

Assimilating into the American Milieu: French Huguenots in Eighteenth-Century Lancaster County

By Willis L. Shirk, Jr.

Though French Huguenots preceded Germans in occupying the region now encompassed by Lancaster County, the cultural impact of their presence is nearly invisible today. Just as Huguenot settlers at Waltwick, Hurley, and New Paltz in what is now New York State gradually became assimilated into the dominant Holland Dutch culture of the Hudson River Valley, so the early French Huguenots who penetrated into Pennsylvania's back country adapted themselves to a rapidly evolving and predominantly Germanic cultural milieu. From their earliest arrival, some French Huguenots were involved with the Indian fur trade while others sought out opportunities as farmers or merchants. Even those who depended primarily on farming for their sustenance were quick to form marriage alliances with local English, Welsh and German church families. In contrast, most of the German Mennonites who migrated in large numbers into southeastern Pennsylvania during the same period became wedded to a rural agriculture settlement pattern that tended to insulate their communities even in the face of mounting pressure toward Anglicization throughout southeastern Pennsylvania.¹

In part, French Huguenots rapidly assimilated into an emerging "American" culture during the eighteenth century because they were a cultural minority in nearly every region of colonial America. Despite their relatively early arrival in southeastern Pennsylvania, the inexorable flood of German migration soon dwarfed the tiny Huguenot settlements within the present boundaries of Lancaster County.² By 1718, the earliest tax assessment list for Conestoga in the present Lancaster County listed 43 English surnames, 78 Swiss-German surnames, and only 7 surnames which can be identified as belonging to French Huguenot families.³ These seven surnames included several French names that had already

been Germanized.

Among the earliest Huguenot arrivals in Pennsylvania were Jacques and Ann Letort, natives of Bonnetable in northern France who fled across the channel to London in 1685 following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Jacques Letort briefly considered entering the service of the Elector of Brandenburg in 1686 but ultimately accepted an invitation by London merchant Sir Mathias Vincent to look after a 10,000-acre estate Vincent had recently purchased along the Schuylkill River in Pennsylvania.⁴ The Letorts were accompanied on their journey to the Schuylkill by the family of Gosse Ronnin, a Huguenot indentured servant who was bound to serve Vincent for four years.⁵ When Mathias Vincent died unexpectedly the following year, London merchant Dr. Daniel Coxe provided Jacques Letort with an inventory of goods with which to enter into the Indian fur trade on his behalf.⁶ Letort subsequently leased from Coxe a 400-acre tract on the Schuylkill located about thirty miles north of Philadelphia.⁷ Within a few short years of fleeing their homeland to escape religious persecutions, the Letorts found themselves lucratively engaged in Pennsylvania's Indian fur trade.

The area along the Schuylkill in which the Letorts settled had long been occupied by Swedish traders who were jealous of any competition for the Indian fur trade.⁸ As fur bearing animal populations had steadily decreased, local Indians had pushed their fur expeditions further into the back country antagonizing both more remote Indian tribes and French Canadian traders operating in the Great Lakes region. It is not surprising that French-speaking newcomers would arouse suspicion among such long settled Swedish and English traders. With the fur trade along the Schuylkill greatly diminished, French-speaking Huguenot traders threatened the very livelihood of the earliest settled Swedish and English traders.

In 1690, in the midst of King William's War, Jacques Letort was compelled to return to England in order to settle some business affairs.⁹ During his absence, his wife Anne carried on the Indian fur trade with the assistance of her children and servants.¹⁰ At about the same period, Jacques Letort's eldest son, James, was bound out for five years of service to John King in Philadelphia.¹¹ Provincial records show that by 1692 Anne Letort was in business with Pierre Bizaillion, a renegade French Canadian *coureur de bois* and another of Dr. Coxe's Huguenot agents named John Dubroix.¹² Fearing the advantage Bizaillion's knowledge of the back country would give to the Letorts, in 1693 local Swedish and English fur traders raised accusations that Anne Letort harbored sympathy toward French Papists, had established contacts with "strange" Indians, and was promoting attacks on Swedish traders.¹³ Though Anne was acquitted of these charges before Pennsylvania's governor and council, upon his return from England Jacques Letort was required to give sureties that he would keep the provincial government informed of Indian, and especially French Canadian, activities in the back county.¹⁴ Shortly thereafter, Pierre Bizaillion and Jacques Letort became deeply involved with Martin Chartier, another renegade *coureur de bois*, who was then living among a Shawnee tribe recently settled on Conestoga Creek in the present Lancaster County.¹⁵ Within a few short years the Letorts would relocate to a site within the present bounds of the county.

In 1696, after the death of her husband, Anne Letort resided briefly in Kent County, Delaware, while her son completed his years of servitude to John King in Philadelphia.¹⁶ Upon completing his service, the young James Letort immediately entered into the fur trade on his own behalf, moving with his mother to the Conestoga Manor in the present Lancaster County about 1700. Licensed by Penn's secretary, James Logan, to carry on the fur trade in this place, the Letorts enjoyed a thriving business during the opening decades of the eighteenth century.

While Anne remained seated in Conestoga Manor, her son James established a separate trading post in the present East Donegal Township and subsequently moved his business to the present site of Carlisle. As a result of the trust reposed in him by the colonial authorities, between 1728 and 1730 James Letort served as an interpreter for the governor of Pennsylvania in negotiations with Indian tribes living at Shamokin and west of the Alleghenies.¹⁷ Despite the prominent role played on the colonial frontier by French Huguenots such as the Letorts, the cultural composition of Pennsylvania's frontier was undergoing dramatic change. When Ann Letort died at her Conestoga Manor store in 1728, her children and grandchildren were witnessing an ever increasing flood of migration by German, English and Scots-Irish farmers into the region now encompassed by Lancaster County.

Ann Letort's Conestoga store has not survived, nor is any estate inventory for her known to exist. Though he was not a Huguenot and was, in fact, married to a Shawnee woman, Martin Chartier's 1781 estate inventory is one of the few contemporary documents that shed light on the lives of French Indian traders who lived in eighteenth-century Lancaster County. At the time of his death, Chartier's Conestoga "store" contained implements connected with daily survival in the back country such as a pair of plow irons, a swingle tree tackle, four saddles, a kettle, two wedges, a handsaw, a draw knife, two augers, two sickles, two horse collars, eight bags of summer wheat, a pair of brass stilliards, two casks of salt and a quantity of rope and lumber. The cellar contained tobacco, tallow, cork and a grindstone. The dwelling house contained one frying pan, one brass skillet, one froe and axe, one iron pot with hangers, one pewter basin, two jugs, one candlestick, one quart tin, one file and a chisel. The sparseness of this private living space stands in stark contrast to the quantity of objects purchased for sale to the Indians since the "Upper Store" contained a vast assortment of duffels, strowd, thicks, blankets, gunpowder, looking glasses, brass kettles, knives, hatchets, screw boxes, lead shot, beads, flints, steel awls, buttons, thread, stockings, oznaburg shirts, ribbon, Jew's harps and razors. The balance of the tally consisted of assorted furs that had been purchased from the Indians and brought the total value of the estate to just over £366.¹⁸ Suggesting a spartan private living space that contrasted with a very full inventory of trade goods, Chartier's household was probably not atypical of the homes of many contemporary French Indian traders. The inventory illustrates a way of life that was nearly gone by the time of Anne Letort's death in 1728.

Other French Huguenot refugees who entered what became Lancaster County at an early date included Mary Ferree, the widow of a wealthy silk

manufacturer from Alsace-Lorraine. In the wake of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Mary and her husband Daniel Ferree had fled to Landau in the Rhenish Palatinate in 1685 accompanied by their five children and a ten-year-old boy named Isaac Lefever. Daniel Ferree died at Steinweiler in 1687, the same year in which Mary gave birth to the couple's last child.¹⁹ According to French custom, the young widow thereafter reverted to using her maiden name of Mary Warenbuer. In the wake of the War of the Spanish Succession that wreaked havoc in the Palatinate, Mary, her six children, and Isaac Lefever emigrated to Holland about 1708. By that period, Mary's eldest son Daniel had married Anna Maria Leininger who bore his two children in 1701 and 1703 respectively. Isaac Lefever had also married Mary's eldest daughter Katherine in 1703.²⁰ The Daniel Ferree and Isaac Lefever families soon departed Holland for London carrying a certificate from the Reformed Walloon Church of Pelican and a passport from the civil authorities in the Palatinate. From London Daniel Ferree and Isaac Lefever arrived on the "Globe" at New York on 1 January 1709 and joined the Freer, Dubois, Hasbruck, Bevier, Lefever, and Deyo families already seated at Esopus on the Hudson.²¹ Mary Warenbuer Ferree and her remaining children arrived in England from Holland on 6 May 1709 and may have departed for New York in June of that year. Despite numerous contradictions and discrepancies among various historians and genealogists, all accounts agree that the Ferree and Lefever families spent several years living at the French Huguenot settlement of Esopus before migrating to the present Lancaster County. A family tradition asserts that Mary's son Phillip spent a year working for Abraham Dubois at Esopus prior to the family's departure for Pequea in the present Lancaster County in 1712.²²

A small group of Swiss-German Mennonites had already begun carving farms out of the Pequea wilderness in October of 1710, two years prior to the arrival of the Ferree and Lefever families. Above 10,000 acres were warranted to Hans Herr, Christian Herr, Martin Kindig, Jacob Miller, Martin Oberholtzer, John Funk, Hans Graeff, Wendell Bauman, Martin Mylin, Christopher Franciscus and Michael Oberholtzer.²³ By 1714, Martin Kindig had sold his initial holdings and returned to the Palatinate to induce an additional thirty Mennonite families to emigrate to Conestoga. Mary Warenbuer Ferree settled on the 2000-acre tract that was transferred from Martin Kindig to Isaac Lefever and her son Daniel Ferree on 10 September 1712.²⁴

Legend asserts that, at their arrival, the Ferrees and Lefevers were welcomed and given shelter by Chief Tanawha of the Pequea Indians at a spring located near the present site of the Leacock Presbyterian Church.²⁵ One account further relates that Philip and Leah Ferree established their home on the north bank of the Pequea Creek where they cut grass on the broad natural meadows for the purpose of making hay and "for a shelter, house and barn, they placed timbers forked at the top, into the ground, laid poles across them, built their hay upon the frame, which served as a roof to their house, under which they lived several months."²⁶ Traditional accounts further claim that Mary Ferree lived in a log dwelling at the spring where she first treated with the Indians. This spring was said to have been located near a township bridge along the road to Intercourse.²⁷ By the time of her death in 1716, her original rude one-room

log cabin had been replaced by a somewhat larger log dwelling that may also have contained only a single room. Neither structure has survived.

Early accounts that describe Mary Ferree's burial in the private Ferree cemetery near the present Leacock Presbyterian Church provide some idea of how thinly settled the region was during those years.²⁸ The private cemetery is today known as "Carpenter's Graveyard" and is, in fact, located on the east side of Black Horse Road adjacent to the railroad cut south of the town of Paradise.²⁹ Containing eighty-eight gravestones, of which nineteen are associated with Ferree surnames and twelve with Lefever surnames, this graveyard is located upon the original Ferree tract of 1712. The Lefever family cemetery is located about one half mile north of Strasburg on the south side of North Star Road upon a tract of land purchased by Isaac Lefever in 1716.³⁰ The latter graveyard measures fifty-one by sixty-nine feet and contains thirty-four stones, twenty-seven of which bear either Lefever or Ferree surnames. Mary Warenbuer Ferree's estate inventory reveals that she owned a French family Bible, one cow, one chest, one kettle and one pot, again illustrating the spartan nature of Lancaster County's earliest Huguenot homes.³¹ As a widow, Mary Ferree's inventory is naturally more sparse than that of a male trader such as Martin Chartier. Lacking either farm produce or Indian Trade merchandise, it clearly betrays enduring ethnic and religious attachments by the presence of the French family Bible that was printed at Geneva in 1608.

The relative proximity of the Ferree and Lefever family burial plots to a Presbyterian church reflects the understandable tendency for French Huguenot families to associate themselves with New World congregations having strong Calvinist roots. When the first log church was erected at Leacock in 1739 it was under the Presbytery of New Castle and by 1741 the congregation was under the predominantly Scots-Irish Presbytery of Donegal. The oldest portion of the present stone building was constructed by 1754.³² By the middle of the eighteenth century it was probably becoming increasingly apparent to local French Huguenot families that the absence of new French arrivals from Europe meant that the tiny community would not grow fast enough to preserve a separate French identity.

As with "the Duzine" who established the French Huguenot settlement at New Paltz in New York, the early French settlers at Pequea probably originally hoped to establish a uniquely French community. Indeed, such expectations were reinforced in 1713 when Daniel Lefever became the first European child to be born at Pequea.³³ When Philip Ferree of Pequea married Leah Dubois of New Paltz in 1713, Leah's father resolved to accompany the young couple to the fledgling Pequea settlement. In 1718, he purchased 1000 acres along the Conestoga Creek adjacent to the Ferree and Lefever tracts.³⁴ During these early years, the open character of the Conestoga wilderness did not preclude the possibility that some portion of its domain might emerge as a permanent French ethnic enclave.

Among other French Huguenots who joined the early Pequea settlement was the family of Mathias Schleiermacher (later Slaymaker) from Strasbourg who fled the Palatinate in company with fifty other Huguenot families. He apparently first made contact with the Ferrees and Lefevers either while living

in the Palatinate or in Holland, and subsequently purchased the "London Lands" in the present Strasburg Township, Lancaster County.³⁵ Having first Germanized and then Anglicized their name, the Slaymakers were content to also relinquish a specifically French Calvinism. At the time of Mathias's death in 1763, his wife and seven children were members of the Leacock Presbyterian Church.³⁶ Many Slaymaker family gravestones are still to be found in the graveyard of this church that is located on the south side of Route 340 west of Intercourse.

Unlike the German sectarians who surrounded them, descendants of French Huguenot settlers were quick to choose sides in the political and military affairs of the colonies. Mathias Slaymaker's sons, for example, distinguished themselves by serving England in the French and Indian War and the American colonies during the Revolution. Nearly eighty years ago H. Frank Eshleman, in his detailed study of German settlers in southeastern Pennsylvania mistakenly identified the Ferree and Lefever families at Pequea as being Mennonites. While the records clearly demonstrate this was not the case, it is nonetheless likely that these early French Huguenots who had previously spent time in the German Palatinate probably spoke German before they spoke English and most likely lived in Germanic form houses which they filled with Germanic style furnishings. By 1717, the German-speaking Conestoga settlement numbered more than 66 families and included at least one brick maker, one miller, one blacksmith, two physicians, as well as a number of house carpenters and weavers. Just as their French countrymen who had settled along the Hudson adopted the Holland Dutch style building forms that still survive at New Paltz, so the earliest log and stone cabins of the Ferree, Lefever, Dubois and Slaymaker families of Pequea were probably not unlike those constructed by their German-speaking neighbors.³⁷

Carrying from the old country a long tradition of living on scattered farmsteads, the German-speaking Mennonites of the county preferred to live exclusively on rural farmsteads long after more recently arrived English Anglicans, Quakers, Scots-Irish and church Germans laid out the city of Lancaster in 1730. In contrast to the ethnic mingling that characterized early Lancaster Town, the self-imposed isolation of their rural communities made it easier for the Mennonite population to retain a separate cultural identity as newer immigrants of different religious and ethnic backgrounds began to occupy the new county.

Unlike their Mennonite neighbors, German settlers belonging to Lutheran and Reformed churches were more likely to congregate in small towns where some among their number engaged in mercantile and other non-agricultural pursuits. By the 1750s, the tax rolls for the town of Lancaster listed an increasing number of German surnames among those identified as artisans, masons, plasterers, carpenters, joiners, blacksmiths, locksmiths, gunsmiths and common laborers.³⁸ Over the course of time, such urbanized church Germans were quicker than their Mennonite neighbors to embrace the English language and English schooling as tools whereby they might improve the lot of their children in a steadily Anglicizing culture.³⁹ While the tight bonds of community among the Mennonites were continually reinforced by the expectations that their young people would marry within their faith, local French Huguenots freely intermarried

with many different ethnic and religious groups.

Just as Germans who belonged to the Lutheran and Reformed congregations were more likely to congregate in small towns and engage in mercantile pursuits, local French Huguenots were also more likely to broaden their bonds of community to include those different from themselves in religion and language. In the process, they tended to lose their uniquely French and Huguenot identity as they joined English or German church congregations and spoke the language of their neighbors. When Jean and Margaret Mathiot departed from Montbelliard, France, for Lancaster in 1754, for example, they soon joined Trinity Lutheran Church and their children subsequently married into such prominent local Anglican, Quaker and German church families as the Atlees, Barbers, Carpenters, Hagers, Ebermans, Wislers, Wikes and Weavers.⁴⁰ Just as urbanized German families were quicker than German Mennonites to embrace the English language and English schooling as a tool by which they hoped to improve the lot of their children, local French Huguenots also chose the path of rapid assimilation into a steadily Anglicizing culture as being the most beneficial course for ensuring the future prospects of their children.

When the Mathiots' eldest son, John, married Susanna Weaver in 1783 he first worked as a tailor at the southeast corner of King and Jefferson Streets in the city of Lancaster. The young couple later moved to Columbia where John opened a dry goods and lumber business in partnership with a Michael Gundaker.⁴¹ The Mathiots' surviving 1797 home on Walnut Street in Columbia reflects English Georgian tastes with its balanced five bay facade and handsome corner fireplaces. Where homes of early French Huguenot families have survived they tend to reflect the styles current with ethnic groups among whom they settled and with whom they frequently intermarried. The oldest portion of "White Chimneys," the ancestral Slaymaker family home near Gap, is a one room stone tavern built by a Welsh Quaker named Samuel Jones. The building descended to the French Huguenot Slaymaker family by marriage.⁴² The Slaymakers greatly enlarged the one room stone cabin into the present Federal style mansion which is a fitting symbol of the alacrity with which local French Huguenot families embraced a distinctly American identity.

The sheer number of Germans who occupied Berks, Chester, Lebanon, Lancaster and York Counties indelibly stamped the landscape of southeastern Pennsylvania with Germanic building forms filled with Germanic style objects. The circa 1730 Eschleman cabin in Strasburg Township illustrates a typical one story three room Germanic floor plan with a cellar under roughly half of the building.⁴³ The 1719 Christian Herr and the 1724 Johannes Weber houses in West Lampeter Township are somewhat more expansive examples of this Germanic central-chimney plan house type. Though descendants of the Eschleman, Herr and Weber families eventually began constructing houses incorporating English design features such as central halls and end chimneys by the middle of the eighteenth century, they were able to retain far more of their German culture than their French-speaking neighbors retained of their native French culture. Any lingering fragments of French language, customs and material culture seem to have been eclipsed within the first generation of settlement as some French

families, such as the Ferrees, Germanized their names to Forrey and resided in Germanic-form houses built by local German craftsmen. While few early homes known to have been occupied by French Huguenots have survived in Lancaster County, a number of dwellings occupied by such French Huguenot families as the Zellers (Zellaires) in Lebanon County and the DeTurks and Bertolets in the Oley Valley of Berks County have survived to our time. It is ironic that these homes occupied by French Huguenot families such as "Fort Zeller," the DeTurk cabin, and Bertolet cabin represent some of the finest examples of Swiss-German domestic architecture to have survived from colonial Pennsylvania.⁴⁴

If evidence concerning the homes in which Lancaster County's earliest French inhabitants lived is sparse, documentation on their domestic furnishings is even more scarce. Only a few estate inventories for French decedents have survived from the eighteenth century and these are disproportionately weighted in favor of the wealthiest landholders. Even so, the inventory of Andrew Ferree which was valued at just over £152 in 1735, lists only two chests, two feather beds, sundry wood, pewter and ironware, two pot racks, a spinning wheel and a large Bible as household items in a list devoted primarily to farm animals, produce, implements and woodworking tools.⁴⁵ The inventory of Daniel Ferree, who died in 1751, covers four pages, much of it devoted to farm animals, quantities of hemp, flax, butter and sundry agricultural paraphernalia.⁴⁶ Unlike many German inventories of the period that often list wearing apparel as a single item, Daniel's wardrobe is described in considerable detail. It included seventeen shirts, five jackets, two pairs of trousers, four pairs of britches, two pairs of men's gloves, one pair of shoes and a hat. Five walnut chairs, a cutlery box, a water pot, a brass kettle, an iron kettle, two iron pots, an iron frying pan and sundry brass bottles and stone and earthen jugs constitute the extent of the household furnishings. Despite the paucity of household furniture, Daniel Ferree's estate was valued at a respectable £824 and was not atypical for the period when compared to contemporary estates of his German-speaking neighbors.

The inventory of Philip Lefever of Lampeter Township who died in 1766 runs three pages and enumerates a considerable quantity of woodworking tools among the usual listing of agricultural implements, farm animals, and field crops.⁴⁷ The presence of "10 Dutch Scythes and their Sneads [Snaths] ready hung" and "13 old axes" suggest that Philip was supplying local German farmers with agricultural tools which he made or repaired in his shop. His inventory of tools included a hand screw, three crosscut saws, a whip saw, three adzes, three handsaws, nine new augers, nine finished augers and "eighty-six augers not quit finished." His personal woodworking tools included "a large vise & a great number of Little Tools and Sundry Articles Too Tedious to mention about his workbench." Philip Lefever was apparently also employed in making guns as evidenced by the presence in his estate of ten smooth bore guns, nine rifles, seven old guns, three gun barrels, three old pistols, five rifling rods, 14 boring rods and 13 gun locks. With a total estate valued at more than £2,700, Philip's inventory reveals the extent to which French Huguenots engaged in trades were prospering by the middle of the eighteenth century. The luxurious nature of his

home is illustrated by his household furnishings that included five chests, a dresser, four beds and bedsteads, a set of green bed curtains, seven sheets, two pillows, two bolster cases, two coverlets, three table cloths, two spinning wheels, a kitchen dresser and a clock with case. His library reflected the cultural duality that must have characterized the lives of many first generation French Huguenot families. He owned a "Dutch Bible in four volumes" and a Dutch psalm book in addition to his French family Bible and two French psalm books.

The inventory of Daniel Ferree of Strasburg Township, who died in 1762, was considerably more modest, containing one horse with a saddle and bridle, one cow, one bed with bed clothes, one chest, one bedstead, a quantity of old iron, sundry books and one old axe, but also £55 in cash.⁴⁸ The inventory of John Ferree, who died in 1769, contained an insignificant amount of cash but included a silver watch, a poplar cupboard, a black walnut chest, two tables, eight old chairs, a poplar chest, an old chest and a bedstead among other items.⁴⁹ The estate of Philip Ferree of Strasburg Township, who died in 1896, reflects the improvements common to increasing numbers of upwardly mobile Lancaster City yeoman farmers at the dawn of the Republic.⁵⁰ His estate was valued at £1042 and included a silver watch, one chest of drawers, a small walnut table, a dining table, a small stand, a large kitchen table, six Windsor chairs, one arm chair, four beds and bedsteads complete with blankets, coverlets, pillows, and bolsters, a small looking glass, a six plate stove, a ten plate stove and a damaged looking glass. Other luxury items that reflected the rapid expansion of America's consumer market included glasses and creamware, a set of china cups and saucers, sixteen pewter plates, five dishes, fifteen spoons, a coffeepot, seven tin cups, eight pewter plates, and unspecified quantity of queensware and a pewter tankard. The total inventory runs to four very full pages that suggest little to distinguish this French yeoman farmer's household from the households of his German or English-speaking neighbors.

Tall case clocks and six plate stoves were very common in the houses of German-speaking yeoman farmers in eighteenth-century Lancaster County. It is interesting, therefore, that the only tall case clock and both stoves listed in these French family estates appear in the most recent inventory. This suggests that many local French families, like some local English and Scots-Irish settlers, placed less emphasis on clocks as status symbols than did their German-speaking neighbors and apparently also relied more heavily on open fireplaces rather than stoves for heating. In the one inventory where a furniture type is mentioned it is the English Windsor chair, though these English style chairs were also quite common in local German households. Though notable differences can sometimes be found between the inventories of English, Scots-Irish and German settlers during the middle of the eighteenth century, aside from the presence of a few French language books none of these inventories could be identified as belonging to decedents of French ancestry if the surnames were removed from the documents. By the end of the century, the relentless progress of Anglicization and the subsequent separation of the colonies from Great Britain promoted the comparatively rapid Americanization of all ethnic groups living in the young Republic. Though France would aid the American colonies in their separation

from the mother country and the descendants of local French Huguenots fought for the American cause in the Revolution, by the dawn of the American Republic no uniquely French community any longer existed within the county.

Despite the presence of 404 local listings in Lancaster County telephone directories having surnames traceable to the eighteenth-century French Huguenot migration, few French artifacts are to be found in the exhibits of local museums. During their years of exile in the Palatinate, Holland and England, the French Huguenots who ultimately settled in eighteenth-century Lancaster County had grown acclimated to living in an alien cultural environment. Isolated from their ancestral homeland and its evolving French culture, descendants of French Huguenot emigres were compelled to look to themselves to find their own way in a new world. Seeking economic opportunity at least as much as religious freedom, those who settled in what became Lancaster County were quick to assimilate into the constantly evolving local ethnic milieu. They were among the first to forge a uniquely American consciousness at a period when many colonists in southeastern Pennsylvania were only gradually shedding their German, English, Welsh or Scots-Irish identities.

Endnotes

1 One of the few recent accounts on local French settlers is Simone Vincent's "French Pioneers in Lancaster County," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* Volume 86 (1981): p. 157.

2 William Buchanan Gold, "Havens in Pennsylvania and Delaware," in *Huguenot Refugees in the Settling of Colonial North America* (Privately Printed: The Huguenot Society of America, 1993), pp. 205-215.

3 H. Frank Eshleman, *Historic Background and Annals of the Swiss and German Pioneer Settlers of Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, Pa.: Privately Printed, 1917), p. 204.

4 Evelyn A. Benson, "The Huguenot Letorts, First Christian Family on the Conestoga," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* Volume 65 (1961): p. 93. See also Logan Papers, Volume 11, p. 5 on deposit at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

5 Albert G. Zimmerman, "Daniel Coxe and the New Mediterranean Company," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* Volume 76 (1952): pp. 86-96.

6 Benson, pp. 86-96.

7 *Ibid.*, pp.95-96.

8 *Maryland Archives*, Volume 20, p. 406 and Volume 8, pp. 458-461

9 *Pennsylvania Archives*, Series 2, Volume 19, pp. 179-180.

10 Evelyn Benson, p. 96. *Maryland Archives*, Volume 8, pp. 341-354. *Provincial Records of Pennsylvania*, Volume 1, p. 397, 435.

11 Benson, p. 96.

12 *Maryland Archives*, Volume 8, pp. 341-354. *Provincial Records of Pennsylvania*, Volume 1, p. 397, 435.

13 Benson, pp. 97-98. Marion Wallace Reninger, "Ann Letort," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society*, Volume 64 (1960): p 50.

14 Benson, p. 98.

15 Charles Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail* (New York: Putnam Co., 1911), p. 167. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Series 1, Volume 1, p. 125. *Maryland Archives*, Volume 8, pp. 197-198, 181, 207, 518.

16 Benson, p. 103.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 103. Reninger, p. 50.

18 Barry C. Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1984), pp. 63-65.

19 C. I. Landis, "Madame Ferree and the Huguenots of Lancaster County," *Papers Read Before the Lancaster County Historical Society* Volume 21(1917): pp. 101-102.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 103.

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106. See I. Daniel Rupp, *History of Lancaster County* (Lancaster: Gilbert Hills, 1844), pp. 101-102.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 108.

23 Eshleman, pp. 147-150.

24 Landis, pp. 108-112.

25 Marion Wallace Reninger, "Madame Ferree," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* Volume 65 (1961), p. 148.

26 Rupp, p. 112.

27 Landis, p. 108.

28 Reninger, p. 148.

29 A. Hunter Rineer, ed., *Lancaster County Cemetery Inscriptions* Volume 21 (LCHS), p. 385. The current name of this graveyard is interesting since Daniel Ferree, Jr. married Mary Carpenter (the Anglicized version of Swiss name Zimmerman) in 1739. See Rupp, pp. 104-106.

30 *Ibid.*, Volume 6, p. 40.

31 Landis, p. 119.

32 Franklin Ellis and Samuel Evans, *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Everts & Peck, 1883), p. 919.

33 Landis, p. 108.

34 *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121.

35 Samuel R. Slaymaker II, "White Chimneys: 1807-1957," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* Volume 58 (1954): pp. 27-29. See also Rupp, p. 127, and Gold, pp. 210-211.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

37 Examples of surviving Holland Dutch stone cabins occupied by the Lefever and Bevier families in the Hudson River Valley can be found in Myren S. Teller's *The Early Stone Houses of Ulster County, New York* (Ulster County Historical Society, 1974), p. 10, 13, 18. Some authorities contend Schleiermacher is a Germanized form of a French surname, but according to H. C. Slaymaker, family historian, Mathias Schleiermacher, a German Calvinist, was born in Hesse Castle, Germany, and he emigrated to Strasburg in Alsace, which has been under both French and German rule. That Mathias was associated with the Huguenot settlers in Lancaster County is historical fact. Friedrich E. D. Schleiermacher (1768-1834), the famous Protestant theologian and philosopher, was a German, [Ed.].

38 Jerome H. Wood, Jr., *Conestoga Crossroads, Lancaster, Pennsylvania 1730-1790* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1979), pp. 121-137.

39 *Ibid.*, pp. 212-215.

40 Jack Ward Willson Loose, "The Mathiot Family of Lancaster County," *Papers Read before the Lancaster County Historical Society* Volume 58 (1954): p. 106.

41 *Ibid.*, pp. 108-105, John Mathiot's son, John (1784-1843) was elected sheriff of Lancaster County in 1819 and served as mayor of Lancaster, 1831-1843.

42 Samuel R. Slaymaker II, "White Chimneys: 1807-1957," *Journal of the*

Lancaster County Historical Society, Volume 61 (1957): pp. 27-29.

43 Scott T. Swank, *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1983), pp. 32-33.

44 Eleanor Raymond, *Early Domestic Architecture of Pennsylvania*, (West Chester, Pennsylvania: Schiffer Publishing Ltd., 1977), Plates 22 through 25 illustrate "Fort Zeller," Plate 53 shows one of the Bertolet cabins. The John DeTurk cabin is illustrated in the Rev. P. C. Croll's *Annals of the Oley Valley* (Reading, Pa.: Reading Eagle Press, 1926), p 44. Another Bertolet cabin is illustrated in Henry J. Kauffman's *Architecture of the Pennsylvania Dutch Country 1700-1900* (Elverson, Pa.: Olde Springfield Shoppe, 1992) p. 4.

45 Rupp, pp. 103-104.

46 Estate Inventory of Daniel Ferree of Strasburg Township, appraised 17 April 1751, Lancaster County Historical Society (LCHS).

47 Estate Inventory of Philip Lefever of Lampeter Township, appraised 2 October 1766, LCHS.

48 Estate Inventory of Daniel Ferree, appraised 7 August 1762, LCHS.

49 Estate Inventory of John Ferre, appraised 9 October 1769, LCHS.

50 Estate Inventory of Philip Ferree, appraised 9 June 1796, LCHS.

Willis L. Shirk, Jr. is a native of New Holland and a graduate of Garden Spot High School. After fifteen years employment in private industry, he returned to school in 1989, earning a B.A. in History from Millersville University, an M.A. in American Studies from Penn State University at Harrisburg, and is currently pursuing a Ph.D. in History at Temple University. Mr. Shirk has resided in Columbia for the past fifteen years.