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**The First Thirteen Families:  
Another Look at the Religious and Ethnic Background  
of the Emigrants from Crefeld (1683)**

When they left their homeland along the Lower Rhine, settled in Pennsylvania, and founded Germantown in 1683, none of the thirteen emigrant families from Crefeld could have imagined that they would be remembered three hundred years later. Their lives had a different focus, and worldly glory was farthest from their minds.

The settlers from Crefeld were plain people and pious people. They mastered their crafts, linen weaving and dyeing; they were not without means and had good common sense in managing their affairs; in legal and administrative matters they were assisted by Francis Daniel Pastorius, their erudite leader. They were courageous and upright—first and foremost, they were children and servants of God.

The inspiration which they received from the Bible served as their primary guidance. They did not want the ways of the world to interfere with the direction of their lives devoted to the glory of God. In accordance with Acts 5.29—"We ought to obey God rather than men"—they accepted neither secular authority, where it appeared to be in conflict with the word of God, nor church authority in any of its hierarchical manifestations. The community of fellow believers and the conscience of the individual under God were the binding principal values they would honor.

The entire group of emigrants must have numbered about forty persons.<sup>1</sup> These are the thirteen names that represent the heads of household:<sup>2</sup>

Dirk op den Graeff  
Herman op den Graeff  
Abraham op den Graeff  
Tuenes Kunders  
Lenert Arens  
Reinert Tisen  
Wilhelm Strepers

Jan Lensen  
Peter Keurlis  
Jan Siemens  
Johann Bleikers  
Abraham Tuenes  
Jan Leuken

For anyone familiar with the area, the sound of these names evokes the atmosphere of the Lower Rhine region, the land between the Rhine and the Maas rivers.

There is no record extant of the exact day of departure and the route that the families took from Crefeld. On June 14 and 15, 1683, some of the emigrants were still making legal provisions regarding real estate property.<sup>3</sup> They must have left for Rotterdam shortly thereafter. Most likely they boarded a boat from Uerdingen (four miles east) down the Rhine. It is not known on which boat they crossed the channel to England where the *Concord* lay waiting.

James Claypoole, a London merchant and agent, also an active Quaker and a friend of William Penn, had arranged the passage to Pennsylvania. From his letters we know that the "Friends from Crefeld" were behind schedule and that they would have missed the boat with its sailing date on July 17, had there not been another delay. Finally, on July 24, the *Concord* set sail for America. She left from Gravesend on the Thames, about twenty miles east of London. The *Concord* was a sturdy new ship of about five hundred tons, one of the largest at the time; her captain, William Jeffries, was experienced in Atlantic crossings; she carried a crew of forty, was well provisioned for 120 passengers with "14 excellent oxen killed and 30 ton beer and abundance of bread and water."<sup>4</sup> The voyage went well. Claypoole, also a passenger on the *Concord* with his wife, seven children and five servants, wrote to his brother: "The blessing of the Lord did attend us so that we had a comfortable passage and our health all the way."<sup>5</sup>

On October 6 (OS), 1683,<sup>6</sup> the thirteen families set foot on the shore of the Delaware River. They decided to stay together on a tract of land (18,000 acres) offered to them by Penn and acquired through the services of Pastorius.<sup>7</sup> They hoped that their settlement, Germantown, would be the place where they might live according to their conscience and free from the religious oppression that they had experienced in their homeland.

Their expectations were fulfilled. When the immediate needs of shelter and sustenance had been satisfied, they turned to their looms and did what they knew best: weaving. Only a few years later Germantown was known for its fine linens and stockings. After years of toil and labor, during which they encountered the hardships typical of the frontier, the community prospered and grew. More immigrants began arriving as early as 1684: relatives and other families from Crefeld or those who had contact with the Crefelders. Soon Germantown became the gateway for numerous other immigrant groups from Germany who sought religious freedom. By 1702 there were sixty families in Germantown; a meeting house had been built, a school founded; a

paper mill had been erected and Market Square established as a community project. A solid basis had been created for the manifold contributions to the cultural life of the colonies and later the United States.

One of the achievements of the early settlers is of universal significance. Based on their belief that all people are equal in God's sight, the founders of Germantown issued a protest against slavery as early as 1688.<sup>8</sup> This act for the betterment of mankind represented a giant, though quiet, step in the history of democracy and the liberation of the individual. The pioneers' firm belief in the dignity of the individual and, correspondingly, the tolerance of others expresses the spirit that imbued them and their cooperative venture. Their convictions, the principle of equality and the liberty of conscience, left their imprint on the constitution of the Colony of Pennsylvania and became, in due time, a part of the Constitution of the United States.

The religious belief at the core of the settlers' convictions and its expression in a particular religious affiliation did not seem problematical to the early historians of Germantown and the German immigration to Pennsylvania; only in the last fifty years has the question to which religious denomination the emigrants belonged become a matter of controversy. If one selected an account about the founders of Germantown at random, one would very likely find a passage such as this:

. . . the Mennonites, followers of the reformer Menno Simon[s], had been subjected to so many restrictions and persecution, that they gladly accepted the invitation of Penn, to settle in his American domain. The first group of Mennonites, that crossed the ocean, came from Crefeld, a city of the lower Rhine.<sup>9</sup>

Well into the twentieth century we find this typical statement: Mennonites from Germany were the founders of Germantown and the first to bring German group settlement to the American colonies. Only occasionally one would encounter a somewhat modified statement with regard to their religious affiliation, such as the one by Albert Bernhardt Faust made in 1933 at the 250th anniversary of the founding of Germantown:

The honor of being the first immigrants . . . falls to the thirteen families from Crefeld, all sectarians, mostly Mennonites, some of whom had become converts to Quakerism, others joining the Society of Friends in America.<sup>10</sup>

Faust's qualification that some of the Mennonites had become Quakers was significant, but it did not alter the prevailing view. The question of the settlers' religious affiliation and that of their ethnic origin had not yet been seriously challenged. These questions did not become issues until 1935, when the book by William I. Hull, *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania*, even in its title advanced the thesis that "the founders of Germantown were not really Germans, but Netherlanders, and not Mennonites, but Quakers."<sup>11</sup> Prominent pub-

lications in the United States have accepted Hull's thesis,<sup>12</sup> although one can also find the traditional view that the settlers were Mennonites both in scholarly works and as popular belief.<sup>13</sup>

In Germany, Hull's thesis that the emigrants from Crefeld were Dutch rather than German was never accepted. Among the first to refute Hull's view were Dirk Cattepoel and Karl Rembert.<sup>14</sup> Due to the limited distribution of both publications, their arguments were not generally made known and have, particularly in the United States, been overlooked. Hull's thesis that the founders of Germantown were Quakers, not Mennonites, led to a reexamination of their religious affiliation with varying results. The different viewpoints in this unresolved discussion are exemplified by two articles published in 1982: Charlotte Boecken states that the first thirteen families were nearly all Quakers,<sup>15</sup> while Guido Rothhoff maintains that the emigrants, with the exception of two, were all Mennonites.<sup>16</sup> Upon closer examination, it becomes evident that each author looks at the question from a different perspective: Rothhoff refers to the situation in Crefeld prior to the emigration, while Boecken aims at the time of departure and the post-emigration years in Germantown.

To understand the political, religious, social, and cultural conditions that prevailed in Crefeld prior to the emigration, we must look at Crefeld's history with regard to the city's attractiveness to religious groups not recognized by the official churches; the development of the Mennonite congregation, its receptiveness to new ideas and its spiritualistic tendencies; Quakers in Crefeld, their harassment, and their relation to the Mennonites; and the ethnic roots of the emigrant families.

From its beginnings in 1373, when its charter was granted by Emperor Charles IV, Crefeld as a "city and sovereignty" belonged to the Counts of Moers. (The city of Moers is located about fifteen miles northeast of Crefeld.) In the latter part of the sixteenth century, at the time of the Netherlands' struggle for independence from Spain and Hapsburg, Countess Walburg of Neuenahr-Moers named Prince Maurice of Nassau-Orange (1567-1625) heir to the County of Moers with Crefeld as an enclave. Firm Protestantism and hatred of Spain were the elements that allied Moers and the Dutch House of Orange. Prince Maurice succeeded in regaining the County for the Protestant, in this case, the Reformed faith. Since Walburg's death in 1600, the House of Orange legitimately claimed this small domain as an extraterritorial family possession. Crefeld's status as part of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation was not affected by this transfer.

For Crefeld proper, not for Moers, there was another brief Spanish interlude beginning in 1605. In 1607, as part of the armistice negotiations, a compromise was reached between the General States and Spain, in which the County of Moers was declared a neutral zone. In order to make the Spaniards leave Crefeld, the Orange government had to agree that Catholics would be accepted in the city. This agreement signaled the beginning of religious tolerance and prompted persecuted religious minorities from other parts of the Lower Rhine region to settle in Crefeld. Nevertheless, the situation was far from ideal: On the

outside Crefeld was surrounded by territory under Catholic domination and within the city there were competing, quarreling Protestant factions with rivalry, envy, and animosity. The official church, favored by the Orange administration, guarded its supremacy anxiously. Only members of the Reformed Church could hold public office; all civil record-keeping, including marriage announcements of any faith, had to be done in the Reformed Church. Complaints and harassment of minorities were common although basically religious tolerance prevailed in the city.

After Crefeld had been destroyed by fire in 1584, the city entered the seventeenth century with a population of about 350. An account of 1643 stresses Crefeld's growth, listing ninety-six houses for the city proper.<sup>17</sup> At the time of the emigration to Pennsylvania it had grown to about 1,500 inhabitants.<sup>18</sup> By the end of the seventeenth century Crefeld, in contrast to most other areas in Europe, was able to look back at a period of relative peace, development, and tolerance. Its inhabitants seemed to express pride when they recited:

Reformeerden en Papisten,  
Lutheranen en Mennisten,  
Dompelaers en Abrams Soonen  
T'samen nu in Crefeld wohnen.

Peter von Sarn, preacher in Crefeld, had translated the verse from the Latin original by Hermann Cruse, *Rektor* of the *Gymnasium* at Moers:

Papa, Moses, Pennus,  
Menno, Calvinus, Lutherus  
Una in Crefeldia  
Varium cantant alleluja!<sup>19</sup>

The original specifically includes William Penn while the vernacular version does not mention Quakers; however, it lists the Dompelaers (Dunkards) for whom there is no reference person in the Latin text.<sup>20</sup>

One of the first Mennonites to move to Crefeld in response to the edict of religious tolerance was Hermann op den Graeff (1585-1642) who came probably as early as 1609 from Aldekerk via Kempen (towns within a fifteen-mile radius of Crefeld). Hermann is the grandfather of the three op den Graeff brothers who emigrated in 1683. Throughout the seventeenth century the op den Graeffs are referred to as a leading family among the Crefeld Mennonites. Hermann's signature is under the Dordrecht Confession of Faith (1632), adopted most widely among Mennonite groups, and records in the Reformed Church refer to him as bishop of the Mennonites (1637).<sup>21</sup>

The record of 1632 is the first that mentions Crefeld as the seat of a Mennonite congregation, although historians assume that Mennonites existed in Crefeld in the sixteenth century since there is evidence of Anabaptist activity in numerous places throughout the Lower Rhine region.<sup>22</sup> In 1637 about two hundred Mennonites, expelled from Jülich (twenty-eight miles south), came to seek refuge in Crefeld. Between 1652 and 1654, another stream of Mennonite refugees, about seventy

families, arrived in the city, this time from Mönchen-Gladbach (fifteen miles southwest of Crefeld). Acceptance and expansion of the Mennonites did not proceed without setbacks. As early as 1615, complaints about their meetings, their preaching, and even their singing were registered by Reformed ministers at various synods in Moers. Not only the official church but also the civil administration protested and opposed Mennonites. In 1653, for example, when a Wilhelm Eick from Gouda applied for residence, the burgomasters told him they did not want him in the city and no more Mennonites.<sup>23</sup>

In 1657 Mennonites were allowed to stay in the city without restrictions and permitted to pursue their trades, mainly weaving. Not until 1678, however, could they become regular citizens with all rights and privileges. This right was granted to them by Prince William Henry, who in 1689 became King William III of England. His dictum included a provision by which Mennonites in the cities of Moers and Crefeld could be exempt from serving in the city guard by paying a special defense tax.<sup>24</sup> At about the same time the congregation refurbished a house owned by one of its members, presumably as a meeting house,<sup>25</sup> and was now able to hold Sunday services unmolested as long as the services followed those of the Reformed Church by one hour. Many meetings were still held in small groups, in conventicles. Mennonites did not build their first church in Crefeld until 1693—ten years after the emigrants had left.

Although Mennonites were united by their name, it is doubtful that they were in full accord as far as religious beliefs and practices were concerned. Also, as Anabaptists of the Reformation, Mennonites in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were still developing and accepting new ideas. The Crefeld congregation, too, was ready to examine new teachings. Those who were merchants and traveled became acquainted with other sectarian groups in Frankfurt and, especially, in Holland.

Religious life after the Thirty Years' War was characterized by a strong desire for *Innerlichkeit*. It must be seen as a broad spiritualistic movement that brought about Quakers, Labadists, Dompelaers, Pietists, Separatists, and Brethren (Herrnhuter). Followers rejected the orthodox formalism of the established denominations and also their constant disputes. They gathered in conventicles; dogma, ritual, and the church as an institution were of little importance to them; active participation in an inner religious life and the idea of personal salvation became important. God and the soul were their focal points.<sup>26</sup> For a whole century, from 1650 to 1750, Crefeld was in the center of "awakened" Christians and mystics; they belonged primarily to the Mennonite congregation.<sup>27</sup> The religious movements of the time, Labadism and Quakerism, came to the small city during the last quarter of the century, and the Mennonite congregation in particular was open to their ideas.<sup>28</sup> This is the context in which we have to view the Crefeld Mennonites' encounter with Quakerism.<sup>29</sup> The personal belief in the "inner light" appealed to Mennonites.

It is a fact that Quaker missionaries had made their way across the continent, deliberately seeking out Mennonite groups as their contacts.

As early as 1667, two Quaker representatives, Stephen Crisp (from England) and Jan Claus (from Holland), visited the Lower Rhine region, staying at Uerdingen and Moers. William Penn visited this region in 1677, but the first extant record of a Quaker's visit to Crefeld itself is that of Stephen Crisp in 1678 who reports that "a meeting was set up."<sup>30</sup> This was perhaps the beginning of a Quaker group in Crefeld. It was constituted at the latest in 1679 when Quaker leader Roger Longworth came to the city on a trip from the Palatinate to Friesland—regions with Mennonite strongholds.<sup>31</sup> A number of references testify to Quaker meetings in the years 1679 and 1680. When the records originated with the Reformed, the references invariably contained criticism of the Quakers' missionary activity, of the fact that many advocates came from England and Holland, and that they found curious listeners among the Crefelders.<sup>32</sup> The frequency of such reports points to an increased activity of the Quakers, and complaints seem to have led to harassment and attacks against them. One episode is especially revealing: the expulsion of two Crefeld residents with two other men, one woman, and one child by the local authorities in 1680. One of the expelled is Hermann op den Graeff, the oldest of the op den Graeff brothers.

The expellees went to Holland where they stayed with friends and had a pamphlet, *Vertoog*, printed (1680) in which they explained why they would return to Crefeld: They were legitimate residents, were self-supporting, had not committed any crimes, and had not been officially charged. They also listed and refuted what they had indirectly heard as allegations: that they would not pay due respect to the authorities, that they opposed the form of the sacraments, and that they would meet in conventicles.<sup>33</sup> In spite of threats of being flogged and branded they returned to the city. William Penn also submitted a petition to the Prince of Orange on their behalf emphasizing that they had not been expelled for insubordination or immorality but that, in his opinion, they had been expelled because their religious views deviated from the faith of the Reformed Church. The Prince acceded to Penn's request with the restriction that no foreigners be allowed to preach among the Quakers in Crefeld and that the Reformed pastors have the right to supervise the meetings.<sup>34</sup> These restrictions were not rigidly enforced, however, and Quaker activity continued as before with visits from Holland and England. The op den Graeffs opened their house to such visitors and their preachings. Roger Longworth and Jan Claus who had heard about the harassment traveled to Crefeld again in 1681 and reported that a group of more than twenty Quakers had been holding meetings regularly.<sup>35</sup> The capricious act of expulsion with all its ripple effects—flight to Holland, contact with Quaker friends there, and Penn's appeal—may well have been a key factor for Hermann, his family and friends in pursuing the emigration to Pennsylvania.

By this time (1680), the opposition by the Reformed seemed more strongly directed against the Quakers than the Mennonites. More than the specific religious tenets of the Quakers, and aside from the general aggressiveness in their missionary endeavor, it was their manners toward others that must have caused tension and conflict with the

authorities. Their refusal to remove their hats and to use the polite form of address with superiors—based on the principle of equality of all individuals—must have seemed provocative and revolutionary. This behavior was not commonly shared by Mennonites.

In terms of religious convictions and practices, however, Quakers and Mennonites had much in common: simplicity of life; high regard for a personal religion; and the belief that Christian life comes from an attitude of mind; the refusal to take oaths, to bear arms; the practice of non-violence; the rejection of infant baptism; the tradition of lay preachers; the objections to rigid creeds and set forms of worship. Both, Quakers and Mennonites, held their meetings in homes, had no church building or meeting house, and met in conventicles. These correspondences must have made it easy for both to associate, to worship, and to work together.

Evidence for the closeness is the marriage certificate of a Quaker marriage between "Derick Isacks [op den Graeff] en Nöleken Vijten" (May 20, 1681) which, in addition to their signatures, bears those of seventeen others who were present as witnesses. This document became a major argument for the thesis that the emigrants were Quakers and not Mennonites<sup>36</sup> because, first, it gives proof of the group of Quakers that existed in Crefeld in 1681, and, second, it is closely linked to the emigration to Pennsylvania: Of the eleven men who signed the marriage certificate, seven were among the emigrants in 1683, three went later, and only one did not join them. However, most of the names on the certificate were known as Mennonite names at the time.<sup>37</sup> Nearly all the witnesses resided in Crefeld; the Isacks/op den Graeff family represented the oldest of the Crefeld families; the others had moved to the city, most likely as refugees, in the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>38</sup> While the document identifies a group of Quakers, it does not indicate the relationship between the small group and the general body of the Mennonite congregation. The least we may conclude from the names on the marriage certificate is that there were family ties and probably personal friendships between the groups.

With the emigration of 1683, the Quaker group in Crefeld ceased to exist. By 1686 Stephen Crisp reported that there were no longer meetings in Crefeld; that all members had emigrated to Pennsylvania.<sup>39</sup>

The questions remain: Had the Quaker group, during its years in Crefeld, from the late seventies to 1683, completely separated from the Mennonite congregation? Or had it an existence of its own within the body of the congregation? In the absence of clear evidence, the answer may be based on analogous situations in the history of the Mennonites in Crefeld.

One of these situations is the appearance of the Dompelaers in Crefeld.<sup>40</sup> In the seventeenth century, English Baptists and Dutch Collegiants advocated baptism by immersion; when this trend reached the German Mennonites, who did not practice immersion, it sometimes resulted in splits within the congregation, for instance in Altona near Hamburg. In Crefeld, too, a difference of opinion arose early in the eighteenth century among members of the Mennonite congregation

regarding the form of baptism. It seems, however, typical for the situation in Crefeld that the two practices were accommodated within the congregation.<sup>41</sup> Only later the group of Dompelaers, like the Quakers, decided to emigrate; they went to Pennsylvania after 1720 where they were among the founders of the Ephrata community.

For the period prior to the Dompelaers, Charlotte Boecken points out the ability of the Crefeld Mennonite congregation to adjust to new trends of religious thought infused by refugees from the outside—for instance, those of 1654—and also, in view of the congregation's size, the likelihood of dividing into small groups.<sup>42</sup>

The language that the emigrants of 1683 normally used in writing was Dutch. This was not unusual since language and speech in the Lower Rhine region were characterized much more by Dutch and Low German than by High German in the seventeenth century. The brief verse on religious tolerance,<sup>43</sup> the pamphlet *Vertoog*, the word *Dompelaer*, and the marriage certificate may serve as examples in this context. The similarity between the language in the northern Rhine area and in southeast Holland has recently been discussed by Jan Goossens.<sup>44</sup> The administration in Moers used both Dutch and German.<sup>45</sup> Church records in Crefeld (Reformed and Mennonite) were in Dutch into the eighteenth century, sermons were given in the Mennonite congregation in Dutch until 1818,<sup>46</sup> and the dialect spoken in Crefeld even today can be easily understood by the Dutch people. Certainly, the founders of Germantown spoke the seventeenth-century version of that Low Franconian dialect. The thirteen emigrant families were linguistically and ethnically rooted in the Lower Rhine region.

Perhaps the single most valuable study to shed light on the ethnic and religious background of these families was done by Wilhelm Niepoth: "Die Abstammung der 13 Auswanderer von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien im Lichte niederrheinischer Quellen" (1953).<sup>47</sup> Niepoth was able to trace the family history as well as the location and religious denomination for each of the thirteen. His results show (a) that it was a migration from Crefeld as all of the emigrants resided in Crefeld prior to their departure; (b) that the preceding generation, if it did not have residence in Crefeld at about 1650, lived in another location of the Lower Rhine region—most of them in or near Mönchen-Gladbach, others in Kaldenkirchen (eighteen miles west of Crefeld)—in other words, the parents of the settlers all came from an area within an eighteen-mile radius of Crefeld that, except for times of occupation, had been German; (c) that they and their ancestors had all been Mennonites except for two who were Reformed and one whose parents were originally Mennonite but who had brought the children up in the Reformed faith; (d) that all of them, except one, were members of the Quaker group in Crefeld prior to their emigration.

If we apply what is known about the tradition and history of the Mennonite congregation in Crefeld, its spiritual openness and intellectual tolerance, its interest in spiritualism and personal religion, we cannot but assume that the Quakers as a small group and as individuals maintained their ties with the Mennonite congregation, and that neither

can be separated clearly. Cattepoel and others maintain that there was no real separation between the two groups, but that the Quakers as a special group enjoyed a loose association with the larger body of the Mennonites.<sup>48</sup> If we further take into account the religious background of the thirteen emigrants and their families prior to the relatively short period that the Crefeld Quaker group existed, 1678/79-1683, we find a Mennonite heritage in most of them. Since religious attitudes become established gradually and over a long time, this heritage cannot be ignored. A designation as "Mennonite-Quakers," instead of Mennonites or Quakers, might be more appropriate for the emigrants.<sup>49</sup> The definition "Mennonite-Quakers" would also bridge the disparate positions that assign the terms "Quakers" or "Mennonites" to the emigrants. The term "Mennonite-Quakers" characterizes the complexity of their religious background more adequately than a label applied on the basis of church affiliation at one specific time.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> The frequent reference to a party of thirty-three derives from the number of passages, i.e., full fares, booked for the Crefelders; it was, however, one half fare for children, infants were free; the total number in the party, therefore, must not be equated with the number of fares. One adult daughter died on the way from Rotterdam to England; two babies, a boy and a girl, were born on the way to Pennsylvania.

<sup>2</sup> Spelling and sequence of the names are as found on the Pastorius monument in Philadelphia.

<sup>3</sup> Wilhelm Niepoth, "Die Abstammung der 13 Auswanderer von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien im Lichte niederrheinischer Quellen," *Die Heimat*, 24 (1953), pp. 4, 8.

<sup>4</sup> James Claypoole's *Letter Book London and Philadelphia 1681-1684*, ed. Marion Balderston (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1967), p. 221-22, letter to Benjamin Furlly of July 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 223.

<sup>6</sup> October 6 (OS), 1683, corresponds to October 16, 1683, in the adjusted calendar. Cf. Guido Rotthoff, "Die Auswanderung von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien im Jahre 1683," *Die Heimat*, 53 (1982), p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> For a detailed account of the steps taken by the Crefelders in purchasing the land, cf. Rotthoff, p. 15.

<sup>8</sup> The complete text of this document is printed in Rudolf Cronau, *German Achievements in America* (New York: Rudolf Cronau, 1916), pp. 20-21; a German translation and a photograph of the original are included in Rudolf Cronau, *Drei Jahrhunderte deutschen Lebens in Amerika* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer [Ernst Vohsen], 1909), pp. 57-61.

<sup>9</sup> Rudolf Cronau, *German Achievements*, p. 18.

<sup>10</sup> Francis Daniel Pastorius and the 250th Anniversary of the Founding of Germantown (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1934), p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> (Swarthmore, PA: Swarthmore College, 1935), pp. 178-79.

<sup>12</sup> Harry M. Tinkcom, Margaret B. Tinkcom, and Grant Miles Simon, *Historic Germantown: From the Founding to the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1955); Stephanie Grauman Wolf, *Urban Village: Population, Community and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania 1683-1800* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1976).

<sup>13</sup> For example, LaVern J. Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Twayne: Boston, 1976), p. 25; Presidential Commission for the German-American Tricentennial, *The German-American Friendship Garden* (Washington, DC: U.S. Information Agency, 1983) (flier).

<sup>14</sup> Dirk Cattepoel, "Deutsche Mennoniten oder holländische Quäker?" *Die Heimat*, 16 (1937), 122-26; Karl Rembert, "Zur Geschichte der Auswanderung Krefelder Mennoniten nach Nord-Amerika," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte rheinischer Mennoniten*, Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins, No. 2 (Weierhof [Pfalz]: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 1939), pp. 161-84, esp. pp. 165, 184. Both the *Beiträge* and numerous volumes of *Die Heimat*, e.g., 4-6, 9-13, 16-19, and later volumes, contain information pertinent to the Krefeld emigrants and the situation of the Mennonite congregation at Krefeld in the seventeenth century. These articles have gone largely unnoticed at the international level of the discussion.

<sup>15</sup> "'Dutch Quaker' aus Krefeld, die (Mit)Gründer Germantowns 1683?" *Die Heimat*, 53 (1982), 23-31, passim.

<sup>16</sup> "Die Auswanderung von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien im Jahre 1683," *Die Heimat*, 53 (1982), 13-22, here p. 19.

<sup>17</sup> Ernst Köppen, *Kleine Stadtbiographie Krefeld von den Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1948* (Duisburg: Mercator-Verlag Gert Wohlfahrt [1970]), p. 43.

<sup>18</sup> Ernst Crous, "Die rechtliche Lage der Krefelder Mennonitengemeinde im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte rheinischer Mennoniten*, Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins, No. 2 (Weierhof [Pfalz]: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 1939), p. 34; Hans Botzet, "Die Krefelder Einwohnerzahlen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," *Die Heimat*, 36 (1965), 80-97.

<sup>19</sup> Marliese Darsow and Reinhard Feinendegen, *Krefeld* (Köln: Greven, 1981), p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> This deviation is perhaps meaningful and may indicate that, at the time of Sarn's translation, the Quaker movement had ceased in Krefeld and the subsequent spiritualistic movement of the Dompelaers had already reached the city.

<sup>21</sup> Wilhelm Niepoth, "Die Mennonitengemeinde in Krefeld und ihre Beziehungen zu ihren Nachbargemeinden," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte rheinischer Mennoniten*, Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins, No. 2 (Weierhof [Pfalz]: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 1939), p. 131.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131; Crous, p. 34; C. Henry Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites* (Berne, IN: Mennonite Book Concern, 1941), pp. 258 ff.

<sup>23</sup> "Urkunden und Zeugnisse zur rechtlichen Stellung der Mennoniten in Krefeld," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte rheinischer Mennoniten*, Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins, No. 2 (Weierhof [Pfalz]: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 1939), p. 54.

<sup>24</sup> Crous, p. 37, "Reglement en Ordonnantie op de Justitie, Politie en Administratie van Sijn Hoogheydts Domainen tot Moeurs" (July 25, 1678).

<sup>25</sup> Niepoth, "Die Mennonitengemeinde," p. 136; Walther Risler, "Zur Baugeschichte der Mennonitenkirche zu Krefeld," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte rheinischer Mennoniten*, Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins, No. 2 (Weierhof [Pfalz]: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 1939), p. 79.

<sup>26</sup> Dirk Cattepoel, "Das religiöse Leben in der Krefelder Mennonitengemeinde des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte rheinischer Mennoniten*, Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins, No. 2 (Weierhof [Pfalz]: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 1939), p. 7.

<sup>27</sup> Hermann Keussen, *Geschichte der Stadt und Herrlichkeit Krefeld* (Krefeld, 1859), p. 375.

<sup>28</sup> Crous, pp. 37-38.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. also Max Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphälischen evangelischen Kirche* (Koblenz, 1860), II, 370.

<sup>30</sup> Friedrich Nieper, *Die ersten deutschen Auswanderer von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien* (Neukirchen, Kr. Moers: Buchdr. d. Erziehungsver., 1940), p. 61.

<sup>31</sup> Letter of October 24, 1679, Hull, p. 196; cf. Rotthoff, p. 13.

<sup>32</sup> Goebel, II, 294 f., note, as quoted by Cattepoel, "Das religiöse Leben," p. 9.

<sup>33</sup> Cattepoel, "Das religiöse Leben," p. 9.

<sup>34</sup> Goebel, II, 295, note, as quoted by Cattepoel, "Das religiöse Leben," p. 10.

<sup>35</sup> Longworth's letter to Pemberton [undated]: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Pemberton Papers, I, 117, as cited by Rotthoff, p. 22.

<sup>36</sup> Photo reproductions in Hull, opposite title page, and in Rotthoff, p. 16.

<sup>37</sup> Cattepoel, "Das religiöse Leben," p. 11.

<sup>38</sup> Niepoth, "Die Mennonitengemeinde," p. 138; "Die Abstammung," pp. 2-9, passim.

<sup>39</sup> Wilhelm Hubben, "Labadisten, Mennoniten und Quäker am Niederrhein," *Die Heimat*, 5 (1926), 268-73, here p. 272.

<sup>40</sup> See p. 33 and note 20 above.

<sup>41</sup> Cattepoel, "Das religiöse Leben," pp. 13-14.

<sup>42</sup> Boecken, p. 28.

<sup>43</sup> P. 33.

<sup>44</sup> "Der Sprachatlas des nördlichen Rheinlands und des südöstlichen Niederlands," *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 46 (1982), 254 ff.; cf. also Rothhoff, p. 19.

<sup>45</sup> Boecken, p. 24.

<sup>46</sup> Dirk Cattepoel, "Die akademisch vorgebildeten Prediger der Krefelder Mennonitengemeinde," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der rheinischen Mennoniten*, Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins, No. 2 (Weierhof [Pfalz]: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 1939), p. 81.

<sup>47</sup> *Die Heimat*, 24 (1953), 2-9; according to Rothhoff (p. 22, n. 47), the information was recently supplemented by E. Becker, "Der Kaldenkirchener Kreis unter den 13 Auswandererfamilien von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien aus dem Jahre 1683," *Heimatbuch des Kreises Viersen*, 34 (1983), pp. 66 ff.

<sup>48</sup> Cattepoel, "Das religiöse Leben," p. 11; Rembert, p. 164; Hubben, p. 272; Friedrich Nieper assumes a reciprocal situation in which Mennonites and other Separatists who participated in Quaker meetings in Crefeld but did not give up the association with their original group were called Quakers (original cited by Cattepoel, "Das religiöse Leben," p. 11); Oswald Seidensticker, pioneer historian of German-Americans, claimed as early as 1883, based on the work of Max Goebel, that Mennonites and Quakers stood on common grounds in Crefeld (*Die erste deutsche Einwanderung in Amerika und die Gründung von Germantown im Jahre 1683. Festschrift zum deutsch-amerikanischen Pionier-Jubiläum am 6. Oktober 1883* [Philadelphia: Globe Printing House, 1883], pp. 40-41).

<sup>49</sup> The term was used by church historian C. Henry Smith in slightly different meanings: *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century* (Norristown, PA: Pennsylvania-German Society, 1929), p. 75; *The Story of the Mennonites* (Berne, IN: Mennonite Book Concern, 1941), p. 537.