

NEW LIGHT ON HANS HERR AND MARTIN KENDIG

By MARTIN HERVIN BRACKBILL

ARRIVAL OF "MARIA HOPE"

On September 16th, 1710,¹ the ship "Maria Hope" sailed into Delaware Bay, after a comparatively uneventful voyage from London. The ship, although small, was heavily laden with freight for the thriving colony of Pennsylvania, and had a combined passenger and crew list of 94 persons. The master, John Annis, in his anxiety to get his ship within the safety of the bay, out of danger from pirates and privateers which infested coastal waters that year, ran his vessel aground on a low tide. As a result, the voyage was delayed several days, and it was not until September 20th, that anchor was dropped off New Castle, Delaware. Here the ship remained several days before continuing its voyage to Philadelphia, where it arrived September 23rd, more than a week after entering the bay.²

SWISS MENNONITE IMMIGRANTS

The arrival of this ship is of special interest to Lancaster county, because its passengers included the county's first permanent settlers,—a company consisting of some twenty Swiss immigrants—men, women and children, who belonged to the more or less outcast sect of Swiss Baptists, or as we know them, Mennonites.³ The end of the voyage, although these Mennonites were probably unaware of it, marked more than the completion of a sea journey for them. It closed a period of persecution of the most violent and destructive sort, in which they and their forbears had suffered as victims since the Reformation in the early Sixteenth century. All their associations with the old world for generations had been a fearful experience of cruelty and oppression; and all they sought in the new one, was peace, and the privilege of pursuing happiness according to their own way of life.⁴

Long and bitter experience with the authorities in Switzerland and Germany had taught them to move in a circumspect and quiet manner, so that to-day, as a result, few traces of their movements in this country are to be found in the records of their time to help the investigator seeking to reconstruct their story. For this reason, historians writing of this colony, have, for the most part, fallen back on tradition. They have relied upon it so completely that it has led to a number of fundamental errors being recorded into the account of these colonists and their immigration to America.

HANS HERR AND MARTIN KENDIG

However, this paper is not primarily concerned with the reasons for, nor the results of this migration, but rather with the personalities of two of the

principal personages among the Swiss passengers aboard the "Maria Hope" in September, 1710. They were Hans Herr and Martin Kendig. It is impossible to write of the one, without some mention of the other. Even to-day, when any attempt is made to trace the history of any particular Lancaster county man whose first ancestor settled here in the early half of the Eighteenth century, we eventually learn that if that earliest ancestor was of Swiss blood, there inevitably was some relation, business or otherwise, between him and these two men.

Of the errors to which reference has been made, some of the most common concern these men, especially Hans Herr. What I have to say of him and of Kendig must, of necessity, recognize the existence of these traditions, but, so far as possible, reliance upon them has been carefully avoided. The conclusions I reach, are based entirely upon the existing records of the time in which they lived, which, fortunately, are enough to give us a fairly accurate picture of who and what they were.

When the "Maria Hope" arrived, the harvest season was in full swing. We are told, in a letter written by Samuel Guldin or Guldi, a Reformed minister of Berne, Switzerland, who also arrived on the "Maria Hope," that nature had been bountiful.⁵

GULDIN OBTAINS WARRANT

As soon as the ship reached New Castle, residents of the Lower counties came aboard with gifts of apples and peaches; while many of the passengers went ashore to be guests of the inhabitants. Some were so eager to get first-hand knowledge of the new land, Guldin tells us, that they walked from New Castle to Philadelphia, on the day the ship sailed for the latter place. Unfortunately, Guldin tells us nothing of the identity of his fellow-passengers, although it is significant that, later, we find him obtaining a warrant for 800 acres of land "in Strasburg with the rest of his countrymen;" and the clerk who recorded the warrant in the minutes of the provincial board of property commissioners, described him as the "minister to the Swissers."⁶ This land, I might digress to say, adjoined the lands of the so-called Pequea colony on the west, and later came into the possession of Martin Kendig, who owned adjoining land.

Guldin was met by Conrad Matthaei, another Swiss, who at that time was magister of the Hermits of the Wissahickon.⁷ He had come to Pennsylvania less than a decade before. Matthaei entertained Guldin and his family in his home, and it was there that Guldin wrote the one detailed account of the voyage of the "Maria Hope" that we have.

JOHAN RUDOLPH BUNDELI

The Swiss colonists who came to Lancaster county, likewise had friends or acquaintances of their own nationality to meet, among whom was Johan Rudolph Bundeli,⁸—a member of a burgher family of Berne, Switzerland,

who came to America with Matthaei. His presence in America in 1704 and his friendship with Matthaei are disclosed in a letter written by Franz Ludwig Michel von Schwertschwendi, also a Bernese, in May, 1704,⁹ to Johan Rudolph Ochs, in London, in which he speaks of visiting Bundeli and Matthaei, in Germantown. This Michel, it might be well to note at this point, was the Louis Mitchel referred to by William Penn and James Logan in their famous correspondence.¹⁰

GRAFFENRIED'S COLONIZATION PARTY

Michel also was the partner of Baron Christolph von Graffenried, of Berne, and Georg Ritter, of the same place, in the Swiss company organized to found a colony in America and which did, in 1710, found Newbern, North Carolina.¹¹ In fact, it is even more of a coincidence that on the very same date the Mennonites, who eventually settled at Pequea, sailed from England, another ship bearing von Graffenried and his colonists, also sailed for America. Still more noteworthy is the fact, that 56 Swiss Mennonites were among von Graffenried's colonization party as far as Holland, where they were liberated by influential Dutch Mennonites, and that among these were some who later settled with the other Swiss at Pequea.¹²

SWISS OBTAIN WARRANT FOR 10,500 ACRES

I say Bundeli met the Swiss immigrants aboard the "Maria Hope," because less than a month later he appeared before Penn's property commissioners on two successive days and obtained warrants for the survey of 10,500 acres of land in the unsettled country back of Chester county, the first warrant,—which was for 10,000 acres,—specifically stating that the land was to be divided among "Swissers who lately arrived in this Province."¹³ The men named with Bundeli in the warrant, which was issued October 21st, 1710, or as it is dated, October 10th, old style, were Martin Kendig, Jacob Miller, Hans Herr, Christian Herr, Hans Graeff, Martin Oberholtzer, Hans Funk, Micael Oberholtzer, and one Bauman.¹⁴ The second warrant, which was for 500 acres, was issued the following day and was to Bundeli alone. It called for land adjoining that laid out for the Swissers.

SURVEY OF PEQUEA LANDS

The land was to be surveyed at once; and less than two weeks later, November 3rd, 1710, a survey return was made at Philadelphia for 4000 acres of the original 10,000. Apparently none of the Swiss settled on this land. The reason for this is obscure, although the most obvious answer would be that they found other land more suitable to their needs at that immediate time. Three thousand acres of this 4000 eventually fell into the possession of a group of French Huguenots, 2000 acres being patented to the latter in 1712 and the remaining 1000 acres in 1717.¹⁵ I shall have more to say later about the last 1000 acres of this first survey.

Whether the Swiss immigrants left Philadelphia immediately for their new lands or remained in Germantown for the winter, is not known. How-

ever, Guldin tells us that the weather was mild, at least until late in December. This would have made settlement that winter practical. Then again, a survey was made of 500 acres, adjoining land later patented to the Swiss, December 12th, 1710. This survey was made on the warrant issued separately to Bundeli. It was a tract which was later included in the so-called Taylor survey of the Pequea colony.¹⁶

Whether the surveyor laid out to Bundeli land adjoining where the Swiss had already settled, or whether the reverse took place, is just another way of phrasing the same puzzle. However, I am inclined to the former view, as that was the specific instruction the surveyor had received.

SURVEY AND PATENTS

At any rate, a survey of the Pequea lands, later patented to the Swiss, was made May 8th, 1711, and by July 11th, the same year, patents had been given to ten heads of families for 5500 acres with an additional six per cent. added for roads. For some reason, which now appears to have been an oversight on the surveyor's part, the remaining 500 acres in the original 10,000 acre tract, were never officially surveyed to anyone.¹⁷ To keep the record straight, it is also necessary to note that Bundeli also received his patent at the same time for the 500 acres which had been surveyed to him the previous December.

THOSE WHO RECEIVED PATENTS

Now a comparison of the names of the nine men which appeared with that of Bundeli on the warrant, with those who received patents in July, 1711, reveals this: First, we find that land was patented to Christopher Franciscus and to Martin Meili or Miley, although they were not among these whose names are on the warrant. The others who had tracts patented to them were: Martin Kendig, Jacob Miller, Hans Funk, Wendall Bowman, (his name appeared on the warrant as "one Bauman"), Christian Herr and Hans Herr. All of these names are on the warrant. The names of those found on warrant who did not receive patents for land surveyed under this warrant, were: Bundeli, Hans Graeff, Martin Oberholtzer, and Micael Oberholtzer. For the purpose of clarity, it should be said that Bundeli and Graeff, then or later, received patents on other land in Lancaster county, but that neither of the Oberholtzers can be shown to have ever actually located on any of this land. In 1734, 200 acres on the west side of the Conestoga creek was patented to Jacob Kreider, who had purchased it from Jacob and Martin Oberholts, sons of Martin Oberholts, in 1733. The elder Oberholts, who died intestate, bought it from Alexander Bews in 1725.

Keeping these facts in mind, we must now turn back to an event which occurred earlier, and which supplies us with a third list of names to compare with the two lists we have already considered. In June, 1710, (old style), a letter was written to which the names of six men were affixed.¹⁸ This letter was posted from London to Rotterdam and its principal purpose was to thank

unnamed benefactors for financial aid which they had previously given those who signed the letter. The facts in the letter are important, but the names are more so. They were: Martin Kendig, Jacob Miller, Martin Meili, Christian Herr, Hans Herr, and Martin Oberholtzer. Comparing this list with that obtained from the 1710 warrant, we find that they all appear there with the exception of Meili. Comparing it with the list of those who received patents in 1711, we find that the name of Oberholtzer alone is missing.

Thus we know that at least six of the men whose names appear on one or the other of the Pennsylvania lists, as I term them for the sake of clarity, arrived on the "Maria Hope." Of the others, the names of Graeff and Bowman appear on other records which would place them in Pennsylvania at an earlier date than September, 1710.¹⁹ Funk is presumed to have accompanied Kendig and the Herrs, while another who arrived at the same time, but whose name does not appear on any of these lists, was Hans Meili.²⁰ We have shown above that Bundeli was in Pennsylvania as early as 1704, while Micael Oberholtzer, it is assumed, arrived with Martin Oberholtzer. This leaves only Franciscus to be accounted for, and his personality eludes the investigator almost completely. His patent, like all the others issued in 1711, states that he "lately arrived from Switzerland" but it is extremely doubtful that he was a member of the Mennonite party.²¹

A HOT SUMMER

The first summer the colonists were at Pequea, was a hot one for we find Lieutenant Governor Charles Gookin, at Philadelphia, proposing to postpone a rather important conference with the Indians because of the excessive heat. However, his advisors prevailed upon him to go, and so he set out for Conestoga sometime after June 22nd, reaching Conestoga June 29th, the day the council with the Indians was held. It is to be presumed that the governor and his party spent at least a day, perhaps more, in the new community at Pequea, as it was the custom along the colonial frontier to obtain shelter in whatever settlements were along the route of the traveler. At any rate, the subject of the safety of the Palatines, as Gookin referred to the Swiss, was discussed with the Indians.²²

TRAIL FOLLOWED BY GOOKIN

The route followed by Gookin was the same used by William Penn the previous decade, when he also held a council with the Indians living near the Susquehanna.²³ The same route had been also used by Gookin's predecessor in 1707, and it can be traced roughly on modern maps along the present-day highway from Gap to Strasburg, thence by Lampeter and Willow Street to Rockhill. What is most important for our consideration, is that this early trail or road, for all practical purposes, divided the lands of the Swiss. The only tracts commonly included within the so-called Pequea settlement, which were not crossed or touched by this trail, were those patented to Franciscus and to Bundeli

The distance from the eastern line of the largest of the three tracts patented to Kendig to the western line of his 500 acre plantation, was some five miles,—or, roughly speaking, the distance from present day Strasburg to present day Willow Street.²⁴ However, not all of this land was developed at once. Let us see if it is possible to learn just what sort of settlement Gookin and his party found at Pequea when they visited it in the summer of 1711.

SETTLEMENT AT PEQUEA

From land records we can determine that the settlement, while not by any means a village, was concentrated in the western half of the land laid out in May, 1711. Taking the house built by Christian Herr, in 1719, which stands to-day, as a starting point, we find that Martin Meili had a plantation of 265 acres immediately to the west, while on the east, lay the third tract of Kendig, containing approximately the same number of acres. Farther east, and adjoining Kendig's land, was the plantation of Hans Herr, with the 500 acres patented to Bowman adjoining that. Land patented to Franciscus and Miller adjoined Bowman's property. Now Funk, instead of settling on the property patented to him in 1711, had his home on the northern half of Bowman's land.²⁵ This indeed was patented to him at a later date and a new patent for the remaining half was issued to Bowman. That he lived on this land, before this new patent was issued, is shown in an earlier survey made for Isaac Lefever, who received a patent for 350 acres of land immediately north of the land of the Swissers.²⁶ North of Lefever; another tract of 300 acres was patented to Hans Graeff,²⁷ while south of Graeff's western corner and west of Lefever, 700 acres were patented to Hans Meili or Miley. This Miley land was north of tracts owned by Christian Herr, Martin Meili, and Kendig. This locates all of the first group of settlers, except Franciscus and Miller. Franciscus soon sold his land to Heinrich Zimmermann or Carpenter, and located on a new tract to the southwest, near the Pequea. He later sold this, also, and located again on the Conestoga where the Mill creek flows into it.²⁸ As for Miller, I am not able to say on which section of his 1000 acre plantation, he built his home. If I were to guess, I would say it was in the western half, somewhere near the line between his land and that of Bowman. It is doubtful whether Bundeli ever lived on his land. He was listed among the non-resident property owners in Conestoga township, in 1718, and is known to have returned to Switzerland at a later date.²⁹ Exclusive of the Huguenots and the English, who took up land along the Pequea or the Conestoga, before 1717, there were only three others, with Germanic names, who settled near the Swiss before that date. They were: Benedict Venerich, Peter Bellar, and Daniel Herman.³⁰ There is very little known about these men either as to their origin or their connections, if any, with the Swiss. There may have been others, too, whose names do not appear in the land records, and are now unknown to us.

Now it is a remarkable thing that these Swiss, leaving out of consideration Franciscus and Bundeli, possessed title to well above 5,000 acres of the best land in the Pequea valley, yet they made no effort to dispose of any of it to settlers of other nationalities who began drifting in as the Swiss opened up this virgin territory. A close search of the records reveals that most of this first tract was not developed before 1717, and was not put under cultivation until after that date.

This is readily understandable. The small colony lacked the man power to clear the land for use; and even if ready for use, they were too few in number to make the cultivation of more than a small part of the more than eight square miles of land a possibility. Yet not a single acre was sold; although they must have had offers, as Venerich, Bellar and Herman, all located on adjoining land. Nor could it have been a question of price, as the Province itself doubled the cost per hundred acres within the space of seven years.³¹

This, too, was directly due to the Swiss settling here. Before the Swissers took up land along the Pequea, in 1710, frequent attempts to open the land adjacent to the Susquehanna had ended in failure from the time of Penn's last visit to his colony in 1701.³² Yet in the years between 1710 and 1717 thousands of acres in this section were taken up, mostly by speculators, so that by the beginning of the latter year, the Swiss colony, on three sides at least, was ringed around by vast tracts patented to companies and individuals who themselves had no intention of settling on the land.³³

From all this, it is apparent that the Swiss had a good and sufficient reason for holding on to their land. It was this: In Germany and Switzerland, especially the former, were relatives waiting for the opportunity to come to America. It is possible that some of their resources had gone into the purchase of the first tract. Whether or not this is so, the fact remains that after 1717, the original settlers did sell much of their land, and it was to other Swiss who arrived that year under the leadership of Hans Burchhalter and Benedictus Brechbuehl, two outstanding leaders of the Mennonites in the Palatinate.³⁴ These immigrants came to Philadelphia in three ships, during the summer of 1717; and while some settled in Bucks and Philadelphia counties, the most of them came to Pequea.³⁵

MARTIN KENDIG RETURNS TO GERMANY

Tradition tells us that this second migration was primarily due to the return of Martin Kendig to Germany that year, 1717, or the year before. There is little doubt but that this is true. In fact, Henry Boehm, the Methodist missionary, in his autobiography,³⁶ tells us that his grandfather, Jacob Boehm or Behme, as a young man, was persuaded by Kendig to come to America. Behme was not born into a Mennonite family. Although a Swiss, he was a Pietist before he became a Mennonite. He located on land not so

far from Kendig, in what is now Pequea township.³⁷ His son, Martin Boehm, became one of the co-founders of the United Brethren in Christ Church; and his grandson, Henry, was one of the most important aides of Asbury in spreading Methodism throughout continental United States in the first half of the Nineteenth century.

The particular tradition which we have been accustomed to accept, of how Kendig came to return to Europe is not so reliable, however. This tradition, in short, states that, by lot, the Mennonites selected Hans Herr to make the journey back to Germany, but that Kendig offered himself as a substitute because Herr's departure would have left them without a minister. The tradition goes on to describe Herr as a venerable patriarch, then well above seventy years of age.³⁸ Of course, as I shall show, much of this could not possibly have been true, as glamorous and romantic as the story is, and we would be entirely justified in concluding that over-imaginative writers, beginning with a fragment of fact, have added detail upon detail until to-day it seems very plausible indeed. Let us consider the following facts:

HANS HERR

First of all, Hans Herr was never a minister or preacher of the Mennonite faith, much less a bishop, as some accounts would have us believe. A son and a nephew, both of them named John, were ministers, but they belong to a succeeding generation.³⁹ The origin of this part of the tradition becomes clear when we substitute Christian Herr for Hans. Christian's name comes down to us on two contemporary lists of Mennonite ministers as a preacher, while he, as well as Hans, was in the colony from its beginning.⁴⁰ In fact, one version of the tradition definitely states that it was Christian upon whom the lot fell, and this tradition is from Christian Herr, a great grandson of Hans Herr,⁴¹ who thus was in a better position to know what actually was the case than other writers, such as Rupp, who obtained the basis for their versions from other sources not nearly so reliable.⁴²

The second portion of the tradition,—that Hans Herr, even at the time of his arrival, was a man of seventy years or more,—is entirely untrue. At one time during those early colonial days, there were at least five men with the name John Herr, or Hans, its German equivalent, of one age or another, living in the Pequea community, or near it.⁴³ This may, to some degree, have caused the traditional confusion surrounding Hans Herr. But in the early days of the colony, from 1710 to 1717, at least, there was only one adult of this name. This Hans Herr lived to be 79 years of age and died in 1756. This contradicts the common belief that he died in 1725, and also establishes his age in 1710 as no more than 33 years,—comparatively a young man.⁴⁴

In this connection, even a more important erroneous conclusion was reached by earlier historians. They have correctly accounted for five Herrs who were brothers, but have gone beyond this to state, that all of these brothers were sons of the Hans Herr, who figured so prominently in the early settlement.⁴⁵ This cannot be denied too emphatically. It is entirely possible

that the father of these men also bore the name of Hans Herr, and it is also highly probable that he came to America and died here,⁴⁶ but the Hans Herr whose name is found in the land records, the London letter, and who with Martin Kendig was outstanding in his leadership of the early Swiss, was one of these and not their *father*.

These brothers were, besides the Hans and Christian, already mentioned, Abraham and Emanuel, who arrived in 1717, and Isaac who arrived two years later, in 1719.⁴⁷

Two contemporary records confirm these statements: One is to be found in the Taylor papers, in a note written by James Steele, October 12, 1719, which categorically states that "The bearers, Hans Herr and Abram Herr, have much importuned me for the grant of about 400 acres of land for their brother, Isaac, who is lately arrived here . . ." ⁴⁸ The second is to be found in a recorded patent, issued to John Graffts, son-in-law of Isaac Herr, in 1763, in which Graffts, after identifying Hans Herr as the man who with Martin Kendig obtained a grant of land for the Mennonites in 1717,—which will be examined more fully below,—stated that Isaac Herr was the brother of the "said Hans Herr."⁴⁹

In addition, we have the will of Hans Herr, recorded under the name of John Hare, in 1756,⁵⁰ from which we learn that he had two sons, John and Christian, and four daughters. These facts, I believe, reveal to us an entirely different Hans Herr than has been previously pictured to us. I might state that it is only because of the peculiar nature of this tradition and its wide acceptance, that I have presented these facts in such detail.

LAND SURVEYED FOR NEW ARRIVALS

Turning again to affairs in the Swiss colony in 1717, we find the new arrivals from Germany soon appearing before the land commissioners and asking for grants of land. During the fall of 1717, surveys for more than 6000 acres of land were ordered. Most of this land was on the west side of the Conestoga and included large tracts laid out to the Brenemans, the Brubakers, the Baers and others. Thus 1700 acres alone were laid out to Hans Brubaker (Pupather, in the warrant) and Christian Hirschi (Hearse, in the warrant) west of present-day Lancaster.⁵¹

BLANKET WARRANT

However this granting of surveys to individuals came to a halt,⁵² for all practical purposes, after November 22nd (old style), 1717, when the commissioners granted what might be called a blanket warrant to Hans Herr and Martin Kendig under which 5000 acres, more or less, were to be surveyed in plots of various sizes anywhere along the Pequea and Conestoga creeks, or their branches; in other words almost anywhere within the present dimensions of the county. Land, in such widely separated localities as New Providence and Lititz, was actually laid out under this warrant in subsequent

years and the total was well above the 5,000 acres originally stipulated. This warrant, in effect, made Martin Kendig and Hans Herr, the officially recognized intermediaries between the provincial authorities and the Swiss, and so they remained down to as late as 1740, at least.

This warrant, it goes without saying, was an unusual one, and it is doubtful that any others with such broad terms can be found anywhere in the records of the property commissioners.⁵³ The clerk to the commissioners evidently was aware of this fact, as he gave a rather detailed account of its granting in his minutes, while mere notations of the name of the applicant, the place and the acreage sufficed in the case of other warrants. It is here we learn that Hans Funk, and other unnamed persons, appeared before the commissioners with Kendig and Herr, so that it is fair to assume that a representative delegation was in Philadelphia upon that date. The minutes also tell us that the land was for relatives, friends and acquaintances who had lately arrived in the Province. There was also some question as to the legality of selling the Swiss land because they were aliens, but the commissioners brushed this technicality aside with the assertion that they had been commissioned by Penn to dispose of the land, and with a warning to the new settlers that they could not sell the land nor could their children inherit it as long as they remained aliens. They also advised them how they could become British subjects, which advice resulted in quite a number of them being naturalized by a special act of the assembly, in 1729. These, however, did not include Kendig and Herr, as I shall show in more detail below.

PRICE OF LAND

The price fixed for this land was 10 pounds sterling for each hundred acres, to be paid as it was surveyed or rather when the surveys were returned. This was double the price fixed for the first 10,000 acres warranted to the Swiss just seven years earlier. Some of this land was not actually paid for until 1763, but the price remained 10 pounds for every hundred acres. However interest, piled up during the interim, made the settlement much greater.

Kendig and Herr apparently paid something at the time the warrant was granted, for as parcel after parcel was surveyed for various settlers, they gave deeds of a sort, for which they received compensation. These deeds, for many years, in some cases, remained the only title the settlers had to their land. Thus in the case of Isaac Herr: He bought Kendig's and Herr's right to 800 acres in 1719, and, at different periods, two tracts, one for 500 acres, the other for 100 acres, were surveyed for him. Before his death, he sold 300 acres to his son, Henry, and the remainder to his son-in-law, John Graffts.⁵⁴ Some years after that, Herr's house burned down and all his papers, including his deed from Kendig and Herr, were destroyed. This was all related in detail by Graffts and the younger Herr to the commissioners in 1763, when they applied for patents to their land. Upon their verbal statements and upon payment of the money due, the patents were granted.

The method used to obtain land under this warrant, was somewhat of this nature: A settler seeking a farm would locate a likely tract of land. He would then visit Martin Kendig and Hans Herr, and request a survey under their warrant. They, in turn, would have the survey made by the official surveyor, and after the lines and acreage had been determined, Kendig and Herr would sell the settler a deed, which, of course, only disposed of their rights under the warrant. In many cases, land was surveyed in this fashion far from the boundaries of the original settlement. To cite but one example: Jacob Hess, in 1735, obtained a patent for 200 acres of land in Warwick township.⁵⁵ This land is east of present-day Lititz, and, at least, until very recent times, remained in the possession of descendants of the original buyer.⁵⁶ The patent discloses that Martin Kendig and Hans Herr gave Jacob Hess a deed for this land on November 2nd, 1734, for "a consideration" the nature of which is not disclosed, after the survey was made. It is also interesting to note that Hans Hess, who may or may not have been Jacob's father, lived on land adjoining that of Kendig.⁵⁷

By these land transactions with the early settlers, traditions were established in many early families which linked the names of Martin Kendig and Hans Herr with their own, and so was laid the groundwork which has made the present widespread traditions about these two men so readily acceptable. Thus confronted with the ordinary traditions about Hans Herr, the family historian has only to dig back into records of his own forebears to find what to him appears to be definite confirmation of these tales. All this again tends to show us, in a new and cumulative way, that the truly important thing about Hans Herr is not the erroneous tradition of him as a Mennonite preacher, but the fact that he, with Martin Kendig, was to a large degree responsible for the rapid development of early Lancaster county, at a period when the official agencies for the sale of land were bogged down with red tape and hamstrung by the litigation over the estate of Penn.⁵⁸ Farms seemed to spring up like magic in the years which followed 1717; and the resulting prosperity brought many persons to this section who were not of the same race or religious beliefs as the first settlers. The Swiss were not active in the movement which ended in making Lancaster county the first new subdivision after the original three created by Penn, but their numbers and their success as farmers and millers, made the efforts of those who were, successful.

COLONY RESEMBLES LARGE FAMILY

One remarkable fact about these early Swiss, which I believe is peculiar to them alone, is that their colony on the Pequea, and later the Conestoga and Beaver creeks, resembled nothing so much as one large family. It is hard to conceive of it in this age, but a study of these people brings out a ramification of relationships through kinship and marriage which links the first generation of those in Pennsylvania with almost every surname I have studied, so far.

It has long been supposed that the Herr family was unique among the Swiss because there were five brothers who settled here. I can only point to the Weavers of whom there were four and perhaps more; the Kendigs, of whom there were at least four brothers; the Baers, and others. This brings us to a more important fact which is, that when this migration of the Swiss took place, entire families came over. And by that, I mean, not just the parents and their minor children, which was more or less true of practically all types of colonial immigrants, but aged grandparents, brothers-in-law, sons-in-law, uncles, aunts, or, in other words, all the relatives any individual had, whether by blood or by marriage. It was as if an entire community, complete in itself, had been transplanted from Europe to America, and this conclusion is supported by a bit of negative evidence which has probably puzzled many an investigator in the past; and that is the utter absence of any correspondence by these early settlers with persons left behind them in the old world. It is not enough to dismiss this lack with the assumption that these Swiss Mennonites were illiterate; for this is far from the truth. Of course, they were not educated as we know education to-day, nor so well as classes of persons in better station in their own age; but the rather full correspondence between the Mennonites at Mannheim, in Germany, and the Dutch Mennonites, for many decades previous to 1717, only needs be cited to refute the conclusion that they were illiterate.⁵⁹ Then, too, it must be remembered that among the Mennonites who arrived in 1717 was Benedict Brechbuehl, a man who was sufficiently educated to translate a book from the Dutch into German;⁶⁰ and who sustained a difficult mission for his co-religionists, which included an audience with the arrogant Frederick, King of Prussia, at Berlin, in 1711, in which he impressed Frederick so favorably that the King for some years attempted to persuade Swiss Mennonites to settle upon his lands.⁶¹

Of course, to the English, who had an inbred dislike for all who did not speak their language,—King William III was cordially hated, solely for the reason that he was Dutch,—they appeared to be nothing so much as ignorant yokels. However, others, who spoke German, and were truly educated men, never accused them of ignorance.⁶²

MASS EMIGRATION

The reason for this mass emigration is not hard to find. These Mennonites were Swiss. No true ties bound them to Germany any more than to France or Russia. The fact that they spoke the German tongue means nothing historically. Switzerland had freed itself from German authority centuries before. The Mennonites were in Germany merely as unwilling exiles from their native land, because their religious beliefs were contrary to those of the group in power. As exiles, they were unhappy, and from year to year hoped to return to their native land, even if they had to worship in secret. However, the persecution of their sect increased instead of abated, so that when return seemed impossible, they came to America without making any serious attempt to establish a permanent settlement in Germany. A passage

from a letter, written by Brechbuehl, at Mannheim, in 1711, reveals the Swiss state of mind. It is as follows:

"As yet I know of no place where I can dwell with my people."

SWISS MENNONITES

In the same letter, referring to a proposed migration to Prussia of the Swiss Mennonites still in Switzerland, in 1711, we find:

"They write me that they do not wish to go there, but want to wait the mercy of God and wish to remain in their land as long as they can."⁶³

Some of the Swiss included in this "they," reached Pennsylvania in 1717.

These immigrants of 1717, from whom not only a large number of Lancaster county's present inhabitants are descended, but also many of those of neighboring counties and neighboring States,—not only took up land adjacent to the first tracts of the Swiss, but also brought that part of the 10,000 acres patented to these earlier arrivals, which had not been cleared, under complete cultivation.⁶⁴

Some idea of what took place may be gained by a study of the development of Kendig's land. In 1717, before the new immigrants arrived, Kendig owned four tracts containing more than 2800 acres.⁶⁵ In 1718, when the first assessment was made, he paid taxes on 625 acres.⁶⁶ This was the exact area of one of his tracts, the eastern line of which is the present-day Willow Street. What had become of the remaining 2000 or more acres?

An incident which occurred years later, gives us some clue. Buyers of Kendig's land learned that their titles were not valid, because Kendig was an alien when he sold it to them; and in 1761 they appeared before the property commissioners and obtained new patents. Thus we learn that Emanuel Herr bought 500 acres or half of the 1000 acre tract;⁶⁷ Jacob Kendig, a brother, probably, the other half;⁶⁸ Henry Kendig got 160 acres of the 250 acre tract,⁶⁹ and Abraham Hare, grandson of Hans Herr, the remainder.⁷⁰ The last of the three tracts patented to Kendig in 1711, remained in his possession until his death in 1748, when it was inherited by his son, Jacob Kendig, in trust, for his four grandchildren, Abraham, Martin, Isaac and John Kendig. They received full title upon their father's death in 1775.⁷¹ While the patent gives the area of this tract as 500 acres, it actually contained 625 acres. To this, Martin Kendig added another 50 acres in 1740, which was patented to him at that date.

In addition to these three tracts, he owned a fourth, comprising the 800 acres first surveyed to Guldin and noted elsewhere in this paper. While no patent records exist to tell us exactly how this was disposed of, it can be shown that four men were in possession of parts of it in 1718. They were George Kendig, approximately 100 acres; Hans Burchholder, approximately 250 acres; and John and Jacob Moyer or Myer, the remainder.⁷²

Neither of the Herrs sold any of his land immediately. Joseph Stehman bought part of Martin Mylin's 265 acres, and had surveyed to him an additional 110 acres adjoining. Both these tracts later were sold to Christian Stoner.⁷³ The division of the Bowman tract, and the sale of the Franciscus tract have been given above. Nothing is known about the Miller tract, while the Funk tract was sold to Benedict Brechbuehl in 1717. After Brechbuehl's death, in 1720, half of it was sold to Henry Sherk, and of the remainder, Ulrich, his son, received 147 acres, and Maudlin, wife of Emanuel Herr, Brechbuehl's younger daughter, 130 acres.⁷⁴ These transactions reduced the original large tracts into much smaller ones, which for many years afterward continued to be considered as single farms.

HANS HERR

In 1728, Hans Herr obtained title to an additional 1100 acres. This land was part of the 4000 acres surveyed to Bundeli, Graeff and Kendig in 1710. Bundeli failed to take up his share and after a re-survey, it was sold to Herman Richman, a German blacksmith from New Jersey, a few years later. Richman also failed to develop the tract and Herr purchased it in 1728. Various individuals bought parts of it from him. Several of his brother Christian's grandsons settled on the north end, founding Herr's mill near Soudersburg on the Pequea; Christian Ferree, his son-in-law, lived on another part, while in 1755, the year before his death, Herr sold 200 acres of it to Benedict Breckbill, his grandson and a grandson of the previously mentioned Brechbuehl. It is in this Breckbill's handwriting that we find the record of Herr's death, at the age of 79, the following year, after spending 46 years of his long life in the Province.⁷⁵ During this time, while not active politically nor more than a layman in his church, he exerted a profound influence upon the affairs of the Swiss. His recommendation of a man's character was all the provincial authorities needed to determine whether a man was honest or not. This also is an illuminating sidelight upon Herr's career.

From all this, it becomes apparent at once why his name continues to be remembered, even if only as that of a figure in a very doubtful legend, long after others of his own time are completely forgotten. We can do him no better service than to give him again, so far as possible, the vigorous personality he possessed during his lifetime.

MARTIN KENDIG

Kendig also deserves more consideration from the thoughtful historian than he has received in the past. At present, we have nothing to show just when he was born; but it seems safe to assume that he was, approximately, the same age as Hans Herr. He was twice married,—the name of his first wife being Elizabeth, and that of the second, Barbara.⁷⁶ If he had other children than his son Jacob, his will does not indicate it.

I have tried, as much as was possible, to limit this account to Hans Herr and Martin Kendig, and to the Swiss who the records show were immed-

iately associated with them. This, of course, has meant that quite a number of individuals, of more or less importance in the history of this period, have been unmentioned. One of these is, of course, Henry Carpenter or Zimmermann, who early became a large land owner in the county, and whose sons had such important shares in the county's development in succeeding decades during the colonial period. However, the theater of Carpenter's activities, was, for the most part, in a section somewhat distant from Pequea, so his contact with Kendig and Herr must have been more or less casual. It is interesting to note that all three daughters of Emanuel Herr were married to Carpenters.⁷⁷

But, after all, in any history of the early Swiss, Herr and Kendig must be the two men given first consideration, as they were figures of the first magnitude. I hope, therefore, that I have succeeded in throwing some new light upon their personalities. Even though the *facts* I have presented run counter to *tradition* in many important ways, I do not believe I have reduced in the least their historical importance, but rather, I trust, have added to it.

¹ Dates, unless otherwise noted, have been adjusted to the modern calendar.

² Details of the arrival of the ship "Maria Hope," are from the "Diary of the Rev. Samuel Guldin, Relating His Journey to Pennsylvania, June to September, 1710," as translated from the German, by Prof. William J. Hinke, Ph.D., D.D., and published in the Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, March and June, 1930. Guldin, according to Dr. Hinke, was born in Berne, Switzerland, in 1664, and died in Philadelphia, December 31st, 1745. He was accused of being a Pietist by the Swiss secular and church authorities, and lost his pulpit as a result. The name of the ship's captain is quoted from the diary of Thomas Chalkley, Quaker preacher, as reprinted by H. Frank Eshleman in "Historic Background and Annals of the Swiss and German Pioneer Settlers in Southeastern Pennsylvania," published in Lancaster, 1917.

³ From six to ten heads of families composed the Mennonite party aboard the "Maria Hope." This number is based on various sources, but principally on a letter quoted by J. Huizinga, in "Stamboek of Geslachtregister der Nakomelingen van Samuel Peter (Meihuizen) en Barbara Fry van Gontenschwyl, Groninger," 1890, which states: "On April 10th, 1710, twenty-nine came from the Palatinate to Rotterdam, who wished to sail from Rotterdam to England at their own costs, and from there to North Carolina; but they lacked 200 florins. They asked this loan of Messrs. van Gent and Toren. These, on April 13th, turned the request over to J. Willink, chairman of the committee at Amsterdam. They made this excuse: "Since there are so many such requests, we cannot fill all of them, but since the lack is only 200 florins, and without which the voyage cannot be made, the request is granted, and the travelers left for Carolina." (The translation is from C. Henry Smith's "The Mennonite Emigration to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century," Norris-town, 1929). Smith concludes that this did not relate to any immigrants bound for Pennsylvania. However, this point is open to dispute. The date of

the request to the Dutch Mennonites for aid, coincides with that on which the Swiss, bound for North Carolina under von Grafenried, reached Rotterdam. The item quoted above seems to indicate that van Gent and Toren, Dutch Mennonites, who had long been active in the interest of Swiss Mennonites, considered the request for three days, and then referred it to the central Mennonite committee at Amsterdam. A letter, which will be quoted in full below (See Note 21), appears to be relaying thanks to unnamed benefactors through the medium of the persons receiving the letter. This would be adequately explained if we conclude that the letter was sent to van Gent and Toren in Rotterdam, to whom the first request for help had been made, and then finally reached the Mennonite archives at Amsterdam, when it was sent along there by these two men as an expression of gratitude for the committee's work. The time element is explained by the letter which states there was a delay of ten weeks after the party reached England from Holland. As the letter was written near the end of June, ten weeks earlier would have been, approximately, April 15th, (note the date, April 13th, in the item quoted from Hui-zinga). The main stumbling block, of course, appears to be the destination of the travelers. We know that the letter writers in London reached Pennsylvania, but the item in the Dutch Mennonite archives says the travelers, who received financial help, were bound for North Carolina. It is altogether probable that when in Rotterdam the Mennonite party was bound for North Carolina to form part of von Grafenried's colony, but it must be remembered that the Ritter company, which backed von Grafenried, also had bought options on land in Pennsylvania from William Penn (see Todd's "Christolph von Grafenried's Account of the Founding of Newbern," published by the North Carolina Historical Commission.) Without going deeper into this subject at this time, let me state that there is much additional material now available which would tend to substantiate the connection between the settlers who arrived in Pennsylvania in 1710 on the "Maria Hope" and those who settled at Newbern, North Carolina, the same year and almost on the same date.

⁴ Accounts of the history of the Mennonites or Anabaptists in continental Europe, are replete with stories of horrible cruelties inflicted upon this non-resistant sect because of their refusal to conform with one or another form of state religion. Such persecution even ante-dates the Reformation period. At the end of the Seventeenth century the various Swiss cantons adopted new laws, virtually banishing all civil rights of Mennonites. This sent many into flight, the majority of the exiles settling temporarily in the war-devastated regions above and below Mannheim, along the Rhine. Much of this new persecution in Switzerland was due to a deep-seated fear on the part of the limited aristocracy, which at that time ruled Switzerland, that the non-resistant sect with its credo of refusing to bear arms and to take oaths, would be used as a vehicle to overthrow the despotic oligarchy whose endless regulations and taxes were the cause of widespread unrest among the Swiss. A complete understanding of the history of Lancaster county is impossible, unless the student is also familiar with the history of the Swiss in the Seventeenth century, at least as it effected the immigrants who reached Pennsylvania in succeeding decades.

⁵ See Note Two.

⁶ Vol. 19, Second series, Pennsylvania Archives, pages 574 and 627. Also original on file in the Department of Internal Affairs.

⁷ Dr. Hinke (Note Two) says: "John Conrad Matthaei (or Matthey) was a Swiss and, like Guldin, came from the Canton of Berne. From 1674-1680, he was a bailiff at Wangen. He owned an estate at Heimenhausen, not far from Berne, which his son-in-law, Hans Jacob Lerber, inherited in 1703. In Pennsylvania, Matthaei became leader of the Hermits on the Wissahickon, who erected a large monastery on the Ridge, now within the city limits of Philadelphia, etc."

⁸ Dr. H. Strahm, of the Stadtbibliothek, Berne, Switzerland, kindly informs me that Bundeli was born January 20th, 1684, in Berne, and with a brother, David, came to America shortly after the beginning of the Eighteenth century. He later returned to Switzerland, where he married and had issue.

⁹ From a letter of Franz Ludwig Michel, written from May 20th to 30th, 1704, in Anne Arundel county, Maryland, to Johan Rudolph Ochs, in London, (translated and edited by Prof. William J. Hinke, Ph.D., in the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, January, 1916), we learn that "Among other acquaintances, I met there" [in Germantown] "the bailiff Matthey of Heimenhausen, and the sons of the gunsmith, Bondeli. As they have been rather inexperienced in their undertaking, they have had but little profit thus far, but they entertain, nevertheless, good hope, and they have newly bought a farm of about 100 acres." Ochs, Michel's correspondent, it should be noted, was active in 1717 at Mannheim, in getting other Mennonites to emigrate to America.

¹⁰ The correspondence between William Penn and James Logan, during the years 1708 and 1709, contains frequent references to Michel and his search for silver ore.

¹¹ See Note Three.

¹² See Ernst Mueller, *Geschichte der bernischen Taufer, Frauenfeld, 1895*, chapter 15, "Eine vereitelte Deportation nach Amerika, 1710," page 252, et sequa. Among those released at Nimwegen in Holland were Benedict Brechbuehl and Hans Burki. Brechbuehl arrived in Pennsylvania in 1717 (see below) and some writers believe the Hans Burkholder, who arrived with Brechbuehl, was Hans Burki.

¹³ A copy of the warrant issued October 10th (old style), 1710, to John Rudy Budly, and other Swissers, can be found in Survey book, B-23-216 in the Land Office, Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg. The original, which is in a good state of preservation, is on file at the same place. A second warrant, issued the following day, to Bundeli alone, is also on file. The larger warrant is given in full because of its prime importance to Lancaster county history: "Whereas we have agreed with John Rudolph Bundeli, Martin Kendig, Jacob Miller, (Ha)ns Graeff, Hans Herr, Christian Herr, Martin Oberholzer, Hans Funk, Micael Oberholzer, and one Ba(um)an, Swissers, lately arrived in this Province for 10,000 acres of land situate on the northwesterly side of a hill about twenty miles easterly from Conestoga near the head of the Pequin creek, for which said land, they are to pay the sum of 500 pounds sterling money of Great Britain, in manner following: That is to say, the sum of

100 pounds, part thereof in hands, at the issuing of these presents, the sum of 100 pounds more thereof (together with 48 pounds like money being the interest of 400 pounds for two years) at the end of two years and six months, from the time of the survey of the said lands (one half year's interest of the whole being abated); 118 pounds further, part thereof with interest included, within one year, then next after, 112 pounds (the interest being included) further part thereof within one year, next thereafter, the sum of 106 pounds, full residue thereof that of all interest for the same, within one year that next following, so that the said 500 pounds and interest, as aforesaid, is to be paid in six years next after the time of the survey and also that the said purchasers, their heirs and assigns shall pay unto the proprietary and governor, William Penn, his heirs and assigns, the sum of one shilling sterling aforesaid, quit rent yearly forever, for every 100 acres of the said 10,000 acres, and that said purchasers shall have said lands free of quit rent for the first two years next after the survey thereof, and the said purchasers, requesting of us a warrant for the location and survey of the said land aforesaid. These are, therefore, to authorize and require thee to survey or cause to be surveyed, unto said purchasers the full quantity of 10,000 acres of land (with reasonable allowance for roads and highways) in one entire tract at or near the place aforesaid and subdivide same (if they request it) into so many small tracts or parts as they shall agree or appoint to each of them his respective share to be holden by the purchasers, their heirs and assigns under the rents, payments and agreements aforesaid, subject to distress for the said rent in case of non-payment and of the transactions and doings in the premises, by virtue of these presents, thou art to make such returns unto the secretary's office, with all reasonable expedition. Given under our hands and seals of the Province the 10th day of the 8th month, at Philadelphia, 1710. Edward Shippen, Griffith Owen, Thomas Story. To Jacob Taylor, surveyor general."

On the back of the warrant written in a different hand are these names with these acreages: "Martin Kendig, 1855 acres; Hans Herr, 530 acres; Christian Herr, 530 acres; Martin Mylin, 265 acres; Hans Funk, 530 acres; Wendall Bowman, 530 acres; Christopher Franciscus, 530 acres; Jacob Miller 1060 acres."

A survey return,—really a map of the district made by the surveyor,—was filed at a later date. It is quite well-known and has been reproduced in tablet form by The Lancaster County Historical Society to mark the location of this settlement. As is the case with all the early surveys, none of the areas was exactly what the patents called for, nor were the actual boundary lines of the land, those indicated on the map. The error is not so great that the historical value of the survey map for all practical purposes, is diminished. However, it cannot simply be superimposed over a modern map to determine the location of the various properties.

¹⁴ A variant of the name Wendall Bowman, believed to be really the Pequea pioneer, appears in a list of the Mennonites at Germantown as early as 1707. Hans Graeff, another whose name appears in the warrant, is also believed to have arrived in Philadelphia earlier than 1710; and a name, exactly like his, can be found among the list of those who helped support Pastorius' school in Germantown before the above date.

¹⁵ This 4000 acres is located in what is now Paradise township, the western line of the surveyed area being identical with the present boundary line between Paradise and Strasburg townships, extending from Soudersburg, on the north, to a short distance south of the Strasburg-Gap road, on the south. It

lies exactly where one would expect to find the land described in the survey warrant as "on the northwesterly side of a hill [the Mine Ridge], about twenty miles easterly from Conestoga [the well-known Indian village of that name] near the head of the Pequin [Pequea] creek. If the entire 10,000 acres had been surveyed in this locality, as it was obviously intended by the commissioners that it should be,—the warrant stating categorically "in one entire tract, at or near the place aforesaid",—it can readily be seen that the eastern boundary would have been somewhere north of Gap; and the various forks of the Pequea, east of New Milltown in Salisbury township, would have been inside the surveyed land. The 4,000 acres, as it was, had had an east to west dimension of, approximately, two and a half miles. It is not clear why the remainder of the 10,000 acres was not surveyed there; nor why the Swiss themselves never made permanent settlements on any of this land (at Paradise), at least in the early decades of the colony. Various considerations, now obscured by the passage of time, may have made their settlement farther to the west a completely logical event but, we have now no way of learning what those considerations were. It is apparent, however, that the location of the colony, as described in the warrant, was selected by some one who first saw the Pequea valley from the vantage point of Mine Ridge, probably at Gap. As it is believed that the Indian village, Pequehan, was located near present-day Paradise, thus placing it within the confines of the 4000 acre tract, it may have been that the Swiss went further west to avoid any possible difficulties with the Indians, although the Shawnois left this locality during the general period under consideration.

¹⁶ A survey return made by Isaac Taylor, son of Jacob Taylor, surveyor general.

¹⁷ While not actually patented, it becomes apparent upon an examination of the property lines as determined by subsequent patents for adjacent and contiguous land, that the Swiss actually were in possession of 6000 acres of land, and perhaps more, as the heading of the survey return made by Isaac Taylor indicates. (The return also includes the 500 acres warranted independently to Bundeli, and states it is the "return of 6500 acres surveyed to the Swissers"). On the back of the original warrant it is noted that Kendig received 1855 acres, plus six per cent allowance for roads. The patents he received called for 1750 acres, plus this allowance, viz. 1000 acres, 250 acres and 500 acres. However, the last tract actually had an area of 625 acres, plus. Surplus land can also be found in the tracts patented to Meili, Hans Herr, Miller, Franciscus, and Funk in 1711. The 500 acre Bundeli tract also included surplus land which the bounds noted in the patent did not contemplate. These tracts, exclusive of the Bundeli tract, were surveyed early in 1711. The Bundeli tract was surveyed December 1st, 1710, as disclosed by the patent on file at the Department of Internal Affairs.

Another curious circumstance in this connection is an unexplained minute note found in Minute book H of the Property Commissioners (Vol. 19, series 2, Pennsylvania Archives) which states: "A patent to Martin Kendig for 2000 acres toward Susquehanna laid out by virtue of the late commissioners' warrant, dated 8ber, 1710. Considerations, five pounds per c't, 25th, 5th instant", the year being 1712. A search in the patent book of that year shows no record of such a patent made. The logical inference seems to be that Martin Kendig, discovering his original patents faulty, as to area, obtained a new one, which in its turn also appears to be wrong if it was drawn similar to the Minute book note. The consideration paid is also worthy of note as it differs materially from the rate paid by Kendig when he obtained

the original patent. His first patent, and the only one of which there seems to be a record, (patent Book A-4), gives the consideration as 129 pounds and 10 shillings, for 1855 acres. This was at a rate of 7 pounds per hundred acres which is contrary to the agreement in the warrant (5 pounds per hundred). It is also apparent that Kendig, as did all the others, with the exception of Bundeli, paid for the six per cent allowance for roads, which naturally should not have been charged to him or his neighbors. The exception noted in the case of Bundeli is illuminating. He paid twenty pounds for his 500 acres while Hans Herr, Christian Herr, Hans Funk, Franciscus and Bowman, paid 37 pounds and two shillings,—that is, at a rate of 7 pounds per hundred acres. Bundeli's twenty pounds represented four pounds per hundred acres, which, of course, took into account the fact that the first pound on each five had been paid (or should have been paid) at the time the warrant was issued in October, 1710.

Bundeli, it must be remembered, had resided sometime in Pennsylvania, before 1710, and thus had a knowledge of English, which the other Swiss must have lacked. Various explanations could be offered for this inconsistency: First, the payment was made in pounds other than pounds sterling; second, that unaware of the terms of the agreement, they paid more than was necessary for their land. The natural objection to the first would be, that this does not explain why they paid for their land approximately two months after it was surveyed in full, when under the original contract there was an easy payment plan extending over six years, provided. The second explanation places Bundeli in an exceedingly bad light for not protecting the interests of his countrymen, who obviously must have depended upon him to explain to them what their rights were in a strange country. This, too, without offering us any motive for such conduct. A third explanation offers itself, which appears, from what we now know, the most likely of all. The Swiss, as the London letter reveals, were obviously without funds. They were given money to pay their passage. Therefore, it is altogether unlikely that they should have in October, 1710, a few weeks after their arrival in Philadelphia, fifty-five pounds among them, to take up the option upon 5500 acres later patented to them. The warrant itself indicates that not all of the down payment was made when it was issued. James Logan, Penn's personal representative in the Province, at that time, was absent in England in the fall of 1710 when the transaction with the Swiss took place. There are obscure references to him being displeased with the action of the Land commissioners in selling land to the Swiss, although the reason is not clear. However, the commissioners, soon became the late commissioners. It may have been that Logan, finding the Swiss in occupation of land upon which the initial payment remained unpaid, declared the original agreement void, and Griffith Owen, one of the commissioners, was sent with Lieutenant Governor Gookin to Conestoga, in June, 1711, to inform the Swiss that full payment and at a higher rate must be made at once or they would lose their lands. At any rate, the issuance of the patents, follows the visit of Owen and Gookin to Conestoga by a matter of a few days. How the Swiss suddenly found funds to make this payment in full, also offers difficulties. There are several possibilities. First, the arrival of someone with money that spring; second, the sale of some of the equipment they brought with them from Europe,—such things commanded high prices during the early days, because of their scarcity,—and, third, loans from Germantown friends. Or, again, it may have been a combination of all three. However, the fact remains that it was done, and that they remained in possession of their lands, for which fact, present-day Americans should be thankful, indeed.

¹⁸ This letter, copy of which may be found in Mueller, page 366, follows: "Worthy and Beloved Friends: Besides wishing you all temporal and eternal welfare, we have wanted to inform you how that we have received that financial aid which the dear friends out of their great kindness of heart have given toward our journey. And this kind contribution came very opportunely to us, because the journey cost more than we had imagined. God bless the worthy friends in time and eternity; and whatsoever may be of good for the body and wholesome for the soul may the merciful God give them and continually remain their regarder. But of our journey we report that we were detained almost ten weeks before we were put on board ship; when we actually entered into the ship, on the 24th, we were well lodged and well cared for, and we have been informed we will set sail from here next Saturday or Sunday for Gravesend, and wait there for the Russian convoy. God be with us and bring us to land as happily as here in England. Herewith we commend you to the merciful God; and should we not see one another in this life, may God permit us to see one another in eternity. Wherewith we commend you all to the merciful God, together with courteous greetings from us all, and remain your true friends. London, the 24th of June, 1710."

¹⁹ See Note 14.

²⁰ Hans Meili (Mayley or Mylin) was in Pennsylvania at least three years before August 30th, 1717, when he received a patent for 700 acres of land adjoining the Swiss tracts. He paid 70 pounds for it, plus 19 pounds interest and quit rent. The interest was for a period of three years. It is probable he held the land interest free for several years in addition. The patent does not indicate when the land was surveyed, nor is any warrant or survey return on file in the Land Office records, as far as is known. It is interesting to note that land prices had doubled.

²¹ Patent book A-4, Dept. of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg.

²² Vol. 2, page 532, Colonial Records.

²³ Many references to attempts to colonize and develop the land west of Chester county are to be found in the Penn-Logan correspondence, and elsewhere. Penn himself visited this area and dreamed of founding a city on the Susquehanna similar to Philadelphia on the Delaware. David H. Landis, in his article on Peter Bezillion, (Page 137, Vol. 37, The Lancaster County Historical Society papers), states this about the road to the Susquehanna, which the first settlers used and along which they located their first settlements: "William Penn stated, in a letter written in 1690, that this route went by the way of Downingtown (Moore's mill) on to the Gap, and then in an almost direct line to Conestoga Indian Town."

²⁴ See Note 14.

²⁵ Patent book A-5-148, Dept. of Internal Affairs.

²⁶ Patent book A-5-89. This Lefever tract was much to the west of the other land patented to the Huguenots and was bounded as follows: Beginning

at the corner of land of Christopher Sprogels, it ran north along Sprogel's land, east along vacant land, south by the land of Bundeli and Funk, and west by the Swissers tract. The Sprogels' land was that taken up and patented to Hans Meili although no mention of a survey to Sprogels appears in Meili's patent. The Swissers referred to in the Lefever patent were Hans Herr and Martin Kendig.

²⁷ Patent book A-5-316.

²⁸ Franciscus, who is somewhat of an enigma in early Lancaster county history, soon sold his land in the 10,000 acre tract to Heinrich Zimmermann, as a patent to Peter Bellar, issued a few years later, reveals. Much other land was surveyed to him at various times. These tracts included 375 acres on Conestoga creek, at the Mill creek, surveyed to Franciscus in 1717, and patented in three tracts, years later, to Philip Knight, Henry Arnsberger and Daniel Keepports. In 1728, 360 acres on the Conestoga north of Eden were surveyed to him, and also approximately 240 acres, adjoining on the south, which were patented to him, as 150 acres, in 1736. The latter was sold in 1742 to Leonard Bender, who sold the tract to Christian Gerber in 1744. Gerber died in 1752, and the tract was divided between his two sons, John and Peter. Each obtained patents to his moiety after a re-survey which revealed the larger area. A fourth tract of 150 acres, surveyed in 1718, was located near the Pequea creek, south of New Danville. Franciscus sold his right to this land to Michael Hess in 1734, although the property commissioners forced him to relinquish his title to the land, because, in getting a survey of it, and the 150 acre tract on the Conestoga, he had used the same land warrant. (Pennsylvania land records.)

²⁹ See Note 8. Also in Biographical Annals of Lancaster county, Beers and Co., 1903, page 325, a family historian of the Weaver family, relates that Hans Weber and Ulrich Houser, both of whom arrived in Pennsylvania in 1717, lived on, and later purchased, shares of the Bundeli tract, and the traditional Weaver homestead, dating from this time, was still in possession of descendants at the time the article was written.

³⁰ Venerich took up land adjoining Kendig on the north in 1715. He sold it to Christian Moyer, March 23rd, 1734, who obtained a patent on it that year (A-7-74). Bellar also settled on land contiguous to the Swiss in 1715, his land being in the vicinity of present day Wheatland Mills. Herman, who settled on land adjoining Bellar on the east, and also adjoining the Swiss, in 1716, had some connection with the Swiss as is shown by the fact that his daughter Appolonia married Gabriel Carpenter, son of Henry Carpenter or Zimmermann. (The Carpenter Family, by Seymour Carpenter.)

³¹ Whereas the first Swiss contracted for their land at 5 pounds per hundred acres, as early as 1713 (see Minute book H, page 574) the price had jumped to 10 pounds per hundred.

³² See Note 23. Penn, in the decade from 1700 to 1710, was hard pressed by his creditors, and eventually, for a time, lost all control of his colony to Ford, to whom he was heavily in debt. Before this event transpired, he hoped to realize enough from land sales to tide him through the crisis, thus his ex-

treme anxiety to sell land "beyond Chester." Previous to 1710, a few scattered Indian traders, licensed and unlicensed, and for the most part French, were the only whites who lived beyond the Quaker, Swede, German and Welsh settlements, in southeastern Pennsylvania, within a narrow radius of Philadelphia.

³³ Such large land owners as the London Company with more than 5000 acres immediately east of Lancaster, Amos Strettle with more than 3000 acres along the Pequea and Little Beaver creeks, Col. John Evans, Israel Taylor, Thomas Story and James Hendricks also fall into this class. These large tracts surrounded the Swiss settlements on all sides forcing settlers who arrived after 1717 to find land beyond the Conestoga on the west, the lower Pequea and Beaver valleys on the southwest and south, and the upper valleys of the Conestoga and Mill creeks. Of course there were many nooks and corners overlooked by previous buyers that were quickly taken up, while the London Company lands were soon thrown open to settlement. However it is surprising how soon settlers were filling up even the valleys of the Chickies, Cocalico and other creeks, in the very earliest years.

³⁴ The activities of these two Mennonite leaders in Europe are their main bid for importance in Lancaster county history. Brechbuehl, who was born in Trachselwald, Berne, Switzerland, in 1666, died near Strasburg in 1720, three years after his arrival. Three children survived him, Ulrich, his only son; Barbara, who married Jacob Graeff, oldest son of Hans Graeff; and Maudlin, who married Emanuel Herr. Ulrich Brechbuehl married Fanny, a daughter of Hans Herr. He was killed in a wagon accident near Philadelphia in 1739, when only 37 years of age.

In the first decade of the Eighteenth century, Benedict Brechbuehl was the leading preacher and teacher of the Swiss Mennonites. Because of his influence with the sect, the Swiss government more than doubled the reward for his capture. He was imprisoned in 1709, after being twice expelled from Berne, and was one of the 58 Mennonites who were deported in March, 1710, to be taken by force to North Carolina. With the others, he escaped in Holland and returned to Mannheim, Germany, where he had been elder and preacher before his capture in Switzerland. While in Mannheim, he acted as the agent to whom the Dutch Mennonites sent financial aid for not only the distressed in Germany but also in Switzerland. He also was sent to Prussia to visit land on which King Frederick wished to found a Mennonite colony. In 1717, he with Burchholder, presided at a conference of Mennonite leaders which resulted in the decision to migrate to America. He bought 530 acres from Funk (part of the original 10,000). It is believed he is buried in the family cemetery on a section of this tract, although his grave has never been located. Burchholder is believed to have purchased part of the Guldin tract from Martin Kendig. Whether he was the Hans Burki who figured so prominently in the Swiss emigration of 1710, or his son, has never been definitely determined. However, one Burchholder, who had been active as an elder from about 1700, remained in Germany. It is also known that the eldest daughter of Hans Herr, Anna, married a John Burchholder, who died before his father-in-law. He left two sons, John and Jacob. (See Mueller, pages 207, 254, 273, 285, 299, etc.)

³⁵ See Vol. 3, Colonial Records, September 9th, 1717, these captains reported bringing Palatines to Pennsylvania: Capt. Richmond, 164; Capt. Tower, 91; and Capt. Eyers, 108. Whether these numbers indicate heads of families

or total number of passengers, is not indicated. Lists of those aboard these ships were given to the colonial authorities, but these lists have never been located.

36 "Reminiscences of Henry Boehm."

37 The farm of Hans Hess divided that of Jacob Behme from Kendig's plantation. He obtained his land under two surveys, the first in 1719; and the second, in 1731. Both were patented to him in 1737 as one tract.

38 Herr Genealogy, by Theodore Herr, Lancaster, gives this elder Herr's birth date as 1639 although no source for the information is indicated. However, he is described as a patriarch in all accounts of Lancaster county history now available. Typical of these, is that of Dr. J. I. Mombert's, "Authentic History of Lancaster County, Lancaster, 1869," page 413, is herewith quoted: "A Swiss company to emigrate to America and settle in the wilderness had been projected, but who was the organizer, we cannot state. The pioneers were Hans Meylin, his son Martin, and John Hans Herr, John Rudolph Bundely, Martin Kendig, Jacob Miller, Martin Oberholtz, Hans Funk, Michael Oberholtz, Wendall Bowman, and others, who came to Conestoga in 1709, selected a tract of land on the north side of the Pequea creek, and shortly afterwards procured a warrant for the same.

"The Mennonite settlers having determined to send for their friends in Europe, a council of the whole society was called at which their *venerable minister* [italics mine] 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, Christian, John, Abraham, Emanuel and one, whose name we have not learned. This was agreeable to his own mind but to his friends and charges, it was unacceptable; to be separated from their pastor could be borne with reluctance and heaviness of heart only.

"They were all too ardently attached to him cheerfully to acquiesce in this determination. Reluctantly they consented to his departure—after much anxiety manifested on account of this unexpected call of their pastor from them. Their sorrows were alleviated by the proposal made on the part of Martin Kendig that, if approved, he would take Hans Herr's place—this was cordially assented to by all."

To place much credence in an account of this nature is to believe that the writing of history is largely a matter of inspiration, as there is not one scrap of existing evidence for the bare bones of this tale, other than vague tradition, without considering the infinite detail recited by this imaginative author. Mombert leaned heavily on Rupp, as have subsequent writers. Rupp, while an industrious writer, took almost any tradition, when facts were lacking, for what it was worth, often quoting as his source of authority an "unknown writer," a rather ingenuous method. Small credence can be given to such a persistent *tradition*, in the light of known *facts*. By this test, in every detail upon which we have to-day exact knowledge, the story stands discredited. As for those statements which cannot be disproven, they are, at least, to be received with doubt, under such circumstances.

39 The oldest son of Hans Herr and the oldest son of Emanuel Herr were both Mennonite preachers in colonial times (see note below). It is also inter-

esting to note that at least two and possibly three of Hans Herr's sons-in-law were Mennonite preachers. They were Ulrich Brechbuehl, Martin Baer and Hans Burchholder, the last being the doubtful one.

⁴⁰ Mueller, pages 368 and 369.

⁴¹ This Christian Herr, who wrote the account of the Herr family, printed by Alexander Harris, in his "Biographical History of Lancaster County, Lancaster, 1872," says:

"Christian Herr was a minister of the Mennonite church and was the first of the family in this country. He came with Martin Kendig, John Mylin and others, in the year 1709. They were pleased with the country and concluded to send for the rest of their friends. They, therefore, cast lots who should go and the lot fell on Christian, their minister; they not wishing him to go, Martin Kendig offered to go, and in 1710 brought over the rest of the Herr family and others."

The writer is wrong in his dates, but in other ways agrees in most particulars with sources now available. He was descended from Hans Herr's second son, Christian, who remained on the homestead. This Christian, had one son, Christian, by a late marriage, and the writer was the son of the latter. He resided near Willow Street while his brother lived on the original Hans Herr farm.

⁴² Mombert quotes Rupp, and an unidentified Abraham Mylin, presumably a descendant of John or Martin Mylin.

⁴³ In the two decades before 1750, there were these John Herrs in the Swiss community: Hans Herr who died in 1756; John Herr, his son; John Herr, son of Christian Herr, his brother; John Herr, son of his brother Emanuel Herr; and John Herr, son of his brother, Abraham Herr. All were mature men at this time. As German was spoken among the Swiss and English used only for intercourse with the English,—if they knew the language,—these men would have been known variously as Hans, Johannes, or some such equivalent.

⁴⁴ Exact knowledge on this point is available to-day. The flyleaf from a German Bible, which was the possession of Benedict Brechbuehl, grandson of the Swiss Mennonite leader, and also of Hans Herr, contains the record of his death in 1756 and also records his age as 79 years. This valuable record is now in the possession of Jacob E. Brackbill, 70 South Marshall street, Lancaster, Pa., a descendant of Benedict. The date of death was September 12th.

⁴⁵ The Herr Genealogy (noted above) accounts for nine brothers, six of whom reached Lancaster county. These six were named Abraham, John, Christian, Emanuel, Samuel and Henry. Here again the sources are not noted, while Isaac is omitted entirely. According to this compiler, the first Isaac Herr appears in the following generation as the son of Henry, obviously an error from the book's own dates, as it states in one place that Isaac Herr was married in 1785, and in another, gives his children as Henry and Catherine, the latter of whom was born in 1727. A cursory examination of the work will result in the discovery of many similar errors. As will be shown below,

there is definite proof that Isaac Herr was one of the brothers, and, curiously enough, he had a son Henry; and a daughter, Catherine, who was born approximately in the year 1727. She married John Graffts, a son of Jacob and Maudlin Brechbuehl Graffts, or Graeff. He was a brother of Fanny Graffts, second wife of Christian Herr, son of Hans Herr. It is interesting to note that the children of both Isaac and Emanuel Herr, two of the five brothers, were born *after* 1720, indicating they themselves were comparatively young men when they came to America. This tends to show, also, that the father of these five brothers was a much younger man than is generally believed, and that it is highly improbable that he was born as *early* as 1639, as the Herr Genealogy declares. This opens the possibility that the Hans Herr (or it may have been Christian Herr), who Mueller lists as a member of the Mennonite congregation at Thernheim, near Sintzheim, Palatinate, Germany, in 1731, was the father of the Herrs who came to America; and that he himself, never did come to Pennsylvania. This, of course, is only a surmise and must be considered as such. It also runs counter to the statement of Christian Herr (appearing in Harris, page 281) that:

"Abraham Herr was the oldest, and came with his father in 1710" [read 1717]. "He was married in Europe and had a large family, some of his children being grown and married" [upon arrival]. "He settled near Wabank, on the west side of the Conestoga creek. He was the only one that settled in Manor township, etc."

⁴⁶ See Note above. Whether this elder Herr, (should he have come to Pennsylvania,) accompanied Abraham to Wabank, or lived with Christian, who already had a home built, is problematical.

⁴⁷ Abraham and Emanuel obtained warrants for surveys in 1717; Isaac had land surveyed two years later (see note below).

⁴⁸ David M. Landis, in an article printed in Volume 25, "Historical Papers and Addresses of The Lancaster County Historical Society, Lancaster, 1921" (page 11) states:

"The bearers, Hans Herr and Abram Herr have much importuned me for the grant of about 400 acres of land for their brother Isaac, who is lately arrived here, which, notwithstanding the unwillingness of the commissioners to grant any more lands at present, yet I believe I can prevail with them for this. Therefore I desire thee to lay out about that quantity for him and warrant for the same shall be provided. Thy loving friend, James Steel. October 12th, 1719."

⁴⁹ Patent book AA-3-294. This patent reveals that Isaac Herr bought the survey right for 800 acres from Hans Herr, his brother, and Martin Kendig. He had 500 acres of this surveyed at one time, and one hundred acres at another date. John Graffts bought 300 acres of this in 1747; and Henry Herr, the son, received the other 300 acres. The remaining 200 acres were never taken up. Apparently Steel's request was never carried out, as both these tracts were surveyed under the Kendig and Herr blanket warrant of 1717, the first survey being made November 21st, 1719, by John Taylor, deputy surveyor.

⁵¹ Brubaker bought 700 acres in his own name, and 1000 acres jointly with Hershey. The 1000 acre tract was divided between them, and Hershey died intestate a few years later (his name disappears from the assessment lists in 1720), leaving two sons, Benjamin and Andrew, and one daughter, Ann, who later married Herman Long. Benjamin, the elder, obtained the entire 500 acres by deed from his brother and sister, and in 1734, sold 268 acres to Peter Bumgardner, probably so that he could pay his brother and sister their share in the estate. Hans Brubaker had two sons, John and Jacob, and one daughter, Elizabeth, who married Daniel Eshleman. Jacob Brubaker, one of these sons, (probably the elder) had two sons, John Jacob and Peter Brubaker, and four daughters, Elizabeth, wife of John Herr (son of Abraham Herr), Mary, wife of John Miller, Ann, wife of George Snavely (Schnebeli) and Catherine, wife of Isaac Coffman (Kaufman). The land was crossed by the Little Conestoga creek.

⁵² The difficulty experienced by early settlers in getting land, at least during the third decade of the Eighteenth century, is indicated by Note 48. Of course, some warrants were granted, but they were few in number compared with the land which was developed during this period.

⁵³ This note is found in the minutes of the property commissioners (Vol. 19, 2nd series, Penna. Archives, pages 622 and 624): "Martin Kendig, Hans Herr and Hans Funk, with several others of the Palatines, their countrymen, having applied to purchase land near the Conestoga and Pequea creeks to accommodate those of them that are lately arrived in this Province who are their relatives, friends or acquaintances, and whom they assure the board are honest, conscjentious people," and so forth.

⁵⁴ See Note 49.

⁵⁵ See Patent book A-7-284.

⁵⁶ See Genealogy of the Hess Family, John H. Hess, Lititz, 1896.

⁵⁷ See Patent book A-10-11. The patent was issued to Samuel Hess, his son. Another son, Michael Hess, bought land from Franciscus a short distance to the southwest in Pequea township.

⁵⁸ It was not until several years after 1730 that the affairs of the proprietors' heirs were straightened out enough to resume the sale of land upon the scale which had taken place up to the year of William Penn's death, in 1718.

⁵⁹ Many such letters are in the archives of the Dutch Mennonites in Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

⁶⁰ "The Wandering Soul." Few copies of this translation exist, although one was found recently in the Shenandoah Valley where many Swiss Mennonites settled via Lancaster county.

⁶² Count Zinzendorf, in his efforts to form a unified Christian church in Pennsylvania, especially tried to get the Mennonites to join the movement; Matthaei, the Wissahickon mystic, of a noble Swiss family, always spoke highly of them, and, on several occasions, sent newly-arrived acquaintances to live among them along the Conestoga. Most of the opprobrium attached to the word "sect" in Pennsylvania during colonial times, and which being a so-called sect, the Mennonites have shared in general histories, was due not to them or their beliefs, but to outlandish actions and contentions among such groups as the "New Born" and others, which vanished as quickly as it appeared.

⁶³ This letter and others written by Brechbuehl, during the period from 1710 to 1717, are in the Mennonite Archives at Amsterdam. Copies can be found in Mueller, and in the various sources credited to him.

⁶⁴ A curious fact in connection with these settlements is this: The Swiss never founded a town in Lancaster county. Their colony was purely agricultural, and the towns which were founded, came into being after most of the land area had been put under cultivation. They, for the most part, at least in the earliest decades, were not inhabited by Swiss but by persons of other nationalities, who settled in the midst of agricultural communities to do business with the developers of the land. This is an unusual fact, and I believe that it cannot be duplicated anywhere else. Even to-day, the principal churches, mills, and similar community efforts founded by Swiss settlers, are located in completely rural districts. No towns sprang up around them as towns sprang up around Reformed and Lutheran churches, the Ephrata Cloisters, the Moravian brotherhouse at Bethlehem, and so forth. The Brick Mennonite church, which is located near the spot where the Mennonites first held religious services in 1710, still stands in the midst of fields which are harvested each year; so do the Wheatland Mills, and scores of similar enterprises, along Lancaster county creeks, which have existed for more than 200 years. This tradition of remaining on the farms and not accumulating in towns, accounts to a great degree for the rapid development of the county.

⁶⁵ Kendig purchased some 1980 acres of land of the original 10,000 acres (this includes the six per cent for roads) and then added another tract of 848 acres a few years later, (the Guldin tract).

⁶⁶ The assessment roll for Conestoga township, Chester county, in 1718. Martin Kendig's property had an assessed valuation of 50 pounds. The same year the property of Hans and Christian Herr was assessed at 80 pounds, or 40 pounds each. As we know that each of these men owned only some 500 acres of land, it appears the assessment must have been laid on a basis of 8 pounds for each hundred acres, or eighty per cent of the land price at that time. This would mean Kendig owned 625 acres, for which he was assessed. As boundaries of adjoining lands show, that was the area of his most westerly tract in the 10,000 acre grant to the Swiss. This fact is again borne out in a will filed for probate by John Kendig in 1775, in which three sons each received 160 acres, and a fourth son 135 acres. (See note below.)

⁶⁷ See Patent book AA-3-1. The patent, which was issued to John Hare, son of Emanuel Hare, relates that the sale from Kendig to Hare was transacted in 1725.

⁶⁸ Patent book AA-1-320. Abraham Kendig, son of Jacob, obtained the patent. The sale to Jacob Kendig took place on the same date as that to Emanuel Herr. The patent also disclosed that the children of Jacob Kendig, other than Abraham, were: Henry, Maudlin, wife of Henry Weaver, Barbara, wife of Abraham Burkholder, Elizabeth, wife of John Langanacker, and Mary, first wife of Christian Herr, Jr., (so-called not because he was Christian Herr's son and name-sake, but because he was the younger of two Christian Herrs, then living. He was, in reality, the son of Hans Herr).

⁶⁹ Patent book AA-1-394. This patent was issued to Henry Kendig, who was a boy of 13 when Martin Kendig died. His grandfather, Henry Kendig, a brother of Martin Kendig, bought the land from Kendig. He died in 1725. The Henry mentioned in the patent was five years of age when given a deed, while the patent states that his father, also Henry, had died several years before (1740).

⁷⁰ Patent book AA-1-327. Abraham Hare, was a son of John Hare (who bought from Kendig), and grandson of Hans Herr.

⁷¹ Lancaster County Will book B-1-697. This is the will of John Kendig; while Martin Kendig mentions only a son Jacob in his will filed in 1748. However the grandsons, Martin Kendig named in his will are identical with the sons of John Kendig, who received shares in the original Kendig land (625 acre tract). Two other sons, George and Henry, received land outside this tract. What is even more significant, is the fact that John Kendig in his will distributed 50 acres adjoining the larger tract, which were patented to Martin Kendig in 1740, the patent stating that the land adjoined other land owned by him (this was but eight years before his death).

⁷² The division of the Guldin tract is not definitely shown in any of the land office records, but no doubt could be traced from the records of deeds in Lancaster county easily enough. From other patents, such as the one to Christian Moyer (A-7-74), we learn that Hans Burkholder (Bugholder in the patent), and George Kendig, shared the upper half with Kendig to the east (George Kendig died in 1755, his will disposing of 105 acres); and that to Samuel Hess, and another to the executors of Jacob Moyer's estate, that the latter, owned the remainder or lower half. (The division of the tract into upper and lower halves is arbitrary, as there is nothing in the patents to show the dimensions of the land any of these men owned.)

⁷³ The patent was granted to Stoner in 1735, while the land was originally surveyed to Joseph Stehman in 1718.

⁷⁴ Benedictus Brechbuehl's will provided that his son should inherit the farm, but that his sisters should get equal shares in the estate. Half of the farm was sold to Henry Shenk, the deed for which was finally recorded in 1743 (Lancaster county, Record book B-95). This deed reveals that of the

530 acres bought by Funk in 1711 from Penn and sold to Brechbuehl September 25th, 1717, 265 acres were sold to Shenk. However, the tract contained more than 530 acres, so Shenk really received approximately 275 acres, while Ulrich kept 147 acres, and 130 acres came into the possession of Emanuel Herr through his wife. Of the Shenk half, part of it (about 90 acres) was inherited by Esther Shenk (Henry's daughter), and became the property of her husband, John Herr (Emanuel's son). One of his sons inherited it and then it was sold to Henry Keener, by whose name it is still known. Oddly enough, the first house built on this portion of the 530 acres is only a stone's throw from the location where Benedictus Brechbuehl had his home. (Later the home of Ulrich, and then his elder son, John.) Both homes were located near a fine spring. In fact, any one seeking the probable location of the first cabin on an original tract, should first locate the spring, if any, on the land. After that, the search will be simple. The early settlers always looked to their water supply first.

⁷⁵ See Note 44.

⁷⁶ Deeds of sale given by Kendig in 1725, give the name of his wife as Elizabeth; his will filed in 1748, gives the widow's name as Barbara. The surnames of both women are unknown.

⁷⁷ Patent book AA-3-1. The daughters of Emanuel Herr were Elizabeth, wife of Jacob Carpenter; Susannah, wife of Christian Carpenter; and Mary, wife of Daniel Carpenter.