

Paul Hostettler

**Of Bernese *Täufer*: Aspects of Local Origins,
Familial Growth, Migrations, and General
Attitude as Reflected in Pre-1750 Archival Sources**

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Preface

The fact that during and beyond the Reformation Christian baptism was practiced with different understandings, also resulted in various labels for baptism-minded groups that are used still today. In the Anglo-Saxon language-tradition the terms "Anabaptist" and "Anabaptism" have become widespread designations. The terms, however, are quite misleading if one considers the situation in the small regions of the State of Bern, and they actually conceal the very meaning that the word attempts to convey. Among those rural people the issue was *not* how the external forms of baptism were to be shaped, thus the debate was not about immersion versus the mere pouring of water nor about a single or a repeated baptismal act. By 1580 at the latest, the ecclesiastical books of the Bernese region Schwarzenburg document that the children of its inhabitants were regularly brought to the official houses of worship for baptism although it did not happen without opposition. Those who opposed official infant baptism were rather concerned about the consequences baptism was to have for the faith and practice of individuals as well as of the religious community at large. Unfortunately the misunderstanding became widespread as if re-baptism had been the basic issue.

In the 18th century, the spelling *Widertäufer* "Anabaptist" (see title on page 169) seems to have been common and, Paul Hostettler claims, indicates

a primary meaning of *oppositional*, *starrköpfig*, *widerwärtig* “opposed,” not so much “again.” Their opposition, Hostettler claims, was just as much secular, that is, anti-Bernese elite which they considered to be exploitative, thus they were *wider*, “against,”—aspects of the state religion as well as the state’s economic and political system. Therefore this article uses throughout the term *Täufer* or *Täuferglauben* in conformity with the primary sources except in quotations from the Alsace that use the term “anabaptiste” which also was carried to Pennsylvania. It is important, however, to understand that in the view of Bernese authorities the label *Täufer* mainly implied being a rebel. Although these people also opposed conditions in the State Church, viewing them as being questionable, they did not leave the institution and they were not only opposing the State’s religious, but also secular authority which in their view was undermining ancient basic rights.

1. Sources and Abbreviations

Unfortunately there are almost no entries about rents for most of the homesteads of the hamlet Nidegg that in the 17th century had been a kind of exclusive reserve for Bernese bankers. The entries have vanished, also those of Winterkaut/ Wahlern. This means that answers to pertinent questions become more difficult. In Wahlern ecclesiastical death registers began only in 1730, thus only lists of contracts provide information about the passing of a person. Since there are identical names for numerous persons, identification becomes difficult, often even impossible. Given the many people, it is understandable that the pastors of the extensive communes of Wahlern and Guggisberg made only the most rudimentary entries about ecclesiastical matters. It means that most useful data as to place and homestead are unfortunately not available. What is missing, may be derived partially only from records kept in the State Archives of Bern and Fribourg and in the ecclesiastical archives of Wahlern and Guggisberg.¹

Sources and Abbreviations Used:

State Archive Bern [StABE]

Täufer Manual; Departmental Books; Contract-, Rent-, and Tithe-Books of the District Schwarzenburg [B III etc., ÄSb X, Bez. Sb A No. XX]. Since about 1600 microfilms of the Church Books of the parishes Wahlern, Guggisberg, and Albligen [K Wa XX, K Gu XX, KAlb XX. The order of StABE: For example K 1 Wahlern is cited as K Wa1/page number].

State Archive Fryburg [StAFR]

Vogtei Schwarzenburg [Sb] Note: Sb2–14 are available in boxes.

Communal Registers

Those of Wahlern before 1750 are missing; the Organ Contribution List (Orgelspenden-Rodel) of 1759 is the earliest source that covers the whole area of the commune Wahlern and is arranged according to family and homestead. Before, there exists only the Land Register of 1702 with about 50 names and the corresponding homesteads.

Guggisberg, in contrast, has the Registers of Inhabitants of 1715, 1736, and 1777 that list families and their homesteads [EReg Gu 1715 etc., edited by P. Hostettler]

Ecclesiastical Court Manuals [Chorgrichts-Manuale]

Those of Wahlern and Guggisberg provide more or less detailed information about individuals and their place of residence [ChGM Wa XX; CH Gu XX]. Page numbers are given after a slash [.../xx]

2. The Waldensian-Shaped Täufer Centers Nidegg and Winterkraut

The medieval Waldensian evangelization in Guggisberg has remained largely unknown. The Roman Inquisition had violently destroyed it,² but it was revived at the turn of the 16th to the 17th century. The leading Waldensian named Glodo Bifrare had used an inventive method for his Waldensian Glodo-people from Savoy.³ As a foreigner he took on over thirty godparentships, and one may assume that he also introduced his godchildren carefully to his Christian persuasion. Although to a somewhat less extent, Abraham Willet, noted as a French-speaking Täufer on the Furen near Wyden, also made similar efforts as did women such as Elsi Schüner, Elsi Werli, Anna Zand and Madle Jutzeler who as godparents served as a kind of parish helpers in the typical manner of a lay movement. Their activities led to the emergence of the Täufer centers Nidegg and Winterkraut.

Beyeler	Jacob & Peter	1599	Äsb C/564
Beyeler	Ulrich	1627	Äsb C/558
Binggeli	Jeremias, Täufer at Wyden	1584	K Wa 1/424
Binggeli	Peter, Täufer at Wyden	1598	Äsb D/15s
Binggeli	Rudolf, Täufer at Wyden	1581	Äsb F/265s
Binggeli (Pinckheli)	Hanns, Täufer at Wyden	1581/1602	Äsb F/265; D/1
Bucher	Uli	1545	A II 159; RM/295, 319
Buwman	–	1601	Äsb D/25
Gasser	Elsbeth	1590	K Wa 1/306
Gasser	Simeon, at Führen	1615	Äsb C/543, 548, 574
Horst	Jacob, Täufer at Ahorn	1589	Äsb D/7s; K Wa1/222
Hostettler-Beyeler	Uli & Anni, Anabaptists, Winterkraut	1646/1672	–
Jenni	Christen, Täufer, Dürrenboden	1612	Äsb D/35, 41, 43
Mannet	Claude, put to death	1615	Äsb C/543, 548, 574
Pfäuti	Dichtli & Barbara, Täuferin	1615/1623	Äsb C/574; D/59s
Reusser	Peter, at Furen, Winterkraut	1627	Äsb C/558

Rohrbach	Hieronymus	1590	Äsb C/542
Schärz	Jakob & Ullerich, <i>Täufer</i>	1614	Äsb D/51
Schmid	Jacob, from Rosenfeld, Tübingen	1609	B III 194, De Anabapt.
Stärnenbürger	Adam & Margret, <i>Täufer</i> Teacher	1612/1623	K Wa 2/51, 94
Rösslin	<i>Täufer</i> Teacher	1623	Äsb D/59s
Stoll	Bendicht, at Allmisried	1630	Äsb D/81–83, 95
Stoll	Hans	1630	Äsb D/95
Tausetbabi	–, <i>Täufer</i>	1634	Äsb C/543, No. 5
Thengeli	Lienhard	1590	Äsb C/542
Zand	Anna	1624	K Wa 2/126
Zand	Jacob	1607	A II 324; RM 13/52
Zand	Ruff	1615	Äsb C/574
Zbinden	Uli	1626	Äsb D/67

The small hamlet Nidegg opens up toward the midlands where the cold northeast wind blows often, while Winterkraut is protected from it. In a mild winter it may even happen that the pastures remains green. Nidegg has perhaps some half a dozen houses and is situated on an “Egg,” a highpoint passage, Winterkraut, however, lies on an open slope with some stately homesteads. Single farmsteads forming several hamlets are the norm.

One aspect is to be noted: Winterkraut is crossed by a small road that leads from the cheese dairy Nöthenhaus down the whole slope to the Schwarzwasser towards Wislisau. This so-called country road also marks the boundary between the communes of Guggisberg and Wahlern so that houses along the road may belong either to the one or the other.

A second aspect needs to be pointed out: In 17th century Nidegg as well as Winterkraut there were homesteads where several related families of the same name resided which preserved marked local continuity.⁴ When after the Peace of Westphalia the large emigration began, people left in groups while generally someone of the family stayed back at the homestead. In case of need, the person who remained could give refuge to those who had emigrated and in a way also preserved the “Heimatrecht,” the right of residence for eventual returners.

A noteworthy third aspect is the great number of children in many families. Child mortality at that time was higher than today; if a first name of a child occurs twice in a given family, it meant mostly that the earlier child had died.

3. Anabaptist Homesteads and Their Inhabitants in the District Winterkraut

What follows is a kind of walkabout in order to get an overview of the *Täufer* homesteads and their inhabitants.

*Matten: The old Jacob Zand, 16 June 1600, Täufer at the Matten*⁵

Bailiff Kohler, the younger, sent an inquiry to his government in Bern how he ought to proceed. The old *Zand* at the *Matten* had taken in a young *Täufer*, without the permission of the authorities and without people knowing from where he had come. Also the single daughter-in-law was living at the homestead as if she were married for two years already to that young Anabaptist, or perhaps she had married him with the assistance of an *Täuferlehrer* instead of a pastor. One ought to find more about it.

*Matten: Hans Zand and Paul Zand, 1629, Widertäufer at the Matten*⁶

Under the rubric "Taking-in" (*Einnemmen*), the bailiff of Schwarzenburg had to make a notation already about "*Zandt Hanns and Paulj*," both because of a "trespass." The biography of *Hans Zand* clarifies that "trespass" referred to *Täufertum*. Those fined together with *Hans* and *Paul Zand* may therefore be viewed as probably having been a *Täufer*. *Hans Zand*, son of *Jacob Zand* was still listed in the military register of 1610 as a halberd carrier, possibly less than voluntarily in light of his "trespass," and had gone abroad, thereby leaving his wife behind at the *Matten*. That is how bailiff *Rihiner* describes the situation in 1629 when the wife *Hans* had left behind died and a complicated settlement of the estate had ensued. The heirs considered it as a woman's estate, yet the Council in Bern as *Täufer* property. The bailiff suspected that, since the inhabitants of the *Matten* who had been fully identified as *Täufer* in persuasion, the woman left behind had defrauded the government of some *Täufer* property⁷ in the context of an earlier "division."

*Matten: Ulli/Dichtli Schärtz-Pauli, 1603–1611*⁸

Again such a hard-boiled stubborn *Täufer*! He was to be brought to the border and expelled. When the bailiff went afterwards to his wife and child in order to divide up the property, he met with the firm expectation of those left behind that he was entitled only to a child's portion.

*Matten, Christen Zbinden 1669/70*⁹

Christen Zbinden hid *Täufers* who were listed for apprehension and protected them from the police. It was a deed against a governmental order and punishable.

*Reitweg/Riedweg? Jeremias Binggeli, 3 May 1584, baptized the son Jeremias*¹⁰

Hans Amman, *Täufer* in the village of Schwarzenburg and *Paul Zand*, *Täufer* of the *Matten* and *Coni Hafens*' wife *Elsi* at the *Gambach* served as witnesses. The pastor entered in the baptismal register: "The father himself, a *Täufer*, has reported the baptism to me, otherwise this was done by *Coni*

Binggeli at Engiwil.¹¹

*Reitweg/Riedweg? Christen Wyders Heirs, 1 August 1690*¹²

At the Reitweg the heirs of *Christen Wyder* shelter *Hans Stübi* from the Rüeeggisberg who from there exerts an evil influence. The order is given to throw him out like one who doesn't have a residence permit (Landrecht).

*Aborn: Anna Buri, 5 July 1725*¹³

Although rightfully 90 crowns could have been demanded from the division of the property of *Anna Buri*, Täuferin the Gracious Lords of Bern showed leniency and were satisfied with half.

*Aborn: Anna Buri, April 1726*¹⁴

According to the bailiff *Knecht* the billing consisted in *Ulli Mischler* paying 45 crowns at Steygen to him in the name of *Christen Gasser* for his mother in addition to the sum of 4 pounds for the informer.¹⁵

*Dürrenboden: Christen Jänni, 4 March 1612*¹⁶

Report concerning the inheritance that was due the escaped Täufer *Christen Jänni*.¹⁷ Bailiff *Kessler* heard from representative (Statthalter) *Venner* and other subjects that there was that *Christen Jänni* whose children had moved away and died and had left the father behind by himself. The (homestead) *Dürrenboden* was a nice house and place, but the *Jänni* in question was a very disobedient and rebellious Anabaptist who had sold the land already during the time of the late bailiff *Heiden*. But now he wanted it back. But that land had been truly confiscated and lost. The bailiff was unsure how to handle the issue.

*Dürrenboden: Simon Gasser 1615/1620*¹⁸

The Täufer *Simon Gasser* is fined twice heavily by the bailiff *Bartlome Knecht* who has been especially active in collecting Täufer money.

*Dürrenboden: Hans Gilgen, guardian of the late Hans Gilgen's children, 7 December 1738*¹⁹

The children of *Gilgen* are in French-speaking country and the bailiff *Hans Gilgen* looks after their schooling. But the younger son has died and the older daughter is supposed to have been murdered near Nyon.

*Wyden: Peter Pinggeli, Täufer, 11 May 1597*²⁰

Schwarzenburg. A division of property is to be done between *Peter Pinggeli* on the one hand and his wife and children on the other because *Pinggeli* suffers

from leprosy and needs to go to the house for the sick (Siechenhaus). But he refuses to go. But now one threatens, should he remain disobedient and insist (on staying), he was to be sent out of the country without means. The same applied to his disobedient wife in case she will not turn away from the *Täufer* faith. Otherwise her property would be confiscated to the advantage of the Gracious Lords.

Wyden: *Hans Binggeli, 22 January 1602*²¹

The bailiff reports the death of the *Täufer Hanns Binggeli* and requests instructions on how to handle the assets. From the letter from Bern he had understood that he was to have the old *Binggeli* at the Wyden be captured and safely be sent over. But then *Binggeli* had fallen ill and died the past Sunday on 2 January. Thus he could not act according to the letter.

And since *Binggeli* had been able to work at his homestead before he had fallen ill, he had never, despite promising it twice, gone to hear the sermon like others. Also his late wife was so much a member of the sect that one could not know whether she had ever attended a sermon during the past twenty years. But that woman too had passed away. The couple had very much remained bound to their sectarian way of life and also seduced others to it. Therefore the children as well as their offspring in that family were very much taken by it so that neither warnings nor admonitions had any effect. Their property however was substantial, the children still young, 28 years or so, that they still might become reasonable. "But since I do not want to be amiss in my official duties and have to report such items, I will gladly accept your advice as to how I am further to proceed. Your gracious wisdom behooves me and I will implement it as much as it is possible for me. Herewith I recommend you to the protection and shield of the almighty God.

This day 22 January 1602, your Graces ever subservient, obedient and obliging servant *Jost Jarrodt*, bailiff at Schwarzenburg."

Furen

*Abraham Willet, 1614–1620, at the "Fhuren," and his wife*²²

After 1614 the apparently well to do *Täufer Willet* had been penalized four times, once with 66 pounds, then even 166 pounds, with 20 crowns and, finally with 50 crowns. Surprisingly we find this *Täufer* named in 1610 in the military register as belonging to the halberds.²³

His wife died in 1617 who in her last years also had been "strongly devoted and loyal" to the *Täufer* faith so that the bailiff was nearly forced to reach for her little homestead. On that occasion bailiff *Bartolome Knecht* lamented that in that bailiwick the Anabaptist sect was "growing daily and was even becoming dominant." All warnings and punishments were for naught.

Therefore he was asking for new directives on how to get at the *Täufer*.

Furen

*Abraham Willet 1615–1625, Simon Gasser, Gladj Manet*²⁴; *Ruff Zand*; then those of *Lienhard Studiman* and of the *Täuferin Tüchtlj Pföitj*

Accounting of the Bernese bailiff *Bartlome Knecht*. His takings from *Abraham auf der Fuhren*, the *Täufer*, pocketed in two steps, amounted to 233 pounds 6 shilling and 8 pennies; of *Simon Gasser*, the *Täufer*, 233 pounds, 6 shilling, and 8 pennies; and those from *Gladj Manet*, the *Täufer*, 20 pounds.

[Accounting of the bailiff *Hans Friez* (in the Fribourg region), takings:] from *Lienhard Studiman*, the *Täufer*, 200 pounds; *Tüchtlj Pföitj*, the *Täufer*, 666 pounds, 13 shilling, 4 pennies; *Ruff Zand*, the *Täufer*, and his wife, 200 pounds.

Furen

*Abraham Willet 28 March 1617*²⁵

The bailiff wanted to know how he should deal with *Abraham Willet's* wife's *Täufer* property and with other disobedient *Täufer*. Some days before the first wife of the honorable *Abraham Willet* of the parish Guggisberg had passed away. Bailiff *Bartlome Knächt* had found that for a time she had been devoted and dedicated to the *Täufer* faith, refusing to attend church and Christ's community. He did what was demanded and imposed the homestead with bans.

On that occasion he alerted the government in Bern that Anabaptism was increasing in his bailiwick day after day and gradually was becoming dominant.²⁶ Neither admonitions nor warnings had any effect. His sighs about the “*disobedient Täufer*” cannot be missed.

Furen

*Adam Stärnenberger, 1623, Täuferlehrer “at the Furen”*²⁷

One has nearly to think of today's prosecution and apprehension of terrorists. A seducer and teacher of that sect” was especially coveted and his “belongings and small homestead together with his carpenter tools” were turned into money with special satisfaction. There wasn't much to get, however: a small homestead, a cow, and a little gold that “was besides the (punishable) books in the little tub.” The family name *Stärnenberger* as well as the biblical first name Adam is quite rare in the Schwarzenburg region so that the 1623 arrested *Adam Stärnenberger* at that time a *Täuferlehrer* had his children nevertheless baptized in the church between 1609 and 1619.

Furen

*Peter Rüsser, 1627, on the Furen*²⁸

In 1610 he was listed in the military register as a spear carrier. The government's treasury took from his "Täufer property" some 1000 pounds.

Furen

*Abraham Willet, 1639*²⁹

"As to the foreigner *Abraham Willet's* legacy, who has died without bodily heirs."

Schwartzenburg.

"By the way, not long ago a man named *Abraham Willet*, has passed away, but nobody knows from where he has come into the land at a young age, and was a servant, finally got married here and purchased and paid for residence rights, then when his wife died he married again three years ago and now has left that woman; and since he doesn't have bodily heirs nor other friends than the wife he has left behind but owns some items, worth about 400 crowns, which however according to her claim he is supposed to have left to her. May I ask that your Graces let me know how I am to deal with the matter."

*In the Schürgut, 25 January 1684*³⁰

In the Christmas week *Anni* and *Margreth Zbinden* have this year and also the year before been singing nights in front of houses. They deny that they also have done it last year. They will be punished.

In der Gummen and in Winterkrautboden

*Zwalen, Zbinden and Hostettler, 20 January 1688*³¹

Simon, Uli and Jaggi Zwalen, Jaggi Zbinden in der Gummen and *Hans Hostettler* im Boden supposedly have been singing in front of houses during the night of New Year's eve. They are to be punished.

Platten

*Peter Stübi's wife on the Blatten, Babi Zisset of Blaken, Belp. February 1683*³²

Babi Zisset, suspected of being a *Täuferin*, has been summoned for the third time, but has never appeared. The matter is left in the bailiff's hands.

Platten

*Christen Stübi, 5 October 1683*³³

Christen Stübi auf der Blatten, takes no notice that he has been forbidden to keep an inn and he has promised repeatedly to desist, but continues with

alacrity to serve wine. Therefore he has steadily people from Rüeggisberg, usually on Sundays.³⁴ Reverend Predicant also complained and probably not without reason. Such gatherings could mask assemblies of religious nature; the inn perhaps served merely as a disguise.

Platten

*Babj Zisset, Peter Stübi's wife, 1711 on the Blatte*³⁵

Babj Zisset, of Blaken near Belp, is suspected of the *Täufer* faith. She too has not responded to a threefold command to appear before the ecclesiastical court. The matter is left in the bailiff's hand.

Platten

*Peter Stüb, 1712 auf der Platten*³⁶

Being held questioned, *Peter Stübi* admitted that he has not attended neither the catechetical hour nor the last supper for three years. He also did not respond to the requests to appear before the ecclesiastical court. As much as possible he would try however to attend religious services in the future. He acknowledges that his wife *Babj Zisset* was a *Täuferin* that he had sheltered and shielded her ["ghuset und ghofet"]. Meanwhile she has been apprehended and handed over with a report to the *Täufer* court in Bern.

Platten

*Peter Binggeli at Wyden, homestead owner ("possess. ghute"), 1715*³⁷

Also *Binggeli Christen*, the old "saltmatter," lives at the Platten who has left (the *Täufer* faith). His wife: *Elsi Henni*, being there, with children *Peter, Elsi, Babi, Christen, Gredi, Stineli*.

Platten

*Babj Stüb-Zisset, at the Platten, 1722*³⁸

Again *Babj Zisset* creates a stir because "she behaves maliciously and improperly in her Anabaptism." The *Täufer* court thus claimed that under the circumstances it had no choice but to send out *Heinrich Wüthrich*, an *Täufer* hunter, to bring this crazy person with the bailiff's assistance to the *Täufer* court. Her husband *Peter Stübi* should also be brought in. As was to be expected, that *Täufer* woman is "stubborn." The court kindly asks Fribourg's (!) bailiff *Friedrich Nikolaus Werro* to banish *Babj Zisset* under the usual conditions. But she was to return in April 1723 because she was with child. Her husband *Peter Stübi* had no means, therefore the commune Guggisberg was threatened to be held liable for such a relapse.

Platten

*Babj Stübi-Zisset, at the Blatten, 1724*³⁹

Hans Widmer, a *Täufer* hunter, has again met *Babj Zisset* in her house at the Blatten. But her recent maternity was apparent. Fribourg's bailiff *Werro* is being asked to make sure that her husband *Peter Stübj* bring her in due time to the *Täufer* court. If it was not done, the government would have means and ways to enforce its demand.

In February 1724 *Peter Stübi* went to the court by himself and excused his wife because of her bodily state and asked that he could keep her in the house and in the country "with the usual guarantees." Pastor *Fridenrich* was asked to check at the Blatten whether the woman was indeed in such bad health. The report might have been in the negative. In any case, *Babj Zisset* enters the region one and a half month later at the end of March 1724. The *Täufer* court became angry and punished not so much her being a *Täufer* but her stubborn rebelliousness. Because she is according to her husband unable to walk, Fribourg's bailiff is ordered to make the necessary arrangements "to have *Babj Zisset* be transported on the beggar's cart from commune to commune all the way to the border" from where she should be banished to stay abroad under the usual threats. In November 1725 on the entreaties of her husband even the *Täufer* court had to admit that *Babj Zisset's* health was bad enough so that for the time being she could stay in the country until the coming May. But already in January Pastor *Fridenrich* was ordered to make sure that *Babj Zisset* was not arranging for *Täufer* gatherings but leading a secluded life. In May and June 1726 she was allowed, *Bendicht Binggeli* of Schürried near Winterkraut vouching for her, to stay in the country for good.

Winterkraut

*Peter Stübi, 17 March 1694*⁴⁰

Fribourg. *Peter Stübj*, as owner of the homestead Winterkraut, was often visited by the police officer and therefore had constantly to pay "Brügsommerfees" as an entry in the Teutsch-Missiven-Buch (T.M.B.) attests.

*Täufer behind Schwarzenburg, 29 March 1695*⁴¹

Notice to the Gracious Lords of the *Täufer* court: The *Täufer* of the Schwarzenburgerland have asked today asked for a date on which they will be allowed to *emigrate* until coming May. Because of many misgivings the government has rejected the request. Not in the least because the property-register was in desolate neglect and in bitter need of thorough revision which has been immediately undertaken.

Winterkraut

*Bendicht Stöckli, 9 December 1697*⁴²

When in 1697 the *Täufer Bendicht Stöckli* and the *Täuferin Anna Glaus* of Wahlern baptized their son *Hans*,⁴³ *Pastor Zehender* noted, “that I did not want to baptize that child because it was procreated as a child of *Täufer* in the upper parish.” When *Benz Stöckli* and *Anni Glaus* baptized their daughter *Elsi*,⁴⁴ they were already under the pastoral care of the succeeding pastor *Fridenrich*. He used to be in unhesitating contact with the Anabaptists and noted in the baptismal entry without ado “*Täufer*” for *Stöckli* and “*Täuferin*” for *Glaus*.⁴⁵ In 1711 “*Bendicht Stöckli* of Wintergrut/Walern” appears in the register of Ambassador *Ludwig Runkel* concerning the monies⁴⁶ that were due to the deported *Täufer*. At the time of that official expulsion son *Hans* was 14 years of age and daughter *Elsi* 5 years.

Again the name *Jeremias Binggeli* has appeared as a hundred years before, as if history was repeating itself. It is again a sign how strongly the *Täufer* faith had become a firm tradition in many families of the Schwarzenburger region.

Winterkraut

A very special family lived at the second lowest homestead of the large slope that reaches from the high up situated “*Nötenhaus*” field all the way down to the run of the Schwarzwasser where the Linden brook joins that river. A steeply sloping forest rim hides the view of *Winterkraut* from *Wislisau*. After that a wanderer sees the broad and sunny crest of the land. There the Anabaptists *Uli* and *Anna Hostettler-Beyeler* were living in the mid-17th century with their nine children, born between 1648 and 1672:

Anni	1648	Christen	1665
Hans	1651	Jacob	1669 (February 2)
Ulrich	1654	Peter	1669 (February 2)
Barbli	1656	Michel	1672 [my forebear]
Elsi	1662		

Although, as the dates show, *Jacob* and *Peter* were twins, they have different godparents. Those for *Jacob* were *Hans Binggeli*, *Jacob Beyeler* and *Madlena Zand*; those of *Peter* the godparents *Hannes Burri*, *Christen Stöckli* and *Elsbeth Zand*. Later the Bernese government was to call them *Täuferlehrer!*

4. Two *Täuferlehrer* of Schwarzenburg, the Twins *Jacob* and *Peter Hostettler*

Täuferlehrer Peter Hostettler, Lease in Eschery near Ste Marie-aux-Mines

According to the data of the Council of Bern *Peter Hostettler* had moved

with his whole family from Bern to the Alsace where he rented a house in Eschery. According to the lease that I found in the State Archive of Colmar the house was situated right at the Lièpvre. The lease was duly notarized on 23 April 1707 for four years. *Peter Hostettler* is noted there as "Täufer" and the house labeled as a *masure*, that is, as a delapidated cottage. A small meadow attached to it was to yield half a cartload of hay. The rent was a symbolic 22 ecus for the house and meadow each. As a tenant *Peter Hostettler* was to make the place habitable, to make all repairs without charge, pay full attention to proper maintenance and to leave half of the manure pile behind. The two Bernese *Daniel Pil* (*Beyeler? Binggeli?*) and *Paul Paira* signed as witnesses. *Peter Hostettler* signed with "ÿch petter hosteller."⁴⁷

Also the Täuferlehrer Jacob Hostettler signed a rental agreement in 1707

In the notarial documents of the State Archive of Colmar one finds his rental agreement under the rubric 4 E Ste Marie Alsace. As "anabaptiste de religion" he too was staying in Eschery where had the opportunity of renting the estate of the late couple *Jean* and *Ottile Anthenat-Meyer* for six years on 7 January 1707. Thus he had come ahead of his brother and found an advantageous piece of property to rent although it needed repairs. The actual rent of 45 Livres- Tournois was however due not before 1713 and to be paid in silver, but the agreement was valid from 23 April 1707 on, the day of St. George. An immediate prepayment to the amount of 195 pounds was however agreed upon. In the first years it was to be his decision as to the necessary and major repairs, but without remuneration, yet the wood he needed was supposed to be provided. The agreement clearly shows the renter's occupation as that of a carpenter. The property in Eschery, Petite Lièpvre consisted of a house the surroundings of which were to be taken care of, also a probably quite extensive meadow for making hay, a garden for cabbage and herbs, a substantial orchard,⁴⁸ and a building for carts and tools. Finally the renter also was responsible for the tribute and fees due to the overlords. Again it was the Bernese *Paul Paira* who signed as a witness as well as the twin brother *Peter* and also marked with *Jacob hosttler*.

Winterkraut

*Peter Hostettler of Guggisberg and Ulrich Mischler, 1710*⁴⁹

The Täufer *Peter Hostettler* of Winterkraut⁵⁰ as well as his brother-in-law and associate ("Gehilfe") *Ulli Mischler* (of Steinbrünnen?) had slipped again into Bernese territory.⁵¹ The two men intended to visit their dying father and father-in-law. But by the intervention of the bailiff of Bipp, they were apprehended and against the payment of costs and the reading of the usual oath were threatened with being punished for perjury should they return

and were deported to the country's frontier. Thus they were forced to return without reaching their destination. The Bernese Council Manual of 1710 had noted further that *Ulrich Mischler* had been abroad for many years where he had become a *Täufer*.⁵²

Were Peter Hostettler and Ulrich Mischler related? 1710

The Bernese Council Manual claims that *Peter Hostettler* had been *Uli Mischler's* brother-in-law, therefore the husband of his sister. If one assumes that *Uli Mischler's* family was the couple *Hans* and *Elsbeth Mischler-Hostettler* who had married in 1658 in Wahlern and had the daughters *Anna*, born 1664, *Elisabeth* 1666, and *Barbara* 1669 as well as the sons *Hans*, *Peter*, and *Uli*, it appears that the *Peter Hostettler's* "associate" had indeed been *Uli Mischler* born in 1672.

In turn, it is also possible that the father who was ill was a *Hostettler* instead of a *Mischler*. In that case *Ulrich Mischler* would have married a sister of the *Täuferlehrer* twin, either *Anni* born 1648, *Barbli* 1656, or *Elsi* 1662. But the age difference between *Ulrich Mischler* and his wife would have been significant, and therefore the assumption of their marriage is probably not correct.

An edict of the French King was supposed to banish Täufer from the Alsace

Diverse researchers have assumed rashly that the expulsion had been an iron sweep so that one had to assume that after 1712 no *Täufer* had resided in the country. I investigated that assumption and found documents that prove that it was not the case. My own ancestral family has remained all the years from 1712 to 1719 in the region of Markirch, probably under the protection of Prince *Christian of Birkenfeld*. Letters of the royal official *Batteman* in regard to the expulsion of the Anabaptists hint in my view at corruption. *Batteman* had simply usurped for his wife one of the homesteads a *Hostettler* had restored in the vicinity of Markirch. During the years 1715 to 1719 *Peter Hostettler*, the carpenter, had restored the dilapidated Grange Johé that stood on the very top of the Col des Baganelles. Apparently such renovation work had been his main occupation and basis of income.

Jacob's rental agreement valid until January 1713

There are no hints that *Jacob Hostettler* had to leave the rented house prematurely. The supposed royal authorization that *Batteman* had put forward in order to get a rural residence for his wife had dissolved into nothing. What in the world should the urban lady have done in the midst of the holes and earth mounds of the silver mines? How could she have taken walks on the stony paths of Lièpvrette dressed in rich fabric and light shoes? Although

some families did move away, no significant change can be ascertained in Eschery. In the fall of 1712 until the summer of 1713 the *Hostettlers* had been busy with their notarial partition-agreement at Sur Citté that made it possible for one part of the family to move on, for the other to stay behind.

Renewed return home of *Peter Hostettler* and his captivity

An inquiry relating to the region of Markkirch has shown that there was a large surplus of young men who were looking for *Täufer* women willing to marry. One may conclude that the second simultaneous journey back to the Schwarzenburg region of the twin brother *Täuferlehrer Jacob* might also have served that purpose. Luckily the captivity of both *Täuferlehrer* in Bern has remained a mere episode. Despite all admonitions, threats and possible punishments, in 1719 *Peter Hostettler* had slipped back into the homeland. But also this time he was unable to remain unrecognized. He was captured by an *Ulli Linder* and imprisoned in Bern.

Brought before the Council he justified himself and even pointed out that he tried only to be helpful. Had not the Council debated right then about shipping some 130 genuine *Täufer* women to the West Indies.⁵³ He was making the effort of encouraging *Täufer* women willing to marry to move to the Alsace where there were many Bernese young men waiting. It seems that he had been able to convince the Council and was left unmolested.

*Also the Täuferlehrer Jacob Hostettler was captured in Bern, 10 February 1720*⁵⁴

A few weeks after his twin brother *Peter* also *Jacob* was imprisoned on his return to the homeland. He too was called to account because he too had promised not to return home. With the notation in the Council Manual one might perhaps find a still hidden document that reads: "Notabene, the documents are in the hands of the Gracious Lord *T. Tschärner*"

*... and brought before the Council, 6 March 1720*⁵⁵

"Notation to the *Täufer* Board. As to its deposition and requested directive how the Anabaptist teacher *Jacob Hofstetter* here held captive should be dealt with who is a native of Winterkrauth and has lived at Maria-Kirch and has claimed to have come back to this land to entice *Täufer* women to emigrate: the Gracious Lords and superior councilors and burghers have decided: That he should be left free to go with his assurance and a handshake-vow after he has paid for expenses. Our Gracious Lords herewith inform you bindingly about the action you are to take."

What is fully certain is this: The *Täuferlehrer* and twin *Jacob Hostettler* cannot have emigrated in 1712 to Pennsylvania because he was still living in the Alsace in 1713. The same holds of course for his twin *Peter* as well as for

that *Jacob Ammann* who lived and worked with *Jacob Hostettler* way at the end of the Lièpvrette valley.

5. From Michael Ammann to Jacob Ammen

Around 1575 already the families *Amman*, *Hostettler* und *Zimmerman* of the Schwarzenburgerland are found to have been variously related. Unfortunately the old parish books have perished. Around 1600 there are numerous *Christen*, *Hans*, *Jacob*, *Michel*, *Paul* and *Uli*. The split into two branches with a different spelling of the family name, that is *Amman* and *Ammen*, occurred around 1610, that is right at the time of *Glodo Bifrare's* evangelization with his twenty men who all have the first name *Glodo*. It is probably not wrong to suspect that the conservative, traditionalistic, and rather toward the Catholic Church oriented branch kept the spelling *Amman* while the "awakened" branch used *Ammen*. The distinction was even officially recognized in that pastors, too, applied it.

It was *Uli Amman*, born 15 March 1583 in Wahlern, who brought the family name from there to the Simmental by marrying *Trina Platter* on 29 June 1610. Their children were all born and baptized in Erlenbach in the Simmental: *Elsi*, 1613,⁵⁶ *Michel*, 1615, and *Jacob*, 1617. It is noteworthy that the two sons *Michel* and *Jacob* were adopting the spelling *Ammen*, but not daughter *Elsi*. Her brother *Michel* is probably the person who died at age 70 in the Alsatian Baldenheim. He had married *Anna Rupp* in 1638, and they had the daughter *Madeleine*, born in 1638, who in 1664 married *Anthoni Wolff* in Hilterfingen near Thun. Both moved later to Eschery. Also *Elsi's* brother *Jacob*, born 1644 in Erlenbach, married in 1668 *Barbara Wyss* in Hilterfingen. Further siblings of were *Cathrina Ammen*, 1647, and her brother *Uli Ammen*, 1662, both born in Erlenbach.

Thus there were among the progeny of *Michel Amman*, married in Wahlern about 1575, some five (!) *Jacob Amman* or *Ammen*:

Jacob Ammen, born 1610 in Oberwil in the Simmental, married to *Apolonia Kislig*⁵⁷ 10 children

Jacob Ammen, born 1611, married to *Catrin Hostettler* in 1636 in Wahlern

Jacob Amman/Ammen, born 1617 in Erlenbach in the Simmental

Jacob Ammen, born 1644 in Erlenbach in the Simmental, in 1668 married to *Barbara Wyss* in Hilterfingen

Jacob Ammen, born 1649 in Wahlern.

Yet to none of these five *Jacob Amman/Ammen* may a move to the Alsace be

attributed nor the establishment of a new faith community. There simply are no clues.

6. The Triad Ammen-Hostettler-Zimmerman in a 1701 Document

On 9 May 1701 *Jacob Amme*, *Hans Zimmerman* and *Jacob Hosteler* (*Hostettler*), submitted a petition⁵⁸ to their prince *Christian of Birkenfeld*, residing in *Rappoltsweyl*, given here verbatim:

Your Highness and Count, Most Gracious Prince and Lord! We of the so-called new Anabaptist commune in Ste Maria and Eckthal may not fail to present ourselves submissively to your Princely Highness in that recently someone has passed away in our midst and has left several children with some means whereupon Mr. Notary at the said Maria-Kirch had the audacity not only to inventory and partition the estate, but also immediately to appoint custodians for the children.

Since your Most Princely Highness has promised us our freedom, rights, and justice in return for a deposit of a certain amount of protection-money, the above procedere is directly counter to our beneficial order.

Thus we submit to your Most Princely Highness our most submissive, humble, and obedient request that you would be so kind to take our necessary petition into consideration and to take us as before into Your powerful protection and to order the above mentioned notary that he would henceforth spare us from such unauthorized request and that he was to leave us uninjured in our graciously granted freedom and order. If unexpectedly otherwise, however, given the state of affairs we would likely need to take up our staff again.

To deserve this most gracious and not unfair ordinance by most submissive obedience, may the Highest grant health and felicitous governing to your Most Princely Highness for years to come. We remain so willingly subject to your Most Princely Highness.

Dated Rappoltsweyl 9 May 1701

In deepest reverence most submissive and obedient the protection[-
enjoying] associates

j. AMME

Hanss Zimmerman
Jacob Hosteler.

These three men certainly knew each other, and it is just as certain that they were not Alsatians. They hailed from the region of Schwarzenburg and their families had been intertwined for more than a hundred years.⁵⁹ They were living, most likely since 1696, in the silver mines municipality of Eschery near Markirch, today's Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines. *Peter Zimmerman*, the reason for the petition, who had been living almost at the end of the small Lièpvrette valley, had been killed while cutting wood. *Hans Zimmerman* was living even farther out of the way and managed a dairy. *Jacob Hostettler*, too, had been an immediate neighbor of the deceased and was living with one of the several *Jacob Amman* in the farthest away homestead. All three opposed the action of the official of the Prince in order to prevent that money belonging to the *Zimmerman's* children was not to be taken away.

The signature of the *Jacob Ammen* with the distinctive capital letters has occupied many researchers, and I too ask myself what the active arch-Anabaptist may have been wanted to do and been doing in that far off place. But I can also well imagine that *Jacob Ammen* identified as Amish might have intended by his presence and signature to convey the needed importance to the petition to the princely court in Rappoltsweil.

Indeed the tone of the message gives the impression of deference in its wording, but in its demand it is quite presumptuous. What was to be a petition amounts to an ultimatum. The prince is asked to please keep his promise of protecting the Bernese. He probably also knew that the pastor of Markirch was chosen and salaried by the Bernese government and on occasion had to report about Bernese persons. The petition even included a threat: Should the prince not be pliable, it would be reason for the Bernese to move on.

The action of the Prince's official had disturbed the Bernese in an especially sensitive way. Had they not abandoned their homestead and homeland because they had been harassed in every possible way? It had led bailiff *Kämmerling* of Fribourg, bailiff of Wahlern, to observe: "When I began my service I had to promise the inhabitants under oath that I would protect them as to their ancient customs and habits, therefore I humbly ask your Graces to allow the region its hitherto followed customs and habits and graciously not to disturb them further and not to aggravate them with this costly demand, especially since one meets everywhere here more than enough bystanders."⁶⁰

The *Jaqui Amen/Aman/Amy* in the remote and poor Petite Lièpvre valley, however, seems in no way to fit the "Amish" *Jacob Ammen!* Comparing signatures on hundreds of notarial documents showed me that the Bernese

had been solidly schooled in reading and writing, the latter perhaps a bit simplified in that no capitals were used. The impressively bulky j.AMME breaks this rule probably to signify who was in charge.

The question remains to be addressed what was meant by the “so-called new *Täufer* commune.” One is immediately tempted to think of the split between the Amish and the Reist-people. But that is uncalled for. In all the documents there are hints about such a division neither in the Departmental Archive of Colmar nor in the State Archive of Bern. The “new” *Täufer* are thus labeled as opposed to the “old” relating to groups from the perspective of Bern while in the Alsace they are simply called “anabaptistes.” Three traits are at play,—the date of immigration, language, and the payment of protection money. The older immigrants from Bernese regions had become “bourgeois” and French-speaking. The younger ones who immigrated around 1695 still spoke German and also were mostly younger in age. They voluntarily accepted the authority of the prince and paid for it, but acknowledged his sovereignty only as far as needed for their protection. They had rejected all Bernese guardianships and such impositions as inheritance inventories or schooling regulations and opposed them as well if coming from the Alsatian political order. They viewed themselves as if they were “reichsfrei,” outside of the Empire. In that sense they were the “new” Anabaptists in Rappoltsweil. It is they who had initiated the home journey of the two Anabaptist teachers *Peter* and *Jacob Hostettler* in 1719 in order to look for women willing to marry.

7. Jacob Hostettler as guardian of the “Amish” Jacob Ammen?

25 July 1711⁶¹

Before the Tabellion and undersigned administrative officer, residing in Ste Marie/Alsace were present the honorable *Niklaus Humbert* and *Dominik Battot*, bourgeois, living in the vicinity of and at Dorbey. These have freely acknowledged and stated to owe, legitimately and jointly one for the other, the honorable *Jacob Aman*, a Anabaptist living in Petite Lièpvre, close by and belonging to the said Ste Marie, present, accepting for him and his heirs and in agreement with the said *Humbert*, to know, 150 florins in the currency of the Upper Alsace, that is 250 livres tournois, and the said *Battot* the sum of 50 florins, that is 83 livres tournois, 6 sols, 8 dinars tournois; and to have received this in dinars in cash for the corresponding sums.

The actual account balance is acknowledged by the Tabellion and witnesses mentioned below.

At any rate, the said creditors have declared their satisfaction,

being promised the return of the two sums that together come to two hundred florins in the currency of the Upper Alsace, given by the said *Aman* and his heirs for two years with interest according to the interest rate of the king, the whole in good money in the currency of the Province of Alsace and according to customary and best conditions.

Also the interest of the said debtors, represented by the honorable *Adam Maire*, bourgeois, and of the commune . . . who affirms his voluntarily negotiated borrower note as caution money for the two debtors and even to be main payor according to the choice of the said creditor and to vouch for it with all his possessions. Passed at the said place Ste Marie on 25 July 1711 in the presence of the honorable *Paul Peira*, bourgeois, resident of Eschery, and *Niclaus Blanc*, resident of Aumongotte near, and belonging to, Ste Marie. The witnesses have signed with the said *Battot*, debtor, *Adam Maire*, security, and the Tabellion mentioned below, and said *Nicolas Humbert*, one of the said debtors, who made his signs since he doesn't know how to write . . . Signed: *Dominique Batot*, *Humbert* (by mark), *Adam Maire*, *Paul Paira*, *Nigi Blanck*, **JA**
(creditor), **Jacob Hostetler**.

Note of 14 January 1713 ⁶²

Today 14 January 1713 appeared before the undersigned tabellion: *Jacqy Hochstetter* who, acting for and in the name of *Jacqy Aman*, declared that he has been paid and satisfied concerning . . . the obligation . . . etc.

[Signed:] *yacob hostetler*

[Marked:] *Fischer*, notary.

Some comments:

1. The date January 1713 is beyond the deadline set by the king for the expulsion. But nothing happened. *Jacob Hostetler* as well as the two *Jacob Aman* are still in the land and make no preparations for leaving, except that *Jacqui Aman*, due to age, may be planning to move in with his relative *Fabrni* in Villé.
2. The financial matters of *Jacqy Aman* have already been taken care of in 1712 as the above note attests.
3. This *Jacqy Aman* is the same who is mentioned in the foregoing documents. It is the small farmer and Anabaptist *Aman*, who according to documents was

living way back in the Lièpvrette valley und in no way could have been the imperious and traveling founder of the Amish.

4. His relationship to the signatory *Jacob Hostettler* consists in this: Both were living in Lièpvrette, even in the same household. They were most likely related. *Jacqy Hostettler* now acts "for and in the name of *Jacqui Aman*." That means that *Hostettler* plays the role of custodian in that *Aman* seems to have been old and frail. If one takes the trouble to sort through a set of notarial remarks and other documents it becomes clear that here a household is being dissolved. *Jacqy Aman* had sold his small homestead to *Samuel Cotel* already on 25 October 1712. In January 1713 the final payment was made.⁶³

Behind the abbreviation "jA" however hides the Amish *Jacob Ammen*. It is astonishing! In the above given document he is one of the signing witnesses. But the abbreviation is anonymous to such a degree that the notary *Fischer* on his own chooses to add "creditor." This means that the transactions were actually a matter of the Amish *Jacob Ammen*, perhaps also because the small farmer *Jacqy Aman* may have been a close relative. Among the five *Jacob Ammen* listed above among the offspring of *Michel Amman*, who had married about 1575 in Wahlern, the small farmer *Jacob Ammen* who was dissolving his household may have been the one who was born in 1649 in Wahlern.⁶⁴

If one tries to establish the kinship of the two *Jacob Ammen* mentioned in the document given above, the following hypothesis presents itself:

- a. The small farmer *Jacob Ammen* was born on 5 November 1643 in Wahlern, and had the godparents *Hans Rohrbach*, *Heinrich Wachter*, and *Anni Binggeli*.⁶⁵
- b. The Amish *Jacqy Ammen*, recently discovered in Amsoldingen (!) and until now not considered by researchers, was born in 1643 or 1644. On 9 March 1669 he married *Madle Schmeiter* and they had six children. While he had been entered for his five older children always as *Jacob*, he is suddenly listed at the baptism of his sixth child as *Jaggi Amman(!)*⁶⁶

8. Emigrants named Jacob Hostettler

As far as we know, there were four *Jacob Hostettler* who emigrated.

(1) *Jacob Hostettler* who arrived in America in 1712 and settled in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania⁶⁷ together with *Michael Bachman*,⁶⁸ *Heinrich Zimmerman*, *Emanuel Zimmerman*, *Gabriel Zimmerman*, *Johannes Schenk* and others.⁶⁹

(2) (*Hans*) *Jacob Hostettler*, born 1701 of Winterbach in the region of Zweibrücken, emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1736(?).⁷⁰

(3) *Jacob Hostettler*, at disembarkation age 32, arriving in Philadelphia 1 September 1736, thus born 1704; with his wife *Eva Trautman*, married in Zweibrücken in 1731, accompanied by *Maria Catharina Hostettler*, *Maria Eva Hostettler*, and a sick child *Michael*.

(4) *Jacob Hostettler*, arriving in Philadelphia on 9 November 1738 on the boat “Charming Nancy.”

The Four Emigrants Identified

(1) *Jacob Hostettler* on the boat “Charming Nancy,” arriving in Philadelphia in 1712

There are valid reasons, in my view, to identify the emigrant of 1712 as the *Jacob Hostettler* who had been baptized on 14 June 1685 in the Bernese *Täufer* center Oberdiessbach. His first name is entered as *Jaggi*,⁷¹ his wife’s name in the American form as *Anna*.⁷² His parents were *Hans* and *Cathrin Hostettler-Müller*. Pennsylvania sources state that he perished in 1761 during the American Indian attack on the encroaching settlers. Although one claims to know nothing about him or his background, the ecclesiastical records of Oberdiessbach contain details about four families named *Hostettler* who lived there in the second half of the 17th century with origins in Schwarzenburg. They were part of the *Täufer* emigration movement from Schwarzenburg via Blumenstein and Oberdiessbach to the regions of Markirch, the Palatinate, and Zweibrücken, finally to Pennsylvania. They are:

Hans and *Cathrin Hostettler-Müller*, with son *Jaggi*, born 1685.

Jacob and *Cathri Hostettler-Gisler*, living in Oberdiessbach from 1656 to 1696, then emigrated northward with their son *Jacob*, born 2 August 1690 [K Obd 6/166]. *Jacob*’s parents were *Uli* and *Eva Hostettler-Stucki* who were living in the *Täufer* center Buchholterberg.

The emigration route of the family *Hans* and *Cathrin Hostettler-Müller* may be reconstructed on the basis of the baptism entries for the children: Winterkraut/Wahlern—Blumenstein Oberdiessbach—Oberauerbach (today a part of the city of Zweibrücken). From there people left in large groups for Pennsylvania.

Two of their children, that is *Anna*, born 1687, and *Jacob*, born 1690, deserve attention. On their mother’s, the *Gisler*’s side, the family is enmeshed

with the families *Stucki*, *Bürcki*, *Bieri*, *Eicher*, *Rüsser*, and especially with *Lärjen* and *Stüddler/ Steudler*. Some researchers even assume that *Verena Stüddler* of Oberdiessbach was probably the wife of the Amish *Jacob Ammen*. I identify *Anna*, born 1687, with *Aneli Hostetterin*,⁷³ the wife of the author of the last will of *Jacob Hostetter* dated 16 January 1756.⁷⁴ Of her younger brother *Jacob*, born 1690, the Anabaptist *Hans Roht* was one of the godparents.⁷⁵ *Jacob*, however, could not have been the husband and immigrant of 1712 because of blood relationship, but it would have been possible as to age. These and other families of Oberdiessbach were to such a degree enmeshed with each other and in the emigration network that no further proof is needed to consider *Jaggi Hostettler*, born 1685, the 1712 immigrant to Pennsylvania, whose godparents were *Niggli Marti*, *Christen Hostettler* and *Anni Bachmann*.

Jacob and *Anna Hostettler-Hostettler* had the children *Hans*, *Jacob*, and *Abraham*. At the time of emigration in 1712, the father was 27 years of age, thus his children may have married between the years 1735 and 1745. It needs to be stressed, however, that in the strong emigration wave there are no hints that would point to the existence of separate Amish communities in Bernese regions.

(2) **Jacob Hostettler**⁷⁶ who arrived on the boat "Harle" in 1736 in Pennsylvania⁷⁷

This person is the only one who until now has been more closely identified. The landing lists 1A, 1B, and 1C seem to indicate this and apparently clearly name three people:

Jacob Hochstettler, age 32, thus born in 1704

Maria Catharina Hochstettlerin, age 42, born 1694

Maria Eva Hochstettlerin, age 28, born 1708.

But the family situation is less straightforward as it first appears because both women may significantly carry their single or their married name. Immediately some complications emerge if one compares the entries of the Muddy Creek church book with those in the church books of Rheinland-Pfalz in that two people with the same last name are given are possibly belonging to a different family, although they must have been closely related and in similar circumstances, but had different children.⁷⁸

Suddenly things look less clear once one recognizes that married women may be identified by their original family name. As the entry in the Harley ship lists indicates, three different people named *Hostettler* are involved. The name of the family *Trautman* is not mentioned nor its children. Thus one needs to clarify whether the two women had been married.

As to *Maria Catharina Hochstettlerin*, age 42, the pastor called her "a

servant here at Lambsborn," and she had been godmother for *Catharina Elisabeth Hochstettler* on 25 January 1735 (instead for child No. 2 in the Muddy Creek Congregation). That however connected her with the family *Trautman*. Indeed the church book of Lambsborn noted that her husband was *Michael Trautman*, and that they had brought their daughter *Catharina Elisabetha Trautman* to be baptized.⁷⁹ She is further found in the family circle of the brothers *Hans* and *Christen Hostettler*, the latter having lived for many years in Sur Citté and been registered in Clairgoutte between 1723 and 1727. In 1736 she is finally a passenger on the ship *Harle*.

But what about *Maria Eva Hochstettlerin*, born 1708, who at age 28 was a passenger on the boat *Harle*? Her maiden name would have had to be *Trautmann*, had she married *Jacob Hostettler*, born 1701 or 1704, on 16 January 1731 in Lambsborn or Zweibrücken. At least the notation "née *Trautman*" would have to be given in the entry. Since that is not the case, *Maria Eva Hochstettlerin* must have been single at age 28. That means that the couple *Jacob* and *Eva Hostettler-Trautmann* had not been at all on the boat in 1736. Actually the "motley" group of children might hint at the fact that part of the family had died from illness at sea or had perished in a storm. Also the emigration of the aging couple *Trautmann-Hayntz* on the boat *Phoenix* in 1749 might be interpreted that way.

As to the third passenger *Hostettler*, one needs to determine which one of the five possible *Hostettlers* he might have been.

(2a) *Jacob Hostettler*, born 1701, of Winterbach,⁸⁰ arriving in Philadelphia 1 September 1736 on the boat *Harle*

A major portion of the Bernese extended family *Hostettler* was then living widely dispersed in the Palatinate: in Ober- and Unterauerbach, today Zweibrücken; in Lambsborn, Langwieden and Landstuhl; in Hornbach, Höheinöd, and Rieschweiler; in Bischwiller, Brumath, Daubensand, Weitbruch, and Geudertheim, Markirch, and Eschery; in Gauangelloch, Niederschlettenbach, Baldenheim, and Bergzabern. It seems however that *Christian*, the father of *Hans Jacob*, born 1701, was the only *Hostettler* in Winterbach. Only this is attested however, that his baptism supposedly occurred 25 July 1701 in Winterbach, a rural and somewhat far off place.

This *Jacob Hostettler* is in the American understanding identified as the person who was living in Gogalico,⁸¹ today's Cocalico in Lancaster County and together with *Georg Trautmann* had signed a petition, recorded in the parish book of Muddy Creek and Cocalico.⁸² They supported the plan that a united Reformed-Lutheran schoolhouse be built.

Because the title register of Cocalico has the entry that the plot C-73-

254 belonged to *Jacob Hostettler*, dated 15 June 1738, but the boat *Charming Nancy* had not arrived in Philadelphia until December of that year, such a land purchase for *Jacob Hostettler* (3) is impossible. Therefore it is assumed that it was the 1736 arrival with the same name who must have been settled in Cocalico. There are however no data where he had been during the two years before. Yet the assumption is supported by the simultaneous ocean crossing of the couple *Georg* and *Susanna Trautmann-Hayntz*, the husband being a close relative of *Jacob* and *Maria Eva Hostettler-Trautmann*, here identified as *Jacob Hostettler* (2). But against it are the denominational data. While the baptism of *Jacob Hostettler* (2) had undoubtedly occurred in the Reformed Church, one is astonished to find him being a member of the parish *Muddy Creek*.⁸³ At the same time he is considered of having been the primal forebear of all Amish *Hostettler* in America.

In summary: This *Jacob Hostettler* had been baptized in the Reformed Church of Bern, but was later entered in the parish book of the *Muddy Creek* congregation.⁸⁴ That however is not an Amish, but a Pietist community that is close in orientation to the Bohemian-Moravian persuasion. Also the lists of the respective children do not correspond. Relevant data for the *Harle*-passenger are simply missing. Neither his age nor his religious affiliation are quite fitting.

(2b) *Jacob Samuel Hostettler*, born 17 July 1701, arriving in Philadelphia 1 September 1736 on the boat *Harle*

He was born in the Bernese *Romainmôtier*, today in Canton *Vaud*, but it is known that his father *Christen* was living in the *Täufer* center *Winterkraut* and that his French-speaking mother *Isabel Roche/Roux/Roth* had moved there for a time with the children.⁸⁵ After that data about her whereabouts are missing, and the family might have had only limited connections with the *Hostettler* clan. What is important, however, is that *Jacob Samuel Hostettler's* father *Christen* was a brother of the *Täufer* teacher-twins.

(2c) *Jacob Hostettler*, born about 1704, arriving in Philadelphia 1 September 1736 on the boat *Harle*⁸⁶

The circumstances were somewhat different in the upper Alsatian *Brumath*. Its small town atmosphere, services, and church life were petit-bourgeois and shaped by trade and crafts but in close contact with rural people. Between 1680 and 1740 some 25 *Hostettler* were fully integrated in *Brumath*. They managed the inn "Zum Goldenen Löwen" and a *Hostettler* was a politician, burgess, and judge. The age given for this *Johann Jacob Höchstetter*, born 30 March 1704 in *Brumath*, fits perfectly.⁸⁷ If one compares the data with those of the *Muddy Creek* parish, however, significant discrepancies emerge.⁸⁸

What becomes clear, however, is that part of the *Hostettler* clan has already withdrawn somewhat from rural life. And despite corresponding ages, it doesn't seem to be certain that the proper person has been found.

(2d) *Johann Jacob Hoffstetter*, born 13 January 1706, arriving in Philadelphia 1 September 1736 on the boat *Harle*

The circumstances in the Alsatian Scholten near Daubensand were different. The rural parish consisted largely of Calvinist Swiss immigrants and was in close contact with the mainly Reformed parish of Nonnenweiher in the Baden district.⁸⁹ There the people from the Bernese Schwarzenburg region were as farmers in quite modest circumstances. The parents *Heinrich* and *Agnes Hoffstetter-Kohler* were reported as Reformed. It seems that *Johann Jacob* did not have any siblings. His godparents were *Johann Borhauer* of Boffzheim; *Sebastian Baur* and *Susanna Rothen-Apfel*, the last two being Swiss.

It is known about *Johann Jacob* that once he had disturbed a Reformed communion service in Eschery that was some 24 miles distant.⁹⁰ Perhaps he had been opposed to it and his rebellious behavior may have been religiously motivated. But after that nothing more is known about him.

In sum, it is a possibility that he was on the ocean crossing and arrived in Philadelphia on the boat *Harle*, then joined Amish circles. He was definitely related to the *Hoffstetter* in Auerbach, but it seems impossible to keep the two *Heinrich Hostettler* apart.

(2e) *Jacob Hostettler*, born 19 February, arriving in Philadelphia 1 September 1736 on the boat *Harle*

In the parish book of Guggisberg *Jacob Hostettler* is entered in 1715 as *Jaggi Hostettler*, in 1736 as the husband of *Babi Wanger* and having five children. Because he was living in 1736 in the Stossen in the commune of Ruschegg, he was not on the boat *Harle*, thus may not be considered.

(3) *Jacob Hostettler*, arriving in Philadelphia 9 November 1738 on the boat *Charming Nancy*⁹¹

It is usually assumed that this *Jacob Hostettler* had arrived in Philadelphia from Markkirch in the Alsace, but there are no data to confirm it. Yet there would be sufficient other *Jacob Hostettler* who could have emigrated. One was born in 1710, his mother an *Elisabeth Hostettler-Ulrich* from Guggisberg. He would have belonged to a clan, members of which had been under the so-called "Carolingians" who in 1735 emigrated to Pennsylvania.

But here too the matter remains difficult because neither age nor occupation can be established. He seems to have moved after the "Carolingians" and was probably of the same age as the pastor's son *Abraham Mauslin, Jr.* of

Blumenstein, born in 1692. About the further life of *Jacob Hostettler* (3) as little is known as about the "Carolinian" Reformed church member of Schwarzenburg.

A population register published in 1999 gives data about two families *Hostettler* in Clairegoutte near Montbéliard.⁹² The information closes a gap in the *Hostettler* family history and is an example of the emigration of Anabaptists. As parents are given *Christen* and *Elisabeth*⁹³ *Hochstettler-Ulrich*, age 50 and 30, farmers of the Seigneurie, of Anabaptist religion. Their children were *Hans*, age 20; *Elisabeth*, 15; *Jacob*, 13; *Anne*, 10; *Marie*, 4; and *Peter*, 2.

Also *Christen Hochstettler's* brother *Hans*, a widower was living in Clairegoutte, a family of some six persons. The two brothers in the environs of Markirch are easily identified who had been living for some years on Sur Citté⁹⁴ above Fertrupt and had concluded a partition agreement in 1714.

Of interest in this context is above all *Jacob*, born in 1710 and 28 years of age when he emigrated to Pennsylvania. His parents were known as Anabaptists while no religious affiliation has been indicated for him.

Also his father *Christen Hostettler* must be identified. In my general register covering the years 1620 to 1750 there are 27 *Christen Hostettler*. But between the years 1673 and 1675 there is but one *Christen Hostettler* born 1674 in Blumenstein to where his parents had emigrated from Schwarzenburg. The further places they went to were Oberdiessbach, Sur Citté above Fertrupt, Clairegoutte, and Oberauerbach. From there their son *Jacob* was to emigrate to Pennsylvania in 1738.

To sum up: The connection with Blumenstein and thereby to *Abraham Mäuslin* may have been maintained. *Christen Hostettler*, the father, knew the lordly world of the Patrician family *von Wattenwil* in the castle of Oberdiessbach, and the brothers *Christen* and *Hans Hostettler* the hard life of farmers at the homestead Sur Citté as well as during the four years on the Seigneurie Clairegoutte. And finally a home for the aged father *Christian Hostettler* had been found in Oberauerbach. The one son *Jacob Hostettler* may have experienced all this and carried a whole Bernese world to Pennsylvania where he arrived in 1738 on the boat Charming Nancy. His uncle *Jacob Hostettler*, born in 1685 in Oberdiessbach had gone before, and a *Christian*, a *Ulrich* and a *Nicolaus Hostettler* was to follow on the boat Phoenix in 1749. Thus the journey from Winterkraut/Wahlern to Pennsylvania had involved three generations.

9. Emigration also Meant an Expansion of Denominational Frontiers: A Summary:

1. Most of the *Täufer* mentioned in this study were not expelled, but chose to

emigrate as part of a general migratory movement.

2. An Anabaptism that was but secretly pursued and clandestine in practice was nowhere to be discovered. The mere fact that much data about *Täufer* could be gathered from the church books shows that from the end of the 17th to the mid-18th century the Anabaptist persuasion gradually could be embraced within state- and princely churches. In contrast to the widespread view of Anabaptism, a whole family clan of *Hostettler* could move from the *Täufer* center of Winterkraut to the princely cities of Bischwiler and Brumath where they lived as farmers and inn keepers, did public service, and were involved with the princely court for many years.

3. Based on documentary evidence relating to several families *Hostettler*, it has been possible to trace a complete emigration route from the *Täufer* center Winterkraut of the Schwarzenburg region via the Bernese Blumenstein and Oberdiessbach to Markirch in the Alsace and Zweibrücken in the Palatinate, then to the use of the so-called Palatine transports finally to Pennsylvania.

4. The 1693 “new *Täufer* sect” that Bern’s government mentioned in 1693 was not the controversy between the followers of *Hans Reist* and those of *Jacob Amman*, but the religio-political opposition movement of the rural people and Anabaptists of Winterkraut in Schwarzenburg that had evolved from the Brüggsommer-strife. Anabaptists continued that opposition in their migration to the region of Markirch as the 1701 petition to the Prince of Birkenfeld documents.⁹⁵

5. In the regions of Zweibrücken in the Palatinate several *Hostettler* families show a certain readiness to transcend denominational lines and to adjust to the various religious groups. It is also reflected in the cooperation of that *Jacob Hochstatler* together with his brother-in-law *Georg Trautmann* in the proposed common school between Reformed and Lutherans of the Cocalico parish.⁹⁶ No *Jacob Hostettler*, however, nor the numerous documents show traces of Amish views and traditions, but rather reflected the Waldensian ecumenical openness toward other committed believers.

6. The twins *Jacob* and *Peter Hostettler* of Winterkraut did not call themselves “Anabaptist teachers” but had been so labeled by the Bernese government. The same holds for *J.A.* who was called “Erztäufer,” that is, “radical *Täufer*.” The twins’ efforts may reflect the Waldensian lay apostolate. For *Hans Binggeli* this meant bringing young people from the Schwarzenburg region for religious instruction to the Alsace. For *Jacob Hostettler* living in Eschery

it involved concern for the young unmarried men and their need for future spouses and led him to return twice to his original home region. When later in Pennsylvania he refers to the synod of Bern so that his openness to the Reformed persuasion is clearly attested.

7. It was not accidental that *Jacob Hostettler* of Winterkraut was living in Lièpvre/ Eschery near or perhaps in the same household as *Jacqui Aman*. It resulted from being related, although the exact connection cannot be established. The custodian role of *Jacob Hostettler* also needs to be noted.

8. The discreet presence of *Jacqui/Jaggi Aman* in Petite Lièpvre who is called respectfully "patriarch" has nothing to do with the activity of that forceful *Jacob Amme* who is mentioned off and on in the accounts of the Reist-Amish split. Because the clan *Ammann/Ammen* is not present in America, a direct link of its Amish communities to *Jacob Amman* in Petite Lièpvre cannot be established. But a connection between them and with Quakers, Hutterers, and "Swiss Brethren," as suggested by William R. McGrath, might be worth exploring.⁹⁷

9. Thirty years of exploring primary sources have shown me that there were numerous Täufern in the Schwarzenburg region who became related and close-knit. The evangelization of the *Glodo* people from the Piemont in Guggisberg that I discovered, highlighted the developments and the revival of the Waldensian persuasion. Yet the government in Bern and its religious officials carefully avoided the label "Waldensians," using "Täufern" instead, and both processes occurred between 1580 and about 1639. The core region of events was the hilly area of Winterkraut from Wislisau at the Schwarzwasser river all the way to Guggisberg. The religious influence reached to the frontiers of Fribourg and to the Upper Aargau region, also including the Schwarzenburger land, Niedersimmental, Aaretal, Gürbetal, and Emmental. The Brüggsummer conflict of Winterkraut was a hardly noticed late peasant war, fought without arms but nevertheless with tenacity. It culminated in the 1695 petition to the Bernese government to be allowed to emigrate. Only this context makes the 1701 *Ammen-Hostettler-Zimmerman* petition understandable.

Bern, Switzerland

Notes

¹ It may be considered unexpected and surprising that the church books of the Bernese region refer to Täufern and to *Täufer* families. This derives from the fact that most and including

the expelled Täufer had their children baptized. Religiously their resistance was related to the forced attendance of divine services and the celebration of the Last Supper as imposed by the Ancien Regime. Politically these rural people were also opposed to the aristocratic Lords in Bern whom they viewed in many ways as oppressors, on whom however rural people were nevertheless financially quite dependent.

² See Paul Hostettler, "Täuferium im Grenzgebiet zwischen deutscher und welscher Schweiz und seine waldensischen Wurzeln," State Archive Bern 2008. ["Anabaptism in the Frontier Region between German- and French-speaking Switzerland and Its Waldensian Roots."]

³ K Wa 1/104.

⁴ Within quotations family names are given in their original form, in the text further forms are considered or their standard form is being used.

⁵ StABE A V 1187: ÄSb D/23.

⁶ StABE A V 1187: ÄSb D/23.

⁷ A previous "division" seems to refer to sentencing and expulsion.

⁸ ÄSb D/51; K Gu 1/112.127.143. Children: Anna, Cathrin, Elsbeth and Margreth. Presumably also his brother was at the same homestead: Jacob Schärtz with his wife Ursula. Children: Hans, Anna and Johannes Heinrich. K Wa 2/39. In 1713 a David Schärz was witness in Sainte-Marie aux Mines when the Schwarzenburg Hostettler of Sur Citté signed the contract of dividing their property. (Colmar State Archive: Fonds juridique non communicable).

⁹ StAFR Vogtei Sb 2.45.

¹⁰ K Wa 1/424.

¹¹ In 1584 the anonymous *Apologie der Täufer* appeared. In that year the latest, Bernese *Täufers* submitted to the ecclesiastical form of baptism without thereby approving it. Noteworthy are the *Täufer* baptismal witnesses, especially Hans Ammann. Later there will be Jacob, Hans, Uli, and Jeremias Amman/Ammen beside many others. The division of the families into Amman and Ammen occurred in 1610 in Guggisberg.

¹² ChGM Gu2/178 No. 6.

¹³ StABE B III 190: TM/384.

¹⁴ StABE B III 198/2.

¹⁵ The payout for an informer followed after the capture.

¹⁶ StABE A V 1187: ÄSb D/35.41.43.49.

¹⁷ He fled the country at the threat of being apprehended.

¹⁸ ÄSb D/53.

¹⁹ Gilgen, a Schwarzenburg name, has been rendered Giljen or even Jillien due to its peculiar pronunciation. In the emigration to Pennsylvania the name was changed to Yelin. — Gilgen's children were without their parents in French-speaking country (Welschland).

²⁰ A II 304: RM 433/243.

²¹ A II 324: RM 13/52.

²² ÄSb C/543 No. 4 and 5; 548.

²³ StAFR Sb14.4.

²⁴ StABE A V 1186: ÄSb C/574.

²⁵ StABE A V 1187: ÄSb D/53.

²⁶ From a different perspective Glado Bifrare's Waldensian evangelization had been successful among his people.

²⁷ ÄSb D/59. According to the Manual of Contracts A 320/ Years 1635–1640 Adam Stärnenberger, *Täuferlehrer* "uff den Furen" is a "verlasser," that is, he left without the obligatory notice of departure. Years before he had his children still baptized: Barblj, 1609 (KWA 2/23), with godparent Barblj Gilgen-Risen, living at Brügglen where 150 years later the so-called Brüggler sect was to emerge. Also the rarely mentioned family Werli was present.—Elsbeth, 1612 (KWA 2/51) with the significant godparents Ulj Nidegger (StAFR Sb.1.21-23), Anna

Wienbach (!) and Margret Zand.—Peter, 1619 (KWa 2/94) with the godparents Hans Zwalen, Peter Binggeli and Margret Zbinden. The assumption of an intensifying radicalization seems supported by the observation that in 1628 his sister Barblj was given the custody of the children she had with Peter Nydegger, possibly because of their *Täufer* marriage years before (ÄSb C/355).

²⁸ ÄSb C/558; StAFR Sb 14.4, there also his place of residence.

²⁹ Ä Sb D/399.

³⁰ ChGM Gu 2/39, No. 6.

³¹ ChGM Gu 2/138, No. 4.

³² ChGM Gu 2/10 ss.

³³ ChGM Gu 2/26, No. 4.

³⁴ Was the drinking of wine masking *Täufer* gatherings devoted to commemorating the last supper?

³⁵ ChGM Gu 3/2, No. 11.

³⁶ ChGM Gu 3/16 No. 1.

³⁷ EReg Gu 1715.

³⁸ StABE B III 190: TM/76.

³⁹ StABE B III 190/265; 402, 405s. — Pardon: StABE B III 190/442 and B III 191/37.

⁴⁰ StABE A II 551: RM 239/457.

⁴¹ StABE A II 557: RM245/86.

⁴² K Wa 2/499.

⁴³ K Wa 2/499. Godparents: Jeremias Binggeli, the *Täufer*, Ulli Glaus and Benedicta Hostettler.

⁴⁴ K Wa 2/588. Godparents: Christen Binggeli, Anni Gilgen, Hans Zbinden.

⁴⁵ K Wa 2/588. Baptism on 16 March 1706: Child Elsi; godparents Christen Pinggeli, Anni Gilgen, Hans Zbinden.

⁴⁶ Register of the Ambassador of the Netherlands and intermediary between Bern and the Netherlands in Amsterdam. Reference provided by Hanspeter Jecker, Bienenberg, letter of 21 July 1998.

⁴⁷ ADHR Colmar; 4 E Ste Marie Alsace 83, Notariatsakten.—ADRH 4 E 83, p. 90; baille à loyer, Petite Lièpvre; ADRH 4 E 83 H8/39f.

⁴⁸ Hostet, orchard.

⁴⁹ StABE A II 631: RM 45/82 .

⁵⁰ Part of the commune Guggisberg.

⁵¹ KWa 2/597: Marriage 14 January; children between 1660 to 1671. It is noteworthy that the godmother of Ulrich Mischler was an *Apollonia Zand*. In Wahlern the various Apollonias were enmeshed with the Ammann-clan. In my research in the Alsace, however, I never came across the family name Mischler.

⁵² A II 631: 45/82.

⁵³ 15 August 1719. A V 1471 Responsa prudentum No. 2/324–331.

⁵⁴ A II 669: RM 83/134.

⁵⁵ A II 669: RM 83/341s, 6 March 1720.

⁵⁶ With the notation relating to the father: “the tailor.”

⁵⁷ K Oberwil in the Simmental, 1/315.

⁵⁸ Departements-Archiv Colmar. Ste Marie, 19 J 169: “Extradition de Munich.”

⁵⁹ Just two random examples: In 1580 Abraham Zimmerman was the godfather of Michel Amman (K Wahlern 1/93); in November 1635 Jacob Ammen married Catrin Hostettler in Wahlern (K Wa 1/348).

⁶⁰ 9 August 1692, A V 1196: Ämterbuch Schwarzenburg G/333. As one of the few, Kämmerling was aware of the old rights of the Schwarzenburgerland’s “Landleute.” They were organized into a corporation led by elected officials that was parallel to the corporation of the

“Dorfburger,” the official village residents of the free town of Schwarzenburg.

⁶¹ 4 E Ste Marie 83/1 L 28/11.

⁶² ADHR Colmar Ste Marie 83/1 liasse 28/11 marginal.—“Ce jour d’huy quatorz Janvier 1713 est comparu pardevant le Tabellion soussigné: *Jacqy Hochstetter*, lequel agissant pour et au nom de *Jacqy Aman*, a déclaré estre payé et satisfait de . . . obligation . . . etc.

[signé] *Jacob hostetler*.

[marque]: *Fischer*, notaire.”

⁶³ ADHR Colmar, 4 E Notarial Acts 83/1.—“Cottel, jeune homme non marié, usant néanmoins de ses droits come majeur d’âge, résident audit Petite Lièvre . . .” [Cottel, a young unmarried man, using however his rights as an adult, living in Petite Lièvre.] – The sale included the house, its surroundings, a spice garden, orchard and garden plot (“meix”).

⁶⁴ He had two older brothers: Hans, born in 1642 and Uli in 1640, and the two sisters Anni and Barbli. His parents Jacob and Catrin Ammen-Hostettler had married in November 1636.

⁶⁵ K Oberwil 1/315. – Son of Jacob and Appolonia Ammen-Kissling, married 9 December 1633 in Oberwil in the Simmental; after the birth of their first child they moved in October 1634 to Wahlern where they had all their nine children to be born baptized: Jacob, David, Uli, Anna, Ulrich, Elsbeth, Ulli, Peter, and Michel [K Wa 2/207–292]. Some time later a Hans Hostettler married Barbara Kisslig. Their children born between 1663 and 1679 were Anna, Hans, Barbara, Christen, and Christina.

⁶⁶ Marriage of Jacob and Madle Amman-Schneiter on 9 March 1669 in Amsoldingen [K Ams 1/16]. Children: Peter, born 11 January 1670; Hans August, 4 1672 [K Ams 1/72]; Anna, 19 November 1674 [K Ams 1/86]; Christen 25 March 1677 [K Ams 1/11]; Jacob, 23 March 1679 [K Ams 1/123]; and Madle, 4 January 1691 [K Ams 1/189]. Godparents came mostly from *Täufer* families such as Ösch, Wenger, Hirsig, and In der Mühli.

⁶⁷ I. Daniel Rupp, *A Collection of Upwards of Thirty Thousand Names of German, Swiss, Dutch, French and Other Immigrants in Pennsylvania from 1727 to 1776* (1876; expanded edition: Leipzig: Verlag Degener, 1931).

⁶⁸ Michael Bachman was godfather for Anni Hostettler, baptized 2 February 1662 in Oberdiessbach. Her parents Ulrich and Eva Hostettler-Stucki were living on the *Täufer* Buchholterberg.

⁶⁹ Emanuel Zimmerman, the dyer and tanner (1738, Kontrakten Wahlern A 88/259). With Jacob Hostettler also Emanuel Zimmerman, Johann Schenk and others went to Pennsylvania.

⁷⁰ Literally “Jacob Hostedler” but “Michael Hochstädter.”—Ralph B. Strassburger, *Pennsylvania Pioneers*, (1934): 155–60. He lists “Jacob Hochstettler,” age 32, in the captain’s list A, together with Maria Catharina Hochstettlerin, age 42, Maria Eva Hochstettlerin, age 28, but “Jacob Hofstedler” with a notation on list C. It seems noteworthy that no Michael or another name appears on the list for that ship. Note of Carolyn Wenger.

⁷¹ K Oberdiessbach 7, p. 12, with godparents Niggli Marti, Christen Hostettler (married Lärjen), probably the child’s uncle, and Anni Bachmann.—The last will with the name Jacob Hostetter Hill, dated 1761, written in 1756, is attributed to him. Named are the wife Anna (“Aneli Hostetterin”) and the sons Hanss, Jacob, and Abraham. See Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, Lancaster Courthouse, y-2-283.

⁷² See last will.

⁷³ Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, Lancaster Courthouse, y-2-283.

⁷⁴ Hans and Anna (Müller) Roht, K Oberdiessbach 5, p. 40.

⁷⁵ This Jacob is also classified in Gingerich and Kreider’s Amish genealogy as the ancestor of all Amish Hostettlers in America. See Hugh F. Gingerich and Rachel W. Kreider, *Amish and Amish Mennonite Genealogies* (Pequea, Pennsylvania: Pequea Publishers, 1986), 122.

⁷⁶ The Jacob Hochstetler Family Association of Elkhart, Indiana, now agrees that (3) Jacob

Hostetler and not (2) Jacob Hostetler is the Amish immigrant. See Daniel E. Hochstetler, "Unsolved Mysteries' Concerning Jacob Hochstetler," *Hochstetler-Hostetler-Hochstedler Family Newsletter* 15 (March 2001): 4-6, 8.

⁷⁷ "Church book of the Little Congregation of Jesus Christ of the Muddy Creek," in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

⁷⁸ Kirchenbuch Lambsborn, 18 January 1707.

⁷⁹ Rupp, *A Collection*. Note of Carolyn Wenger.—According to Martin G. Weaver, *Mennonites of Lancaster Conference* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Menonite Publishing House, 1931), 41, this Jacob Hostettler had been ordained when still in Switzerland before age 30 and is claimed to have served as a Mennonite Bishop In Pennsylvania, but without a source reference. He is officially first mentioned on 18 February 1717 when he purchased 350 acres at the north bank of the Conestoga river in today's Engleside in Lancaster County. He possibly purchased further 150 acres 5 June 1734 according to "Patent a-6-339, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania." On 30 July 1741 he purchased 475 acres in Manor Township of Lancaster County, Patent A-9-338.—About his descendants see H. Glenn Hostetter, *Hostetter Family: Descendants of Jacob and Anna Hostetter of Engleside, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*. H. Glenn Hostetter, 1983.

⁸⁰ Warrant C-73-254, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The transaction was not certified until 1765, and in May 1829 the patent was sold to John Leshner, Jr.—Note of Carolyn Wenger.

⁸¹ "Kirchenbuch der Congregation auf dem Moden Crück [Muddy Creek] und Cocalico woher ich gerufen worden. Ich habe akzeptiert am Gründonnerstag 1743, auf deren ständiges Ersuchen einzugehen und so mit vier Ältesten und über vierzig Gemeinemitgliedern zuammen die Einführung einer Volksschule zu unterzeichnen. Damit soll ihnen eine Grundschulung gewährt werden, welche die Prinzipien unseres Glaubens achtet, und die Sakramente in der Art und Weise so zu verwalten hat, wie es unsere Reformatoren im Berner Synodus vo 1532 niedergelegt haben." For the data about the Muddy Creek congregation and Cocalico, I am obliged to my research colleague Dwight Huffstetler in Barnesville, Georgia.

⁸² Archive of Muddy Creek Parish, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Register of the Inhabitants Guggisberg 1715, Winterkraut.

⁸⁵ Spelled Jacob Hostedler but Michael Hochstädter according to Rupp, *A Collection*, 100, 102.

⁸⁶ This Jacob Ammann is viewed by American research as a Mennonite "minister and bishop." His ten children were: Johann Georg; Anna Catharina, died in Philadelphia; Johann, born 1734; Michael, August 1737; Heinrich, 1739; Marcus, 1740; Eva, 1741; Sophia, 1742; Barbara, 1744; Jacob, 1746.

⁸⁷ In my unpublished study of 2002 titled "Twice Eva Trautmann" the issues are described in detail. Actually related couples with the same names may be identified who most likely moved to Pennsylvania.

⁸⁸ ADBR Strassbourg, microfilm Obenheim 5 Mi 338.

⁸⁹ The twin Täufer teachers Jacob and Peter Hostettler were living in Eschery that lies a few miles from Ste Marie aux Mines at the entrance of the Vosges mountain range.

⁹⁰ Rupp, *A Collection*, has Jacob Hochstetter.

⁹¹ Years 1723 and 1727; AHS - E303.

⁹² Elisabeth Hostettler-Ulrich was Christen's second wife; his first was Elisabetha Wild (1679-1719).

⁹³ Robert Baecher, "Dénombrement de la population de Montbéliard," *Souvenance Anabaptiste* 18 (1999), based on the years 1723 and 1727, AHS-E 303.

⁹⁴ "Sur Citté" still exists with a facade of wooden shingles not unlike the homes to be found still today in the Schwarzenburgerland.

⁹⁵ "Petition in the name of the Anabaptist community of Markirch and Eschery," ADHR Colmar 19 J 169.

⁹⁶ "We, being members of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches in Bern and Heidelberg together have resolved and decided to build a common Evangelical-Christian schoolhouse on the land of Tobias Beckels to where children of all religions may be sent and there be taught. Nobody may claim any right and power over said land and house except the signed members who have obligated themselves ... But it shall remain forever a common schoolhouse and not be used for any other purpose than: to be made into such a Christian and peaceful God-oriented institution in which the dear youth are not only instructed in the reading of Holy Writ, but will also be guided to the love of their crucified savior Jesus Christ . . ." See also above footnote 80.

⁹⁷ *The Mystery of Jacob Amman*. Carrollton, Ohio: Amish Mennonite Publications, 1989.