

# Three Caspar Schaffners

By ELIZABETH C. KIEFFER,

Granddaughter of the Rev. Joseph H. Dubbs, D. D.,  
First President of the Lancaster County Historical Society.

The little log church of the "High Dutch Protestants" had been in service over a year, on East Orange Street, where its third descendant, the First Reformed Church, now stands. It was the 30th of October, 1737, when John Caspar Schaffner,<sup>1</sup> and his wife, Anna Maria, brought their eldest son, John Caspar, to be baptised.

There is a touch of romance about the history of this young couple. Just four years earlier, when Caspar was 21 years of age, he had crossed the ocean from Rotterdam on the *Samuel* of London (Hugh Percy, master), landing in Philadelphia, August 17, 1733. Apparently he was setting out alone to seek his fortune, for there is no other of his name on the ship list. That there were other Schaffners in Lancaster County is proved by an occasional record of a baptism, marriage, or burial which cannot be fitted into the family tree which we are investigating. It is, therefore, barely possible that Caspar was on his way to join relatives. It is not, however, very probable, as there is no evidence of any communication with this other family.

On the same ship with our young immigrant, there came to America, one Peter Knobel<sup>2</sup> with his wife, Ursula, and his daughter, Anna Maria, a girl of 16 years. There was plenty of time, in the long ocean voyage of those days, for a girl and a boy to fall in love. Nor was it to be a mere ship-board flirtation, for, two years later, just long enough for the young man to make a place for himself in the new world, and for the girl to grow to marriageable age, Caspar and Anna Maria were married, December 30, 1735, by the Rev. John Caspar Stoeber, pastor of the Lutheran church.

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<sup>1</sup> I have adopted this spelling throughout, as it was the one most popular with the later Schaffners. In early records the name is variously spelled.

<sup>2</sup> Schlatter enters this name as Knoblauch; all other records agree on Knobel.

That a couple who, in after years, were uniformly faithful to the Reformed church, should be married by the Lutheran minister, throws an interesting sidelight upon the status of John Jacob Hock, first pastor of the Reformed congregation. It has always been doubtful whether Hock was ever properly ordained as a minister. In 1733, his name appears as an elder of the congregation. In 1736, he conducted the services at the dedication of the log church, describing himself as "teacher, preacher, or pastor." In the next two years, he recorded a number of baptisms, but no marriages, which would seem to uphold Dr. William J. Hinke's theory that he was merely a consecrated layman, who, in the scarcity of regular ministers, followed the example of Conrad Templeman, and assumed the pastoral duties. In this case, it would have been, of course, opposed to church law for him to perform marriages, although a layman has always been permitted, in emergencies, to baptise children. This would explain the Lutheran wedding of two such strict Zwinglians as Caspar and Anna Maria Schaffner.

It was not Hock who performed the baptism of the second John Caspar Schaffner. The date lies between the unexplained disappearance of Hock, in 1737, and the arrival in 1739 of John Bartholomew Rieger, the first ordained pastor of the church. The baptism is recorded in an unknown hand, probably that of an itinerant preacher, or of an officer of the church. The sponsors were John Francis Forteney, and his wife, and John Philip Weinant. These were lifelong friends of the Schaffner family, as we can see from baptismal records, deeds, wills and other documents in which the names are again and again associated. One of the Forteney families were later next door neighbors of the second Caspar, and a Forteney daughter married his brother-in-law.<sup>3</sup>

The baptismal record does not, in this case, give the date of the child's birth, but, checking with his obituary, we find that he was born in the same year. We cannot be certain if he was the oldest child of the family. There are no records of the baptisms of his brother Peter and his sister Anna Maria, either of whom may have been older than Caspar. It does not, in either case seem likely, however, Anna Maria survived her brother, who was eighty-eight when he died. As for Peter, he is mentioned second in his father's will, and as Caspar was named for his father, we are probably justified in supposing him the first-born son.

With these and a few other exceptions, the entries for the Schaffners are remarkably full and complete. One may follow them through life from birth to death with very few irregularities. Anyone who has done much work with church records will realise that this alone throws some light upon the character of the family. In those early days, when churches were irregularly served, people were lax about attending the sacraments, and pastors were equally lax about keeping records. In times when a minister casually

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<sup>3</sup> First Reformed Church records (v. 1, p. 173).

recorded the baptism of: "The child of a farmer, six miles from here in the bush," one does not expect to find complete family records. When one does so, three things are indicated: That the family valued the approval of the church; that the preacher knew them well enough to enter their names correctly; and that the father probably stood by and watched him do it.

The young immigrant, Caspar Schaffner, was, already, conscious that he was founding a family, and establishing a social position in the new community. He saw to it that all regular forms were observed. By occupation he was what he calls a "blue dywer."<sup>4</sup> No one seems to know whether a separate establishment was required for dyeing materials blue rather than red, or yellow, or green. Such, however, was his trade. That he was an educated man can be seen from his signature, which, while it lacks the graceful elegance of his son and his grandson, is not by any means the scrawl of the illiterate—moreover, he was able to use the English as well as the German script, an unusual accomplishment in those days, even among the more prominent Germans. His wife could not write, and made her mark on several documents. Any other state of affairs would have been surprising. That she was a shrewd business woman is proved by the fact that, in his will, her husband insists that she shall be allowed to manage his estate without interference from her sons.

From 1744-1749, Caspar served as assistant town clerk,<sup>5</sup> an office which was to become almost hereditary. The fact that three Caspar Schaffners, successively served their town in this position, is responsible for much of the historical confusion which this paper tries to clear up. In 1747, he was elected elder of his church,<sup>6</sup> which seems an unusual honor for a man of 36, until we realise that, in so young a community, a man in his thirties really was one of the elders. Quite early, it seems, he began the policy upon which his fortune and that of his son was built, of acquiring cheap land, at focal points in the new community, and selling it advantageously to later immigrants. Some of the lots which thus passed through the hands of the two first Caspar Schaffners, are now among the most valuable sites in Lancaster.

Meanwhile, the family was growing. On March 2, 1746, a son John George, was baptised. He seems to have died early, as a later son was given the same name. On April 22, 1748, Maria Magdalene was born, and was baptised on May 5 of the same year, by Michael Schlatter, the famous organizer of the Reformed Church in America. On May 4, 1750, John Paul was baptised. He also apparently died young, as we find no later mention of him. On August 23, 1752, Anna Margaret was the first child to be baptised by Philip William Otterbein, who later founded the United Brethren Church. On November 17, 1754, a son John was baptised; on June 21, 1757, the second

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<sup>4</sup> Deed, September 12, 1758, L, 119.

<sup>5</sup> Lancaster County Historical Society Papers, v. 21, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Records of First Reformed Church, v. 1, p. 256.

John George, the only member of his family to become noted beyond the limits of Lancaster; on January 13, 1759, a daughter Charlotte; and on March 1, 1761, a daughter Salome. Salome died in 1768, at the age of nine, and it would seem that John and Charlotte also died in childhood, as they do not figure in their father's will. The daughter, Anna Mary, whose baptism is not recorded, may have been born between Caspar and Peter, or between Peter and Anna Margaret. To suppose her born at any later date would make her too young for her marriage in 1762.

We cannot learn where the family lived, nor where the dyeing business was conducted. It is most probable that one establishment served as dwelling and shop, and this may have been the house and ground in West King Street adjoining the property of Dr. Samuel Fahnestock, of which the second Caspar speaks in his will. It may be that at one time the rapid growth of his family had suggested to the dyer the advisability of a larger establishment. In 1748, when young Caspar was eleven years old, his father purchased a lot on Market Street, adjoining the property of Michael Forteney, and this he did not sell as he did those other properties in which he speculated. On the other hand, he did not build upon it, and this may have been due to the death of so many of the younger children, and later to the marriage of the older ones, which would have made the original home sufficient for the remaining members of the family.

Caspar and Peter, meanwhile, were growing up. We can be almost certain that they attended the Reformed Church School, which was then conducted in Orange Street before its removal to Duke Street. There they were pupils of that redoubtable schoolmaster, John Hoffman, who for thirty years taught the youth of the Reformed church, and attended to the clerical work of the congregation, reading services when there was no pastor, and, as his contract specifically enjoined, winding the clock. From him both Caspar the second, and Caspar his son probably learned that exquisite penmanship, of which the third Caspar was to make a profession. Comparison of the schoolmaster's handwriting with that of the two Caspars shows a distinct relationship, although both of the pupils surpassed their master. The other subjects, taught in the school, were most likely those common to the curriculum of all German church schools of the time: reading, in both German and English, elementary arithmetic, singing (mostly hymns), and the rest of the six hours daily of "every working day throughout the year" devoted to the Bible and the catechism.<sup>7</sup>

Of the Heidelberg catechism, young Caspar was to get an extra dose in 1750, at the age of thirteen, when, "after preceding instruction," he, with other boys and girls, was admitted to the Lord's Supper by the Rev. Ludwig

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<sup>7</sup> Livingood, Frederick George. Eighteenth Century Reformed Church Schools, 1930.

Ferdinand Vock.<sup>8</sup> Vock was an elderly and obstinate old martinet, who utterly failed to adjust himself to the life of a colonial town, and was dismissed from his charge after a stormy tenure of only a year. He was, however, undoubtedly educated in his ministerial duties, and conscientiously strove to do them. It is to be supposed that his instruction of the catechumens was anything but nominal. Doubtless young Caspar, by the time he took that first communion was able to answer all the 129 questions of the catechism, from, "What is thine only comfort in life and in death?" to, "What is the meaning of the word 'Amen'?"

In the Schaffner home, affairs of the church, both spiritual and practical, must have been often discussed. The father continued to exercise the duties of his eldership with evident interest and vigor. He was prominent in all the events which shaped the early destinies of the congregation. He attended consistory meetings faithfully. He was one of the more generous subscribers to the pastors' salary, and to the charities of the church. He served on numerous committees for securing pastors, apparently making the arduous journey to Philadelphia on this business, for a letter from Caspar Weyberg to the consistory states that he has spoken to Schaffner concerning a young man whom he is recommending. In 1753, Schaffner was one of the signatories of the contract for building the stone church, which replaced the log one on the Orange Street site.

In 1754, the church records contain the puzzling statement that Caspar Schaffner was *deacon* of the church. His name also figures, several times in that year, as distributing alms for the church, the specific duty of a deacon. Yet the older Caspar, was at that time filling the office of *elder*. Can it be possible that Caspar, the son, at that time only seventeen, and only four years a member of the church was already elected to office? It is, perhaps, not impossible, but it is surely most unusual.

In 1763, the elder Caspar attended the meeting of Coetus, at Germantown, as sole representative of the congregation, there being, at the time, no pastor. The consistory allowed him 18s, for traveling expenses. In 1764, when his term as elder expired, the congregation decided to elect him, with several other former elders, to an "advisory council" who could be consulted by the consistory in affairs of importance.

The younger Caspar was, of course, aware of all these matters. The Schaffner home probably entertained at one time or another, all the varied and interesting personalities who served as pastors to the congregation—Rieger and Schnorr, Stoy and Vock, Otterbein and Hendel. Michael Schlatter himself, on one of his numerous visits, may well have dined or slept in the dyer's house. These were not only pious men, they were cultured and educated men as well. A contemporary says, "all the German preachers of

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<sup>8</sup> First Reformed Church Records, v. 1, p. 262.

Pennsylvania are barons," and there is some truth in the jest. Personalities like these could not fail to impress a growing boy. The foundation for the broad culture which so impresses one in the Schaffners may have been laid in these very contacts made through the father's fidelity to his church.

Not all the family contacts were with the clergy, however. The Schaffners were on terms of close friendship with most of the prominent Germans of the town, and some of the English. We judge this from the number of times that the Schaffners stood sponsor for children, and the number of those who, in turn, sponsored the Schaffner babies. The Forteneys, the Weitzels, the Hoffmans, the Baers, again and again performed this office for each other, making up a closely-knit little fellowship.

Another fact to be gleaned from these records, is that the dyer was often asked to stand godfather to children of less well-known parentage. This, one notes, in studying other entries, was a service asked only of the outstanding men of the congregation. Parents who did not ask relatives or intimate friends to sponsor their children usually chose a godparent who, they thought, might advance the interests of his namesake in social or financial matters. Thus the names of Henry Bassler, and Caspar Weitzel appear most frequently in the records of the First Reformed Church as responsible for the children of the poorer and more obscure members, but Caspar Schaffner is not far behind them.

It was, thus, in an atmosphere of prosperity and self respect that the Schaffner children grew to maturity. Outside the interests of home, and shop, and church, there must have been a hundred things to stimulate the mind and excite the spirit in colonial Lancaster. Building was going on everywhere. The town must have been a paradise for masons and carpenters. There may have been pigs in King Street, and floods in the Court House cellar, but there *was* a court house. There were churches, with bells and organs. Fine brick houses were being erected in which resided men of wealth and education. Nor was the town so crowded, that such men could fail to note a well-bred boy, and give him some of their time and attention. There was still good hunting in the neighborhood, so that a boy could learn the forest as well as the town. On market days, the farmers drove into the square in their covered carts, as they do today, bringing, as today, produce already the finest in America. Manufactories were springing up. Young Caspar stepping out to do his courting, may have gone clad in Lancaster-made silk stockings. Lancaster was, as it is today, a microcosm of the age. A boy need not leave its bounds to secure a well-rounded education.

In 1760, Caspar II, being twenty-three years of age, succeeded to his father's old post of assistant town clerk, and being thus assured of a yearly income, he married, on December 2, of that year, Elizabeth Kuntz (or Cuntz), daughter of Jacob and Anna Margaret Kuntz. Her father was a carpenter, who died in 1763, two years after the marriage. Her mother later kept a

tavern.<sup>9</sup> On March 20, 1762, John Jacob Schaffner, the first child of the young couple, was born.

In 1763, the year of the Paxtang massacre, and of his father-in-law's death, Caspar was promoted from assistant town clerk to town clerk. The following year, he was made treasurer of the borough corporation to succeed Isaac Whitelock. The corporation turned over to him the sum of 81£, 5s, 6d. In this year his little daughter, Anna Maria, named for his mother, was born. She lived only six years.

Sometime during these years, Peter Schaffner was married. His wife Esther's maiden name is nowhere given, but may have been Riblet, as this name appears twice among the sponsors of their children. On November 17, 1765, the elder Caspar Schaffner and his wife stood sponsors for Peter's first child, Caspar.

The second Caspar, meanwhile, continued his civic duties. The careful records of those years, testify his fidelity to his office. He and his wife, seem to have been on very friendly terms with her family. The names of Jacob and Anna Margaret Kuntz, are joined with theirs several times in the records, and after Jacob's death, "the widow Kuntz" appears in the same connection. Elizabeth's brother John, who married Margaret Krug, seems to have been especially intimate with his sister and his brother-in-law, for these two young couples established what amounted to a system of reciprocal sponsorships; so that, for the Kuntz babies the names of Caspar and Elizabeth Schaffner almost always appear as godparents, and for the Schaffner babies, which were conveniently born in the alternate years, the names of John and Margaret Kuntz as regularly appear.

In 1767, the third of our Caspar Schaffners was born. He was the second son of Caspar and Elizabeth. Their first son, John Jacob had, it seems, died young. So had Peter Schaffner's oldest son, Caspar. It is curious to note, that while the older children of the first Caspar Schaffner lived and thrived in the hard conditions of the early settlement, his younger children, and the children of his older sons, who were born within a decade of each other, almost all died in infancy. cursory examination of the records would seem to indicate that this was true in a number of pioneer families. In fact, one seems to note, that the infant death rate in the 1760's and 70's was higher in Lancaster than it had been in the 30's and 40's. Would this prove that the life of the wilderness with all its perils and discomforts, was healthier for growing children than the unsanitary conditions of the growing town, with its open sewers, crowded public houses, and the contagious diseases which follow the white man wherever he travels?

Caspar II and Peter had begun to take their places in the community beside their father. Their names appear now as frequently as his on records and documents.

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<sup>9</sup> Notes on the Kuhns Family. Privately printed, 1934.

In 1769, the Reformed church decided to install a pipe organ, and called upon David Tanneberger to build it. As most of the important documents of the church, at this time carry the name of Caspar Schaffner, we are not surprised to see it upon the contract made with the organ builder. But in this case, the signature is not that of the older Caspar, but, unmistakably that of his son.

I can find no documentary evidence to support the long-accepted tradition that this Caspar Schaffner was the first organist of the church. That his son later served the church in this capacity, is definitely proved, and he may, of course, have followed his father in this, as in so many other ways. It is a little difficult, however, to picture the ardent revolutionist, and practical man of affairs, playing for the German congregation on Sunday mornings—even though music and revolutions have long been considered inseparable. It is much more reasonable to suppose that Caspar signed the contract merely in his capacity as trustee of the church, to which office he had been elected at some unrecorded time, and which he resigned, "with honor," in 1772.

In 1772, John Jacob Schaffner, son of Caspar and Elizabeth, was born, taking the name of the other John Jacob, who had died. In 1772, the oldest Caspar paid the 6s tax, which establishes him, definitely, as a man of substance.

Early in 1773, although still, as we count years, a comparatively young man (he was only sixty), he must have felt his death approaching, for he set about winding up his affairs. On March 30, he sold to his son Caspar, for the sum of 304£, the lot on Market Street, upon which the latter built the house in which he spent the rest of his life. The property adjoined those of John Stone, Michael Forteney, John Ashbridge, and David Hall. On the deed to this property there is an unusual feature. A diagram of the lot is given, which may be seen today in the record book (R p. 463).<sup>10</sup> One suspects that the second Caspar, with his neat and accurate habits, drew up the deed, and made the diagram.

The following week (April 6), the father made his will, and twelve days later (April 18) he died. By his will, which was recorded June 16 (Book B, Vol. 1, p. 741) he left his entire property, including household goods, dyers vats and the utensils belonging thereto, personal and real estate, money, and outstanding debts, to his wife (adding the rather superfluous statement that the kitchen furniture already belonged to her). She was to manage this estate exactly as she chose, without interference from his sons. At her death, anything remaining of the estate was to be divided among his surviving children, whom he names: Caspar, Peter, John George, Mary the wife of

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<sup>10</sup> Reproduced in Mrs. Robinson's "Notes on the Schaffner family," L. C. H. S., v. 21, p. 5, Jan. 5, 1917.



Jacob Eichholtz, Margaret, and the children of his daughter Magdalen Jost, deceased. He specifically directs, however, that none of these shall ask their mother for money during her lifetime. A tradition which I have been unable to verify says that Peter carried on the dyeing business for his mother, after his father's death. As I can find no record of his occupation, this may be true, and, indeed seems plausible.

Caspar, the first, died in time to avoid the bitter necessity of taking sides in the approaching conflict. Already, before his death, unrest was being felt in Lancaster. Few of us can realize the heartbreaking difficulty in which the colonial leaders must have found themselves in those early days of the 1770's. Young hotheads may have found it fairly a simple matter—youth sees but one side of a question—but older men had grown up in simple faithfulness to ancient loyalties—not only the English, but honest Germans, who in the port of Philadelphia, had sworn before the God they worshipped, their allegiance to a king whom their sons now lightly defied.

The first Caspar Schaffner died without breaking that oath. His sons had no oath to keep, but surely no one can suppose that a man of the intelligence and practical, far-seeing wisdom of Caspar Schaffner would lend himself to the cause of revolution. His was the type of mind which would reckon well the danger of putting guns into the hands of a rabble, and teaching them to fight their masters. He had seen mob violence when the Paxton boys entered Lancaster only a few years before. He had known, too, those years of creeping terror which had gripped the whole of Central Pennsylvania when the French turned the Indians loose. He could scarcely have been one of those optimists who believed that the English would never pay money to buy English scalps. With his grasp of finance, he must have known what happens to a currency in times of political upheaval. It is true that, in those early days, the revolutionary leaders contemplated no actual revolution. But the wiser of them must, in their own minds have been prepared for such an eventuality.

That, in the face of such considerations, men like Caspar Schaffner and his friends were prepared to risk "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor," as, in a sense much more actual than the words now convey, they did, argues that their motives were deeper and more involved than the superficial ones usually ascribed to our revolutionary forefathers. Even the injustices, so eloquently enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, could scarcely have moved men of sense to so irrevocable a step, if they had not been the passing symptoms of a condition far more desperate.

The thing which really drove the colonists to revolt, was the utter inability of the English to understand the men they were ruling. To the island-bound Britisher, the American was an adventurer who had gone into the wilderness to make a fortune, and would, eventually, come home to spend it. What need, then, to provide for them such civilized luxuries as schools, roads, representative assemblies, and the amenities of social life. It is doubt-

ful if even the major English statesmen, when they thought of America ever visualized acres of prosperous farmland, and thriving little cities where men of culture met in elegant rooms, and discussed literature and the arts. Americans, to them, were trappers and hunters, clad in leather and living with savages in wigwams in the trackless wilderness.

If the English colonists were thus misunderstood, the position of the Germans was hopeless. If, in nearby Philadelphia, men like Benjamin Franklin and Provost William Smith, D. D., could speak of them as "utterly ignorant," and "the most stupid of their own nation," what chance had they of convincing the government in England that they had any just grievances? To men of the caliber of the Muhlenbergs, the Hendels, the Reigarts, the Schaffners, the knowledge of this arrogant contempt felt toward their race must have been a source of constant pain. They must have known that so long as the American colonies remained British possessions, men of German blood must remain an undesirable racial minority. The most forward-looking among them may have foreseen the day when all thought of racial origin might be banished, and instead of Englishmen, Germans, Scotch-Irish, Welsh, Swiss, or French, there would exist upon this soil only *Americans*.

We, who are their descendants, looking across the ocean today, have reason to bless them.

Thus it was, that when, in December, 1774, a Committee of Observation was chosen by the freeholders of Lancaster County, its membership was composed almost equally of English and German citizens. Caspar Schaffner sat at its deliberations with such men as Edward Shippen, George Ross, Jasper Yeates and William Atlee. From this time forward, he seems to have committed himself without reservation to the cause of liberty.

The duties of the committee were rather vague. They were "to observe the conduct of all persons touching the general association of the general congress." This might mean almost anything, and found its first concrete application when the committee called before it an unfortunate Mr. Francis, who had just established a dancing school in the city, and persuaded him to desist from such callous frivolity. As a first blow toward liberty, this seems a rather futile gesture. But this is not the point. The point lies in the fact that the community, on the eve of revolution, had chosen the leaders who were to shepherd it through the difficult years to come.<sup>11</sup>

Most of the meetings were held at Adam Reigart's house (the Grape Tavern), and at all of which we have record, Schaffner was present. Usually, only the local committee was called, and the offenses dealt with were local. It would have seemed hardly necessary to call the members in from Donegal

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<sup>11</sup> Details of all these meetings are given in Mombert's History of Lancaster County.

and New Holland to deal with the dancing master, or with the later case of Charles Hamilton, shopkeeper, who proved that it was not himself but his stupid clerk who had dared to sell tea.

On April 27, 1775, however, there was more than petty *misdemeanors* to fill the minds of these who met at the Grape. It was a small meeting, hastily called. Only seven of the twelve members were present. George Ross, probably, was in Philadelphia. Jasper Yeates may have been there, too. Caspar Schaffner was present. So were William Atlee and Charles Hall; Edward Shippen was in the chair. Adam Reigart, probably leaning among his pots and mugs, listening breathlessly to the news. Let us consider with awe, the triumph of post riding which, over the muddy April roads of colonial America, brought from Boston to Lancaster in eight days, the news of Lexington and Concord. And then let us try to feel, for a moment, what those seven men in the tavern felt, as they realized that the revolution was an actual fact, and that it was their responsibility to direct its manifestations in this community.

It was not a matter upon which so small a group could take action. They resolved only to call a meeting of the full committee for May first, and adjourned. It was at that full meeting, attended by members from every part of the county, that resolutions were adopted placing Lancaster publically, and unmistakably on the side of the Revolutionary cause, and taking action to collect powder and arms.

Caspar Schaffner was re-elected when the committee was reorganized in the fall. But this service of his was not to be the Schaffner family's sole contribution to freedom. In point of military glory, young George, had the largest share. In March, 1776, when he was not quite nineteen years of age, he enlisted as a private in Captain Abraham De Huff's Company, of Col. Samuel John Atlee's Regiment of the Pennsylvania Musketry Battalion.<sup>12</sup> He was quickly made a sergeant, and on August 29, ensign.<sup>13</sup> On February 4, 1777, he was made lieutenant in Schott's Company, of Ottendorf's Battalion of the Pulaski Legion. On February 8, 1778, not quite two years after his enlistment, he became captain of the Third Cavalry of the Pulaski Legion.<sup>14</sup> It was in this capacity that Christopher Marshall<sup>15</sup> saw him ride through town at the head of a company of light horse. On December 1, 1781, this young man, just twenty-four years of age was made a major,<sup>16</sup> in Armand's Partisan Legion.<sup>17</sup> We have no record of the date at which his

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<sup>12</sup> Penna. Archives, Ser. 2, v. 10, p. 247.

<sup>13</sup> Penna. Archives, Ser. 2, v. 10, p. 247.

<sup>14</sup> Heitman, Historical Register of Officers of the Colonial Army.

<sup>15</sup> Diary, Mar. 10, 1780.

<sup>16</sup> Lasseray. Les Francais sous les trois etoiles. Quoted by C. H. Martin, L. C. H. S., v. 41, p. 101.

<sup>17</sup> Richards, H. M., The Pennsylvania-German in the Revolutionary War, 1908, pp. 88 and 425.

service terminated, but he later appeared on the list of those who had applied for pensions. A family tradition makes him a friend of Lafayette, and in support of this, we have his age, his service in the Pulaski Regiment, and the fact that he later went to France where he became one of the founders of the Society of the Cincinnati in that country.<sup>18</sup>

Caspar and Peter Schaffner, being men of family and of civic responsibilities, could not take so active a part in the hostilities. Both, however, enlisted. Peter served as first lieutenant in the Pennsylvania Musketry Battalion from March to December, 1776.<sup>19</sup> Of Caspar's service, we have only the record given in his certificate of membership in the Society of the Cincinnati,<sup>20</sup> which states that he was cornet in the First Partizan Legion. (A cornet was the fifth officer of a troop, technically the color bearer). There is no record of the dates of his service, and one of the mysteries about his career is why he transferred his membership from the Pennsylvania to the Virginia Society, which now has his certificate.

In 1776, both Caspar and Peter were members of the guard in charge of the prisoners at Lancaster. Both served several times as officer of the day.<sup>21</sup>

It is certain that his military duties did not keep Caspar away from Lancaster. There is constant evidence of his presence in town throughout the war. His name appears on a number of baptismal records of the period, as well as on deeds and wills. In 1777, he entertained at his home David Whitelock, Jacob Miller, and Christopher Marshall (who records it in his diary), and after an evening of conversation, they adjourned to John Frank's tavern, where, in celebration of a false report of Cornwallis's surrender, they drank three pints of Madeira, which cost them \$150.

In 1777, for the first time, Caspar refused his borough's call to service. He was elected burgess, in June, to succeed John Henry deceased, but refused to serve. John Hublely was later appointed to fill the vacancy.<sup>22</sup> At the same date, Peter Schaffner was appointed to that family post of town clerk.<sup>23</sup>

The cares of war were succeeded by the cares of peace, and those who had led their fellow-citizens in the Revolution, now became leaders in the up-building of a free community. "In 1780, Jasper Yeates, Esq., Caspar Schaffner, Esq., Col. George Ross, and Charles Hall, Esq. . . . engaged the services of a teacher of recommended abilities to conduct a select academy

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<sup>18</sup> Lasseray.

<sup>19</sup> Heitman.

<sup>20</sup> Americana. First Quarter, 1935, v. 29, no. 1, p. 21, facsim.

<sup>21</sup> Richards, pp. 500-501.

<sup>22</sup> Mombert. History of Lancaster County, p. 264.

<sup>23</sup> Penna. Archives. Ser. 2, v. 3, p. 743.

for the education of their male children.”<sup>24</sup> This was the first step toward the founding of Franklin College, and it is notable that the men who took this step were all former members of the Committee of Observation.

At Easter, 1783, the youngest Caspar Schaffner was confirmed by the saintly John William Hendel. In October of the same year, his mother, Elizabeth, died. She was in her forty-fourth year, and had been a wife for twenty-three years. Her widowed mother survived her, and in 1785 stood with Caspar as sponsor to a daughter of her son, John Kuntz, a melancholy reminder of the many times when Caspar and his wife had been sponsors for this brother's children. In 1784, Caspar was serving his church as elder.

In March, 1786, Esther Schaffner, wife of Caspar's brother Peter, died. But in June of the same year, a new Esther entered the family, for Caspar married Esther Kuntz, widow of Frantz Kuntz, and aunt by marriage of his first wife.<sup>25</sup> Peter Schaffner later (1789) married Margaret Kuntz,<sup>26</sup> widow of John Kuntz, that brother of Caspar's first wife, with whom he had been so intimate. Thus the Kuntz family supplied the Schaffner brothers with three wives.

In 1787, Caspar Schaffner was elected to the first board of trustees of Franklin College. In the local election of October 16 of that year, he was elected county commissioner, being associated, in that office with his old revolutionary friends, George Ross, counsellor; Alexander Lowry, assemblyman; and John Miller, sheriff.

In 1788, the third Caspar Schaffner, now twenty-one years old, succeeded to the hereditary office of town clerk. This he filled until 1796 at a salary of 56£, 15s per annum.<sup>27</sup> In the same year—perhaps in connection with his taking office—he took the oath of allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania. He lettered, himself, the certificate of this fact, which is now in the possession of this Society. This proves, that already, he had developed that fine art of the pen which was his real life work, and which he proudly affirms, when in his will he describes himself as “scrivener.”

When the new college was opened, in June, 1788, the name of John Schaffner was enrolled as a student in the German department.<sup>28</sup> This was, in all probability, Caspar's youngest son, John Jacob (b. 1772). Peter's older son, John, apparently died in infancy, and a younger son of his, by the same name, was now only twelve years old. This John Schaffner does not appear again in any record, and probably died soon afterwards.

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<sup>24</sup> Dubbs. History of Franklin and Marshall College, p. 17 (quoting Rupp).

<sup>25</sup> Notes on the Kuhns Family, 1934, p. 8.

<sup>26</sup> Op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>27</sup> L. C. H. S., v. 21, p. 6.

<sup>28</sup> Ms. in the archives of Franklin and Marshall College.

On August 18, 1791, the third Caspar Schaffner married Anna Maria Hall, daughter of his father's old revolutionary associate and near neighbor, Charles Hall. The young couple seem to have lived with their father in Market Street. (At least they were living there when the two Caspars died.)

From this time, it is very difficult to distinguish the activities of the two Caspars. So like were they in their tastes, so frequently did one succeed the other in the same office, that except in cases where it is possible to compare the signatures of the two, it is often difficult to decide whether one is dealing with the father or the son. Practically all the historians of Lancaster, and of the First Reformed Church, have confused the two. Indeed, even with the signatures before one, it is sometimes hard to distinguish, so alike is the beautiful penmanship which both cultivated. To add to the confusion, the second Caspar, for some time after the death of his father continued, from force of habit, to sign himself junior, and is so referred to in official records. It is safe to say, however, that after his son took up official life, he broke himself of this habit, so that from this time "Caspar Schaffner, Jr." is always the third Caspar, and in cases where it was very important to differentiate, the second Caspar even added *Sr.* to his signature.

In 1791, the elder Caspar was again elected burgess, and this time accepted the office, serving until 1795. In 1792 the third Caspar refused the office of deacon of the church, but, as we shall see in a moment, he was amply doing his duty by the congregation. His father served the church as elder from 1794-98, and again from 1800-1804.

In 1797, either the father or son was appointed by the legislature to serve on the paving commission, which was to raise money for paving East King Street.<sup>29</sup> This project was a long time getting under way, and dragged on well into the 1800's before anything was done about it.

In the minutes of the consistory of the First Reformed Church for January 13, 1799, appears the following interesting record:

"It was unanimously resolved by the consistory, in the name of the congregation, that Caspar Schaffner, Jun., shall be notified of their gratitude for his great service to the church, in playing the organ for the last four years without pay; and that he shall not only be excused from holding the office of deacon, but if, in the future, he should ever be elected to the office of trustee, or, when he is older, to that of elder, he may hold those offices just as though he had served as deacon, because he has so thoroughly proved himself the friend of the congregation."

In 1800, this young man was made clerk of the county commissioners. Both he and his father were now acting frequently as executors for the wills of prominent members of the community, in which they are spoken of as

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<sup>29</sup>L. C. H. S., vol. 4, p. 8.

"my dear friend," "my trusty friend," etc. They were now acknowledged leaders, men of substance, trustworthy men. In 1809, when young John Ross became notary public, the elder Caspar went his bond for 300£. In 1816, the younger Caspar was guardian to one Benjamin Schaum, a minor, which charge, however, he transferred to F. A. Muhlenberg.

In 1810, the elder Caspar was a member of the first board of trustees of the Farmers' Bank<sup>30</sup> and one of the stockholders who received its early dividends. In 1814, he (or possibly his son) was president of the Lancaster Trading Company, (later the Lancaster Bank).<sup>31</sup>

Meanwhile life in the house on Market Street was peaceful, and, we dare suppose, rather beautiful. The younger Schaffners apparently, had no children, and the brothers and sisters of Caspar III had all died. We do not know when Esther Schaffner, the second wife of the Revolutionist died, but he did not marry again. When their time was not taken up with business, the father and son applied themselves to cultural interests. For recreation and exercise they cultivated a garden in Water Street. They kept up their old social contacts. Anna Maria kept house, the men read, talked of national and world affairs; the third Caspar played, or worked at his beautiful penmanship.

A lovely little copy of Schiller's tragedy, *Die Ræuber*, inscribed with Caspar Schaffner, Junior's name, is now in the possession of the college library. The Historical Society of the Reformed Church possesses a choral book which belonged to him. It serves to illustrate the family taste in literature. More notable, however, are the two beautiful manuscript volumes, one a collection of music, belonging to the First Reformed Church, and another, a book of penmanship samples, now the property of this Society.

The music book is extremely interesting. It is a leather-bound volume, 25 by 29 cm., containing 500 pages, 228 of which are filled with music copied with most exquisite care. Any person who has made even the crudest attempt to copy music will have some idea of the infinite time and patience which were required to fill these pages. Add to this the fact that there was no lined music paper to be bought in those days, and the compiler was forced to draw all the lines by hand, a feat of almost incredible skill.

Musicians who have examined this book suggest that, while much of its contents may have been copied from borrowed music books, some at least of the numbers were written down by ear. A number of melodies which are included may have been local fiddlers' tunes. To some of these, harmony has been added, while, in the case of others, the writer left room for the later addition of the second part. Among these tunes are: Sweet Patty, Country Dance, Roslin Castle, and The Lancaster Delight. An interesting

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<sup>30</sup> Diffenderffer, F. R. History of the Farmers' Trust Co., 1910, p. 42.

<sup>31</sup> Op. cit., p. 55.

feature is the appearance of a number of Catholic anthems, several Ave Maria's, a Regina Coeli, and a Salve Regina. This would suggest an intimacy between Caspar and the organist at St. Mary's, leading to an exchange of music books. A significant point about these numbers, is that the Latin words are written in with perfect correctness. As every one knows it is almost impossible to copy accurately a foreign language with which one is not acquainted. One must suppose, then, that the third Caspar had at least a bowing acquaintance with the Latin.

There is no date appended to this book. It is obvious that its compilation must have been the work of many years. We can set the beginning pretty definitely in the latter years of the eighteenth century, for a number found near the first of the book is entitled, "The President of the United States March." (It is a composition based upon the tune of Hail Columbia.) Probably the work of compiling the book lasted from this period to the end of the scrivener's life. In it one may trace the interest of the writer in current events. We find such titles as the following: General Mifflin's March; Introductory Rondo in the Picture of Paris made from the Celebrated French Air, Ca Ira; The Battle of Prague; Hail, Great Washington; Thomas Jefferson's March; Grand March in the Bastille; Buonaparte's March.

The composers included are, most of them, unknown to us, and do not even appear in the ordinary musical dictionaries. There are, frequently repeated, such names as: Dale, Garth, Croix, Helm, Valentino, Nicolai, and Reinagel—the last an American who died in 1809. The various patriotic compositions are mostly his. Here and there, appear more famous names—Handel, Haydn, Pleyel, Mozart. (It is interesting to note that Mozart was so new to Lancaster, that Mr. Schaffner gives, impartially, two possible ways of spelling his name.)

The penmanship book, which is a large folio, with board covers and a leather back and corners, bears the date of 1809, but, like the music book, probably took many years to complete. An interesting paper could be written, comparing the sophisticated art here displayed with the naive beauty of the earlier *fraktur-schriften*. This is without the scope of this paper. We note here, that the beautiful work in this volume was probably intended to serve the double purpose of personal pleasure and advertisement. Such a book could be carried about by the writing master to show parents the type of work he was prepared to teach their children, and several crude copies, on loose sheets, laid in the book, indicate that it was also used as a copybook for his pupils.

Most of the sheets are devoted, like the copybook pages of our own youth, to the decoration of mottoes and quotations somewhat on the moral side. One which illustrates the writer's own tastes is as follows: "Homer, knowing that human nature was not capable of enduring long labor, put a harp into the hands of his hero, that he might unbend his cares and soften the noise of the trumpet with the harmony of a peaceful instrument."



Others are: "The remembrance of virtuous actions is the most delightful consolation in old age;" "The means industry, the result plenty;" "Praise undeserved, is satire in disguise;" "Marcellus, when he had taken Syracuse, particularly lamented o'er the death of Archimedes, esteeming one learned and wise man equal to the power of a whole commonwealth."

We incline to smile at the frank didacticism of these typical effusions of the "sentimental decades," but are we wise in doing so? These were the sentiments beloved by men who won freedom for America; men nurtured on such sentiments built the new nation into the Republic which we today are proud to live in; will a future generation brought up to the light cynicism which we affect do better?

Two other features of this book deserve attention. There are two odes to Thomas Jefferson, one for his inauguration, the other apparently a simple tribute to him. The first is marked as: "written by Jacob Carpenter, Esq.," while both bear the note, "composed and sung by Caspar Schaffner, Junior." The second gives the melody as well. The second feature is a series of pages given to the glorification of Washington and Jefferson, and the rebuke of Bonaparte. These three are illustrated with pencil drawings of the heroes, done with care, if not with inspiration, and quite recognizable as portraits. These pages as all the other pages of the book bear the signature: "C. Schaffner, Jun. scripsit." But the pencil drawings bear, quite clearly, in the same handwriting, the note: "C. Schaffner, Sen. pinxit." The watermarks appearing in some of the pages of the book are interesting. They show the years of 1798, 1801 and 1805.

With this pleasing glimpse of the old father and his son working together to glorify with their art the men they admired, we draw near the close of this paper.

In 1825, the two men were living in the Market Street house. They had outlived all their near male relatives. Two married sisters of the father, and the wife of the son, were still living. In this year, the old Revolutionist had the sorrow of seeing the beloved son die before him, thus bringing to a close the history of the family begun by the young immigrant almost a century before.

In his will (O, vol. 1, p. 277) the youngest Caspar left to his cousin, Ann Charlotte Frank (his mother's niece) the one-story brick dwelling house and piece of ground in Prince Street, in which she was then living; to his "nephew," Caspar Naumann, the sum of \$100, "when he attains the age of twenty-one years;" to the German Reformed Church the sum of \$100, and the rest of his estate to his wife, Mary.

Immediately after his death, his father made a new will (O. vol. 1, p. 434). To his daughter-in-law, Mary, he left the house and lot on Market Street, "adjoining the property of B. Champneys," also "the lot or piece of

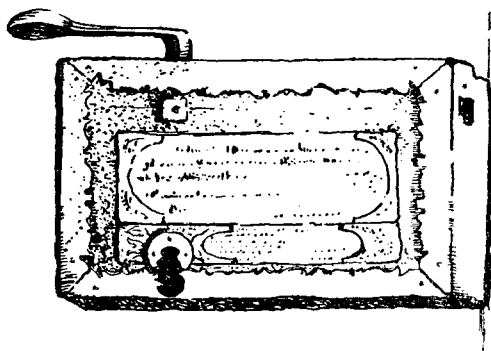
ground used by me as a garden, situate in Water Street, adjoining the lots of Benjamin Grimler, and those of my deceased son."

To his widowed sisters, Anna Maria Eichholtz and Margaret Naumann, and to his niece, Ann Charlotte Frank, he left \$500 apiece; to Hester Doebler, the wife of George Doebler, \$200; and to the German Reformed Church, \$100. The remainder of the estate was to be divided equally among the sisters and niece above mentioned. No inventory of the household and kitchen furniture was to be taken, his daughter-in-law to have all these.

Thus having provided for the disposal of his earthly substance, Caspar Schaffner, Esq., last survivor of that name, settled down to await the death which could not be far away. Life held for him only one last joy. On July 27, 1825, Lafayette visited Lancaster. There is no record that the two men met; but it is an obvious conclusion that, if he was not actually too feeble to be present, Caspar was one of the "fifty hoary-headed veterans of the Revolution" who saluted the General from a platform in front of the Farmers' Bank.

On February 10, of the year 1826, the Lancaster Journal carried the following obituary, which is as fitting a summary of this paper, as any we could write:

"On Wed. morning, last, Caspar Schaffner, Esq., in the 89th year of his age. Through a long life of great usefulness he sustained a character of the most unimpeachable integrity."



The lock, used by the Schaffners when they entered the old stone church. It now bolts the front west entrance of the present First Reformed Church. The lock bears the following inscription (in German): Now go we into the church, and may our Savior Jesus Christ be with us; yea, not only today and as long as we are upon earth, but as long as our soul lives. Jesus, Son of God, has the crown of honor; may He, on Heaven's throne, help us too.

I am come to call the sinners to repentance, and not the righteous. Matt. 9: 13.

THE SCHAFFNER FAMILY GENEALOGY

1. *John Caspar Schaffner*, b. Nov. 1712, d. Apr. 1773.  
 Came to America Aug. 17, 1733.  
 m. Anna Maria Knobel, Dec. 30, 1735, (dau. of Peter and Ursula)

Issue:

1. John Caspar, 1737-1826 (see below).
2. (?) Peter (see below).
3. (?) Anna Maria (no record of birth).  
 m. Jacob Eichholtz (butcher) Oct. 25, 1762.  
 Issue: Catharine, 1767-1840, m. John George Matter.  
 Elizabeth, 1776.  
 (Anna Maria was still living, but a widow, in 1825).
4. John George, 1746 (died before 1757).
5. Mary Magdalene, b. Apr. 22, 1748, d. before 1773.  
 m. Caspar Jost, Apr. 24, 1766.  
 (Her children mentioned but not named in her father's will.)
6. John Paul, May 24, 1749, d. before 1773.
7. Anna Margaret, b. June 20, 1752.  
 m. Gottlieb Naumann, sometime after 1773.  
 Issue: George m. Sally.  
 Issue: Marianne.  
 (Margaret Naumann was living, though a widow, in 1825.)  
 Caspar Schaffner III, mentions his "Nephew Caspar Naumann," in  
 his will. This must be a son of Margaret or of George Naumann.
8. John, Oct. 28, 1754, d. before 1773.
9. John George, b. June 21, 1757, d. about 1820.  
 Revolutionary officer.
10. Charlotte, b. Jan. 13, 1759, d. before 1773.
11. Salome, b. Mar. 1, 1761, d. 1768.

1. *John Caspar Schaffner II*, b. Oct. 1737, d. Feb. 1826.  
 m. 1st, Maria Elizabeth Kuntz, dau. of Jacob and Anna Margaret.  
 Dec. 2, 1760. She died 1783.

Issue:

1. John Jacob, b. Mar. 20, 1762, d. before 1772.
2. Anna Maria, b. 1763 (?), d. 1769.
3. *Caspar III*, b. Feb. 18, 1767, d. Feb. 3, 1825. (Lancaster Cemetery.)  
 m. Anna Maria Hall, dau. of Charles and Salome (Le Roy), Aug.  
 18, 1791. No issue.
4. John Jacob, b. Mar. 11, 1772, d. between 1788 and 1825.  
 Student at Franklin College, 1788.

m. 2d, Esther Kuntz, widow of Frantz Kuntz (aunt by marriage of his first wife), 1786. She died without issue before 1825.

2. Peter Schaffner, b. 173—, d. between 1794 and 1825.  
m. 1st, Esther . . . . . about 1764; she died Mar. 15, 1786.

Issue:

1. Caspar, b. Oct. 30, 1765.
2. Elizabeth, b. Aug. 18, 1767, d. May 26, 1773.
3. John, b. Jan. 4, 1770.
4. Anna Maria, b. 1772.  
m. Caspar Brunner, Apr. 21, 1790. (Lancaster Cemetery.)  
son: Caspar, b. Sept. 2, 1792. (Lancaster Cemetery.)
5. "A child" b. Oct. 1, 1773.
6. John, b. Mar. 20, 1776, d. Jan. 7, 1795.
7. Salome, b. Apr. 2, 1779, still living 1795.
8. George, b. Oct. 23, 1781.
9. Margaret, b. June 12, 1784.  
m. 2d, Margaret Kuntz, widow of John Kuntz, brother-in-law of Caspar Schaffner II.

Issue:

1. Susanna, b. Dec. 31, 1790.
2. Peter, b. Mar. 18, 1791.
3. "A child" b. and d. 1794 (lived 11 months).



THE BELL ON THE HICKORY TREE

This bell hung on the hickory tree near the courthouse in the square. Later it was placed in the Reformed church, where, on the occasion of an Indian attack upon the town, about 1758, it was rung to arouse the inhabitants by Salome LeRoy, who became the mother-in-law of Casper Schaffner, III.