mauk first bought 168 acres beside Opequon Creek from Hite in 1742, but also soon moved to the North Mountain Tract. By 14 April 1755, he took steps to pay Fairfax for the land, just as his neighbor John Baughman already had. Mauk's adjacent neighbors to the north were Catherine and Jacob Rife, who had used the same strategy by 1766.^{228:400-401}

The vision of the German settlers was praised in June 1767 from none other than George Washington in a letter to his friend, John Posey: "...See what Fortunes were made by the Hites and first takers up of those lands... by taking up and purchasing at very low rates the rich back Lands which were thought nothing in those days, but are now the most valuable Land we possess."^{236:26}

After 36 years of legal battle, well into the life of the new American nation, the courts resolved everything in favor of Hite. Unfortunately, neither the old weaver from Bonfeld nor Lord Fairfax — nor John Baughman — lived to learn the outcome. Hite had died in the early part of 1761 at the age of 75, John Baughman was dead by 1757, and Fairfax suffered first the loss of great fortune during the Revolutionary War, and then died in December 1781. Hite's children and grandchildren went on to achieve high respectability among Virginia's English and American aristocracies.

Descendants of John Baughman did not shrug off the 74 acres he lost during the Hite/Fairfax fight. As late as November of 1817, some of his grandchildren, by way of his daughter Barbara Baughman and her husband Benjamin Layman, were repaid £20 as just compensation for 60 acres, which, through the offices of Fairfax, had changed hands from an Augustine Reedy to Nicholas Saum to his heirs, John, Daniel and Christian Saum. Although the boundaries between their property were not forcibly redrawn, the heirs of John Baughman seemed satisfied to get £20 for turning over claim to what had already become Saumsville by 1806.²¹²

Even though John Baughman eventually returned to Hempfield Township in Pennsylvania, his land in the Shenandoah Valley passed down through his daughters to familiar Lancaster County names, including the Lehman (Layman), Meili (Miley), Eshelman, Funkhouser, Wilkin and Byer (Bower) families. A tradition begun with the school house built by Benjamin Layman later turned into Martin F. Miley's Clover Hill Academy. According to Harry Strickler's 1952 book *A Short History of Page County, Virginia*, Miley was born in 1816 and because he was "interested in education, erected a schoolhouse... he employed college graduates to conduct it. This was before there were any public schools. He was the son of David Miley, who was the son of Tobias."

On the former grounds of the Clover Hill School — in the heart of the northern third of John's land — is the Miley-Layman Burial Ground. Fourteen unreadable limestone slabs stand alongside several hand carved tombstones. Among the oldest are marked "B LM 1788," "Martin Miley" born 26 Aug 1759, died 1821 or 1827, and "Josef Miley, A 14 1825."^{206:16}

Another Jacob Baughman — who cannot be fit into the shoes of any other known Jacob — also lived off the Back Road during the late 18th Century. In 1778, this Jacob lived adjacent to Ulrich Naves somewhere along Riles Run,^{215:25} a six-and-a-half-mile stream that ran northeastward along the west side of Persimmon Ridge and Snider Hill, finally feeding Stony Creek two-and-a-half miles east of Jerome.^{222:85} Because Barbara

Bachman Rinker left Switzerland with a young but independent Jacob, it has been theorized that he might have become this man.

Gottfried and Georg Wilkin were Swiss, and came to the Valley at least by 11 Sept 1756 when they received a grant for 400 acres near Woodstock. Godfrey had his will carried out on 26 May 1785 by his son Matthias, who married Margaret Keller and lived at the Baughman Settlement on Lost River in present day Hardy County, West Virginia. Phillip and Godfrey Jr. married Benjamin Layman's daughters. Other branches of the Wilkin family spliced with branches of the Dellinger, Gochnauer, Helsey, Neff, Spitzer and Stout families.^{218:1083}

The Swiss family Tschudi was also living west of the Shenandoah in Virginia's old Augusta County at North Mill Creek. Although the genealogical thread does not trace clearly across to Jacob Juda in the Ozark Mountains, it is interesting to note that a Johannes, Martin and Hans Jacob Tschudi, a cooper, all arrived in Philadelphia in 1714 and found their name Anglicized into Juda.

In 1737/38, the lacemaker Martin Tschudi left Sissach, along with his wife Rosanna Schaffner, from near Lausen in Canton Basel, Switzerland, and came to America. Other Canton Basel family members quit their hometown of Frenkendorf in the Liestal district in 1749 and more still in 1767, including a baby Jakob born on the high seas. A Jacob Juda became the well-known gunsmith from Arundel County, Maryland, during the Revolutionary War. Most of the newly arrived Tschudis gravitated to the North Mill Creek where present-day Grant and Pendleton Counties meet in West Virginia. When a century passed, another Jacob Juda named his daughter Rosa, and she eventually married George Washington Baughman, the author's great-grandfather.^{209:55-57}

Together from the Beginning

ANOTHER SIGNIFICANT NAME OUT OF PAST WAS Dellinger, and this family could be found just north of Susanna Bachman Rinker on the Back Road. They were also Swiss, and more than a century before in the Alsatian village of Heidolsheim, these same families had first become involved. In 1728, Mennonites who had recently immigrated from Switzerland and Germany were obliged by the Pennsylvania governor to affirm their loyalty and allegiance to the George II, King of England. Among the list of over 200 signatories from the Conestoga Settlement, Johannes Georg Döllinger and Johannes Bachman were next to each other in line. In Virginia's court records, the men became most commonly known as George Dellinger and

John Baughman.

Within ten years, both men went to the Shenandoah Valley where Jost Hite had settled. On 19 October 1736, Hite certified that Döllinger turned in the head of an old wolf and collected a reward of 150 pounds of tobacco for it. Döllinger's bounty may not have been actual bundles of tobacco leaf. Whenever coin became scarce on the frontier, Virginia's eastern leadership simply chose their favorite commodity to stand as an alternate currency. Since very little tobacco was raised in the Shenandoah Valley, the payment was probably made in proportionally valuable weights of corn, wheat, barley or cider.^{228:380}

In the summer of 1747, two German missionaries from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, made a tour of the Shenandoah Valley and came across George Dellinger.

"Today," wrote the Moravian preacher Leonhard Schnell on 22 July, "I went to an elder living at the Schanathor River. I asked him if I could preach in his church. But he hesitated because I was a stranger, and an injunction had been issued against strange ministers. But he would allow me to preach in his house, which I accepted, and then he made it known. I went back to Cedar Creek to my dear [traveling partner, Valentine] Handrup."

The next spring, a Moravian named Matthias Gottlieb Gottschalk followed the same trail and stopped at Dellinger's again. He described it as being 30 miles farther into the wilderness than the last place worth stopping. "Some of the people are hostile, others well-meaning, but all timid and suspicious, and for this reason



THE BANKABILITY OF TOBACCO
EARLY AMERICAN MONEY PRINTED LEAVES ON THE BACK

are not willing to listen to the brethren. They have written to Pennsylvania for a true Lutheran minister, but have not been able to secure one.”^{232:84}

George Dellinger first bought land near Strasburg, close to the Shenandoah River from Jacob Funk, but instructed his eldest son Christian to sell it off upon his death. Christian got a land warrant from Lord Fairfax on 8 December 1749 and moved a few miles further west towards the mountains. The brook behind his house that fed into Stony Creek was dedicated to the memory of the southern German region called Swabia, but, when slurred from a thick Rhineland accent into English became known as Swover Creek.

The early warrants and surveys from Frederick County include the following details:

“Christian Dillinger, heir of George Dillinger; no warrant, survd 3 Mar. 1752; 460 ac. on W. side of N. Shannandoah; adj. his own land. CC [chain carriers] & markers - Henry Piper & Frederick, John & Jacob Dillinger. Surv. Robert Rutherford.

“Christian & Frederick Dellinger, sons & exects of George Dellinger, dec'd, direct land to be sold to discharge his debts in case Exects think proper but they find sufficient of the moveable est. & desire a deed issue in name of Christian Dellinger, eldest son reserving 1/3 to Catherine Dellinger, widow of dec'd.

“Frederick Dellinger, assignee of Jacob Reife, assignee of Thomas Langdon; 10 Feb. 1762 - 8 June

1762; 67 a. on N. side of North R. of Shanando on E. bank; adj. Frederick Dellinger's own land. CC [chain carriers] Jno Ba. Reedy & Jno Nizel. Pilot & marker - Tho Langdon & Fredk Delenger. Surv. Robert Rutherford.”

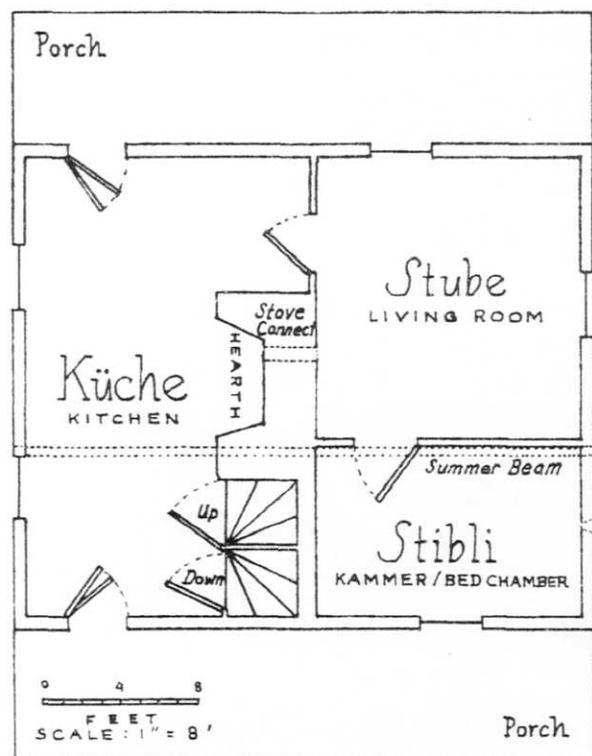
After John Baughman died, and his son-in-law needed to have the land near present-day Saumsville resurveyed, Dellinger's son Frederick came to help out as chain carrier.

Many scholars say Swedish pioneers in New Jersey first invented the stacked log walls of the classic American frontier cabin, and that the English and the rest of the Europeans merely copied their good design. The rationing of logs in medieval Switzerland and Germany did result in many farm houses with “half-timbered” frames, filled in with a plaster called daub and wattle; but the Swiss needed no inspiration from Scandinavia on how to clear forests and build homes. In Canton Zürich and the higher elevations of the Alps, square-hewn, dovetailed log buildings known to be 600 years old can still be seen.^{233:52-56}

Christian Dellinger's log house is one of the dozen surviving examples of central chimney architecture in Shenandoah County. It has a typical Germanic floor plan of the 18th Century, with three rooms on the ground floor. For reasons unknown, this configuration seemed to have fallen out of favor with builders in the 19th Century. The square-hewn white pine logs were notched into notably tight, full-dovetails. Extensions of the gable-end wall logs formed cantilevered supports for front and rear porches. Because the Dellingers built the house on a hillside, the rear porch sat high above the ground. It never had stairs by which to leave it, and so could be thought of in the classic Swiss Alpine tradition as a large boxed balcony.

The front and rear entries to the kitchen were fitted with original Dutch double doors hung on long wrought hinges, a feature still seen at only two other early houses in the county. The puncheon floor of the living room and a small bed chamber behind it were made from halved logs laid side by side, forming both the structure and surface of the floor, a technique also extremely rare in Virginia.^{223:15-16}

A massive six-foot lintel of hewn wood bridges the top of the kitchen hearth. The flu of the living room's heating stove stuck through a hole still visible on the hearth's back wall. Family tradition holds that long ago this chimney saved the life of a Gramma Dellinger and her baby. The tale describes them home alone when hostile Indians could be heard approaching, and the desperate woman decided to crawl up into the chimney. High inside, a wrought iron bar planted in the stones supported trammel chains, pots and the woman's weight. Her whimpering infant was silenced at the last possible



FLOORPLAN OF THE DELLINGER HOUSE
WHERE GRAMMA CLIMBED UP THE CHIMNEY

second, and remained hushed the entire time by nursing from her breast. The Indian warriors searched the house, but left without a scalp or a hostage.

A single 30-and-a-half-foot beam ran through the middle of the ceiling to support the crossing joists and the floor above. When stonework for the original chimney was completed, it had to be built around this massive, long "summer beam," a name derived from the French word *sommier* or girder. Logs for the long lateral walls stacked up four feet higher, making a "half-story" garret or sleeping loft. In the next century, the walls and roof were raised four more feet to make a complete second story. A board nailed onto the front of the building recorded the initials of the crew — mostly Dellingers — that renovated the roofline:

BD WD AD JD AR BH ED 1903
 1855 RLD APR 12
 DPD
 1861

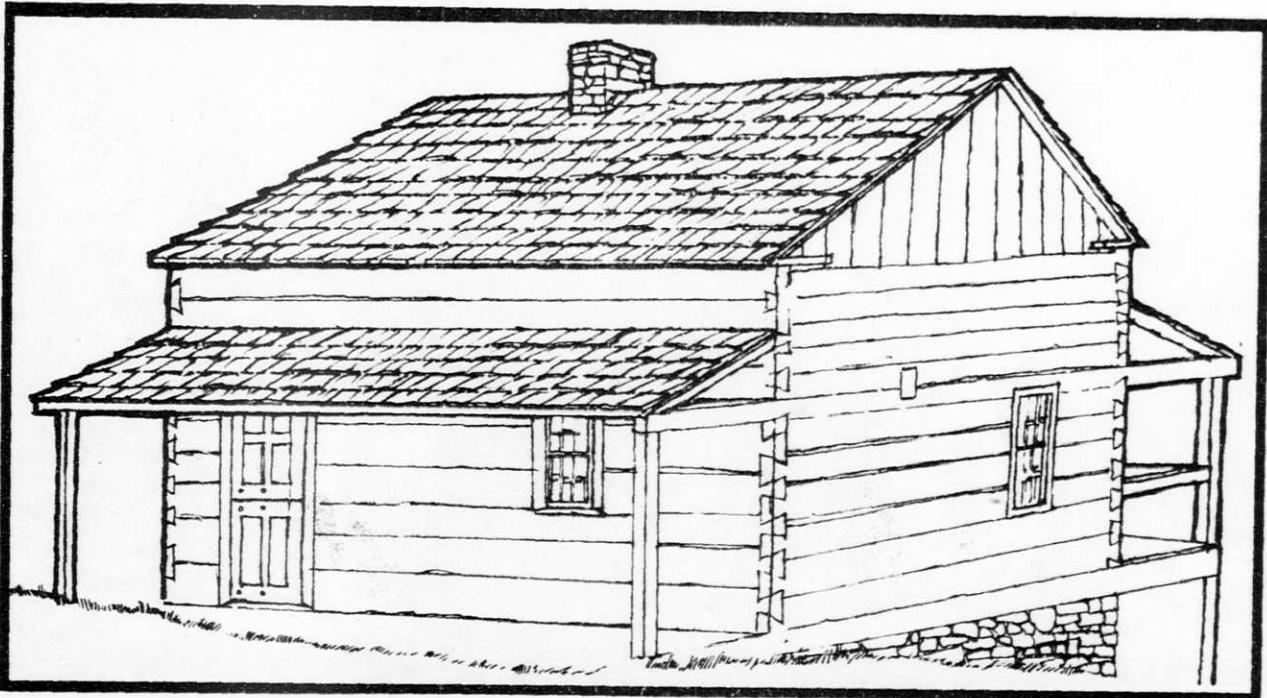
Among the first things that the Dellingers and their neighbors wanted to do was build a union church. In a warrant from 24 April 1752, George Dellinger, John Painter and Peter Fultz requested a Deed in Trust for 400 acres of waste and ungranted land "including the Dutch Chappel, the said Land being for the use of the Society of Dutch Protestants." Across Swover Creek and up the next hill, Dellinger could see the meetinghouse from his back porch balcony.

Named as partners in this society were Christian Dellinger, Ulrich Mire, Nicholus Counts [Kuntz] and 13 other German neighbors.^{220:111:34} In the early years, it became known simply as Jacob's Church. Valley historian John Wayland theorized that this was meant to honor the name of Jacob Rinker — shared by the pioneer, son and grandson — who all lived but a mile further down the road and all cared for the little chapel.^{232:441}

Although George Dellinger took the oath in Pennsylvania as a Mennonite, the meetinghouse entrusted in his name became a church for the Lutheran and Reformed congregations along the Back Road of Shenandoah County. To George Dellinger, the patriarch, fell life's sharpest pain: for a parent to see his child and grandchild die early, and even worse, by murder.

In 1764, John Dellinger was ambushed on land right next to the village of Strasburg by Indians in the company of "a white scoundrel." Rachel Dellinger and her infant child were taken prisoner. Rescuers got to Rachel on South Branch Mountain, but her baby had already been killed at Sandy Ridge, west of the Capon River. Also that day, the killers went on to a whole family — George Miller, his wife and two children — two miles north of the town. An early account preserved the following:

"At the attack on George Miller's family, the persons killed were a short distance from the house, spreading flax in a meadow. One of Miller's little daughters was sick in bed. Hearing the firing, she



THE ORIGINAL SHAPE OF THE DELLINGER LOG HOUSE
 BEFORE THE ROOF WAS RAISED TO A FULL SECOND STORY IN THE MID-19TH CENTURY

jumped up, and looking through a window and seeing what was done, immediately passed out at a back window, and ran about two or three miles, down to the present residence of David Stickley, and from thence to Geo. Bowman's on Cedar Creek, giving notice at each place. Col. Abraham Bowman, of Kentucky, then a lad of sixteen or seventeen, had at first doubted the little girl's statement. He however armed himself, mounted his horse, and in riding to the scene of action was joined by several others who had turned out for the same purpose, and soon found the information of the little girl too fatally true.

"Thomas Newell... the first person who arrived... found Miller, his wife, and two children weltering in their blood, and still bleeding. From the scene of murder he went to the house, and on the sill of the door lay a large folio German Bible, on which a fresh killed cat was thrown. On taking up the Bible it was discovered that fire had been placed in it; but after burning through a few leaves, the weight of that part of the book which lay uppermost, together with the weight of the cat, had so compressed the leaves as to smother and extinguish the fire... The fire had been placed about the center of the 2d

book of Samuel, burnt through fourteen leaves, and entirely out at one end. It has been preserved in the Miller family, as a sacred relic or memento of the sacrifice of their ancestors."^{232:27-28} On Cedar Creek that same year, a number of other settlers were wiped out.^{232:68}

By 1769, at the ripe old age of 79, the immigrant George Dellinger died. Property in the Shenandoah Valley has remained in Dellinger and Vetter hands since 1749. The Dellinger family Bible, along with court books and personal papers corroborate these accounts. Currently residing next door to the old Christian Dellinger log building is Velma Reedy Vetter, informant for some of these accounts and mother of Vernon Reedy, the owner of the house up until 1996. The Baughman family purchased the building on 13 April of that year.

Records for the Hite and Baughman lands, especially around Holman's Creek, were shuffled between differing jurisdictions. The paperwork was filed with the Orange County Court between 1734-1745; then at the Augusta County courthouse in Staunton up until 1753; and with Frederick County at Winchester from 1753 until 1772. The courthouse at Woodstock started the paperwork in



INDIANS ATTACK A WHITE FAMILY ON THE EARLY FRONTIER
A CONTEMPORARY WOODCUT REPORTED ON THE BURNING, RAVISHMENT, SCALPING, TORTURE AND CAPTIVITY

1773, for five years under the name of Dunmore County, until it was changed to Shenandoah County.

Unfortunately, in May of 1864, a few Union officers marauding their way through the Shenandoah Valley stopped at Belle Grove, the old Hite mansion and "helped themselves" to the original Hite files in the garret from "barrels of old papers illuminating the history of the family, neighborhood and times of Lord Fairfax." ^{219:30}

A Trail of Paper Along Holman's Creek

THE SEQUENCE OF SETTLEMENT ON HOLMAN'S Creek can be deduced not only from the belated survey and patent dates, but from the position and shape of their boundaries. Daniel Holeman got first choice and

started right by the river; his son Jacob went further inland but still on the choicest part of the creek bottomland; Archibald Ruddle and Christian Funkhouser came next; Henry Baughman's land was clearly next, almost of the same proportion but with a boundary that was molded in between Holeman and Funkhouser, and all of the surrounding neighbors squeezed in after that.

Holeman had arrived in 1736, but only got his survey in 1749. Henry Baughman got his survey in 1754, and figuring backwards at a similar rate, probably arrived circa 1741, shortly after reaching America, just as Adam Müller did. Jos Schnebbli, renamed Joseph Siefly by the English, had his paperwork by 1761 beside Thomas Holeman. Jacob Holeman sold his father's original 393-acre tract on the east side of the river to Henry Houser. ^{214:C:522} Neighbor Peter Gartner waited 13

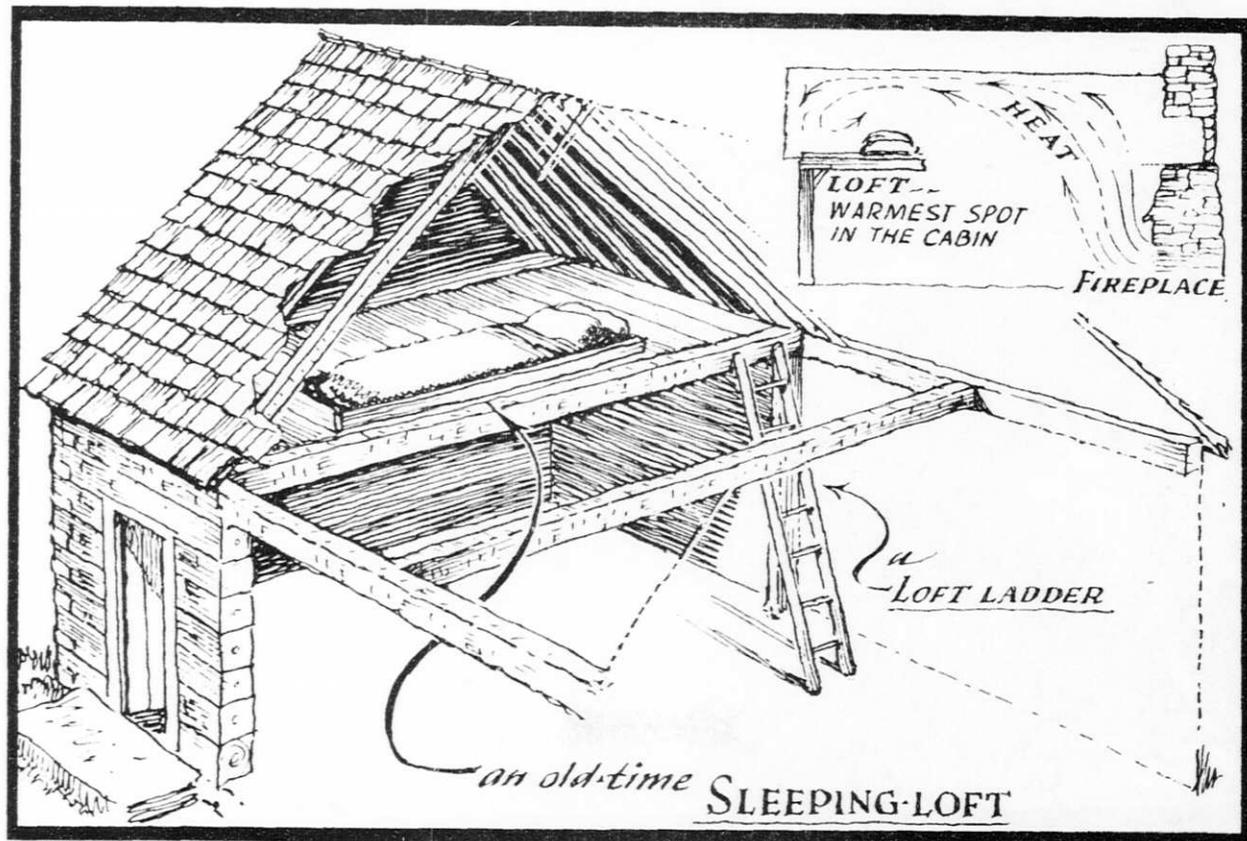


AS HANDY WITH HIS RIFLE AS WITH HIS AXE
A VIRGINIA FRONTIERSMAN DEFENDS HIS FAMILY AND HOME

years for the grant to his land on Holman's Creek.^{228, 481}

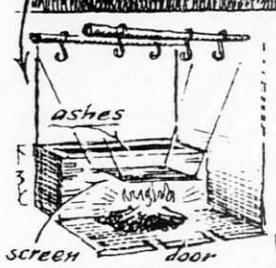
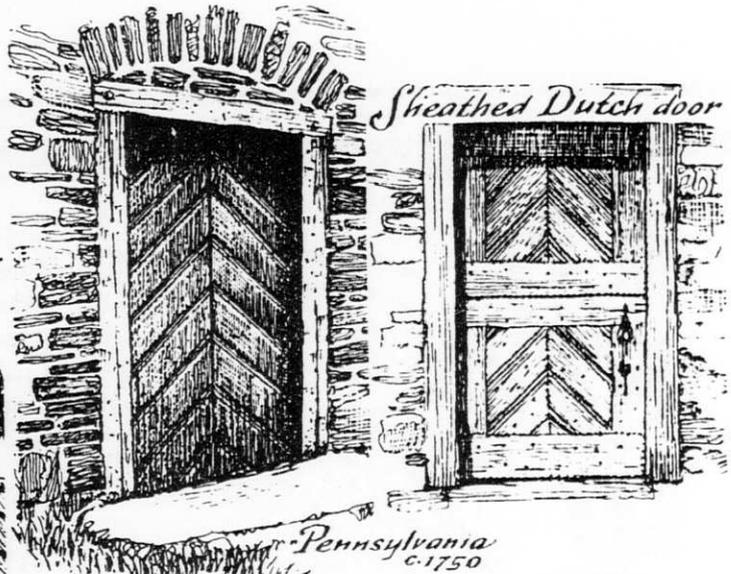
By 1725, Jacob Funkhouser showed up as a freeman among the Conestoga Mennonites on a tax list that year, but John Funkhouser of Canton Bern arrived in America aboard the *Mortonhouse* in August 1728. Christian Funkhouser received a survey warrant for 200 acres in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, on 23 April 1734. By 1737, three Funkhousers — Jacob, Johannes and Christian — were living near Tumbling Run in present-day Shenandoah County, amongst the 51 men that signed a petition protesting their required labor on a road through Chester Gap. Most of the men in this group bought land from Jost Hite. "We came a great way here and undergone Great Hardships and have wasted great part of our estate in coming and can scarce get Bread for our Children for want of land clear'd."

Christian Funkhouser, as a newlywed, moved to Holman's Creek with his bride Christiana Brock. Rudolf Brock, her widower-father, had been settled nearby since the early 1740s. In 1754, Christian helped Henry Baughman to survey his land, but within three more years, the Funkhousers left the Valley for Fincastle County in southwestern Virginia, having sold half of their place to Henry Myers, "late of Pennsylvania," and the other part to Michael Zirkle.^{205, 9 & 234, 53} □ □ □



PREPARING A PALISADED STOCKADE;
PUTTING A "STORY-AND-A-HALF" LOG HOUSE TO ITS BEST USE

Pennsylvania
c. 1770



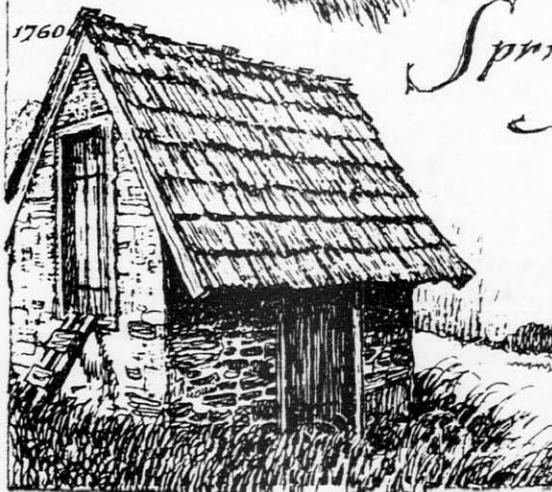
Smoke Houses

The Forge Barn

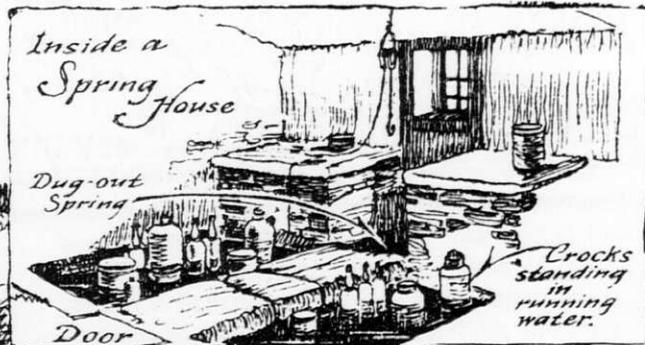


Pennsylvania
c. 1790

1760



Spring Houses





THE FAMILY REGISTER OF JOHANN GEORG BACHMANN
 FROM THE 242-YEAR-OLD BIBLE CONFISCATED BY AUTHORITIES IN AMERICA



THE *GEMEINDE ORDNUNG*, or Community Order, was inherited from the Mennonite Confessions of Faith set down in 1527 at an early church conference at Schleithem, Switzerland, and then restated a century later at

Dordrecht in the Netherlands.

The Mennonites in Pennsylvania and Virginia may have had their own copy brought from the old country or could have even gotten the first English translation in America of *Christian Confession of the Faith of the Harmless Christians in the Netherlands, known by the name of Mennonists* published in 1727 by Andrew Bradford of Philadelphia. Elders from all five Mennonite communities of eastern Pennsylvania were so pleased with this printing that they gave it a page of endorsements. "Christian Heer, Martin Bear and Johannes Bowman" appeared on behalf of "Canastoge," and the communities of "Shipack, Germantown, Great Swamp and Manatant" offered other familiar names.^{257:8}

In the opinion of some Valley historians, the code developed by each local congregation may have been informal and unwritten, similar to what other churches call their "Rules and Discipline." Some Old Order Mennonites inserted their own idiosyncratic views into the *Ordnung*, forbidding church members from wearing certain clothing, hairstyles, keeping any kind of idolatry or even putting lightning rods on their houses or barns.

For just about all 18th century Mennonites, the following standards were among the reasons and ways in which an offending church member might be dismissed from social and spiritual fellowship. Ostracism may well be the oldest punishment devised by society — considered by many cultures to be equal in severity to death by execution. For Christians, the banning of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden is one of most powerful, dramatic lessons. When Cain murdered his brother, the immediate punishment was excommunication to the Land of Nod, east of Eden.

From the *Ordnung's* Article XIV on Defense by Force: "Regarding revenge, whereby we resist our enemies with the sword, ...the Lord Jesus has forbidden his disciples and followers all revenge and resistance, and has thereby commanded them not to 'return evil for evil, nor railing for railing,' but to 'put up the sword into the sheath,' or, as the prophets foretold, 'beat them into ploughshares.' ...also, if necessity should require it, to

flee, for the Lord's sake, from one city or country to another, and suffer the 'spoiling of our goods,' rather than give occasion of offense to any one...

"And that we are, besides this, also to pray for our enemies, comfort and feed them, when they are hungry or thirsty, and thus by well-doing convince them and overcome the evil with good." "Fall away from us the diabolical weapons of violence — such as sword, armor, and the like, and all of their use to protect friends or against enemies — by virtue of the word of Christ: "you shall not resist evil."

"Concerning the sword: whether a Christian shall pass sentence in disputes and strife about worldly matters... Christ did not wish to decide or pass judgment between brother and brother concerning inheritance, but refused to do so. So should we also do."

In Pennsylvania, the whole adult male Mennonite population of Saucon Township got arrested during the Revolution for not supporting the colonists' war against the British. In the summer of 1778, the stringent new rules of the second Test Act, passed 13 June 1777, were applied by the local militia officers to the Mennonites south of Bethlehem.

The specific oath that was forced at them said: "I do swear (or affirm) that I renounce and refuse all allegiance to George the Third, King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors, and that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a free and independent State, and that I will not at any time do or cause to be done any matter or things that will be prejudicial or injurious to the freedom and independence thereof, as declared by Congress; and also that I will discover and make known to some one justice of the peace of the said State all treasons or traitorous conspiracies which I know or hereafter shall know to be formed against this or any of the United States of America."

Besides identifying Tories sympathetic to the British Crown, these rebel officers had the extra incentive of collecting forfeited estates — and a percentage for themselves — from anyone "tainted by treason."

In addition, any male over the age of 18 who did not subscribe to the oath by 1 June 1778 would forfeit a long list of rights. They would no longer be able to hold political office or any "place of trust" in Pennsylvania, be able to sue for debts, buy or sell or inherit land, own weapons, or act as a guardian. They would also have to pay double rates of taxation, serve three months in prison without bail or pay a £10 pound fine plus court

costs.^{267:36}

The 12 senior members of the Saucon Mennonite Congregation refused to take the Test Oath of Allegiance and so were imprisoned at Easton and had their estates confiscated by the sheriff of Northhampton County.

The testimony of pacifists such as the Mennonites and Quakers counted for little. A farmer from Hatfield Township and an elderly Quaker miller from Upper Merion Township were hanged despite a petition from 4,000 neighbors that pointed out the plight of their families and pleaded for mercy.^{268:166}

The Mennonites of Saucon had always obediently paid war taxes, exemption fees, and donated their horses and wagons to aid Washington's army whenever requested, sometimes driving the teams themselves "for which service they have hitherto received no pay" even though their English-speaking neighbors did. Despite their peaceful and cooperative behavior, the Mennonites got 30 days notice that they were about to be thrown out of their homes and banished from the state. On 24 June, also marked by an eclipse of the sun, two assessors from the court of Northhampton County began to inventory all their possessions. Every last piece of property was confiscated and scheduled for auction, "with the exception of spectacles without which they should be blind."^{263:168}

On the Fourth of July, 1778, Georg Bachman led his neighbors in their last-chance appeal:

"To the HONORABLE the Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania... your petitioners having received Sentence of Banishment at the last Court of Quarter Sessions held at Easton, for no other cause but that we could not with freedom of conscience comply with the Law of this State imposing a Test on the Inhabitants, and being deeply afflicted with the complicated distresses, our unhappy families are thereby involved in; beg leave, in all humility to lay before you our deplorable case, not destitute of some hope of obtaining your merciful Interposition, as we believe none can justly charge any of us with having ever done any act that can be construed inimical to the State or Government we live under, but have always been peaceable subjects, ready and willing to contribute our full proportion towards the support of it, except going into the military service, it being contrary to our religious principles to bear arms in any case whatsoever, and if we are found guilty of anything contrary to these our peaceful principles, may we suffer the severest penalties; and your petitioners believing the Supreme Council to be invested with a dispensing power to mitigate the severity of our sentence as we humbly conceive the process against us has not been according to the spirit of the law or the intention of the Legislature with regard to the peaceable industrious part of the people... and your

petitioners not being able yet to get over their religious scruples about taking the said test, it appearing to us like joining our hands to military service, and being very desirous to continue to be not only peaceable but useful subjects to this State, do humbly request the Honorable Supreme Council to take our distressed case into consideration, and grant such relief therein as to you in your wisdom shall meet..."

Twelve non-Mennonite neighbors added a brief statement to this document, vouching for the integrity of these "men of unblemished reputation for uprightness and integrity..." These supporters went on to suggest that the Mennonites' "present blindness to their own essential interest proceeds from an unhappy bias in their education, and not from a disaffection to the present Government."^{267:37}

At the end of August 1778, Sheriff John Siegfried supervised a "Publick Vendue" of George Bachman Jr.'s property. A profile of neighbors who likely showed up at *Der Siebenstern* comes from a census of trades and labor from the township assembled not long before: 80 farmers, 9 laborers, 3 blacksmiths, a pair of tavern-keepers, two weavers, a carpenter, a miller, a doctor, a cooper and "four poor."^{263:429}

The family's inn and tavern was sold to Daniel Cooper, recently arrived from Amsterdam, and after whom the town was eventually named.^{243:7}

"Inventory of the Goods & chattle, the Property of George Bachman in upper Saucum Township, which are forfeited according to the Law of the State of Pennsylvania, the 17th June 1778 at Easton Court vizt. A Clock & Case (£40), two Bedsteads & bedding (£20), a Chest (£1:2:6), a Chest Drawers (£15), a walnut Table (£2:5:0), a Dresser (£0:15:0), 3 Chairs (£0:15:0), a Fan (£2:10:0), a Spinning Wheel (£0:10:0), a five plated Stove, pipes (£7:10:0), a large Iron Kettle (£2:5:0), an Iron Pott (£1:10:0).

"A Waggon (£30), a Waggon Cloth (£2:5:0), A Waggon Chain (£1:10:0), a Cart (£5), a Sleigh (£3), a Saddle (£0:15:0), Two Plows & a Harrow (£7), a Black Mare (£40), a Black Mare Colt (£20), a White Horse (£90), a Bay Horse (£45), Four cows (£40), Four Young Horn Cattle (£20), Ten Cow Chains (£1:17:6), Ten Sheep (£10), Three Hoggs 3 died (£6), a 6&700 Sheaver Wheat (£21), 6½ bushells of Buck Wheat (£0:3:9), Four bags with Flax Seed (£1:17:6), Ten baggs (£3:15:0), Ten Siths with Craddle (£0:15:0), a Cutting Box (£2:5:0), a Parcell Shingles (£6), a Barrel Matigium (£15), a few Empty Barrels (£4), a funnell (£0:15:0).

"For a total of £511:17:6"^{251:340}

Also lost to the Sheriff was the following property from two other Baughman brothers: Henry Bachman, three sheep (£1:6:0), two hogs (£1:10:0); Jacob Bachman, a sheep (£0:15:0), two hogs (£0:16:0), 6½

bushels Buck Wheat (£2:12:0), a Pott (£1:11:0)^{251:430}

Because the highest bidder had to be respected, the county could not prevent the Bachman family from buying back 26 out of the 56 lots up on the auction block. They had to bid up to £75 to get back their clock, and managed to recover most of the furniture. They did lose one bed, a spinning wheel, their flock of sheep and some hogs. On the same day, Caspar Yoder's larger estate went up, but his family Bible was the only thing bought back by a Mennonite neighbor, John Bare from 10 miles southwest at Great Meadow also known as The Swamp. The pacifist-hater Squire Limbach showed up to buy "a hand screw."^{268:171}

A petition on behalf of the entire Mennonite community from George's wife, Esther Oberholtzer Bachman, and Eve Yoder, was delivered to the Pennsylvania General Assembly asking for special consideration and relief. "All their said personal Estate, even their Beds, Bedings, Linen, Bibles & Books were taken from them and sold by the Sheriff to the amount of about £40,000."^{238:26}

Almost lost forever was the old Schnebbli-Bachman Bible from Ibersheim. The local schoolteacher Johann Adam Eyer had lately completed a decorated family register page in it:

"This Bible belongs to Johann Georg Bachmann; it belonged to my Father Georg Bachmann, and after his death it was given to me by all my brothers and sisters.

"Anno 1724, the 30th of November, I Joh. Georg Bachmann, as is recorded on my parents' [family] birth register, was born into this World. And on the 16th of November 1748 — old style — entered into Holy Matrimony with Esther Oberholtzer, daughter of Jacob Oberholtzer and his wife Barbara. She was born into this world the 16th day of May, 1728. In our married life, the Lord blessed us with the following children..."²³⁸

For all the paperwork filed by the desperate brethren, no surviving record suggests that Pennsylvania responded to them. When the war was clearly over, the men of Northampton County were forced to re-enroll in their local militia, although there is no indication that they ever actually mustered or drilled. In the first platoon or 'class' was Michel Musylman; the second class had George Bauchmen and Jacob Musylman; third class, John Bauchmen; fifth class, Henry Bauchmen. John Beye, one of the justices of the peace for Northampton County, attested to the formulation of the Fifth Company on 23 May 1785, according to his witness Nicholaus Masteller "upon his oath by the holy Evangelist of Almighty God doth declare... a full and true list of all the male white Inhabitants between 18 & 53 years, residing within the District of said company to the best of his knowledge without favour or

malise."^{264:898-899}

The Bachmans did not flee from Saucon Township straight away. Henry and Jacob built homes, including a handsome tall stone house still in use at 205 North Main Street, but an ironic insult to their family came long afterwards. When their names were found on compulsory militia rolls, careless local historians marked the graves of the Saucon Mennonites as heroes of the American Revolution.^{268:173}

Nathan Bachman, one of George Bachman Jr.'s nephews, decided to move to the Valley of Virginia after all of the dust settled, and eventually on to Clover Bottom, near Blountville in eastern Tennessee's Sullivan County.^{266:33}

When forced into military service later on in Virginia, one Valley Mennonite reassured his wife that he would not take another man's life. He later explained how while standing on the firing line, he always aimed his barrel high so that no one would get hit by his rifle's ball. When his regular term of enlistment expired, he deserted his regiment. His superiors were afraid that he would counsel other young men to avoid the army, so they put a price on his head and organized a manhunt. A noted woodsman before the war, he played a cat and mouse game with the provost marshal for two years until the war was over.^{256:107}

The Baughmans in Pennsylvania finally gave in to a post-war military enrollment. In Virginia, however, Jacob Baughman's name did not appear on a 1775 compulsory muster list for the Dunmore County Militia, even though his father's and brothers' did. After the war, Jacob did sign a petition on 10 December 1785 along with 73 other Valley Mennonites to be exempted from military duty. The other dissident petitioners included his four brothers-in-law, Abraham, Christian, Jacob and Johannes Neff, and other names traceable to Lancaster County: Böhm, Bomgarner, Brennerman, Funkhouser, Gochnauer, Greibill, Hodel, Kauffman, Meili, Rot, Schantz, Stauffer and Strickler.^{241:112}

The Ties that Bind

THE OLD LOYALTY BETWEEN THE BAUGHMAN AND Neff families stretched back through many generations. The bond was restrengthened in the Shenandoah Valley when old Heinrich's son Jacob grew interested in Dr. Neff's daughter Catherine.

Catherine's grandfather, Dr. Hans Heinrich Neff Sr., was the first doctor in all of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He settled on Conestoga Creek northeast of Lancaster Town by 1718, and also built and operated a grist mill, the primary source of the family's income.

According to the diary of Christopher Marshall, many people went to Dr. Christian Neff in Lancaster County for blood letting.

The elder Dr. Neff had a son, Dr. John Henry Neff Jr., who moved first to Frederick County, Maryland, in 1746 and then in 1748 to Holman's Creek, Frederick County, Virginia. Catherine may have been eight or nine years old when her father had his land on Holman's Creek surveyed in 1749. Dr. Neff also bought a substantial amount of land on the Back Road.

His medicines would have been made from imported narcotics, home-grown herbs, bark, seeds and the roots of plants found along the mountains and in the surrounding forests. It was important, according to medical manuals of the day, for herbs to be plucked while the plant was still in bloom. Roots and barks were only to be harvested in the Spring or Autumn and always dried out in a well-ventilated room, often tied up in bundles and hung from the rafters.

Catherine Neff almost certainly helped her father to plant, cultivate, harvest, dry and grind the dozens of herbal powders, as well as gather his many wild ingredients, such as sassafras, boneset, camomile, gentian and snake-root. No doubt she watched as he prepared the teas, salves, concoctions, decoctions and tinctures, listening to him explain their preparation and use. In the same way that her father had learned the medical arts from his father, the latest generation became the interns and heirs of their parent's doctoring skill.²⁶⁵ In 1770, at the age of 62, Dr. John Henry Neff turned most of his practice over to Conrad Neff, who served the folks around Holmans Creek for the next 30 years.

The elder Dr. Neff may have experimented with a diagnostic tool far ahead of its time, and upon which his great-nephew, Dr. Abraham Neff Breneman made his reputation in 1810: Urine analysis.²⁶⁵

Some of Dr. Neff's medicines, even though they seemed to work just fine, would have been frowned on by doctors until recently. Medical research in the late 20th Century has proven that plants are the source of untold biochemical cures. Nonetheless, Dr. Neff would have treated his patients with a careful respect for their own families' traditional cures, and may have even subscribed to a few of them himself. People would have resorted to their own family medicines not out of antagonism towards Dr. Neff but in addition to his efforts.^{276:23}

Along the Back Road by Neff property, chicken manure was also made into a tea and used to relieve pains in the back, and for cramps. Another person in the same area recalled drinking chicken manure tea and claimed it really helped, but she added, "Cat manure tea is the most powerful of all teas... My mother used to say, 'If it's kill or cure, use some cat manure.'" ^{273:133}

To take the pain out of a burn, the following

incantation was used to activate a poultice made in part out of chicken droppings: '*Heili Heili hinckeldreck, bis marye iss ales weg,*' meaning 'Holy, Holy chickendung, by next morning it's all gone.'^{256:47}

From New Market, nearby to Dr. Neff's old practice on Holman's Creek, Maggie Gochnour suggested a recipe for cough syrup to her sisters in the Brethren Church in 1903 that had been passed down through the 19th Century in her own family:

"Take one quart of dandelion blossoms, pour over them one gallon of boiling water, add two lemons, sliced, let stand twenty-four hours, strain, add four pounds of sugar, boil and can like fruit. Take a swallow frequently."^{275:131}

Madstones, formed in the stomachs of deer, were known and used as early as the 18th Century in Virginia. These small, hard objects were said to have the power to draw poison from the bite of a snake or a rabid animal. Some stones were so revered that shares were sold in them so that they would be available to more people when an urgent need arose. "There are many sworn accounts of madstones being placed on a wound and adhering without being bound in place. They stuck tight for a matter of minutes, hours or days, falling off only when they had absorbed all of the sickness or poison. Some madstones were soaked in water after their use, and green fluid was observed leaking from them."^{256:56}

Horse chestnuts carried in a pocket were thought to ward off rheumatism.^{256:59} Great-great grandchildren of Virginia still held onto this belief in the Ozark Mountains of Missouri through the end of the 20th Century.^{240:97}

Just as important as plant medicines were the cures credited to animal fat. Grease and oil were carefully drawn off of bear, possum, hogs, snakes and skunks. Skunk grease could be rubbed on the chest, or a half-spoonful could be taken orally for bad coughs.

"Pull the skin off the snake," advised one Valley farmer, "then hang the carcass in the sun and let the oil drip off into a container... When Johnny had rheumatism I used it, I rubbed it on his knees and the back of his wrists."^{275:139}

Greasing the bottom of the feet was good for bringing down a fever, as it was thought that the sickness would actually be drawn out from the soles and onto the ground.^{275:140} Nothing was better for an earache than bear grease. A dangerously ill person would sometimes get the homemade ointment heated up, mixed with onions and be greased from head to toe.

Some cures hinged on what was called "sympathetic remedy." A woman born just after the Civil War below Holman's Creek explained how any serious breathing problems were treated:

"When Daddy took you to the woods with his augur

you knew what was coming, all the folks around did this. The child was taken to the woods, a hole was drilled into a tree and the child stood next to the hole. A lock of the child's hair was put in the hole and the peg plugged in."

A cure for asthma and croup was guaranteed. Of course, the children left a bit of their hair pegged into the tree, but all breathing difficulties would be all gone by the time they had grown taller than the peg. The thinking was that the asthma would be sympathetically transferred to the tree.^{275:134}

In Pennsylvania, a bright shining axe placed under the bed of a sick person was thought to draw off and heal open sores.^{275:141}

An Old Order Mennonite, when asked about superstitions and why people would put any faith in them, quoted an old Pennsylvania Dutch saying: "*Batt's net, schatt's net*" meaning "Doesn't help, doesn't hurt."

See Appendix F on page 197-198

Deep Blushes to the Cheeks of the Bride

DURING THE LATE 1760S, WHEN CATHERINE NEFF first guessed that Jacob Baughman wanted to marry her, she was likely quite familiar with courtship customs among the Valley Swiss.

There was purported to be a magic spring in the Briery Branch area of Rockingham County, south of Holman's Creek. If a young woman went there, and with a mirror, looked over her shoulder into the water, she would see the image of her future husband reflected on the surface.

Further encouragement could be gotten at harvest time, especially at festive socials where apple butter was cooked outdoors in huge kettles.^{241:63} A lovestruck girl was advised to peel an apple all in one piece and throw the peel over her shoulder. When she turned around and looked at it lying on the ground, whatever letter it



A PAIR OF GERMAN SISTERS WITH THEIR SUITORS
THE IMAGE OF THEIR FUTURE HUSBANDS REFLECTED IN THE WATERS OF A MAGIC SPRING

reminded her of would be the first letter of her future husband's last name. An old *hausfrau* was asked if she knew anyone who had success with this method. "I saw an L," she said, "and there sits Mr. Lam."^{256:40} Whether at old fashioned apple-peeling bees or quilting bees, the hostess never worried about her guests' girlish figures, but rather encouraged them to enjoy her oven's hospitality: "The mare that does double work should be best fed."

One romantic tradition in the Shenandoah Valley was a game called "Love in the Dark." A boy and a girl were put in a pitch black room without having seen each other first. They disguised their voices and talked awhile, hugged a little, and exchanged a kiss or two while trying to guess with whom they had been matched.^{256:39}

In order to spend more time in each other's arms, couples did not have to sneak off into the dark. In the 18th Century, German families allowed young couples to spend nights together as part of courtship. At first, they might be allowed to climb into bed together, but only with their legs bundled tightly together and knotted with rope.

If both the parents and sweethearts wanted the liaison to progress, an upcoming Sunday or Feast Day would be chosen as *probenacht*, meaning a "trial night." In 1780, a German author named F.C.J. Fischer described the tradition: "She lets him surprise her lightly clothed, and, at last, grants him everything..." A trial night did not always lead to marriage, but neither was it thought a failing for either the boy or the girl if it didn't. Only a long succession of trial nights with different men might lead the neighbors to think that something was wrong with a girl.²⁷⁴

Pre-nuptial counseling was required to quote from Scripture and forewarned that "you shall not take a wife for my son from among the daughters of the Canaanites in whose land I live, but go to my fatherland and to my friends and take from thence a wife, etc... We do not recognize separation except in case of adultery or death. Then they are told to think it over well while they are still free, and so on."^{277:114}

Another look at the Articles of Faith suggests what happened next for Jacob Baughman and Catherine Neff.

From Article XII on Matrimony: "...An 'honorable' state of matrimony between two believers of the different sexes, as God first instituted the same in paradise between Adam and Eve, and as the Lord Jesus reformed it by removing all abuses which had crept into it... Marry amongst the 'chosen generation'... that is, to such — and none others — as are already, previous to their marriage, united to the church in heart and soul, have received the same baptism, belong to the same church,

are of the same faith and doctrine, and lead the same course of life... this is then called, 'Marrying in the Lord.'" Later Mennonites summarized this article as meaning "the union of one man and one woman for life."

Wedding ceremonies for the brethren relied on a part of their large Bibles called the Apocrypha, bound between the Old and New Testaments. In 1534, when the first Bible in German gathered together several scattered tales from the Old Testament, Martin Luther decided to follow the advice from 1,100 years earlier to make a separate section of them.

The early Greek Christian, Jerome, had earmarked these pages as being worthy of spiritual study but not of the same divinely inspired order as the other parts of the Hebrew testament. The first English Bible to include a separate Apocrypha, written by Myles Coverdale in 1635, was a rushed translation of Luther's German and Zwingli's Swiss editions. Under the influence of the Puritans, these pages soon disappeared from most English Bibles.

Luther was not enthusiastic about the religious value of the Apocrypha, but felt they should be left in. The opening pages, known as the book of Tobit, formed the traditional narrative and heart of the Anabaptist wedding ceremony.^{255:4} It was not unusual for the pastor, in performing the marriage ceremony, to go into such great detail in regard to the story of Tobit as to bring deep blushes to the cheeks of the bride.^{277:111}

Farm work, religious beliefs and tradition limited wedding days to Tuesdays and Thursdays following the end of harvest, but before winter weather made travel difficult.^{272:9} Jacob and Catherine had a choice of at least three places where they could exchange their vows: at her father's home, at the meeting house on Holman's Creek or at the meeting house on neighbor Good's property that served the brethren in the early years on the Back Road. Part of Catherine's dowry seems to have been the choice piece of farmland waiting for them below Deerhead Hill on the Back Road.^{241:58} See map on page 177

Eat, Drink & Be Merry

A RARE HANDWRITTEN MANUAL FOR OLD ORDER Mennonite pastors, probably dating from the 18th Century, provides a glimpse of the blessed event through this recommended script:

"When... the fitting passages in the New Testament have been brought in, then one says, 'Because one finds nothing in the New Testament how from the beginning this ceremony was performed and our Savior himself pointed those who had asked him in regard to this matter back to the Old Testament, so we will also turn thither...'
"We should not look or marry... according to the lust

of the eyes or the lust of the flesh, but according to honor and virtue and in the fear of God and how only those should celebrate this ceremony together who are in one ark of the New Testament and have been baptized...

"This shows us how a youth should not run and go courting himself, as is the practice among many who make a secret marriage or promise themselves with endearing words, or seek to bring the matter about in a dishonest fashion but that he first pray to the Highest that he by all means might put in his mind which person God in his providence might have ordained to be his wife. Then the youth is to commit his affair to a man who is designated for that and similar work and who may then do the courting as the servant of Abraham did and so on as follows in the Bible...

"Then one turns to the book of Tobit. Even though this is an apocryphal book and is not counted among the books of Holy Writ, still it presents a beautiful lesson... One begins in the book Tobit and continues in that as is well-known. But one may also make it much shorter than exactly according to the letter."

Leading figures in the story of Tobit were his son, Tobias, and Sarah, the two betrothed by the arrangement of elders.

"Tobias was instructed by Raguel, his future father-in-law: 'Eat and drink, and make merry ...thou shouldest marry my daughter, nevertheless I will declare unto thee the truth. I have given my daughter in marriage to seven men, who died that night they came in unto her; nevertheless for the present be merry...

"But Tobias said, 'I will eat nothing here...' And Raguel said, 'Then take her from henceforth according to the manner, for thou art her cousin, and she is thine, and the merciful God give you good success in all things.'"

Tobias begged to be excused from the risk, but was reassured by a handwritten covenant from Raguel. He was counseled that Sarah has been cursed, and only strict observance of Scriptural law, clean food, and ceremonial ablution would break the spell and drive out the demons.

Raguel told his wife Edna to prepare a wedding chamber for their daughter and take her into it. "She wept, and she received the tears of her daughter, and said unto her, Be of good comfort, my daughter; the Lord of heaven and earth give thee joy for this thy sorrow... And when they had supped, they brought Tobias in unto her."

Tobias "took the ashes of the perfumes, and put the heart and the liver of the fish thereupon, and made a smoke... which smell when the evil spirit had smelled, he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him."

Tobias spoke to God, "Thou madest Adam, and gavest him Eve his wife for a helper... of them came mankind; thou hast said, It is not good that man should

be alone; let us make unto him an aid like unto himself. Sarah, arise and let us pray, for it is not fitting for us to begin marriage like the heathen who hold God in contempt. And now, O Lord, I take not this my sister for lust, but uprightly: therefore mercifully ordain that we may become aged together. And she said with him, Amen."

Sarah's father suffered doubts that night, and even went so far as to dig a secret grave for Tobias. If they found him dead in the morning, "we may bury him, and no man know of it."

The newlyweds were described as giving the first three nights after their marriage to religious exercise and postponing their wedlock until the fourth, and the success of their efforts was celebrated by two more weeks of celebration.

As the couple were about to depart, loaded with her bountiful dowry, Edna spoke to Tobias, "Grant that I may see thy children of my daughter Sarah before I die, that I may rejoice before the Lord; behold, I commit my daughter unto thee, of special trust; wherefore do not entreat her evil."

A second wedding feast of seven days was hosted by Tobias' father, Tobit, and this became the practice of religious folk throughout the Ages.^{255:19}

The pastor's manual continues:

"Then one may briefly address the bride and groom with the words: 'And now you two young (if they are widow or widower then one leaves out the word young) people if your intentions still remain as you earlier acknowledged, then you may now come forward in the name of God.

"You _____, I will first ask you, do you hope and do you also believe that Almighty God has heard your prayer and has ordained this your sister to be your wife? (Answer, 'Yes!')

"And you _____, do you hope and also believe that Almighty God has heard your prayer and has ordained this your brother to be your husband? (Answer, 'Yes!')

"In turn, both must assent to the following: 'And you _____, do you hope and also believe and do you promise before Almighty God and his church to live with this' your (wife or husband) in love, peace, and unity, as with your God-ordained (wife or husband), as is fitting for a truly believing, pious, and virtuous (husband or wife)? Also with patience to help (her or him) bear the love and sorrow, good days and sorrowful days, as the dear God will send them to you, and not leave (her or him) until death parts you? Do you believe and profess this? (Answer, 'Yes!')

"Then one might add: 'This public and acknowledged confession is good. May the dear God now and henceforth rule your hearts to bless you so that all your walk and activity may serve to his holy, eternal,

praise and glory and to the good and salvation of your souls.

"Then one says: '...I hope and believe God has heard my prayer, and has regarded my hot tears... The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and God of Jacob unite you and bestow his holy blessing rightly upon you and bind you together with true marital love and faith through Jesus Christ, Amen. Now depart in God's name.'"^{277:109}

Outside the pious tradition of their Bible, a wedding custom enjoyed among the plain brethren was called "Throwing the Stocking." When the newly married couple had been tucked into their bed, all the unmarried young people would be let into the room. A stocking was rolled into a ball. The girls lined up at the foot of the bed, facing away from the couple and were each given a turn throwing the balled up stocking backwards, over their shoulder. The first to bonk the bride in the head would be the next to marry.^{256:41}

After Heinrich Bachman died in 1779, the center of gravity for the Baughman family began to shift away from Holman's Creek, and change greatly during the next ten years. Jacob Baughman was named co-executor of his father's will, along with his mother Barbara. Brother Henry Jr. moved to Botetourt County and John sold the remaining pieces of the family plantation to John Glick Jr. and the neighboring Zirkles. Their widowed mother remarried John Glick Sr., bishop of the Mennonite church in the Valley, and moved up to his place on the Back Road.^{241:65}

The elder Glick had arrived from Basel, Switzerland, in the autumn of 1765, and moved to Virginia within three years.^{254:553} By 1772, he had become a leader among the brethren in the Valley, and was described as the *Oudste* or Bishop of the Mennonites there along with "Michil Kaufman and Jakob Struckler" at the Massanutten settlement.^{241:50} The Glick family in Shenandoah County also adopted orphaned children from the Landis family on Mill Creek.^{242:110}

In 1783, Jacob Baughman wanted more than the house and the land he had been using from Dr. Neff's below Deer Head Hill, and bought 235 acres across the road.

On 26 June 1783, the Court Book of Shenandoah County shows that Jacob Baughman was ordered along with Jacob Helsley, Daniel Walters, Thomas Henton "and all the inhabitants on the waters of Stony Creek to the mouth of Cat Hollow to work under Richard Hudson" to improve or build a road "from Boughmans Plantation to Orkney Springs..."^{253:83}

Following the estate settlement for his late father-in-law in July 1784, Jacob inherited the 200-acre homestead next door — where he had been living — from the Neff family. The official entry for Jacob's 235-acre tract was

made on 17 June 1785. At the easy-going pace of early America, it was never surveyed until a year and a half later. On 10 January 1787, Jacob Rinker paced off the boundaries, while Jacob Baughman "was already living on said land." Ulrich Nease and Abraham Baughman assisted Rinker as chain carriers, and Valentine Faber Jr., was present, either as a concerned party or just as a curious neighbor.

In an original patent from Edmund Randolph, Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Jacob Baughman received title to the 235 acres immediately west of John Glick. Chosen as his witnesses were Martin Garber, William Duggan and Philomon Higgins. The land was situated southeast of Deer Head Hill and in the northernmost section of *Der Wald*, where in early days the bountiful number of deer meant that the hunting season never closed.^{261:23}

When the Joining was Broken

SOMETHING POWERFUL HAPPENED TO JACOB Baughman as he approached his 40th birthday. Between 1787 and 1790, with so many important new pieces of his life beginning to fall into place, Jacob disappeared from the Shenandoah Valley.

Several possibilities may be gleaned from the *Ordnung*:

Article XVI on Excommunication or Expulsion from the Church: "We also believe in the ban, or excommunication, a separation or spiritual punishment by the church, for the amendment, and not for the destruction, of offenders; so that what is pure may be separated from that which is impure... and thus remain until his amendment, as an example and warning to others... Regarding the brotherly admonition, as also the instruction of the erring, we are ... to watch over them, and exhort them in all meekness to the amendment of their ways; and in case any should remain obstinate and unconverted, to reprove them as the case may require."

Article XVII on The Shunning of Those Who are Expelled: "... Any one, whether it be through a wicked life or perverse doctrine, ...be shunned and avoided by all the members of the church (particularly by those to whom his misdeeds are known), whether it be in eating or drinking, or other such like social matters. In short, that we are to have nothing to do with him; so that we may not become defiled by intercourse with him, and partakers of his sins; but that he may be made ashamed... and thereby induced to amend his ways. ...Such shunning and reproof may not be conducive to his ruin... For should he be in need, hungry, thirsty, naked, sick or visited by some other affliction, we are in duty bound... to render him aid and assistance, as necessity may

require.”

Other insight into the *Ordnung* comes from a letter of 1752:

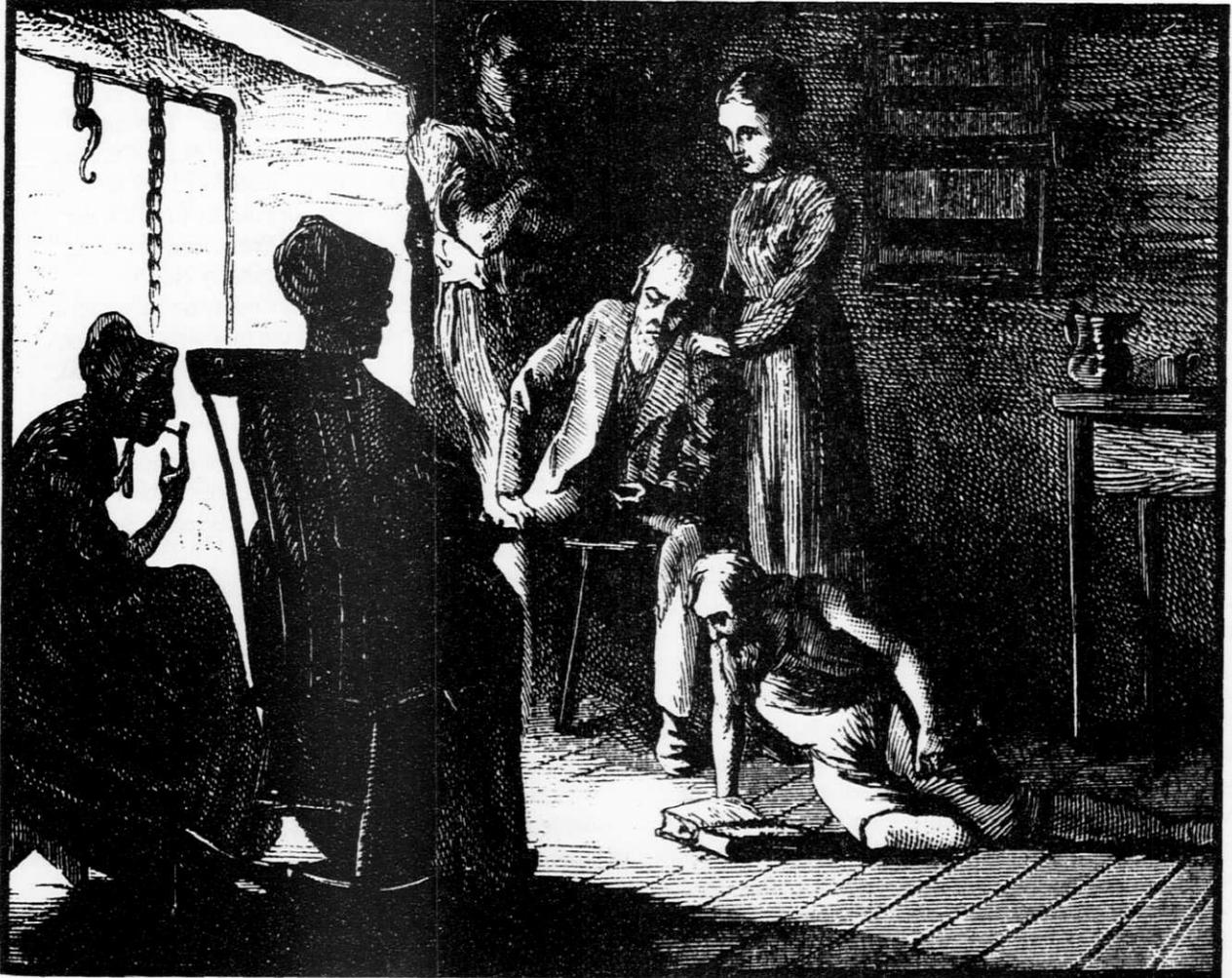
“Married couples who quarrel are to be put out of the congregation; if one partner is penitent and is received back into the brotherhood, but the other will not be converted, but remains in his sins, the former shall for that reason not remain outside the congregation, but shall not marry another so long as the partner lives... When a brother or sister joins or marries a worldly person, but repents and desires to be readmitted into the brotherhood, he shall not be denied acceptance, but only on the condition that he bring the other partner with him; if he cannot do this, he must leave his partner, but provide him with the necessities of life and separate himself for the sake of heaven, and earnestly pray...”^{239:71}

The following account of a Mennonite council meeting follows the traditions of the *Ordnung* that are

centuries old. It took place in the home of one of the elders, a Hershberger, in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. A deacon first read from Matthew 18 on how discipline should be maintained in the church.

“Two members had come to the bishop and admitted that they had transgressed against the commandments of the Bible and the order of the church. They had already confessed their sins to God and now felt the need to do so before the church. A third member had not readily acknowledged his wrongdoing but was admonished by the ministers when he was caught. It was considered essential that members have a right relationship with God and the church before taking communion, lest they partake of the elements unworthily.

“The bishop called the name of a young man. ‘It is my understanding that this brother has transgressed against the order of the church by using tobacco. If this is not true, I ask to be corrected.’ The young man held his head very low and said nothing. Bishop Eli then



READING ABOUT GRAVE MATTERS BY THE FIRELIGHT

“WE ARE TO HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH HIM; SO THAT WE MAY NOT BECOME DEFILED...”

mentioned the names of a young man and a young woman. 'It is my understanding that these members have been guilty of improper courting practices. If this is not true, I ask to be corrected.' Both reddened but said nothing.

"Bishop Eli had a very burdened look on his face. He cleared his throat and wiped away a tear before proceeding. 'We regret to say that Amos and Susie Schlabach have been disobedient to the church and after being counseled and worked with refuse to comply.' Eli cleared his throat again. 'We have decided that for their spiritual welfare they should be put under the ban, so that they will see the error of their ways and may repent and be restored to the church.'

"There were sobs from several of the members, especially from Susie's sister...

"Eli then told the young man and the young couple to leave the room. He reviewed both cases, then recommended that the young man make a confession of his wrong while seated. He recommended that the young couple make a kneeling confession, since theirs was the more serious offense.

In all such cases of kneeling, it was thought fitting for the bishop to say, "This kneeling is not to be before me, but before the all-highest and all-knowing God and his church."^{277:107}

"Eli asked the other ordained men to express themselves on the matter. All agreed that this was the proper discipline. Then they 'took the voice of the church,' and each member was asked if he or she agreed. Reaching perfect consensus was called *enniger rote*, meaning an 'agreeable voice.'

"Bishop Eli now began to recite from memory the *Ordnung* of the church. These were rules for daily living that the church had drawn up so that members would not stray into the evils of the world. After the rules for all members, Eli recited those that applied specifically to men then those that applied to the women. He asked the other ministers to help him if he forgot anything. With the harmony of the church restored, communion service could be held."^{272:55-56}

The severity of the ban differed from one branch of the Anabaptist faith to another, but often meant that even family members could not speak to the disciplined person, could not directly hand to or receive from them any object, sit together at a meal-time table, and certainly never offer them spiritual comfort. If, of a married couple, one was under the ban, the other had to separate from the offender.^{250:129} The only conversation that the offender might share could be with the church elders that initiated the discipline, and they would only be interested to hear sorrow and a begging for forgiveness.

Meidung or shunning comes from Paul's admonition in I Corinthians 5:11 "not to keep company" and "not to

eat" with an unfaithful member, but rather to "put away from yourselves that wicked person."

If stubborn pride, or conversely, misunderstood innocence, kept a Mennonite from accepting the rightness of his accusers, the only relief might come from turning away from them forever. Numerous hearts were lost to the Mennonites in just his way, or if wider splits left enough kin on each side, whole new churches would break off and move on.

When some Mennonites in the Valley picked up Wesleyan ideas from the traveling Methodist preachers, they became known as River Brethren to their old friends. Although they shared a common Anabaptist heritage, the River Brethren shed some of their earlier pacifist sentiments. For breaking the *Ordnung* on this fundamental point, it was said that some Valley women even refused to come together for a quilting bee, their favorite comfort and oldest tradition.

On 29 March 1791, Jacob wrote a letter granting his power of attorney to his brother Abraham still living in Shenandoah County. Jacob also gave the Deer Head Hill land to his son Henry, although the title was not technically transferred until 11 years later. The letter had been notarized from Greene County, North Carolina, but this was not the same county created in 1799 near the Swiss settlement of New Bern. Beginning in 1783, the Smoky Mountain lands of eastern Tennessee, including the future Sevier County, were claimed by North Carolina as part of a huge Greene County on its western border.^{246:142} It is interesting to note that another branch of the Bachman family had earlier chosen the Carolinas, namely Jacob's Uncle Rudolf who went there from Richterswil in 1739.

Jacob missed the weddings of his two daughters — Ann in 1791 and Barbara's five years later. Court papers establish that by 7 March 1803, Jacob settled in Sevier County, Tennessee.²⁴⁹

The depth of anger that Jacob triggered was proved by the reaction of his step-father, John Glick Sr. The Elder Glick, who was an important leader of the brethren in the Valley, gave instructions on 19 March 1805 that "Jacob Baughman shall have no part of his father and mother's inheritance, but his children which he had by his wife Catherine Neff shall have his share."

If Jacob was banned, it likely demoralized the spirit of other family members as well. Jacob's journey south coincides with the religious fragmentation of his brother's family in Botetourt County. Henry Baughman Jr. saw his neighbors and his own children transform first from Mennonites into Methodists and then once again into Baptists. By 1812, Abraham and a different Jacob Baughman deeded land in Fairfield County, Ohio,

to form a church and what became the Pleasant Run Cemetery. It also had a Baptist affiliation.^{241:120-121}

The Neighbor's Homes

ON THE INSIDES OF ONE PARTICULAR Pennsylvania German log house, according to the description by one early American traveler, Johann David Schöpf, "everything was daubed with red," and they had no desire to imitate the more "gracious living of their English neighbors."^{270:109} The real differences, however, ran much deeper than paint.

In Virginia, it has been theorized that gable chimneys reflect a transition between Germanic style and the years when those folks blended into the English mainstream. Most often, the rural Swiss built central-chimney Germanic farmhouses, but gable chimneys are undeniably present in the old, larger and more prosperous buildings in Swiss villages. The so-called "English" architectural styles were designs already familiar along the Rhine.^{279:104}

According to some scholars, German families that wanted to have a more English looking home were simultaneously dropping their mother tongue.^{245:33} This widely accepted theory may be useful in the broadest sense, but is perhaps imperfectly simple. That many families switched to English ways is supported by the few number of 19th century houses built by German families that held onto the central chimney design. The adoption of "English" houses, however, did not always signal the blending and erasing of culture and language for the Germans. Pockets of the Valley Dutch maintained their identity in all kinds of houses for another two centuries.

Still standing on the John Baughman land that was passed onto Benjamin Layman is a small, very old ancillary house. The Pennsylvania Germans sometimes called this kind of building the "grandfather house" because the widowed elders of a family often turned the main house over to the next generation and retired to a littler cottage.

Sited on a hillside, most of the ground-floor was built of stone, but upper additions were made completely from wood. The earliest features included a huge hearth in the ground level kitchen, a springroom with large stone water troughs and what could have been living quarters above. Because the building was added upon in so many different eras, it is difficult to see what its original configuration might have been. It was not unusual for German families to renovate the original homestead that they had outgrown and put it to other uses: summer-kitchen, springhouse, workshop, distillery or granary.

Examples of stone houses among the Mennonites in the Massanutten date to 1761, long before their German identity was evaporating. Isaac Strickler's stone house there was known as Locust Grove.^{245:38} A stone house was built by Abraham Hiestand in 1790 and became known as Fort Stover.

Hite's children also built homes out of rock, not as their first dwellings in the 1730s and 40s, but as the second homes which reflected their growing prosperity and a need for greater security during the dangerous 1750s. Mary Hite and her husband George Bowman built a limestone house in Long Glade on the west side of Cedar Creek, two miles northeast of the future Strasburg. Known later as Harmony Hall, it is considered by many to be the oldest house in Shenandoah County. Six or seven miles further up Cedar Creek, Elizabeth Hite and Paul Froman built a substantial stone house around 1753 that became known as Fort Froman.

Isaac Hite built a limestone mansion around 1787 that became known as Belle Grove. The plans for its design were drawn by Thomas Jefferson, and Hite's first wife was Nelly Madison, sister of the President James Madison. When the British burned the White House in 1814, President Madison fled to Belle Grove while the Redcoats remained on the Potomac.^{278:449-451}

Fifty years before and just a mile or so north of the Baughman land, the Rinkers built a stone house in the tall, medieval proportions of their Swiss homeland.

The Rinker house was also built above a spring, with a single chimney built within and taking up most of its northwest wall. The first religious service of the neighborhood were said to have been held in this house.

Susanna Bachman Rinker and her boys had settled in the Shenandoah Valley along the Back Road by Stony Creek, receiving a Fairfax survey for 386 acres from Robert Rutherford on 9 January 1764. The elder Rinker saw his son, Jacob Jr., become a lieutenant in the all-German 8th Virginia regiment,^{278:157-158} and for one of his details during the latter years of the war, escort a number of redcoat prisoners along the Valley.

During the Revolution, the British hired many Hessian regiments to fight the colonists. Although these professional mercenaries did not surrender easily, those that were taken prisoner often got sent to the Shenandoah Valley. Past the Blue Ridge Mountains, they were farther away from escape, easier to feed, better understood by their Swiss German "keepers," well-assigned as a duty to pacifist brethren who otherwise refused to help the cause, and able there to harvest food for the good of the Revolution.

According to local stories, a stone house in Augusta County was expertly built by these prisoners of war. Instead of going back to Europe after the defeat at Yorktown, many of these men stayed in Virginia, and

elsewhere in the mid-Atlantic region.^{259:11}

A House of Stone

AS THE 18TH CENTURY WAS COMING TO A CLOSE, Jacob's son Henry Baughman also decided to build a strong and long-lasting house. Random, rough field stones stacked into walls that averaged two feet thick, towering up a full four stories high at the cellar door. From its appearance, Henry may well have sought advice for his design from Abraham Hiestand, or his surveyor, Jacob Rinker, if not actually enlisting some of his neighbors' muscle.

It was the German habit to choose a banked site where the ground slopes downward by the rear and at one gable end, allowing an outside entrance to the cellar either at ground level or by way from inside on a short flight of steps.

Among Germans in Pennsylvania and the Shenandoah Valley, early houses were sometimes called forts. Later observers believed that stone cellars and

their defensive advantages were proof of this fear. In 1827, the Shenandoah County Land Tax Book was still referring to them as "fort."^{245:10}

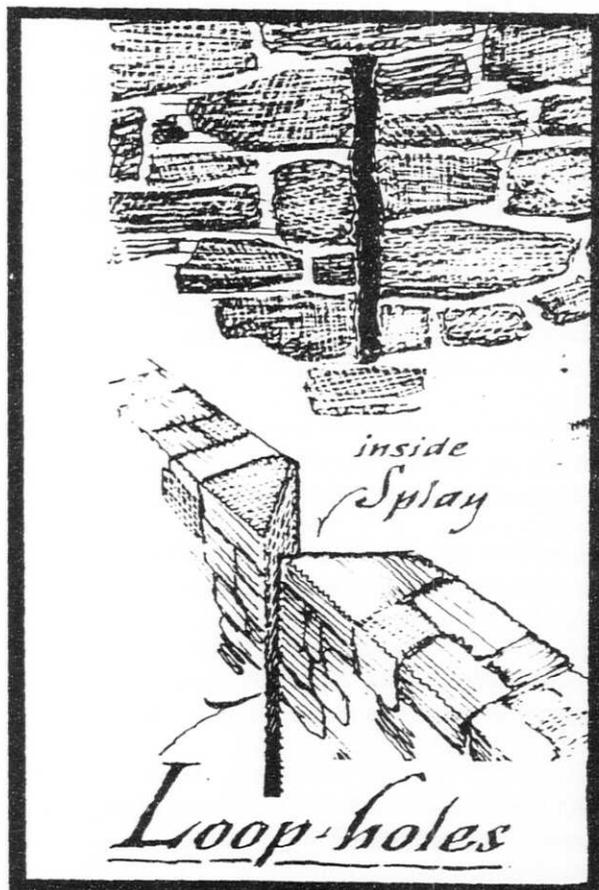
Henry Baughman built his house with four slots facing west and south — with one of these "gunloops" centered just beneath the southern door. No trace remains of a built-up stoop, and it would be hard to imagine a staircase that would not completely block the opening of the slotted loop. The answer lies in the Swiss habit of attaching wide balconies across one side of a house without any thought of using it as an exit to the outdoors. The Dellingers had the same kind of stairless porch facing south at their log house just a few miles up the Back Road.

If an enemy arrived from the western frontier to surround a house and put in under siege, as the French and Indians did to a Henry Baughman at Fort Greenbrier, it was also wise to build the foundation over a spring for drinking water as well as fire control. Henry Baughman built over a spring that fed Crooked Run, the north branch of Mill Creek. Also in the basement walls were small rectangular niches that locally were called "pine holes." Pine knots were burned for light in these spots, which in some cases even had flues connected to the main chimney.

The cellar certainly could be "fortified," but calling it a fort probably gives it more of an air of daily emergency than Henry had in mind, or ever had reason to use it for. If a real defensive strategy was at work, it seems illogical to leave the eastern face of the house without such gunports, even though the walls were just as high and would have easily permitted it. Any clever enemy could have circled around and been able to creep up right next to the walls.

In fact, the loop windows only continued an ancient European tradition in stone work. The openings were named for their resemblance to button loops in a shirt, and these can be found on stone buildings with no military use, as well many Rhineland castles.

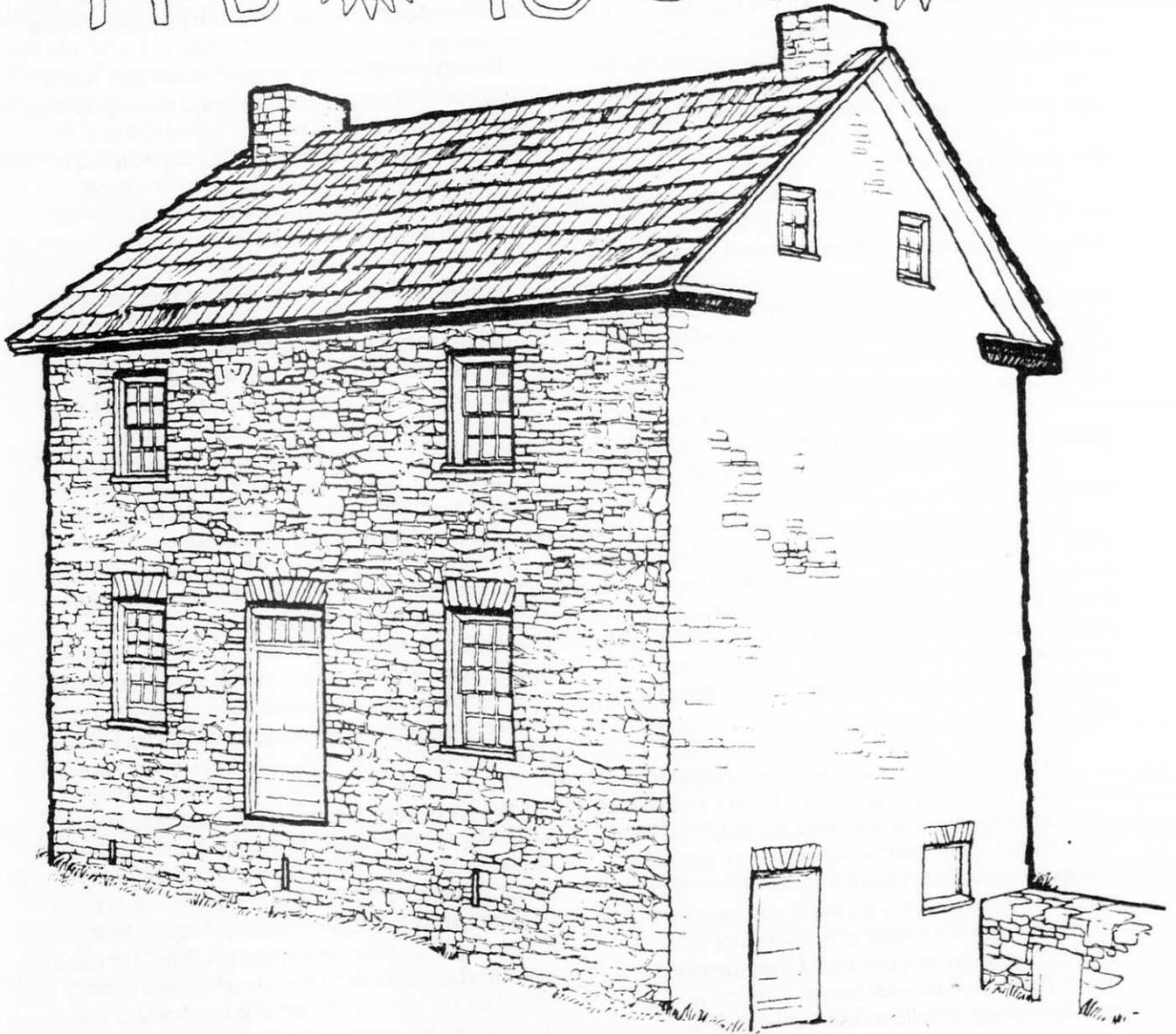
On the stone walls of many barns in Pennsylvania, the same loops are spaced all the way up to the roof, where no one could even stand behind them, much less aim a rifle out of them. Our ancestors relied on these slot windows to provide light and ventilation without admitting rain, without leaking too much heat in wintertime, or allowing animals in or out. The inside splay or bevel was often whitewashed to intensify the light coming through them. This architectural shape also creates an aerodynamic suction upon indoor odors, while allowing a wider view for anyone looking out.²⁷³



LOOP HOLES IN THE STONE WORK
DO NOT A FORTRESS MAKE

In 1937, the Works Progress Administration hired writers across the nation to undertake local histories. Beside the original records in the clerk's office at the

H B 1800



HENRY BAUGHMAN'S HOUSE ON THE BACK ROAD,
HIS INITIALS CARVED IN A STONE ATOP THE CHIMNEY AND A LITTLE BROOK BUBBLING UP THROUGH THE BASEMENT

Shenandoah County courthouse in Woodstock, two local informants, Charles Hepner and Mrs. Jesse Smoot, daughter of Dolora Tisinger, confirmed the following account:

"The Stone House.

"Location: .2 miles from the crossing at Hudson's Cross Roads, Virginia.

"This house is built entirely of large stones, set one on the top of the other, two stories high. The attic is in the form of a triangle.

"The house is the same front and back. The windows are twelve panes, two up over two down. The door in the center has four-pane light across the top. There are two windows in each triangle of the attic, one each side of the chimney, which runs the full length of each end of the house. The roof is of painted tin, put on over the original hewed rafters.

"The fireplace in the kitchen is very large, with a small cupboard on the left side. The entire fireplace is framed in wood panels with marrow wood mantels.

"The doors are six-panel with molding around the facing; long strap hinges reaching the width of the door. The stairways to the rooms and attic are circular with triangular steps at the turn. The doors are boarded up and down with long iron hinges and iron latches.

"The rooms are partitioned off with wide boards, running up and down. The rooms are small. A narrow hall leads upstairs from the kitchen and also to the downstairs rooms.

"Historical Significance: This house was built about 1800, by Henry Baughman, who received the land... from his father in 1802, near the old Indian Fort, the foundation stones of which one can see today on the northern corner of the lot near the road. It was from this house that the last Indian was seen, whoever came to this county. He was shot by one of the men and buried at the foot of Deerhead." ²⁸³

In a report of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Henry Baughman's stone house was described as having "exceptional architectural integrity" and being "unparalleled in Shenandoah County" since the basic structure has remained virtually unchanged — from basement to attic — since the day it was completed. On the inside, "only one section of the first-floor vertical-board partition survives; the second floor partition is intact. Both are of one-inch boards... Its two fine mantelpieces are of some architectural distinction... The basement retains, though in a damaged state, the original spring room, a facility with water that entered directly through one wall of the house from an outside spring, ran through a trough, and exited through the opposite wall... The original spring continues to function."

As "an example of the persistence of Germanic stone

construction methods into the final years of the eighteenth century" the state surveyors concluded that Henry Baughman's house deserves protection under Virginia's Landmark Register as well as from the National Register of Historic Places. ^{262:115}

A first-hand inspection of the Stone House in 1995 revealed some additional facts. The naked eye can barely decipher markings on one stone close to the top of the chimney nearest to the road. With binoculars or the telephoto lens of a camera, the hand carved initials "HB" and the number "1800," set off by two primitive shining suns, can be clearly seen.

The style of these folk art suns, where their circles are defined by the many small triangles shining out from the edge, happen to be identical to a small quilted heirloom pillow passed down through the Baughman family in the Ozarks. Unfortunately, no additional markings from the Baughmans seemed evident on the interior beams or chimney work.

According to architectural historians, the early German-American house has many fundamental distinctions that make it instantly recognizable. Beside those features already mentioned, such as a central chimney and hillside location, the Swiss favored a door that opened directly into the principal room, in contrast to the English habit of building central or symbolic entrance halls. In their small homes, Germans were loathe to use any space indoors as a hallway, preferring that each room open directly into another.

Swiss Germans also cared more about aesthetics of interior design, placing windows at pleasing symmetry within each room, but without any of the English concern for a balanced appearance from the outside. ^{245:7} Interior carpentry was limited to trim around the hearth, baseboards around the floor and occasionally chair rails. ^{245:8} They had a no-nonsense approach to indoor building methods, and made no attempt to disguise them.

For Swiss Germans, cooking was a central event, spiritually and physically, inside their houses. Meals were served to fixed seating arrangement, not only because benches were wall-mounted permanently in the shape of a booth. The patriarch was always to be found at the head of the table, and at his right hand, the eldest son and other males all on the one side, down to hired help at the far end. On the left side bench which was always most convenient to the kitchen door, his wife was by his side, followed by his daughters and maidservants. ^{279:157} In contrast, the English were first to put food, the messiness of its preparation, and their slaves in the very back or completely outside of the house.

The Germans invented clever ways to use every nook and cranny of their houses for storage, including built-in

shelves and ladders up among the rafters. The English were quicker to build extra outbuildings for no other purpose but storage.

An insight into the life of Henry Baughman on the Back Road can be gained from annual Shenandoah County tax lists. In the year 1800, when he completed his stone house, the family was taxed 12 cents for each of their four horses. Henry was the only white male of the household over the age of 16. In contrast to some of his neighbors, Henry had no wheeled carts or slaves, which were also tallied by assessors. Henry occasionally sold or disposed of a horse, so their number, along with his tax bill, would dip. In 1804 for the first time, the household counted two white males over 16 and three horses. The following year's tax climbed to 60 cents for their five horses, but one of these was also sold within the year.

Times were so prosperous for Henry that he bought a lot in a prospective village called Georgetown that was being organized by Joseph Foltz north of Holman's Creek. On 10 January 1803, Henry paid \$11.67 for the half-acre Lot N^o.40 at the corner of Main and Union Streets.²⁵² Although Georgetown prospered in the 19th Century, no trace of a Union Street remained by the end of the 20th Century.

Henry's cousin, Abraham Baughman, stands out in Bachman family history up until that point for having an African-American male over the age of 16 living in the household for three years, between 1809 and 1811. In 1810, when Abraham owned six horses, he was taxed the expected amount plus an additional 44 cents. From 1812 to 1814, no trace of this black man was recorded. Speculation about the nature of this relationship could range from a sheltered runaway to a temporary hiring to an outright slave ownership. Out of an unpublished trove of miscellaneous court and chancery records recently organized in Shenandoah County, another glimpse comes to light:

"Commonwealth [of Virginia] vs. John Holeman (free man of color) for rape of Susanna Baughman. He was arrested in Rockingham Co. On March 10, 1816 at the home of Abraham Bockman in the said County, John Holeman of the County aforesaid did feloniously ravish and carnally know her the said Susanna. CC 1816.06 ND." By 1818, Abraham and his family left Virginia for eastern Ohio.

In September of 1801, Jacob Layman stopped to visit Henry Baughman Jr. and his wife Mary Layman. He was able to serve as their witness when they sold their heavily mortgaged 60-acre farm to John Pitzer.

Jacob Layman undoubtedly told them about his experiences in eastern Tennessee, where he had recently married Nancy, a French woman twenty years his junior,

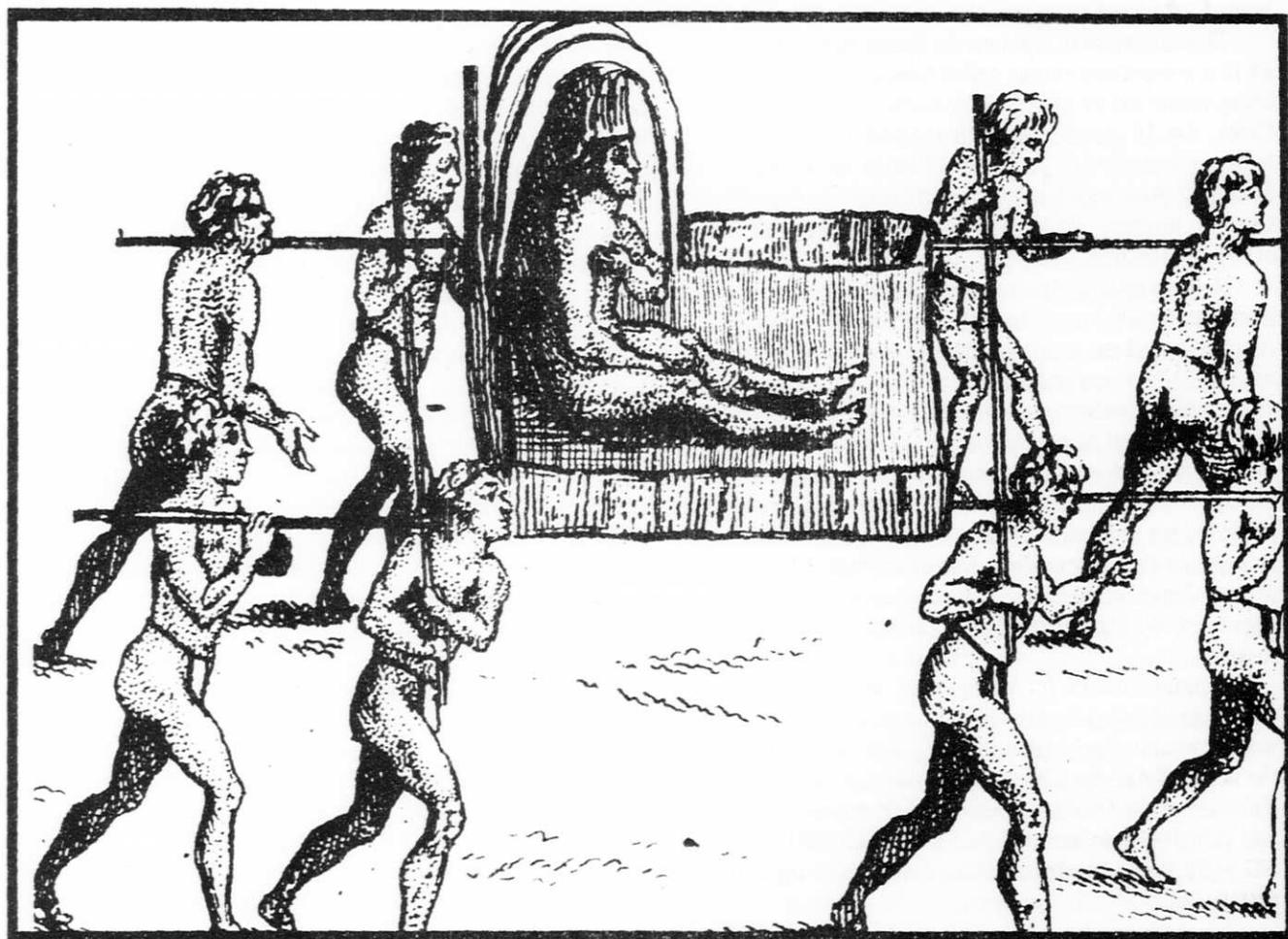
and been appointed to the rank of captain in the Tennessee Militia on 30 July 1800.

Henry's own eldest brother, the wandering Jacob Baughman had also settled in the same corner of Tennessee during the last decade. All this must have made an impression on the dreams of 26-year-old John Baughman, Henry's eldest son, who moved to Sevier County with his bride Dorthea five years later. Jacob Layman came along, bought land in the same valley and was inducted into the same Baptist church that John Baughman joined. Another of Benjamin Sr.'s children, Isaac, followed a course of migration that paralleled the Baughmans: Tennessee's Lincoln (1830) and Gibson (1840) counties, and Arkansas' Crawford, Franklin (1860), Polk, Scott and Washington counties.^{260:IV:23}

No records suggest that Catherine Neff Baughman ever remarried. She apparently spent the last 20 years of her life alone and died sometime after 1812, being around 72 years old. Jacob died far away sometime between 1806-1813.

By September of 1813, Henry Baughman and his family had moved on but the courthouse records of Shenandoah County still described the old stone house as a landmark. For the purpose of building another road, workers were instructed to begin at "Hudson's stone house," keeping to the name of the nearby crossroads village that Thomas Hudson owned.^{272:249} For the next 125 years, many local folks assumed Hudson had built it and that he had been the one who had always owned the land. Shenandoah County historian Linda Dellinger Varney has vowed to set this part of the record straight and in 1997 initiated the registration of the old stone house as a national landmark.

The Baughman name seems to have persisted in the Valley as late as 16 August 1828, when the courthouse at Woodstock recorded a marriage between Mary Wilkins and a Henry Banghman. ■■■



A MISSISSIPPIAN GORGET OF CARVED SHELL DEPICTING A VICTORIOUS WARRIOR, FROM TENNESSEE, CA. 1200 A.D. ;
THE GREAT SUN OF THE MISSISSIPPIAN CULTURE, BORN UP ON THE SHOULDERS OF HIS PEOPLE
DRAWN IN THE 17TH CENTURY BY A FRENCH EXPLORER



UROPEAN EXPLORERS arriving in the 16th Century kept hearing the same story, whether from the natives they met near the Great Lakes or all the way down in Central America. The Western Hemisphere had already been visited long ago by white-skinned warriors.^{307:31}

In the writings of Ho-chiee-nee, a leading storyteller of the Cherokee Nation, "the Indians thought that the white men who came to their shores were gods descending from the sky or returning from the east. An ancient belief among the Indians was of a superior man with fair hair and white skin who had once lived among them and had taught them many things. They had been deeply grieved when he left, but he had promised to return."^{288:3} As a witness, perhaps, to this legend, the 9,300 year-old skeleton of a Caucasian male recently turned up in the Pacific Northwest beside the Columbia River near Kennewick, Washington.^{300:C13}

According to the oral history of Germanic Vikings, Bjarni Herjolfsson, Thorfinn Karlsefni and Leif Ericson explored North America as early as 986 A.D. and continued to gather timber for their treeless colony on Iceland for the next three centuries. Bjarni had been sailing off the southern tip of Greenland when a storm swept him southward for five days. For tangible proof of how far down the coast he had ever gotten, archaeologists can so far only point to one Viking village on the coast of Newfoundland in Canada.^{305:125} The Vikings renamed the natives of North America as the *Skrálings* and eventually the two people's learned a bit of each other's language.

Thorvald Ericson wished that he could make his permanent home among the Indians, at a spot where three mounds rose upon the sands inside the headland. According to an old Eskimo legend, the peace enjoyed by the Vikings and natives was interrupted when "dreadful pirates came... When we saw them we fled, taking some of the Norwegian women and children with us up the *fjord*, and left the others... When we returned in the autumn hoping to find some people again, we saw to our horror that everything had been carried away, and houses and farms were burned down... We took the women and children back with us and fled far up the *fjord*, and we stayed there in peace and quiet for many years. We married the Norwegian women — there were only five of them with some children — and when we finally

grew to be many, we left there and settled up and down the country."^{305:124}

Tragically, Ericson's men also started a bloody battle with "a countless fleet of skin-boats" filled with the *Skrálings*. Thorvald took an arrow that quickly killed him. His surviving comrades buried him on the spot, insuring the permanence of his final wish.^{305:125}

An intriguing but still controversial rune stone turned up in Minnesota bearing the date 1362. It seems to describe a far deeper penetration of the continent than any other hard evidence, and translates from an ancient Germanic/Swedish dialect called Old Bohuslännsk to read "8 Goths and 22 Norwegians on discovery-voyage from Vinland over west; we camp by 2 skerries; one day's journey north from this stone we were and fish one day after we came home found 10 men red with blood and dead; A[ve] V[irgo] M[aria] preserve [us] from evil; have 10 men by the sea to look after our ship 14 day's journey from this island..."^{310:23}

German pirates repeatedly raided ships and outposts in Iceland during the early 1400s.^{305:124} In 1440, a Swiss mapmaker from Basel copied the unmistakable coastlines of the northern Atlantic from unknown sources, labeling America as "Vinland," for the forested land of frost less winters, where wheat and grape vines grew wild and plentiful.

Because the rulers of central and southern Europe feared the Norsemen, they took little notice, and had no idea what lay beyond the western horizon until some 52 years later, when Columbus made his voyage.^{299:4}

Beginning in 700 A.D. and flourishing for the next nine centuries, a spectacular Native American Empire sprawled across the Mississippi River and all its tributaries. Its capital Cahokia, a walled city of 100 temples and 10,000 elite leaders, dominated the eastern river bank at present-day Collinsville, Illinois, across from St. Louis. By 1250, another 20,000 people had begun living just outside Cahokia's walls, making it one of the largest urban centers in the world.^{316:32} No other city in America grew as big until the year 1800, when Philadelphia finally rivaled it. In manner and organization, Cahokia shared many traits in common with the Aztec and Mayan Cultures to the south.

Colossal earthen mounds formed their distinctive building method, sometimes in fantastic animal shapes but more often as flattened pyramids or domes. Cahokia's absolute leader, the Great Sun, lived with his family atop a flattened pyramid ten stories tall. Known today as Monks Mound, its earthen base is far larger than

any pyramid in Egypt or Mexico. Common ritual, art motifs, symbols and medicine bonded the Mississippian Culture together, and traces have been found everywhere from the Rio Grande to the Great Lakes and back down to Florida.^{302:41-42} A mythic legend among the Cherokee tells of how diseases and medicine were thought to have originated among the Mississippians:

“At one time the birds, the beasts and the plants could talk. They came together, declaring war on man because he was killing with the bow and arrow without asking permission. First the bear, then the deer, and then the other animals took an oath to avenge themselves. The plants would not take the vow. They declared that they would supply the remedies to heal man — they would not enlist in the cause of death.”^{288:167}

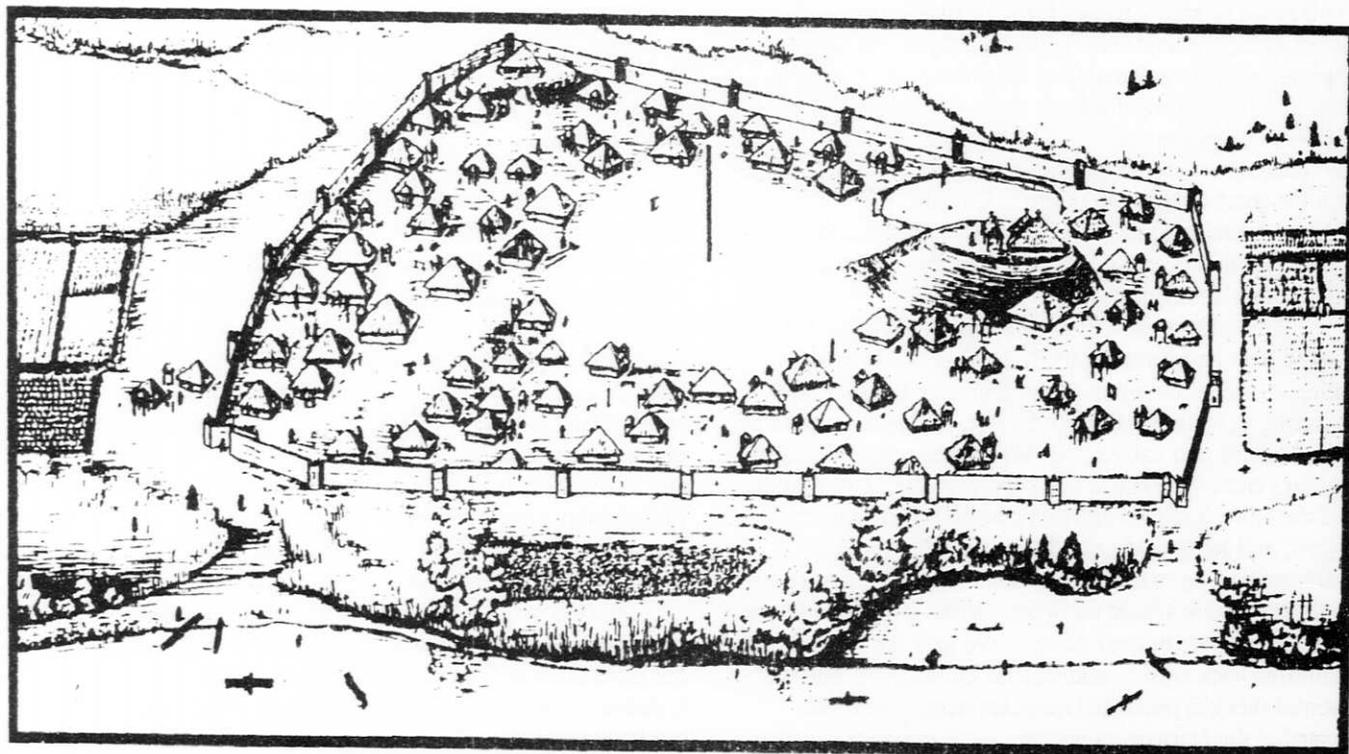
One common belief among the Mississippian Indians was a rite of purification always taken before battle and the Green Corn Ceremony each July. Priests served the “Black Drink,” a powerful emetic tea from the plant *Ilex vomitoria*, out of conch-shell cups.^{318:62}

In 950 A.D., evidence of an offshoot culture — the Etowah — appeared in the Appalachian Mountains of southeastern Tennessee and northern Georgia.^{322:31} Within the archaeological stratum of 1350 A.D., plentiful artifacts prove a consistent, characteristic design for the material culture of these proto-Cherokees. These have been gathered under the general label “Lamar,”

named for John Basil Lamar upon whose land in Macon, Georgia, began the systematic study of artifacts during the 1930s.^{322:11} In contrast to their neighbors, the Lamar Indians always seemed to strengthen the lips of their ceramic ware by folding over the top half-inch, and chose distinctive patterns of geometric swirl to stamp into the moist clay before it was hardened.

The earliest evidence suggests that Lamar Culture began in the mountains and took many generations to radiate outward to the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. A site in northern Georgia called “Little Egypt,” at the junction of Talking Rock Creek and the Coosawattee River, contains two mounds that match Hernando DeSoto’s description in 1540 of the Indian’s capital at Coosa.^{322:104} Unfortunately, that site was soon submerged beneath the reservoir project creating Carter Lake.

Other matching sources of Etowah/Lamar/Cherokee Culture center around the Hiwassee River, Etowah and Woodstock on Lake Allatoona, and several other towns on the Upper Coosa and Coosawattee Rivers. The oldest recovered artifacts, with radio carbon dating to 950 A.D., turned up at the Martin Farm along the East Tennessee River.^{322:31-32} Other evidence suggests that villages of the Upper Coosa River were occupied continuously from around 4000 B.C. until 1550 A.D.^{322:106} After allowances were added in for crossing mountains or water, the site of each village was chosen to equalize the travel time



A 16TH CENTURY MOUND VILLAGE IN THE COOSA REGION OF CHEROKEE COUNTRY
INTERPRETED FROM RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

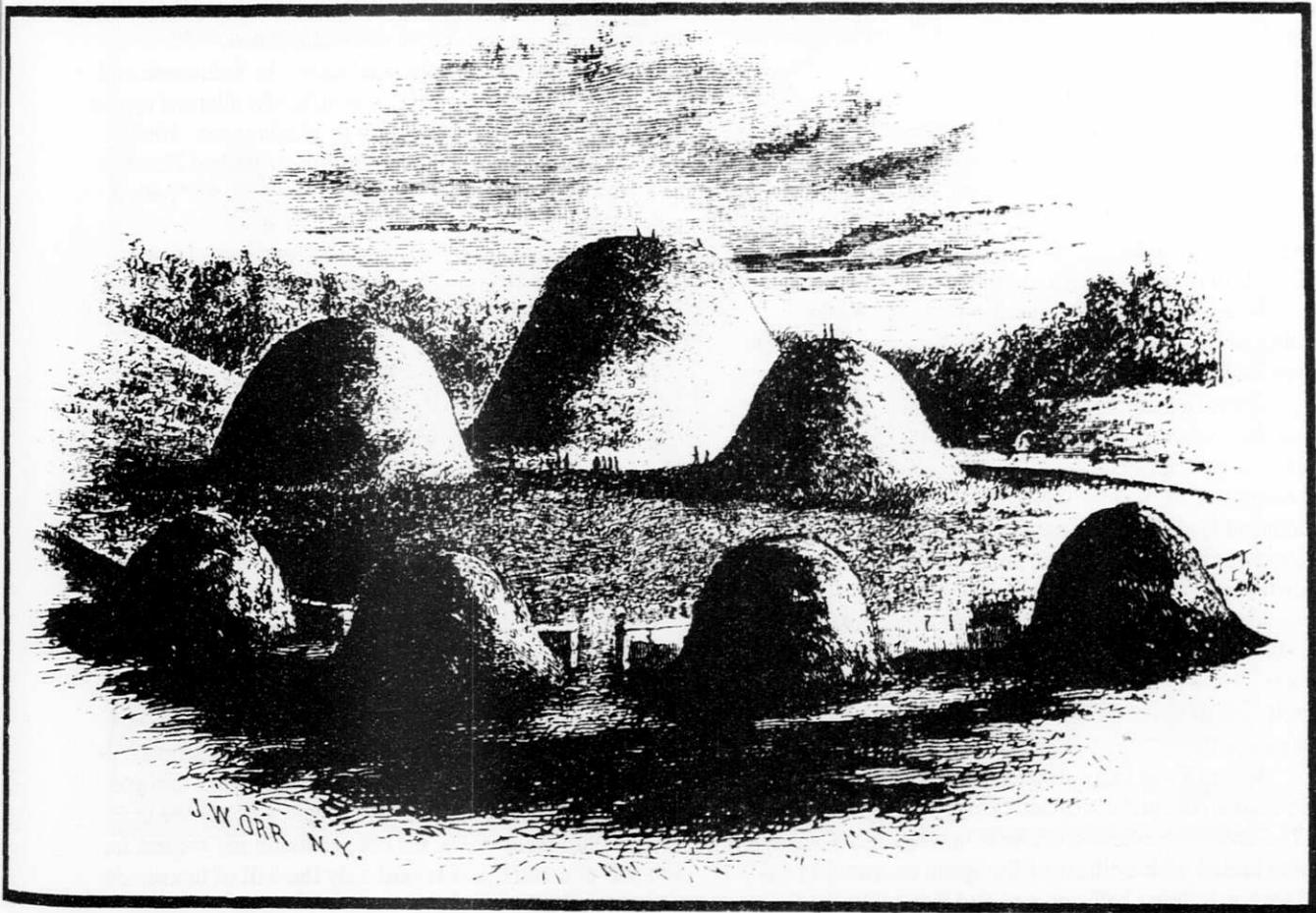
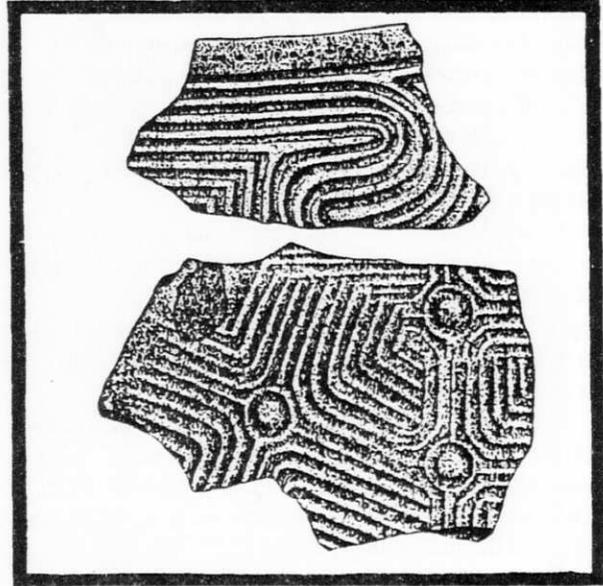
between them. Running from Carter Lake to the west, the settlements have been named by archaeologists as Swancy, Poarch, Thompson, Baxter, Brown and the Mouth of the Coosawattee.^{322:111}

The Lamar/Cherokee built their houses in rows perpendicular to the river, each row being 300 feet in width and running side-by-side for 1,200 feet. It is unclear whether every town kept palisaded walls surrounding their community.

Each cabin took a square shape, with corner-post construction and four interior support poles spaced in from the corners. Coming off from these poles, perpendicular dividers turned the floor plan into a "tic-tac-toe" grid of nine unequal rectangles. A hearth and public area took the larger center square, and the smaller corner squares were used for storage. An entryway took up the eastern wall, but a bench or bed was centered on the other three. Just outside the entrance, they kept a second spot for building fires and a small shed for food processing, storage and cooking.

The most remarkable feature of each Lamar house was that it also doubled as the family cemetery. In a

tradition that persisted among the Cherokee for several more centuries, "the body was carefully prepared and



INCISED DESIGN ON FRAGMENTS OF LAMAR/CHEROKEE POTTERY;
THE DESERTED REMAINS OF A MISSISSIPPIAN MOUND VILLAGE IN 19TH CENTURY GEORGIA

then dressed in its ceremonial garments for that long last sleep. The face of the deceased was painted in the old symbolic ways. A medicine man performed the sacred rites. While chanting prayers for the departed, he sprinkled sacred cornmeal, called the Mother, over the body (the cornmeal was used like the holy water of Christian churches). Then, lightly brushing the body's face and hands with a ceremonial eagle feather, he transferred the touch to each member of the family, 'for remembrance.'

The traditional arrow was shot to the place where the sun goes to sleep, symbolizing the spirit taking flight into that unknown, faraway place beyond the sky, there happily to await its loved ones from the earth. The body was wrapped in soft blankets, and a large animal skin was laced around it.^{288:120}

They dug holes in the floor inside their homes, and children were usually buried on the western side immediately beneath the edge of the bed. Adults tended to be closer to the walls, with women along the north and south, and the men along the west.^{322:128-129}

This tradition also helps to explain the mounds. Upon the death of a chief, his house was razed to the ground, the chief was buried on the spot and then a thick layer of dirt was added above him. The next chief's house was built on top of this, and after many generations, the height of a mound reflected the longevity and stature of the tribe's family tree.

At nearby Etowah, the principle mound stood six stories high, with its flattened top measuring a full acre. Over many generations, an estimated one million baskets of earth were piled up to make it.^{318:61} The mounds became a symbol of group identity, a monument, the center of their towns, the residence of the leader and their most important cemetery.^{322:226}

When DeSoto first arrived at Coosa, the ruthless Spanish explorer was impressed by the sight of the 26-year-old principal chief sitting on a pallet, born upon the shoulders of his people. His retinue was formed by a thousand leading men wearing shiny decorations of copper, pearl, polished shell and great feathered headdresses.^{302:148}

"There were seven little hamlets in its district," according to a member of Tristan DeLuna's expedition in 1560. "Five of them smaller and two larger than Coza itself, which name prevailed for the fame it had enjoyed in antiquity."^{322:112}

A significant gap coincides with the aftershocks of De Soto's visit and continued through a great part of the 17th Century. Some of their dead during the 16th Century were buried with artifacts of European contact: blown-glass beads, brass bells, copper and iron tools, the brass tip of a crossbow bolt and in one case a partial sword blade.^{322:110} The Europeans also gave them epidemics of

disease, as is born out by mass and multiple burials at many of the sites.^{322:115}

1818

Across the Mississippi

FULLY 20 YEARS BEFORE THE U.S. GOVERNMENT expelled Cherokees wholesale from the Smoky Mountains, "six or seven thousand of the tribe did move to the Arkansas, under the guidance of a chief by the name of Jo-lee," related the early American painter and explorer George Catlin.^{309:319}

Chief John Jolly had lived on Hiwassee Island, where the creek of that name enters the Tennessee River.^{308:222} The island became a refuge to a runaway white boy, whom Jolly took in to his home and raised like a son.

The boy grew up to be Sam Houston, and in 1818 he became a federal agent for Indian affairs, a job negotiated for him by Jolly and Andrew Jackson. Houston's job was to foster a desire among Cherokees to move west.^{294:150} Eventually, Jolly's own niece, Talihina, married Houston, her friend since childhood.^{308:223} Between the start of his political career in Tennessee and his future in Texas, Houston was officially adopted by the tribe and became their emissary in Washington. His letter of appointment from Chief Jolly described Houston as a man "beloved by all my people" and whose "path is not crooked."^{284:82}

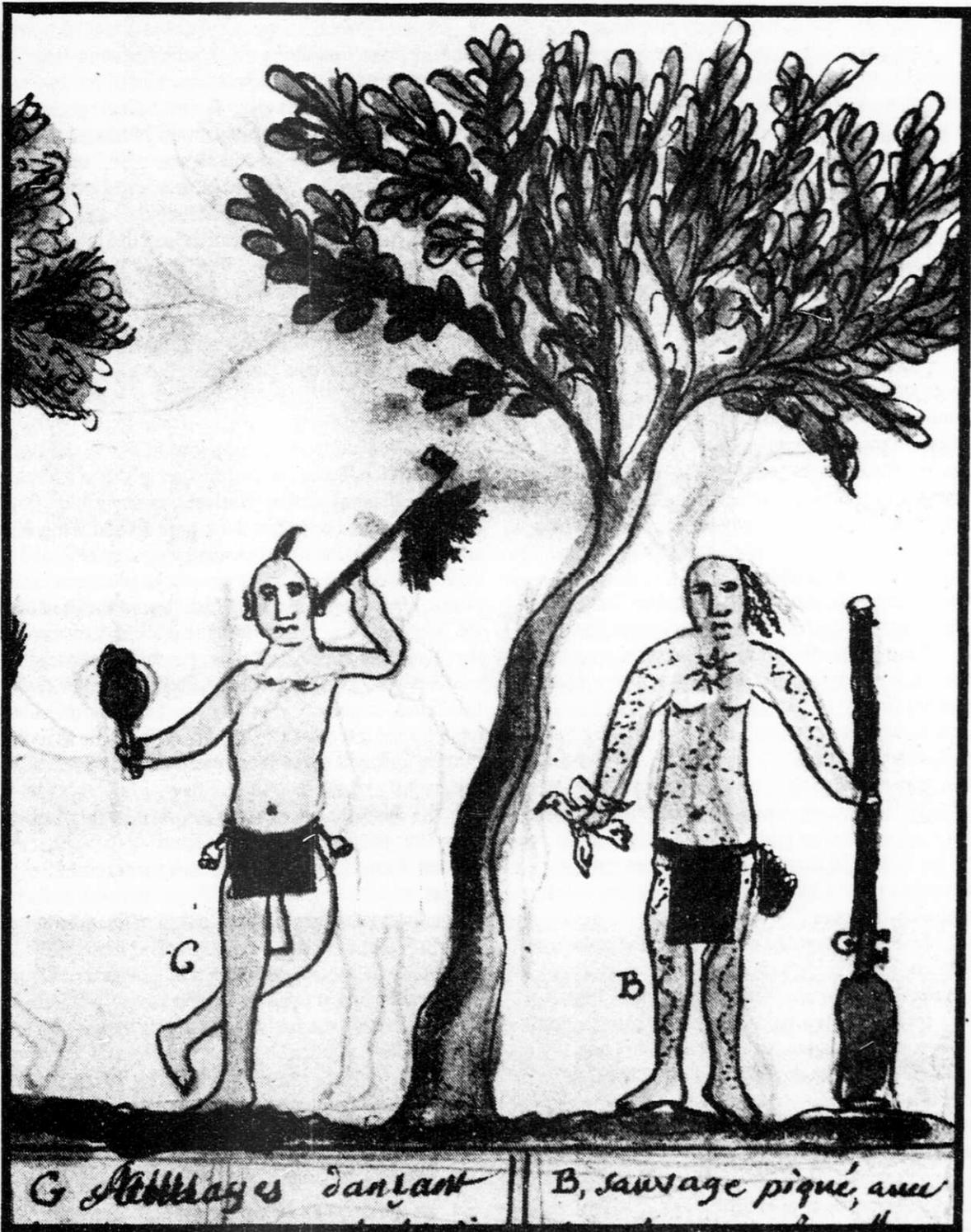
Chief Jolly joined with three other powerful chiefs — his brother Taluntuskee, Black Fox and The Glass — and drafted a message to the White House in Washington:

"Tell our Great Father, the President, that our game has disappeared, and we wish to follow it to the West. We are his friends, and we hope he will grant our petition, which is to remove our people towards the setting sun. But we shall give up a fine country, fertile in soil, abounding in watercourses, and well adapted for the residence of white people. For all this we must have a good price."^{294:80}

Other Cherokees, led by Chief Ridge, disagreed severely:

"I scorn this movement of a few men to unsettle the nation and trifle with our attachment to the land of our forefathers! Look abroad over the face of this country — along the rivers, the creeks, and their branches, and you will behold the dwellings of the people who repose in content and security... I, for one, abandon my respect for the will of a chief, and regard only the will of thousands of our people."

Jolly and the others who were willing to leave were expelled from the council in disgrace.^{294:81} Censure such



THE OLDEST KNOWN DRAWING OF THE INDIANS IN ARKANSAS
FROM THE 1747 MEMOIR OF THE FRENCH EXPLORER DUMONT DIT MONTIGNY

as this hardly dampened their urge to leave.

The Suttons of Ooltewah Creek came from the same part of east Tennessee, being just 20 miles south of John Jolly, and were also part of the conservative hunter society. Compared to their cousins in the Smoky Mountains, the so-called "Old Settler" Cherokee lived at lower elevations along the Tennessee River Valley, known as the "Lower Towns". Another of the famed warriors from among the Old Settler Cherokee was a chief named Tahchee, known to the Whites as "Dutch."^{294, 49}

Even though Ridge claimed to honor tradition and the Cherokee ancestral homelands, the Tennessee River conservatives hated how missionary schools and eastern influence had begun to transform their people in Georgia for the worse. They felt that the best of Cherokee culture could only be saved by remaining apart from the rapidly changing world.

Some Cherokee began to explore west of the Mississippi shortly after their nation's ill-begotten alliance with the English during the Revolutionary War. To escape the jurisdiction of the new United States government, a Cherokee chief named Bowles fled to the St. Francis River Valley into what would soon become part of the Louisiana Purchase.^{284, 8}

An "Arkansas Territory" was created by Congress in 1819 and white settlers had already begun to enter the Ozarks. The tribal leadership of the Cherokee sounded the alarm in Washington, reminding them with a written commitment from President James Monroe that the Cherokee would "have no limits to the west" and "not be surrounded by white people." Secretary of War John C. Calhoun acknowledged the Cherokee's right to a closed tract of land, but sent out surveyors to establish a western boundary. Monroe's "no limits to the west" instantly turned into 3,285,710 acres of "mountainous, broken and barren" land, and Whites were perfectly free to settle beyond that new border.^{284, 58}

John Sutton, the son of a white trader and Betsey, a full-blooded Cherokee, joined Jolly's group migration through the Ozarks — long before the Trail of Tears. By 1819, the Suttons settled beside Marble Creek, next door to where the Baughmans, their future in-laws, moved a decade later in present-day Iron County, Missouri.

Along the Arkansas frontier some 18 years later, Catlin took special note of the Cherokees, who were still looked upon as newcomers. A great Indian council at Fort Gibson "gave the semi-civilized sons of the forest a fair opportunity of shaking hands with their... untamed red brethren... The vain orations of the half-polished Cherokees... with all their finery and art, found their match in the brief and jarring gutturals of the wild, naked Indians of the West."^{309, 300}

1818

An Early Tour of the White River

HENRY ROWE SCHOOLCRAFT (1793-1864) HAD NO desire to resettle in the Ozarks, but along with Levi Pettibone, a fellow New Yorker and traveling companion, Schoolcraft took off with a single pack-horse on one of the earliest expeditions west of Mississippi where sightseeing was the sole objective.³¹⁵

The adventure began on 5 November 1818 at Potosi, the seat of Washington County, Missouri, southwest of St. Louis, and made a three-month loop to Springfield and back. Due north of the future site of Yellville, where the Little North Fork joins the White River, Schoolcraft found a cabin on the opposite river bank. The first individual encountered by Schoolcraft seems to have been James McGarrah.

"Monday, Dec. 7th

"A white hunter, by the name of M'Gary... told us we were 800 miles above the junction of White River with the Mississippi; that the river was navigable with keel-boats all the way; that there were several settlements along its banks, the river bottoms being very rich; and that traders sometimes came up with large canoes to that place... He represented our journey toward the head of the White River as extremely hazardous, on account of the Osage Indians, whose hunting grounds embraced the whole region in which this river, and its upper tributaries, originate, and who never failed to rob white hunters, and travelers who were so unfortunate as to fall in their way, and sometimes carried them into captivity.

"He related the particulars of a robbery they had some time before committed upon him in the very house we were then sitting, when they took away horses, clothes, and such other articles about the house as they took a fancy to. They had visited him in this way twice, and very recently had stolen eight beaver traps, with all his furs, from a neighbouring hunter, and detained him a considerable time a prisoner in their camp. Numerous other instances were related, all tending to prove that the Osage Indians felt hostile to the white settlements along that river...

"All this was new to us... we considered [the United States government] bound to protect them in the lawful and peaceable enjoyment of their liberty and property while living within the territories of the United States, and that if proper representations were made to the Indian agent at St. Louis, redress could undoubtedly be obtained...

"He also informed us that a deadly and deep-rooted hostility existed between the Cherokees, who had lately exchanged their lands in Tennessee for the country lying

between the Arkansaw and Red River, and the Osages, and that they were daily committing depredations upon the territories and properties of each other. Having but a short time before witnessed the conclusion of a treaty of peace between these two tribes, made at St. Louis under the auspices of Governor Clark, I was surprised to hear of the continuance of hostilities. To prove what reliance is to be placed on the faith of such treaties, he mentioned, that when the Cherokees returned from the council which concluded that treaty, they pursued a party of Osages near the banks of White River, and stole, unperceived, twenty horses, and carried them safely off..."

The Cherokees traded not only aggravation but occasionally bloodshed with the Osage. In October 1817, the Battle of Claremore Mound, near Fort Gibson, Arkansas, left 80 of the Osage dead and over 100 prisoners taken away by the Cherokee.^{284:12} Half of the group led by Chief Jolly were concentrated around Fort Gibson, but the rest had scattered throughout the Ozarks.^{309:137}

"Tuesday, Dec. 8th

"On offering to pay our entertainer for victuals and lodging, he refused to take any thing, and perceiving we had no meat to take with us, took me to his smoke-house, and drawing his knife, put it into my hand, then opened the door, and told me to go in and cut what I wanted. I did so. It was well filled with dried buffaloe's beef, and bear's meat, both smoaked and fresh..."

The following section of land was later settled by — and widely known as — the Jake Nave Bend of the White River. The name Nave is a common Americanization for the old Swiss Näf or Neff family. Fifty years later, this spot was the home of Peter W. Baughman, between Lead Hill and Diamond City. The trail also led past the future site of another Baughman home by Protom. Schoolcraft's host was Lem "Buck" Coker, patriarch of the Boone County, Arkansas, Coker clan.^{315:152}

"Wednesday, Dec. 9th

"The path we are pursuing became so feint and indefinite, that we were unable to follow it more than a mile from our encampment, but taking the general course of the river, forced our way through the thick cane and brier which over-run the rich alluvial banks of the river... At a distance of seven miles we came unexpectedly into a small opening in the midst of one of the most gloomy thickets of cane... we found a family who had two weeks before emigrated from the lower parts of White River. They had brought their furniture and effects, such as it was, partly in a canoe up the river, and partly on pack-

horses through the woods.

"Nothing could present a more striking picture of the hardships encountered by the back wood's settler, than this poor, friendless, and forlorn family. The woman and her little children were a touching group of human distress, and in contemplating their forlorn situation we for a while forgot our own deprivations and fatigues..."

"These people subsist partly by agriculture, and partly by hunting. They raise corn for bread, and for feeding their horses... No cabbages, beets, onions, potatoes, turnips, or other garden vegetables, are raised. Gardens are unknown. In manners, morals, customs, dress, contempt of labour and hospitality, the state of society is not essentially different from that which exists among the savages..."

"Hunting is the principal, the most honourable, and the most profitable employment. To excel in the chase procures fame, and a man's reputation is measured by his skill as a marksman, his agility and strength, his boldness and dexterity in killing game, and his patient endurance and contempt of the hardships of the hunter's life. They are, consequently, a hardy, brave, independent people, rude in appearance, frank and generous, travel without baggage, and can subsist any where in the woods, and would form the most efficient military corps in frontier warfare which can possibly exist. Already trained, they require no discipline, inured to danger, and perfect in the use of the rifle.

"Their habitation are not always permanent, having little which is valuable, or loved, to rivet their affections to any one spot; and nothing which is venerated, but what they can carry with them; they frequently change residence, traveling where game is more abundant. Vast quantities of beaver, otter, raccoon, deer and bear-skins are annually caught. These skins are carefully collected and preserved during the summer and fall, and taken down the river in canoes, to the mouth of the Great North Fork of the White River, or to the mouth of Black River, where traders regularly come up with large boats to receive them. They also take down some wild honey, bear's bacon, and buffaloe-beef, and receive in return, salt, iron-pots, axes, blankets, knives, rifles and other articles of first importance in their mode of life.

"We were received by Mr. Coker with that frankness and blunt hospitality which are characteristic of the hunter. Our approach to the house was, as usual, announced by the barking of dogs, whose incessant yells plainly told us, that all who approached that domain, of which they were the natural guardians, and whether moving upon two or upon four legs, were considered as enemies... Dried skins, stretched out with small rods, and hung up to dry on trees and poles around the house, served to give the scene the most novel appearance... At every hunter's cabin...great pride is taken in the display,

the number and size of the bear-skins serving as a credential of the hunter's skill and prowess...^{315:60-64}

"Justice... is here obtained in a summary way. Two hunters having a dispute respecting a horse, which one had been instrumental in stealing from the other, the person aggrieved meeting the other, some days afterwards, in the woods, shot him through the body. He immediately fled, keeping in the woods for several weeks, when the neighbouring hunters, aroused by so glaring an outrage assembled and set out in quest of him. Being an expert woodsman, he eluded them for some time, but at last they got a glimpse of him as he passed through a thicket, and one of the party fired upon him. The ball passed through his shoulders, but did not kill him. This event happened a few days before our arrival, but I know not how it has terminated. In all probability several lives will be lost before a pacification takes place, as both parties have their friends, and all are hot for revenge."^{315:70}

Schoolcraft continued on to the Beaver Creek settlement in present-day Taney County, Missouri, to the homes of William Holt and James Fisher, one mile above the mouth of the creek. The rock formations noted by Schoolcraft are today known as Johnson's Bluff.^{315:153}

"Sunday, Dec. 13th

"We are now at the last hunter-settlement on the river, which is, also, the most remote boundary to which the white hunter has penetrated in a south-west direction from the Mississippi River... It consists of two families, Holt and Fisher by name, who have located themselves here within the last four months. They have not yet cleared any land for corn, nor finished their houses, notwithstanding the advanced season. They have fixed the site of their habitations on the east banks of the river, on a very large and rich tract of bottom land... The opposite bank of the river is a perpendicular bluff of lime-stone rock, rising at the water's edge to a height of 300 feet... over which it casts its broad shadow by half-past three in the afternoon, which must render it a cool and delightful residence in summer. The bold and imposing effect of this scene is much heightened by beholding two natural pyramids, or towers of rock, ascending with a surprising regularity from the highest wall of the bluff, to a height of fifty or sixty feet..."^{315:67}

Holt agreed to guide Schoolcraft further into the wilderness, but only after another week-long errand was attended to first.

"Thursday, Dec. 24th

"The hunter... is nevertheless a slave to his dog, the only object around him to which he appears really

devoted. His horse, cow, and hogs, if he have any, living upon vegetable food, can subsist themselves in the woods; but the dog requires animal food, which he cannot himself alone procure, and to furnish which occupies no inconsiderable portion of the hunter's time. It is no easy task to provide a pack of hungry dogs, from six to twelve, the usual number owned by every hunter, with meat... A very high value is set upon a good dog by the hunter... We have been told of a hunter, who lately exchanged a cow for a dog, but this is considered extraordinary even here.

"The leg bones of the buffaloe [are appreciated] for the sake of the marrow they contain, which they told us is considered a great delicacy, intending it as a treat to us. These bones are boiled in water to cook the marrow and then cracked with an axe, and the marrow taken out. The quantity is immense. It is eaten while hot, with salt, and with the appetites we now possess, and which are voracious, we have eaten it with a high relish."^{315:72}

"Friday, Dec. 25th

"Christmas-day. Employed in splitting oak-boards, &c. At our suggestion, the hunters went out to kill some turkeys, as we wished one for a Christmas-dinner, and after an absence of a couple of hours, returned with fourteen. I prevailed on Mrs. H. to undertake a turkey-pie with Indian meal crust, which we partook of under a shady tree on the banks of the river, the weather being warm and pleasant."

"Sunday, Dec. 27th

"The Sabbath is not known by any cessation of the usual avocations of the hunter in this region. To him all days are equally unhallowed, and the first and the last day of the week find him alike sunk in unconcerned sloth, and stupid ignorance. He neither thinks for himself, nor reads the thoughts of others, and if he ever acknowledges his dependence upon the Supreme Being, it must be in that silent awe produced by the furious tempest, when the earth trembles with concussive thunders, and lightning shatters the oaks around his cottage, that cottage which certainly never echoed the voice of human prayer..."^{315:73}

"Some years ago, [Mr. Holt] occasionally attended a Methodist-meeting and thought it a very good thing, but had found as many rogues there as any where else, and on account of a particular act of dishonesty in one of the members of the church, had determined never to go again, and had since thought there was no great use in religion; that a man might be as good without going to church as with it, and that it seemed to him to be a useless expense to be paying preachers for telling us a string of falsehoods, &c. He said, that itinerant preachers sometimes visited the lower parts of White

River, and had penetrated within 300 miles of the place where we then sat, but had not found much encouragement.

"Schools are also unknown; and no species of learning cultivated. Children are wholly ignorant of the knowledge of books, and have not learned even the rudiments of their own tongue. Thus situated, without moral restraint, brought up in the uncontrolled indulgence of every passion and without a regard of religion, the state of society among the rising generation in this region is truly deplorable. In their childish disputes, boys frequently stab each other with knives, two instances of which have occurred since our residence here. No correction was administered in either case, the act being rather looked upon as a promising trait of character.

"They begin to assert their independence as soon as they can walk, and by the time they reach the age of fourteen, have completely learned the use of the rifle, the arts of trapping beaver and otter, killing the bear, deer, and buffalo, and dressing skins and making mockasons and leather clothes. They are then accomplished in all customary things, and are, therefore, capable of supporting themselves and a family, and accordingly enter into marriage early in life.

"The women are observed to have few children, and of those, being deprived of the benefit of medical aid, an unusual number die in their infancy. This is probably owing wholly to adventitious causes... a similar circumstance in savage life, the female being frequently exposed to the inclemency of the weather, always to unusual hardships and fatigues, doing in many instances the man's work, living in camps on the wet ground, without shoes, &c. Mrs. H. tells me, she has not lived in a cabin which had a floor to it for several years; that during that time they have changed their abode several times, and that she has lost four children, who all died before they reached their second year...

"The girls are brought up with little care... being deprived of all the advantages of dress possessed by our fair country-women in the east, they are by no means calculated to inspire admiration, but on the contrary disgust; their whole wardrobe, until the age of twelve, consisting of one greasy buckskin frock, which is renewed whenever worn out."^{315:74}

Schoolcraft left the White River Valley and continued on through the arrival of the New Year to tour lead mines on the James River south of present-day Springfield. Heading home by early January, he retraced his path to the Beaver Creek settlement.

"Tuesday, Jan. 5th [1819]

"The deer, which is very abundant, was frequently in

view, and we sometimes startled droves of twenty or thirty at a time. Being suddenly aroused, no animal surpasses the deer in fleetness... They will bound twenty feet a leap... This I have afterwards measured.

"The deer, however, has a fatal curiosity, which prompts it, after running five or six hundred yards, to turn around and look back upon its pursuer, and it is at this moment that he is killed. For the hunter, on starting a deer, immediately pursues with all his speed after it, without regarding the noise made among the bushes and upon the earth; for a similar disturbance, excited by the deer itself, prevents it from distinguishing that of its pursuer, and whenever it stops to turn around, at that instant also the hunter is still, and if within shooting distance, say one hundred yards, he fires; but if not, he endeavors to creep up, by skulking behind bushes and trees. If, in this attempt, he is discovered, and the deer takes the alarm, he again follows in the pursuit, assured that it will, in running a certain distance, again turn round and stand still to see whether it is pursued. This fatal curiosity is the cause of so many of these animals being killed...

"The white hunters of this region, (and I am informed it is the same with the Indians,) are passionately fond of wild honey, and whenever a tree containing it is found, it is the custom to assemble around it, and feast, even to a surfeit... We had no bread [but] they ate prodigiously. Each stood with a long comb of honey, elevated with both hands, in front of the mouth, and at every bite... the exterior muscles of the throat and face were swelled by their incessant exertions to force down the un-masticated lumps of honey... The dog also received his share as the partner and sharer of the fatigues, dangers, and enjoyments of the chase... The honey then left was tied up in a wet deer-skin, which communicates no taint; and, appended to the saddle of one of the horses, carried along."^{315:86}

"Wednesday, Jan 6th

"When seated around his cabin-fire, the old hunter excites the wonder of his credulous children, gathered into a groupe, to listen to the recital of his youthful deeds, and thus creates in their breasts a desire to follow the same pursuits, and to excel in those hunting exploits which command the universal applause of their companions..."^{315:89}

Schoolcraft's final host in the upper White River Valley fits the description of Solomon Yocum, who was descended from the German family Joachim.^{315:156}

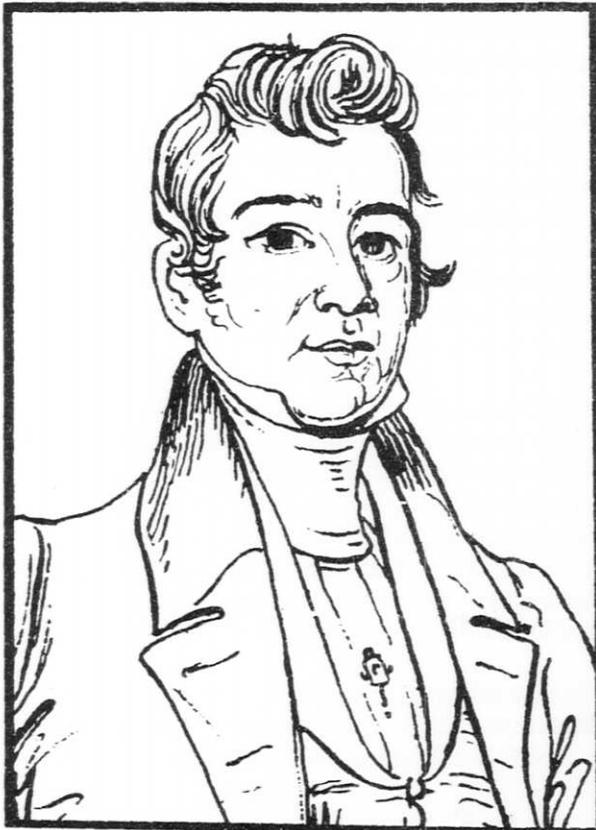
"Saturday, Jan 9th

"The men, women, and children, followed us down to the shore, and after giving us many direction and

precautions, and repeating their wishes for our success, we bid them adieu, and shoving our canoe into the stream, found ourselves, with a little exertion of paddles, flowing at the rate of from three to four miles per hour down one of the most beautiful and enchanting rivers which discharge their waters into the Mississippi. To a width and a depth which entitles it to be classed as a river of the third magnitude in western America, it unites a current which possesses the purity of crystal... every pebble, rock, fish... on the bottom of the stream is seen while passing over it with the most perfect accuracy; and our canoe often seemed as if suspended in air, such is the remarkable transparency of the water.

"Sometimes the river for many miles washed the base of a wall of calcareous rock, rising to an enormous height... in the fissures of which the oak and cedar had forced their crooked roots, and hung in a threatening posture above us... Deer and buffaloe, where they daily came down to drink, were numerous all along the shore..."

"As night overtook us... [we stopped at] a hunter's cabin, which we found in the occupation of a person of the name of Yochem, [and] were invited at supper, as a particular mark of respect, to partake of a roasted beaver's tail. I was highly gratified... The tail of this



CHIEF GU' WISGUWI' OF THE CHEROKEE
KNOWN TO THE WHITES AS JOHN ROSS

animal... is covered with a thick scaly skin, resembling in texture certain fish, and in shape... the bow of a lady's corset, tapering a little toward the end, and pyramidal on the lateral edges... By roasting... the skin peels off, and it is eaten simply with salt. It has a mellow, luscious taste, melting in the mouth somewhat like marrow... [or] a boiled perch... The way in which hunters eat it, [there is] a slight disagreeable smell of oil. Could this be removed by some culinary process, it would undoubtedly be received on the table of the epicure with great *eclat*." ³¹⁵⁻⁹⁷

When Schoolcraft's *Journal of a Tour into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas...* was published in 1821 in London, it was the earliest printed report on life along the White River. The subtitle added in an 1853 edition promised *Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine Region of the Ozark Mountains...* ^{315:x}

1828

A Civilized Nation

MORE THAN ANY OTHER GROUP OF NATIVE Americans, the Cherokee living in the "Upper Towns" of northwestern Georgia tried to adjust to the European culture which was overwhelming the continent. One proof of this can be found on the pages of the weekly newspaper they began to publish in 1828.

Some of the earliest issues promised that the "*Cherokee Phoenix* will be filled, partly with English, and partly with Cherokee print; and all matter which is of common interest will be given in both languages in parallel columns... Account of the manners and customs of the Cherokees, and their progress in Education, Religion and the arts of civilized life... calculated to promote Literature..." ^{320:4-5}

The *Phoenix* deserves more than a footnote in the histories of journalism and America. It was among the very first bilingual newspapers published in the United States; the foremost example of the first written language ever invented by a single individual; the first printed language of a Native American people and as well their first newspaper; and the only newspaper ever officially banned in the same country where Freedom of the Press was enshrined in its Bill of Rights. ³²⁰

By 1835, the Georgia State Militia had threatened the printers and any other Whites who championed the *Phoenix*. The next and even blunter step was to confiscate the Cherokees' printing press, take it away from New Echota and dump it down a well. Kuh-le-gannah, the nephew of Chief Ridge, but better known as the *Phoenix*'s founder Elias Boudinott, may have been the first American newspaper editor ever lynched.

well. For expedition, we consider Mr. Horn's plan superior to the common method. Mr. Horn intends to go from here to Huntsville, Alabama. We recommend him as a man of steady and moral habits.

"A woman in High Tower was a few weeks since dreadfully burnt. Her clothes caught fire while in a state of intoxication and the greater part of them were consumed before they could be extinguished. Her



THE CIVILIZING OF THE CHEROKEE
THEIR MANNER OF DRESS IN 1760 COMPARED TO A PORTRAIT IN 1820 OF CHIEF DUTCH BY GEORGE CATLIN

recovery was considered hopeless. Another victim to intemperance.

"A circumstance lately happened in Chikamauga District, a full account of which is related in a Cherokee letter published in another part of our paper. It appears that three persons went in quest of squirrels with bows and arrows. While they were in pursuit of one, a boy of about nine years of age was accidentally shot. The arrow, after being shot into the air, in its descent struck the top of his head, and penetrated his skull three inches. The boy survived but three days and died. Arrows are now very seldom used by the Cherokees. It is not recollected that a similar accident ever happened when they were more common."

"MIRABILE DICTU!!!

"On an evening not long since, I set out, and after riding a few miles, I arrived at a place, selected for an Indian dance. This was not only a new, but a curious scene to me, as it was the first I had seen. At my arrival, I saw a number of the natives of both sexes, gathered around two large fires, which they had built a few paces from the dancing ground. It was now not long till one of an elderly appearance, gave a short address to the surrounding company; the intention of which I could not easily guess; but having an interpreter at hand, I learnt that it was the manager giving the orders of procedure.

"Immediately after which, a lighted torch was placed in the center of the dancing ground, & aroused by this they all followed their leader, singing and dancing, as they marched in a kind of circus.

"They also had a peculiar kind of music, made by a parcel of small gravels being put into some terrapin shells, which some of the females wore on their legs. These, it may be relied upon, made no little racket. I could not, however, help noticing a parcel of kegs which were collected together not far from one of the fires, over which a watchman was placed to prohibit them from intoxication, until after the dance; when I expected there would be general welcome to the kegs. But during the little while I stayed, I was no little surprised to see so much order preserved. Another circumstance, however, equally drew my attention, which was a number of the aged, who were unable to partake in the dance, sitting round, and looking on, with as much concern, as if it had been a matter of the utmost importance. That a part of the human family, who are equally interested in the blood of a Saviour, should be given to a savage life, whilst another is enjoying the comforts of religion and pleasures of refinement, is, to a reflecting mind, a matter of no small interest. Is it not a pity, that so many may yet be found, in this enlightened day, & that too in a land of boasted liberty, who have not even been taught the first

principles of morality? 'O that my head were waters and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night,' for the savage children of the forest!

"But perhaps it may be asked, why I should be found at a place of this description? To this I would answer that it was not mere curiosity, nor was it to partake of their vices; but a desire to obtain a knowledge of the manners and customs, of those unfortunate children of nature. For what purpose did the traveler visit the famous idol of Juggernaut, and that too when thousands of pilgrims were offering up their sacrifices. Was it to partake of their crimes by paying adorations to that idol also? Or was it to obtain some useful information, by which future generations might be profited? I presume the latter was his chief object.

— VIGIL

"'VIGIL' might reasonably entertain one cheering consideration, and that is, the gradual diminution of such practices as described by him in his communication. If he had visited this Nation *thirty years ago*, and witnessed the practices of the inhabitants in their full extent, his tears would have flowed more freely, and the consideration of their wretchedness would have been without a redeeming thought. At that period the Cherokees resided in villages, in each of which was a "Townhouse," the head quarter of frivolity. Here were assembled almost every night (we are told, we speak from hearsay for we were born under an era of reformation,) men and women, old and young, to dance their *bear dance, buffalo dance, eagle dance, green-corn dance* &c. &c. &c. and when the day appeared, instead of going to their farms, and labouring for the support of their families, the young and middle aged of the males were seen to leave their houses, their faces fantastically painted, and their heads decorated with feathers, and step off with a merry whoop, which indicated that they were *real men*, to a ball play, or a meeting of similar nature. Such in a word was the life of a Cherokee in those days during spring & summer seasons. In the fall and winter seasons they were gone to follow the chase, which occupation enabled them to purchase of the traders a few articles of clothing, sufficient to last perhaps until the next hunting time. From the soil they derived a scanty supply of corn, barely enough to furnish them with *Gah-no-ha-nah* [mush-bread] and this was obtained by the labor of women and grey headed men, for custom would have it that it was disgraceful for a young man to be seen with a hoe in his hand, except on particular occasions.

"In those days of ignorance and heathenism, prejudices against the customs of the whites were inveterate, so much so that white men, who came among the Cherokees, had to throw away their costume and adopt the *leggings*. In a moral and intellectual point of

view the scenery was dark & gloomy, nevertheless it has not been impenetrable. The introduction of light and intelligence has struck a mortal blow to the superstitious practices of the Cherokees, and by the aid of that light, a new order of things is introduced, and it is to be hoped will now eradicate the vestiges of older days."

"TO HOUSE BUILDERS

"Sealed proposals will be received at my office in Cossewaytee, until the first day of February, for the building of a COURT HOUSE at New Echota, of the following description.

"The House to be framed, twenty four feet by twenty in dimensions, two stories high, lower story ten feet, and the upper story nine feet high, shingled roof of yellow poplar shingles, one stair case, one door on each side of the house with plain batten shutters, two fifteen light windows in each side of the house above and below, also two windows in the end, in the lower story, where the



SHOUTS OF THE REDEEMED
AT REVIVALS THAT WERE "THRILLING IN THE EXTREME"

Judge's bench is to be erected. The weather boarding of the house is to be rough, but jointed; the floors are likewise to be rough. The lower floor to be of square joint, but the upper floor tongued and grooved. The platform for the Judge's bench is to be three feet high, eight feet long, and three feet wide, and banistered, steps at each end, with a seat the whole length of the platform. There are also to be half a dozen dressed pine benches of ten or twelve feet long. The foundation of the house is to be of good rock or brick, and raised two feet above the ground.

"The person or persons contracting for the above mentioned building are required to furnish lumber, nails, glass, hinges, locks and other necessary articles. The lowest bidder is to have the contract, who will be required to give bond and good security for the faithful execution of the work in a workman-like manner, to be completed by the second Monday in October 1829.

JOHN MARTIN

Treasurer of the Cherokee Nation"

1829

Habits of Living Alone

DEACON JOHN BAUGHMAN SOUGHT AND GOT THE blessing of his fellow Baptists in eastern Tennessee before moving his family to Missouri. But elsewhere across the South in 1829, only one out of twelve people attended church devoutly. In April 1833, with the 24-member Bethany Church of the Baptist Order not even four years old, Deacon Baughman pushed through the resolution that no interaction or correspondence should be taken with the roving missionaries. Instead, they built a chapel on Meeting House Hill beside Brewer's Creek and withdrew into it.³¹⁷⁻⁹⁵

Another Baptist born in the mountains of frontier Virginia was a contemporary of and shared many of the religious views of Deacon Baughman. Daniel Parker became converted in 1802, moving shortly thereafter to eastern Tennessee. Parker became a preacher and by 1820 became convinced that the Baptist Board of Missions was his "greatest enemy in human form."^{313:19}

After a disappointing tour of Protestant churches around East Tennessee, Jeremiah Evarts reported back in his roll as secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The southern mountain Baptists, so unlike Evarts' fellow New Englanders, "seldom associate or confer together for any common purpose; and they get into such habits of living alone, that it seems almost impossible to impart to them... principles of social conduct..."^{323:518} Neighboring

Methodists greatly resented the missionary report that the whole region was "in a state of moral degradation..."
323:519

Antagonism between the missionaries and the Hardshell primitive Baptists revealed a deep-seated class struggle against the wealthy of both North and South. The plantation aristocracy hardly ever demonstrated genuine concern for uplifting the downtrodden, but rather, they preferred to make others do things their way. The mountain Baptists saw these newly arrived, Bible-toting Eastern outsiders as no different.

Many missionaries were northerners by birth or adopted alliance, on top of being highly educated Whigs or crusaders against gambling and slavery. Plain mountain folk had little regard for the plight of slaves or their tormenters, believing that all humanity would have to endure God's wrath in the Final Judgement.
323:524
 Hardshell fundamentalists were Jacksonian Democrats and believed in self-discipline, autonomy and austere primitivism.
323:503

The real money which supported missions came from prosperous city congregations. The Baptist Tract Society of Philadelphia received only one dollar in 1831 from the 40,000 Baptists of Kentucky, and the balance of the budget came from the Atlantic seaboard states.
323:507

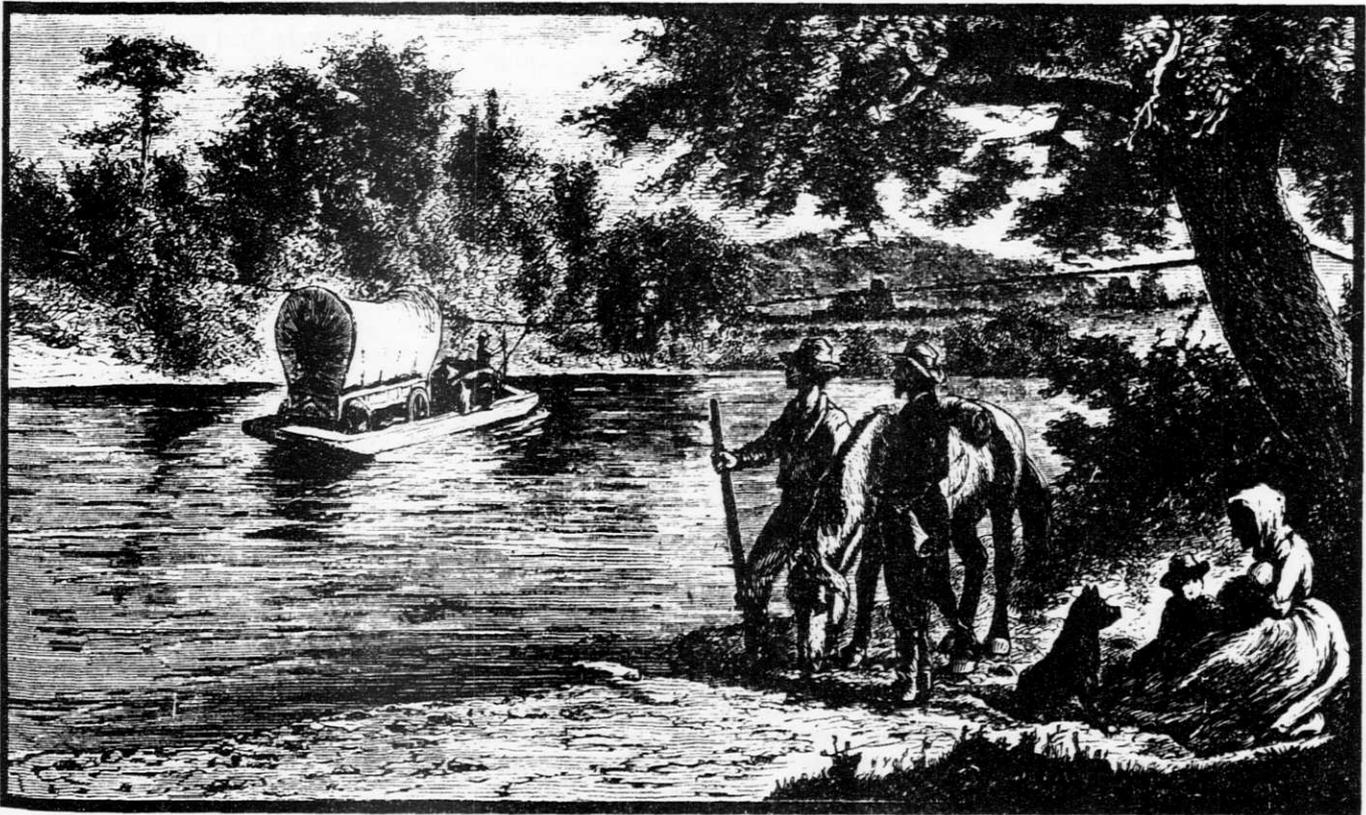
The toughest criticism of the traveling evangelists came from the mountains of Tennessee and Arkansas.

Evangelism required long meetings, stiff tithes, stiff collars, social refinement and conformity, along with church discipline on alcohol and other vices.

"Christ drank wine, but men are supposed to refrain?" wondered a southern Baptist attending a district church conference. Many pious frontier folk quit the East expressly to flee coercion and "decadent influences" from Europe.

Pastor Parker argued that only a personal calling from God should send a person out to a life of preaching. When Christ dispatched his disciples to the four corners of the earth, argued Parker, money was never mentioned, much less that wealth should be siphoned off the people and funneled back to some far-away leadership.

"They rob God of his glory and make merchandise of the gospel," wrote Parker in 1820. Protestant seminaries presumed to add to Christ's instruction and made the same mistake as Rome by training armies of young men expressly as fundraisers.
313:16-39 Good works intended to impress God or improve on His abilities seemed pathetic and feeble to Hardshell Baptists. They disliked the notion that large donations of money guaranteed the wealthy a special seat in Heaven.



FORDING THE RIVER
 WITH A SKIFF, ROPE AND PLENTY OF ELBOW GREASE

At the age of 28, James Leander Scott was assigned to be a Baptist missionary to the western territories of Missouri and Kansas. As he left his Richburg, New York, home in 1842, revivalism was sweeping the American frontier.

According to his journal, Scott felt apprehensive at first but soon touched off religious "wildfires" where "the shouts of the redeemed and groans of the convicted" were "thrilling in the extreme."^{306:95}

"Jan. 26th For many miles [the road] was one continued Causeway... which is made by throwing trunks of trees into a marsh and leaving them to settle there. This material is used where the swamps are extremely bad. The jolts, as the carriage fell from log to log, were uncomfortable in the extreme. If in high water any of the logs get washed out of their place, the team first plunge into the mire up to their mid-side, and then flounce for the logway again, when the carriage is drawn into the marsh, well nigh burying the forward wheels... Out we must get, and wading through the mud, raise the wheels until they will roll on the logs again, and then we trudge on."^{306:97}

"March 8. Passed through Springfield [Illinois]. [Here] we hailed the macadamized road with much joy. The toll on the road is very high, but clergymen are free.

"Ready to try our skill in recrossing the river... we succeeded in getting the family across, then with much difficulty swam the horses. A few days after, we took the carriage over in a skiff.

"Proceeded to an embankment upon the brink of the river... built to guard the bottom land below from the bursting flood in high water. We came to an ancient mound there, in which were human skeletons, very closely compact, and standing erect. The mound was some sixty feet in diameter, of ordinary height. In it was also found flowered earthenware, of modern style.

"The river, in washing away its banks, had exposed many skeletons which had been buried about four feet beneath the surface. They lay horizontally with head[s] eastward. They were of a Giant size, and the skull very round and extremely thick. The company, although boisterous in the morning, was now softened. With this vision of bones, they were willing to listen to remarks about the resurrection of the dead. After this day's exercise, they resolved to attend the meetings, and were all, I believe, converted... I had the inestimable privilege of baptizing them before leaving the place. After they were converted they often referred to the excursion in the forest, in which they professed to have realized the contrast between religion and irreligion."^{306:98-100}

One of Scott's fellow missionaries on the evangelical trail was the Reverend Eli Lindsey, who began winning

Methodist converts during the 1830s in Arkansas before it even became a state.

Lindsey was interrupted in the middle of one of his sermons by a pack of loud hunting dogs lathered up for the chase.

"The service is adjourned in order that the men may kill that bear," the preacher announced from the pulpit. When his congregation of hunters came back victorious, the sermon was resumed. "Thank God," said the preacher, "for men who know how to shoot and for women who know how to pray."^{287:167}

In 1844, there were 900 anti-mission preachers, 1,622 churches and at least 68,000 church members who quit the mainstream faith. They were nicknamed "broad-brimmed, hardshelled and square-toed" by the Easterners. From a wider, historical perspective, all this marked the beginning of the South's struggle to preserve old values in an "alien, changing and often self-righteous world."^{323:329}

On Marble Creek, a neighbor of the Baughmans named Peter Williams served briefly as preacher for the Bethany Church. During this period, Henry and Charity Baughman named their first-born son Peter William Baughman. William Polk took over as pastor from October 1831 through July 1856, and then again from October 1856 until his death during the final months of the Civil War.^{241:196} Amongst the entire Bethel Association of Baptists, including the seven churches that evolved out of the Bethany congregation, only three ministers survived the war.^{317:95}

Regular Baptists, who believed in the importance of missionaries, have left behind their handwritten notes of how a church was organized on Crooked Creek, near present-day Harrison on 3 July 1834. Within the lives of its first generation, though, Hardshells who agreed with the Baughman family had taken it over. For wider fellowship of a like-mind, these newer Baptists of Crooked Creek joined the Buffalo Association, which had begun in 1838 in North Central Arkansas, and included the churches known as New Hope, Mount Gilead, Mount Pleasant, Salem, War Eagle and Zion Hill.

1840

The Black Dutch & the Black Baughmans

ONE OF THE GRANDCHILDREN OF HENRY Baughman [I], by way of his son John, was Daniel Bachman, who was born in Shenandoah County, Virginia in 1787. Daniel married Dorcas Shaw, eight years his junior, and settled in 1809 at Lincoln County on the headwaters of Bradshaw Creek, at what would

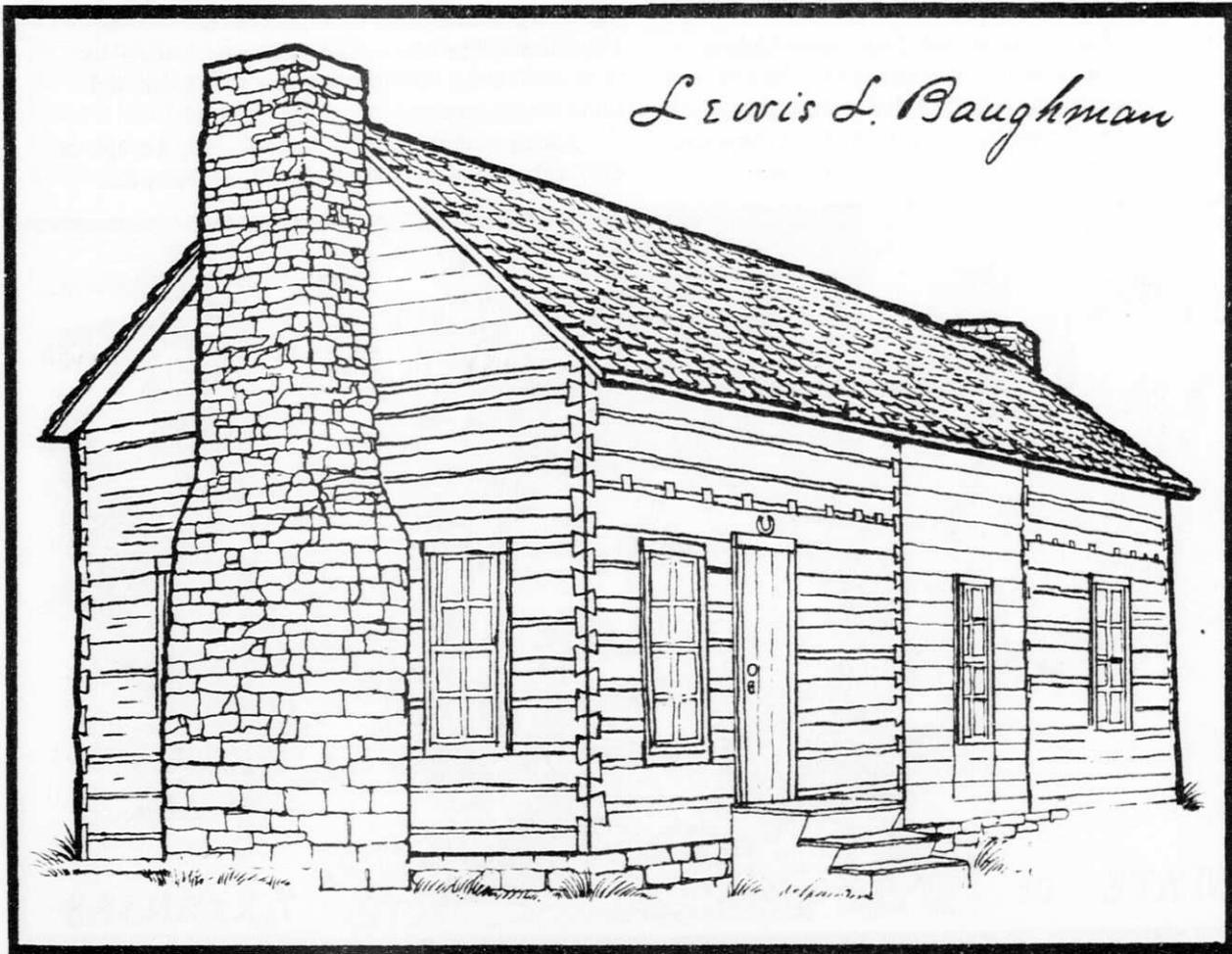
become a 1,300-acre farm in south-central Tennessee. He served as an ensign in the 39th Regiment of Lincoln County's Militia during the War of 1812.

Besides farming, Daniel also made his living as a tanner, as did his sons John and William.^{321:61} Daniel was described by his descendants as resembling the "Black Dutch," meaning that instead of the tall, fair-colored Germanic profile, he came from the shorter, darker, Alpine stock.^{321:59}

His house was originally built beside the main route through the area, but the layout of these roads later changed. The log building still stands near present-day Delina in Marshall County, although it was covered afterwards with clapboards. Its design is markedly different from the Germanic tradition of his grandfather in Virginia, but bears a perfect resemblance to the Lewis Lafayette Baughman house built during 1867 in Arkansas. As Daniel's family grew, the residence turned into two cabins side-by-side, separated by a narrow alley or breezeway called a "dog run." Eventually, this center

space was closed up and built into a staircase serving the upper level. The front porch has three separate doors into the house: one for this stairway, and each of the original duplex cabins still has its entrance. Chimneys stand at both ends. A root cellar was dug under one end, and water was supplied by a spring at the rear of the house. Limestone walls bordered the fields.^{321:71}

Daniel departed from most of his family's traditions in an even more profound way — he decided to own slaves to work on his plantation. By 1840, he owned five slaves to work the 854-acre plantation and tannery. Daniel intended that his daughter, Sarah D. Bachman Marks, should inherit "one Negro woman and child valued at \$1599.50, but because of the late war she is of no value." Instead, Sarah was to receive \$1,000. Daniel's daughter Jane owned a mother and her six children as slaves.^{319:420} Within 20 years, Daniel amassed livestock and other property worth \$14,000, making him one of the more successful men in the county.^{321:61} He traveled the region far and wide, selling



THE LOG HOUSE OF LEWIS LAFAYETTE BAUGHMAN
BUILT DURING 1867 IN THE SILVER VALLEY, ITS CENTRAL BREEZEWAY LATER BOARDED SHUT

leather and collecting on money due from many dozens of clients. Tanners from his county, possibly including Daniel, sold leather goods to the Confederacy.

One of Daniel's seven children was William S. Bachman, born 1826. He brought at least one slave to Arkansas by 1859, bought 160 acres south of Henry [IV] by Crooked Creek and began to use the "Baughman" spelling of his surname. Seventy five percent of households in the South did not own slaves, and none of the other Baughmans in the Silver Valley did.^{321:62}

On 25 March 1818, Daniel had a daughter named Jennet Steele Bachman. She preferred to be called Jane, and eventually married William Green Clayton at Lewisburg, Tennessee on 7 February 1837.^{321:43} Jane told a granddaughter later in life that she had memorized the words to her hymns by propping the book on the loom while she was weaving. When Daniel died in February 1868, Jane bought several items at her father's estate inventory sale, including a tooth-puller and two Bibles. Daniel and Dorcas were buried in the family cemetery beneath large flat rectangular stones. Sadly, both rocks have since been plowed under.^{321:71}

Slaves in America often took the surname of their owners, either in identification with the household as part of its property, or as children descended by blood from a male member of the master's family. A 30-year-old black woman born in Tennessee named Celia

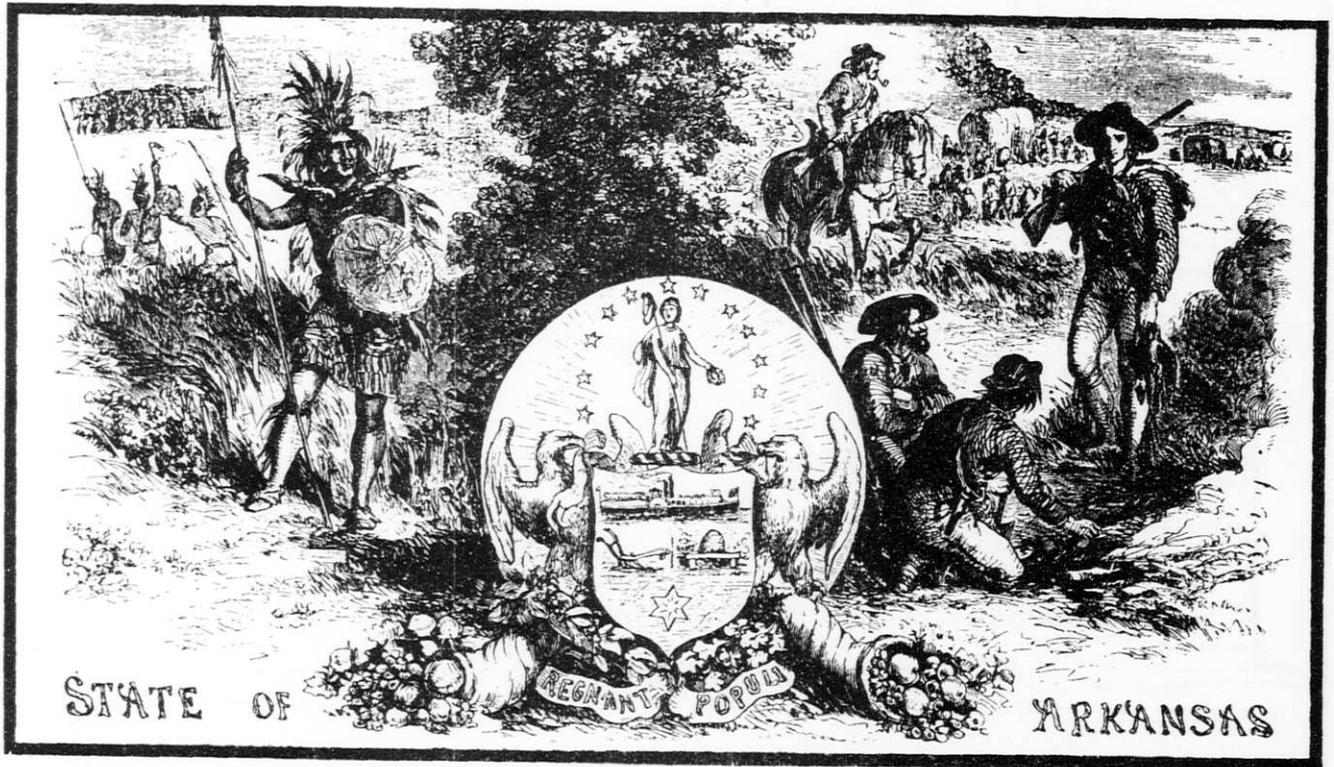
remained as part of William Baughman's household as a "servant" seven years after emancipation. Also listed with her under the Baughman name was Francis, a 16-year-old black who came from Tennessee. Several African-Americans living in Texas during the 1990s have the Baughman surname, but are unaware of where their ancestors lived.

1840

The Rush to Arkansas

AS THE YOUNG STATE ATTEMPTED TO IMPROVE THE quality of its rapid growth, Arkansas seized a considerable amount of land in 1840 on account of the owners' failure to pay their property tax. Under the Donation Law passed that year, new settlers could obtain title to this land in return for a promise to pay the back-taxes within a reasonable period. Amendment to the act soon allowed 160 acres for each immediate member of a family, regardless of age or gender. Word of these generous terms spread far and wide, and written inquiries poured in from New York, Massachusetts, Virginia and Tennessee. The clamorous demand for "free land" under the Donation Law soon exhausted Little Rock's inventory of confiscated tracts.^{295:103}

Living at Marble Creek, Missouri, only a couple of days' ride from the border, the family of Henry and



THE LAND RUSH INTO ARKANSAS, WHERE "THE PEOPLE RULE"
ILLUSTRATION FROM *BALLOU'S PICTORIAL*, 7 APRIL 1855

Charity Baughman loaded up their household and arrived in Arkansas on 11 October 1840. While their application was considered, the Baughmans lingered at Shawneetown, the seat of Marion County.

The Baughmans were among the first pioneers of Crooked Creek, well before its name changed to Harrison. In those days it fell just past the western edge of Marion County, in the much less settled Carroll County.

Gideon Baughman must have heard the rumors about Indian treasure and rich silver deposits along the upper reaches of Crooked Creek. Not long after the family settled, he began digging a mine on the craggy ridge across the creek and southeast of where the old Milam burial ground was later chosen. From Gideon's dreaming, the whole area became known as the Silver Valley.

During the rest of the 19th Century, the Baughmans homesteaded or bought outright almost 1,880 acres of what became known as the Silver Valley. Baughman holdings grew to include a school, a church and a mill which Lewis Lafayette Baughman built on the southwest corner of Rebecca Baughman's land, 100 yards north of the Silver Valley Road on the eastern bank of the creek. Spencer and Adeline Baughman owned an appreciable block of stock in the Farmers Bank, and he sat on the board of directors with E.M. Cantrell. See map on page 178

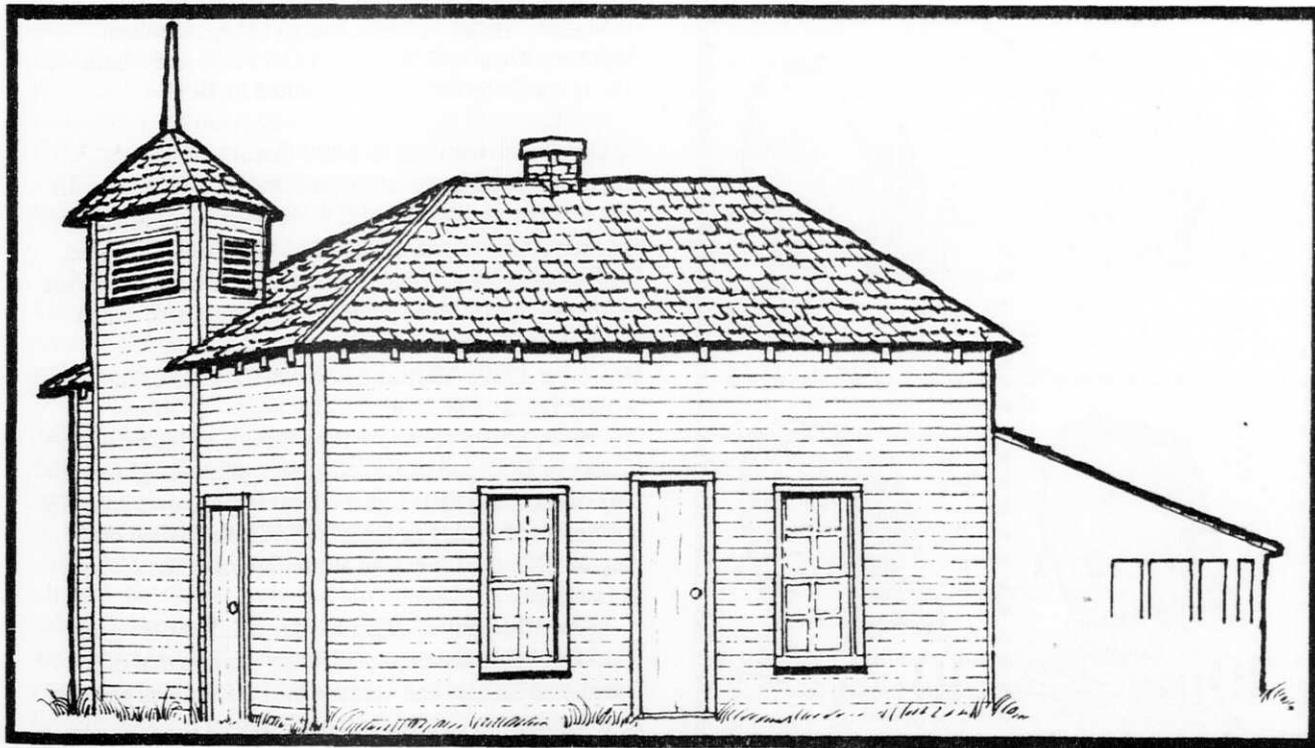
1848

A Blackfoot Bride

SINCE ONE OF PETER BAUGHMAN'S GRANDFATHERS was the half-breed Cherokee John Sutton, Pete was legally entitled to full membership in the tribe. Nothing suggests that Pete or any of his nine brothers and sisters ever took up the privilege or burden of being one-eighth Indian. Peter's first wife though was Rebecca, a member of the Blackfoot tribe, the mere fact of which suggested that Pete had traveled to Montana and brought her back to the Ozarks in 1848. An explanation from much closer to home comes from the genealogical research of Charles Fuson Jr. into another Indian line in the Baughman family tree. Family researcher LaVonna Wood, however, remains unconvinced by their theories.

Their focus centered on Adeline and Angeline Cloud, twin sisters born to the dynasty of Chief Red Cloud in 1859 at Stone County, Missouri, near Springfield. The twin sisters eventually married Pete's nephews, the Baughman brothers Spencer and Scaphus. The twins' tribal affiliation was assumed by many mountain folks to also be with the Cherokee, a tribe widespread in the area which had other connections to the Baughman family. Identifying the twin girls' great grandparents offers several clarifications.

A member of the Teton Sioux named Two Arrows,



THE BAUGHMAN SCHOOL
BUILT ON THE OLD JACOB BAUGHMAN LAND NORTH OF HARMON

who lived from 1700 to 1750, came from the Sauk Rapids of Minnesota. The Sioux Nation originated along the upper reaches of the Mississippi River, and French Jesuits reported them living on Lake Superior in 1641. Their migration westward must have seemed inevitable once other Indians were pushed into their laps by arriving Europeans.

With his wife, a member of the Yanktonis, Two Arrows had three children:

A son named Smoke, who became a chief of the Oglala Sioux and died in 1864 at Fort Laramie, leaving a son in 1814 named Afraid-Of-His-Horse who became an Oglala chief in 1850;

A daughter named Bega, who was mother of a son named Spotted Bear, also nicknamed Bad Face;

A son named Lone Man (Isna Wica), later called Red Cloud, who became chief of the Brulés, a subgroup of the Teton Sioux.

It was this Red Cloud who eventually became the grandfather of the twins. Red Cloud's wife was Walks-As-She-Thinks, described as a *saune* or *sanyuna* to mean a "Shouter Among the Trees." This was a nickname that the Oglala Sioux gave to five local tribes, including the Blackfoot Sioux, who broke away from their main tribe further west in Montana and Canada.

Red Cloud and Walks-As-She-Thinks moved to eastern Tennessee, north of Knoxville in Claiborne

County. Their white neighbors knew them as James and Jane Cloud. Before dying around 1825, they had seven children: Henry, Jack, Green Berry (1815), a son named Yellow Lodge, two daughters and a son born in 1822 as Two Arrows.

This last boy's name was intended to honor his grandfather, but upon reaching adolescence in 1843, the boy assumed his dead father's name, Red Cloud (Murpiya Luta). Greenberry Cloud and another brother moved to Taney County, Missouri, by 1850. Eventually, the new Red Cloud became chief of the Bad Face Band of Oglala Sioux.

In November 1877, Red Cloud had no other choice than to lead his people onto the Pine Ridge/Rosebud Reservation near Fort Robinson in western South Dakota.^{286:15-16} Thereafter, his name changed once more and he became Two Robes. Red Cloud went blind during the last years of his life, but he was considered the most powerful chief in the history of the Sioux. He fought in fifty battles, and was also a guest of President Benjamin Harrison at the White House in 1889. He died twenty years later.^{286:302}

Henry, the eldest son of Walks-As-She-Thinks, was born in Tennessee in 1812. From his first marriage, to Jane, Henry had nine children:

Joseph Britten "Britt" (1835), Benjamin Franklin "Frank" (1838), Wiley Van Buren (1840), William Henderson "Hence" (1842), Mary (1845), Abraham Augustus "Gust" (1848), Nancy O. (1850) and Martha E. (1854) and Eddy Houston. Jane died in 1858.

On 22 January 1859 in Stone County, Missouri, Henry married a second time, to Elizabeth Shumate Hill, who was born on 12 May 1828. Elizabeth brought four children from her marriage to Mr. Hill: Samuel, James, Elisha and Jephtha. Henry and Elizabeth were still living in Stone County, 25 miles south of Springfield, when the twins Adeline and Angeline were born on 25 December 1860. They also had two more daughters, namely Louise and Sarah.

Henry Cloud wrote out these details of his family's history in 1887 and presented copies to his daughters so they could claim their rights "if the Indians ever come in possession of money or land."²⁸⁹ Elizabeth died on 3 August 1903, and is buried at the Milam Cemetery east of Harrison.

Since the path of migration for old Red Cloud, his Blackfoot bride and their son Henry mirrors that of the Baughman family, and because the two families had this later connection through marriage, future research may establish that Peter Baughman's bride, Rebecca the Blackfoot, was one of the kinfolk of Walks-As-She-Thinks.



MURPIYA LUTA
KNOWN TO THE ENGLISH AS CHIEF RED CLOUD

1850

A Bachman on his Way to the Gold Rush

ON 29 MAY 1850, JOSEPH BACHMAN BEGAN TO write the following letter to his mother while at sea, en route to join the California Gold Rush, and mailed it from Panama. He was the eldest son of Jonathan and Frances Rhea Bachman, and a great-grandson of John George Bachman Sr., the immigrant.

"Dear Mother:

"Though space has stretched her wide extended arms, and the billowy deep now rolls between us, yet forget I thee not... Our passage costing us \$25 each... and were soon out of sight of land... About an hour after we struck the sea water many were taken sick. It did not effect me for three or four days... This seasickness produces the most miserable feelings I ever had, one cares for nothing. He can get no rest, he almost wishes himself dead, but it is soon over. But when he begins to get well and thinks about what he has to eat he almost takes sick again. I have done without eating a bite for three days which was done very easy as I had no exercise; upon the whole I fared tolerably well as to my sickness... for breakfast we have coffee that is as bitter as gall, without cream, corn bread that Alfred would be ashamed to make — it is only meal and water mixed and baked, shoulder fried that is never washed, grits sliced three-quarters of an inch thick. For dinner crackers that require a small mallet to break them, they are made of half beans and flour; salt beef and pork and a few molasses sometimes, once a week we get flour pudding. For supper crackers, salt beef and pork and better than all 1½ biscuits each such as Jonnie could make with his eyes shut... But we made the best of it we could...

"Our boat is now ready to leave and we are sitting on the beach waiting for the yawl to take us in to the ship *Magdola*. We are taking a [sailing] ship, for steamers are full and about 3,000 waiting for passage... We are all well and in good spirits; it is very hot here...

"Dear Mother, time distance, prosperity or adversity cannot induce me to forget you; no, no, never... I hope, dear Mother, that we may be allowed to meet again on earth, if not, I trust to meet you all where parting will be no more — where sorrow can never come; where joy is unspeakable and full of glory. I trust that I have set to my seal that God is true, and am persuaded that He is able to keep what I have committed to Him against that day. Dear Mother, if such a trip as this does not settle a roving disposition nothing will do it; it is a trip that will fully test a man's religion if any he has. And though your eye cannot see or ear heed me, be assured that your God is my God and that I will attend all my duties knowing that God is ever watching and is displeased

with the sin of having any other God. You may imagine how unpleasant I feel when I can find no secret place except my bunk where I may pray out my soul before my God.

"Dear Mother, it gives me great pleasure when night draws nigh to think that I am remembered at a throne of grace by you. I imagine that I see you all following your daily avocation as usual, busy about your corn; but there is no day which calls up home so vividly as the Sabbath. When the sun begins to peep, I think I almost see you all stirring about making preparations to go to meeting, and when Sabbath evening comes methinks I see you all seated, with each his Bible... seated around the fire to sing our little hymns... and I hope that we will again mingle our voices in those lovely little hymns...

"Dear Mother, folks may call me a baby and Mama boy or what they please, but so long as I have such a mother and brothers and sisters, I will ever esteem home the dearest place on earth to me. Yes, Mother, oft have I thought that few if any had such a mother as I had. I have enough to love home for, and should I be so blessed as to return and meet you all it will be ten times dearer than ever. I thank you, dear Mother, for your unspeakable kindness and I would be glad if ever I can help you in the least, I never can half pay you for what you have done for me...

"We got to Panama on the evening of the 28th and left the morning of the 29th. Gold is to be found here by the bushels and hundreds; the news brought by the passengers just arrived is too good and flattering. They say if we take a sail we will be better accommodated and that we will get there in the right time; they say the wet season is the best season to dig in the dry diggings, some of them digging from the 1st of Sept. to the middle of April and made \$14,000.00. I must close... and may God bless and protect you all is my prayer.

Farewell,
J.B."

Upon Joseph's arrival in California, he learned of his Mother's death on 3 June. He wrote that he and two Cowan boys from Greene County, Tennessee, were starting home. They were never heard from again.^{314:69-71}

1851

The Voice of an Old Soldier

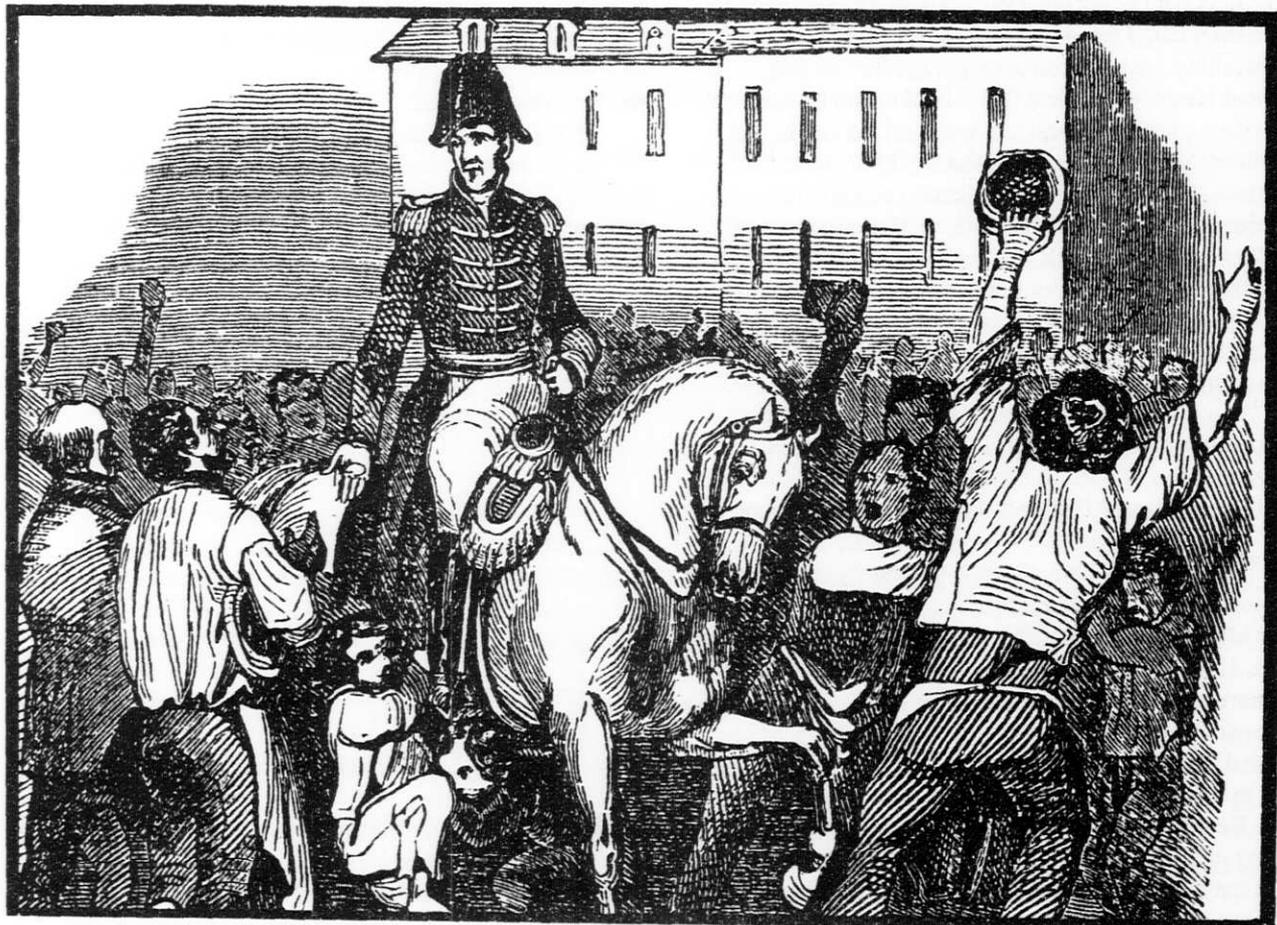
WHEN AMERICA'S SECOND BIG FIGHT AGAINST Great Britain began to go poorly, John Baughman volunteered to join the 5th Regiment of the East Tennessee Militia. The emergency call had gone out in November of 1814 to repulse the British task force on its way to New Orleans. When the British were

defeated and John was paid \$8 per month for six months, plus a \$2 travel allowance, that seemed to be the end of it.

Hailing from seven different states, a total of 34 Baughmans served in the War of 1812. In Maryland, both Randall's Battalion and Schuchts' Regiment had several Baughmans each:

Adam Baughman, private
3rd Regt. (Stembels's), Maryland Militia
Chrisly Baughman, private
5th Regt., Virginia Militia
Christian Baughman, private
5th Regt., Virginia Militia, commanded by Lt. Cols.
Dickinson, Scott and Coleman
Christopher Baughman, private
2nd Regt. (Benton's), Tennessee Volunteers
David Baughman, private
4th Regt., Virginia Militia, commanded by
Lt. Cols. Huston and Wooding
Daniel Bauchman [filed as Daniel Bohman], private
4th Regt. (Ewing's) Mounted Kentucky Volunteers

Daniel Baughman, ensign (commissioned 8 VIII 1814)
39th Regt., [Lincoln County] Tennessee Militia^{3:1:229}
Fraene Baughman, private
5th Regt. (Sterett's), Maryland Militia
Francis Baughman, sergeant
Randall's Battalion of Riflemen, Maryland Militia
Francis Baughman, private
2nd Regt. (Schuchts'), Maryland Militia
Frederick Baughman, private
2nd Regt. (Schuchts'), Maryland Militia
George Baughman, private
2nd Regt. (Price's), Ohio Militia
Henry Baughman, private
McConnel's Regt., Ohio Militia
Henry Baughman, private
Randall's Battalion of Riflemen, Maryland Militia
Henry Baughman, private
2nd Regt. (Schuchts'), Maryland Militia
Henry Baughman, private
3rd Regt. (LeFevre's), Pennsylvania Militia
Isaac Baughman, private
4th Regt. (Boyd's), Virginia Militia



GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON
CHEERED BY HIS TROOPS AND THE PEOPLE OF NEW ORLEANS