

**EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF
THE MORAVIAN PASTORS OF
THE HEBRON CHURCH,
LEBANON, 1755-1814**

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PASTORS of the Moravian Church were required to maintain a fairly accurate and up-to-date diary of their churches. Such diaries contained a record of births, marriages, communion services, and burials. In addition, noteworthy events, such as war, Indian raids, storms, and floods, were mentioned, usually because they had some direct bearing on the congregation or on close neighbors.

The Hebron Diary is one of the best of these old diaries which have come down to us. Behind the faded ink and the quaint, old-fashioned German script lies an excellent picture of the early day-by-day history of a part of colonial America. Although some of the entries are brief and terse, the excitement, fears, and sorrows of our ancestors still show through, and we glimpse the plain but deep faith these people put in God even though suffering the hardships of life in a frontier and pioneer area. To them, the rumors of Indian attacks and British invasion were very real and near. Because of our knowledge of the outcome of these events, we may smile at their offtime exaggerated fears. But they actually lived and reported these historic events, and thus the Hebron Diary is valuable as a mirror of their times.

The Hebron Diary gives a brief sketch of the founding of the Hebron congregation and the subsequent building of their own church. The Moravian group near Lebanon was a part of the Warwick (Lancaster County) congregation until 1749, when they separated and formed their own congregation. Not having a meeting place of their own at the time, this new congregation held their services in the Lutheran Church in Lebanon. In May, 1750, the Moravians began building their own church about a mile east (at that time) of Lebanon on the Quittapahilla Creek, on land

donated by Peter Kucher. It was a two-story stone building, and was named the Hebron Church when it was dedicated on June 18, 1751. After that time the Moravians held all their services in their own church. This old stone building was used until 1842, when a new church was erected in Lebanon. Beside the old church was the Moravian cemetery in which are buried many pioneers of the community.

The majority of the Moravians of the Hebron congregation spoke German as their mother tongue, and it was natural that the pastors of the little church should make entries in the church diary in their native German. In typical Germanic fashion they gave the diary a rather imposing title: "Some Noteworthy Events of the Small Congregation of Christ on the Quitobehuell at Lebanon."

A study of the Hebron Diary brings some interesting points to light. It is known that in the 1750's and 1760's the Lebanon area was a border area and as such was thinly settled. Distances between neighbors and towns seemed great because all types of transportation were scarce and slow. People attended religious services at the nearest church, regardless of their own beliefs. We find in the lists of communicants for the early years of the Hebron Church a number of Lutherans and Reformed, as well as Mennonites, who received Holy Communion with the Hebron congregation. This fact is all the more interesting and valuable because those who received Holy Communion were listed by name and place of residence. Those who were not members of the Moravian Church were further identified by date and place of birth. This makes the Hebron Diary of interest not only to students of colonial American history but also to genealogists.

Many of the names of individuals mentioned in the Hebron Diary can be found in the volumes of *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* (Norristown: Strassburger and Hinke, 1934). Thus we know a little more about some of the many thousands of people who emigrated from Europe for the "Promised Land" of Pennsylvania in the years before the Revolutionary War.

The following excerpts are among a number of entries which were extracted from the diary by the late Dr. William J. Hinke. The diary was kept between the years 1754 and 1815, and is presently in the possession of the Moravian Church Archives at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Dr. Hinke typed the extracts in German

exactly as they were written in the original diary, not changing the spelling or sentence structure of the entries. For more information on the Hebron Church and for some comments made on the original Hebron Diary maintained by the Moravian pastors, the reader is referred to various volumes of the *Proceedings of the Lebanon County Historical Society*, I through V, 1898 to 1912. In addition, the reader is referred to the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XVIII (1894), 449-462, for "Extracts From The Records Of The Moravian Congregation At Hebron, Pennsylvania, 1775-1781," which contains a fuller selection of entries from the diary pertaining to the Revolutionary War period.

- 1755, June 19 (Thursday) With a sermon we began to celebrate the Day of Prayer and Fasting¹ proclaimed by the Governor.
- 1755, Oct. 26 (Sunday) There was great excitement because the Indians killed some twenty people near Schomoko.²
- 1755, Nov. 2 (Sunday) For the past 8 to 14 days there has been great alarm about the Indians, wherefore the brethren have been advised to look to the protection and the shelter of the Saviour, instead of allowing their minds to be filled with thoughts of these troubles.
- 1755, Nov. 18 Again the Indians have burned five plantations and are treating the people horribly.
- 1755, Dec. 5 Brother Jordan³ brought home a gloomy letter written by Brother Joseph⁴ wherein he described at length the

¹ The French and Indian War (1754-1763) was in progress, and Governor Robert Hunter Morris proclaimed a statewide Day of Prayer and Fasting, invoking divine aid against the enemy. Through this period one such day was usually set aside each year.

² Schomoko—Shamokin, now Sunbury, an Indian village on the Susquehanna River, forty miles north of Harrisburg. For many years it was the Indian capital of central Pennsylvania.

³ The Reverend Johannes Jorde, a Moravian lay minister who served at the Hebron Church as pastor from April, 1755, to March, 1756, and again from January, 1757, to December, 1759. He was born in Hirschfelde (Silesia), Germany, in 1706, joined the Moravians at Herrnhut, and came with them to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1743. He was married to Margaret Borne, and died at Bethlehem in 1760, where he is buried in the Moravian cemetery.

⁴ Bishop Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, Moravian bishop, and successor to Count Zinzendorf in the leadership of the Moravian Church. Spangenberg was born July 15, 1704, at Klettenberg, Germany, studied theology, and became interested in the Moravians. After working with them at Herrnhut, he made a number of visits to America and brought over groups of Moravian settlers. On his fourth visit to the Moravian settlements in

burnings on the Mahoni in Gnadenhuetten⁵ which brought many of us to tears.

1755, Dec. 7 The brethren thus murdered were Anders and wife,⁶ Martin Nitzschmann and wife,⁷ Senseman,⁸ Lesley,⁹ Gattmeyer,¹⁰ Presser,¹¹ Schweigert,¹² Fabricius,¹³ with the Anders child of almost five, a total of eleven persons; the damage of what was burned is estimated at 1500 pounds

Pennsylvania, he remained eight years (1754-1762). He was married to Mrs. Eva Maria Ziegenbauer Immig of Herrnhaag (Wuerttemberg), Germany. Among the Moravians, Spangenberg was known as "Brother Joseph." He died at Berthelsdorf, Germany, September 18, 1792.

⁵ Because of their interest in converting the Indians and their consequent close association with them, the Moravians were believed by some people to be in league with hostile Indians and with the French. Living as they did with the converted Indians in such little vallages as Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoning (now Lehigh) only increased the suspicions of the people on the frontier. But in fact, the Indians who were allied with the French despised the Christian Indians. On November 24, 1755, a group of hostile Indians raided Gnadenhuetten and burned it, killing most of the whites. Only five escaped.

⁶ Gottlieb Anders, a gardener, born at Neumarch (Silesia), Germany, in 1719. He came to Pennsylvania in November 1743. His wife was Johanna Vollmer Anders, born at Homburg an der Hoehe, Germany, in 1720. Their small daughter Johanna, born at Friedenthal near Nazareth, Pennsylvania, in 1754, was also killed.

⁷ Martin Nitzschmann, a cutler, was born at Zauchenthal, Moravia, in 1714. His wife Susanna Weicht Nitzschmann was actually wounded in the raid and taken prisoner by the Indians. Carried to the Wyoming Valley in northern Pennsylvania, she suffered from cruel treatment and exposure and died on May 9, 1756.

⁸ Anna Catharine Ludwig Senseman, born October 20, 1717, at Lichtworn, Upper Silesia. She was married to Joachim Senseman at Marienborn, Germany, on August 5, 1741. They came to Pennsylvania with a group of Moravians in the snow *Catherine*, landing at Philadelphia on June 7, 1742, and became missionaries to the Indians at Gnadenhuetten in 1743. Her husband was able to escape the massacre and later went to Jamaica, where he was a missionary to the slaves. He died there at Carmel, Jamaica, in a fall from a porch in 1774. A son, Gottlieb Senseman, was a well-known Moravian minister and missionary in America.

⁹ John Frederic Lesley, a shoemaker, was born at Conestoga, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1732. He went to Bethlehem in 1747 and later joined the Moravians at Gnadenhuetten.

¹⁰ John Leonhard Gattmeyer, a blacksmith, was born at Regensburg, Germany, in 1721, and came to Pennsylvania in 1749.

¹¹ Martin Presser, a carpenter, was born at Weimar, Germany, in 1709, and came to Pennsylvania in 1750.

¹² George Schweigert, a farmer, was born at Heidenheim (Wuerttemberg), Germany, in 1724. He came to Pennsylvania in 1750 and joined the Moravians at Gnadenhuetten in 1754. He is probably the Hans Georg Schweigert who arrived at Philadelphia on September 29, 1750, in the ship *Osgood*.

¹³ George Christian Fabricius was born at Nyburg (Funen), Denmark, in 1716. He came to Pennsylvania in 1754 and became a teacher of Indian children at Gnadenhuetten.

sterling. The other brethren¹⁴ escaped by jumping out of a window.

1755, Dec. 16 Conrad Weiser journeyed to Harris Ferry to bring back with him any English Indians he should find there.

1755, Dec. 25 Brother Jordan came back again from Schwadara;¹⁵ Brother Thomas Williams¹⁶ and wife moved in with us, having fled here with their belongings from Schwatara.

1755, Dec. 27 Today the brush near our house was cut down by the neighbors.¹⁷

1756, Jan. 7 Governor Mores¹⁸ and Mr. Hamelton¹⁹ with twelve other gentlemen came from Philadelphia. They had seventy men with them for their protection; also a wagon upon which were loaded thirty men for its protection.

1756, Mar. 14 Very few people came to preaching today as the snow fell two to three feet deep and no one could get through.

1756, Apr. 8 Brother Nathaneal,²⁰ Brother David Zeisberger,²¹ and Samuel Herr²² from Donigal happily arrived here.

¹⁴ The Moravians who escaped from the Indians were Peter Worbas, George Partsch, his wife Susan Louisa Eller Partsch, Joachim Senseman, and Joseph Sturgis (Sturgeon).

¹⁵ Swatara Creek runs through northern Lebanon and Berks Counties, Pennsylvania. The area "Swatara" encompassed the whole Swatara Valley.

¹⁶ A Moravian who was living in Bethlehem in 1750.

¹⁷ Brush growing close to a house enabled the Indians to hide in it and ambush the occupants of the house. It was also a danger since the Indians could easily fire the area and drive out the people hiding inside.

¹⁸ Robert Hunter Morris, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania from 1754 to 1756.

¹⁹ James Hamilton, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania from 1748 to 1754, and again from 1759 to 1763. He was interested in Indian affairs and tried to settle Indian grievances by various peaceful means.

²⁰ Nathaniel Eicher, a member of the Brotherhood, a monastic group which lived in the Ephrata Cloister in Lancaster County.

²¹ David Zeisberger was one of the most famous of the Moravian missionaries to the Indians in America. He was born on April 11, 1721, at Zauchenthal, Moravia, and came to Pennsylvania with a group of Moravians in 1737. He was one of the founders of Nazareth, Pennsylvania, one of the great centers of the Moravian culture in America. Zeisberger devoted most of his life to missionary efforts among the Indians. Late in life he married Susan Lecron of Lititz, on June 4, 1781. He died at Goshen, Ohio, on November 17, 1803.

²² The Reverend Samuel Herr, a Moravian minister who was active in the Bethlehem and Donegal areas of Pennsylvania. He came to Pennsylvania in 1748 with a group of Moravians under the leadership of Henry Forde. The group had come from Germany, being residents of Herrnhaag (Wuerttemberg).

- 1756, June 1 There was a great frost and most of the grain was frozen, also many garden vegetables.
- 1756, June 8 An Indian raid took place in "the Hole"²³ on the Swatara, where Felix Wunsch²⁴ was shot, his house burned, and his wife and three children²⁵ taken away. At the same time, six miles from there, two boys were taken away.
- 1756, June 28 Schurenberger came by with a letter from Brother Schlegel,²⁶ telling that four of his people had been killed by the Indians.
- 1757, May 16 Last evening Brother Casper Korr²⁷ came by with the sad news that eight people along the Swatara had been murdered by the Indians, and that among them was Johannes Spittler.²⁸ His wife and the children were in the house. She heard the shot and her man cry out. She immediately fled with the children and fortunately got away from the Indians. Only two Indians were seen.
- 1757, May 17 Around evening the corpse of Brother Johannes Spittler was brought here for burial in our graveyard. He had been scalped and also had a wound on his forehead. One hand was almost hacked off. During the burial, they also took four other murdered people by on the way to Lancaster to show them to the Governor.
- 1757, July 16 A man saw a savage about ten miles on, near the

²³ Big Swatara Gap, where the Swatara Creek breaks through the Blue Mountains in northeastern Lebanon County.

²⁴ Felix Wunsch was surprised by the Indians while he was working in a field. He was shot and wounded and is said to have defended himself with a whip. However, he was overpowered, tomahawked, and scalped.

²⁵ Two of these children were in fact the children of Mrs. Wunsch's sister.

²⁶ The Reverend Friedrich Schlaegel, a Moravian minister at Bethlehem in 1755. He came to Pennsylvania in 1749 with a group of Moravians. He was married to Barbara Arnold of Rehweiler (Franconia), Germany. He later went to Jamaica as a missionary and died there in 1770.

²⁷ Georg Casper Koerr, Senior, was born on October 7, 1724, in Erstadt (Pfalz), Germany. He was a member of the Lutheran Church and lived along the Swatara Creek in Bethel Township, Lebanon County in 1753 when he and his wife received Holy Communion with the Hebron congregation. Casper Koerr died on May 28, 1801, and is buried in the Moravian cemetery at the Hebron Church.

²⁸ Johannes Spittler was born December 7, 1690, at Pennwihl. He was a member of the Reformed Church, and he and his wife Catharine are listed as receiving Holy Communion with the Hebron congregation. He is probably the Johann Spittler who arrived at Philadelphia on September 28, 1749, in the ship *Ann* with a group of emigrants from "Basil, Wirtemberg, Zweybrecht, and Darmstadt."

- Kroppen Church,²⁹ as the Indian was in the act of chopping on a door with his tamhawk [*sic*].
- 1757, Aug. 8 About noon, Friedrich Weiser³⁰ brought us a letter from Georg Neusser.³¹ Since Brother Matthaus was in Lancaster, Weiser therefore entertained us with some very pleasant news, namely about our dear Brother Benzin³² returning home; by comments about some very charming letters from Europe; and about the peace between the Indians and the English at Easttown,³³ and the renewing of the Nantococho's Deputation with Bethlehem.³⁴
- 1758, June 16 Was the state Day of Prayer proclaimed by the Governor.
- 1758, Dec. 15 We heard from a soldier in Captain Fond's [?] company, who came from the army, that their lieutenant had been killed, and Post³⁵ and the remainder of his group captured by the French Indians.

²⁹ The Grubben Church was a German Reformed Church situated a short distance south of Lebanon in South Lebanon Township. The church was founded in 1747.

³⁰ Johann Friedrich Weiser, born December 24, 1728, at Schoharie, New York, was a son of the famous Conrad Weiser. Friedrich Weiser was a member of the Lutheran Church and lived along the Swatara Creek in 1753 when he and his wife Catharine received Holy Communion with the Hebron congregation. He died on November 15, 1773.

³¹ The Reverend Georg Neusser, born at Sehlen, Moravia, on April 11, 1715, went to Georgia in 1735. In 1737 he moved to Pennsylvania and became the first postmaster and school teacher in Bethlehem. He served as the Moravian pastor at the Hebron Church from April, 1753 to September, 1755. He was married to Catharine Theodora Medler of Waldengienloch (Wuerttemberg), Germany, in 1745. He died at Bethlehem in 1784 and is buried in the Moravian cemetery there.

³² The Reverend Christian Thomas Benzien, a Moravian minister who came to America in 1754 with Bishop Spangenberg and a group of Moravians. He was married to Mrs. Anna Maria Neisser Thrane.

³³ The Easton Conference (1757) between representatives of some of the Delaware Indians and the Pennsylvania government did not accomplish much. The situation on the Ohio, which was the greatest threat to Pennsylvania, was left unchanged, and the Indian tribes in the north were not brought to view the actions of Pennsylvania in a better light. About all this conference did was to lull the Pennsylvania government into a false sense of security, and to build up the pride of the Delawares at the risk of offending the Six Nations.

³⁴ A conference between the Nanticoke Indians and the Moravians of Bethlehem.

³⁵ Christian Frederick Post, one of the great Moravian missionaries to the Indians of Pennsylvania and Ohio, who did so much to maintain contact and good relations between the whites and the Indians during the French and Indian War, was instrumental in preventing some of the Indians of western Pennsylvania and Ohio from joining the French, and finally helped wean others away from the French. Captured by the French, he was taken to Detroit but was later released.

- 1762, July 18 In the afternoon, Brother Zahm³⁶ and I³⁷ at the friendly invitation of Pastor Muller,³⁸ went to stay with him for the dedication of the newly-built Reformed Church in Lebanon town.
- 1764, Feb. 4 A party of Irish went by here. They invited my brother to go with them to Philadelphia to kill the Indians. They expect others to think the way they do.³⁹
- 1764, Feb. 11 The returning rebels frightened several women with the news that they had killed all the Indians, five Quakers, and two Moravians in Philadelphia, and as proof, showed them the blood on their clothing.
- 1764, Mar. 4 Brother Adam Orth⁴⁰ told of the general sentiments of the Irish against the people of Bethlehem, and above all, the Brethren. An old man, one of the rebel leaders, whose grandson had been with the last expedition, strongly asserted that not one stone should remain upon another in Bethlehem. He regretted that Adam was a party to such a group, and he promised to protect the Orth family.
- 1764, June 24 It was a curious sight, how not only the soldiers round about, but also the Brethren came armed to preaching.
- 1764, Dec. 17 Lieutenant Hunsicker⁴¹ and his parents-in-law, the

³⁶ The Reverend John Michael Zahm, alias Toll, was born at Suenzheim, Germany, in 1718. He was the Moravian pastor at the Hebron Church from June, 1762 to October, 1771. From 1780 to 1787 he was the treasurer of the Moravian Church organization in Bethlehem. He was married to Regina Hantsch. He died at Bethlehem in 1787 and is buried in the Moravian cemetery there.

³⁷ The Reverend Andrew Langaard, Moravian pastor at the Hebron Church from May, 1762 to February, 1766. He was married in 1763 to Elizabeth Sommers of Gravenhaag, Holland. He died at Emaus, Pennsylvania, in 1777.

³⁸ The Reverend Friedrich Muller, Reformed pastor at Lebanon from 1762 to 1763. His wife, who died in September, 1764, was a daughter of Mrs. Veronica Leidolt.

³⁹ This and the following several entries refer to the Paxtang Boys.

⁴⁰ Adam Orth was born in Germany about 1718, a brother of Baltzer Orth. He came to America, landing at Philadelphia on June 21, 1729, from the ship *Mortonhouse*. In 1754 he was living in the vicinity of the Hebron Church. He was married to Anna Catharine Kucher, a daughter of Peter Kucher. During the French and Indian War, Adam Orth served in the Reverend John Elder's Ranging Battalion. In 1777, he was appointed a sub-lieutenant of Lancaster County. He was a representative for Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, in the state General Assembly from 1789 to 1790. A pioneer of iron manufacture in Lebanon County, he died on November 15, 1794, and is buried in the cemetery beside the Hebron Church.

⁴¹ Probably Daniel Hunsicker, a lieutenant in Captain Irvine's company, First Pennsylvania Regiment, which served in the French and Indian War.

Peter Schlossers,⁴² visited us to give us news of the last expedition of the army, and to spread the word of the arrival in Carlisle of the freed captives.⁴³ He named Had's youngest daughter, whose sister is in Nazareth, and also many others from here in Bethlehem Township. We received a letter from him to send on to Bethlehem.

1773, June 6 Today the Reformed Church only six miles from here was dedicated, at which almost half the town was present.

1773, July 10 The whole week the heat was almost unbearable. The whole countryside is parched and in need of a merciful rain.

1773, Nov. 22 In the afternoon Brother Bader⁴⁴ had a pleasant visit from two preachers, H. Schulze⁴⁵ and young Muhlenberg.⁴⁶ It turned out they really wanted to hear and to play the organ.

1774, June 10 The drought is very great. Everything is withered for want of rain. We have not had any for six weeks. The wells in town are beginning to go dry.

1774, June 11. We had a storm with a little rain, but it did not soak in.

1774, July 12 We made a little wine, but because the berries froze, we got only seven gallons of wine.

⁴² Possibly the Peter Schlosser who arrived at Philadelphia on September 30, 1732, in the ship *Dragon*.

⁴³ These captives were white people who had been captured by the Indians and held in Indian villages for varying periods of time. At the end of the French and Indian War, the Indians were required to return all white captives. They were brought to Carlisle where they were to be handed over to their families.

⁴⁴ The Reverend Christian Bader, Moravian pastor at the Hebron Church from October, 1771 to May, 1785. He came to Pennsylvania in 1749 with a group of Moravians. In 1753 he began experimenting with the raising of silkworms in Bethlehem, and the ensuing silk industry prospered there for some time.

⁴⁵ Probably the Reverend Christopher Emanuel Schultze, born December 25, 1740, in Saatfeld (Saxony), Germany. He was a Lutheran minister and a son-in-law of the Reverend Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg. Coming to Pennsylvania in 1765, he married Eva Elizabeth Muhlenberg, and their son John Andreas Schultze became a governor of Pennsylvania. Reverend Schultze died on March 11, 1809, and is buried at Tulpehocken.

⁴⁶ The Reverend Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg, born on January 1, 1750, the second son of the Reverend Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg. Frederick Muhlenberg was the Lutheran pastor at Tulpehocken, Lebanon, and Heidelberg (now known as Schaefferstown). He was married to Catharine Schaeffer of Heidelberg. Quitting the ministry, he became famous in Pennsylvania and national politics. He died on June 4, 1801.

- 1775, May 10 Great excitement in town. All males from fifteen to twenty are supposed to sign up.⁴⁷ Two companies are ready.
- 1775, May 14 From Wednesday of last week to the end of the week it looked very military throughout the community, especially in town. Very tumultuous because even though most of the Brethren could not do otherwise, they had to sign up. They all went to DeHaas,⁴⁸ however, who organized a company himself, even though he does not have a commission.
- 1776, Mar. 2 Before preaching, Mr. DeHaas came and took tender leave of Brother Bader. He has been called to go to Philadelphia next Wednesday, and from there to travel to Quebec as Colonel of the First Battalion.
- 1776, June 28 Dr. Oldenberg came and asked for benches for the officers so that tomorrow they can sit in Brother Orth's springhouse. He was allowed four out of the schoolroom.

⁴⁷ During the Revolutionary War, feelings in the American colonies against the British and British sympathizers, or Tories, ran high. Various states required their inhabitants to take an oath of allegiance to the state, thereby renouncing their British citizenship and allegiance. The Moravians and similar strict religious groups were opposed, on religious grounds, to taking this oath, and were therefore suspected of being loyal to Great Britain. Their stand jeopardized their title to property until Bishop John Ettwein of the Moravian Church succeeded in getting the Moravians exempted from the oath requirements. Another method of proving loyalty to the revolutionary cause was for patriots to join volunteer military units, known in Pennsylvania as "Associators." The Moravians and other strict religious groups were opposed to the use of force and refused to join these units. For this refusal they were persecuted by the patriots. Pennsylvania law, newly enacted, required all males, regardless of their religious beliefs, and between the ages of 15 and 45, to belong to a militia organization for the defense of the state. They were further required to participate in the annual or semi-annual drill and muster practice days. If an individual did not attend these periods, he was fined. In some cases, these fines were quite large.

⁴⁸ John Philip DeHaas, born in Holland about 1735, and brought to America by his parents in 1737, lived in Lancaster County and became prosperous. He was a magistrate and the owner of an iron foundry in northern Lancaster County. He was married to Eleanor Bingham. In 1757 he was commissioned an ensign in the Provincial Battalion of Pennsylvania and participated in Forbes's expedition against the Indians of western Pennsylvania. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War he raised a company of volunteers. He was appointed colonel of the First Battalion of Pennsylvania and played a prominent part in Arnold's invasion of Canada in 1777 and the attack on Quebec. In 1777 he was appointed a brigadier general of the Pennsylvania Line and served as such until 1779, when he resigned his commission and retired to Philadelphia. Here he lived until his death on June 3, 1786.

Tomorrow a whole battalion will come together across the creek to Balth. Orth's⁴⁹ field and do their exercising.

1776, July 7 There is great excitement in town again about war.

1776, July 26 Andreas Kapp⁵⁰ came by early to say goodbye to Brother and Sister Bader. He immediately began to cry. Brother Bader talked earnestly with him. One must pity the people. Since Tuesday his company has been lying with others in tents in Brother Orth's field next to our house. Today they march on to Reading.

1776, Aug. 4 Brother Orth gone away, Jacob Stohr⁵¹ free. George Kapp⁵² free. Great excitement and unrest about Tories and the Indians who are menacing the countryside by raiding from the mountains.

1776, Aug. 5 Two companies from the Swatara marched here again.

1776, Aug. 15 A visit is now rare because so many are with the army.

1776, Sep. 1 Again there is excitement in the community about a battle which is supposed to have taken place at Trenton.

1776, Sep. 2 Got terrible news, namely that a battle has taken place near New York and our people are supposed to have been there too. But, because there are so many rumors that have been discussed for a time, we are quiet.

1776, Sep. 3 Letters report that the men hope to return home.

⁴⁹ Baltzer (or Balthaser) Orth was born in Hamm near Worms, Germany, on May 15, 1704. He was a farmer and a member of the Reformed Church. He came to Pennsylvania from the Carolinas in 1742 with Count Zinzendorf and a group of Moravians. He was living along the Swatara Creek in 1750 when he and his wife Anna received Holy Communion with the Hebron congregation. He was a brother of Adam Orth (See note 40 above) and is probably the Baltes Oord who arrived at Philadelphia on June 21, 1729, in the ship *Mortonhouse*. Baltzer Orth was active in the Lancaster County militia during the Revolutionary War. He died on October 20, 1788.

⁵⁰ Probably Andrew Capp, fourth class private in the 5th Company, (Captain John Moore), Second Battalion, Lancaster County Militia during the Revolutionary War. He was born on October 4, 1745, in Berks County, Pennsylvania, and died on September 30, 1792. He was married to Catharine Albright.

⁵¹ Probably Jacob Steohr, third class private in the 1st Company (Captain Baltzer Orth), Second Battalion, Lancaster County Militia during the Revolutionary War.

⁵² Probably George Valentine Capp, a brother of Andrew Capp mentioned above. George was a fifth class private in the 5th Company (Captain John Moore), Second Battalion, Lancaster County Militia during the Revolutionary War. He was born in Berks County in 1740. George Capp was married to Gertraut Friedrich.

- There was, though, a continual shooting and fighting on Long Island, three miles from New York.
- 1776, Oct. 22 Uproar repeatedly arose over talk that all those who were with the army are supposed to go again.
- 1776, Dec. 1 Around 10, a thousand prisoners, under a strong guard of our troops, marched past the church on their way to Reading. They are supposed to be taken to Philadelphia. There were many Tories and women and children with them, also many wagons.
- 1777, Jan. 1 All is joyful in town over a victory which the Provincials are supposed to have won.
- 1777, Mar. 19 There were grievous and dangerous disputes in town between the townspeople and the soldiers because of the Irish patron Patrick, whose memory the latter celebrated.
- 1777, June 30 Great excitement over the oaths⁵³ and the departures. Volck⁵⁴ has set himself against it with might and main; in particular, it is said that yesterday two lost their lives in Donegal because they would not take the oath.
- 1777, Aug. 22 We hear it might be bad and that all the Indians, 10,000 of them, are on the way down from Pittsburg.
- 1777, Aug. 25 A rumor came that Howe is in Maryland and on the Susquehanna, not far from Yorktown,⁵⁵ and all the prisoners from Lancaster and Reading are supposed to come here. Also, houses in the community have been chosen and readied for them.
- 1777, Aug. 26 Today the prisoners are to arrive in the community and are to be put in the churches and schoolhouses. Hostile people want to put them in our parsonage, too (it is said).
- 1777, Aug. 27 Around evening, about 340 Hessians came into the community. About evening, Colonel Curtis Crubb⁵⁶ sent

⁵³ See Note 47 above.

⁵⁴ Andreas Volck, Junior, born on May 12, 1721, in New York state, who moved to the Quittapahilla area near Lebanon, Pennsylvania, in 1763. He and his wife Maria Margaret Romig Volck were members of the Moravian Church.

⁵⁵ York, Pennsylvania.

⁵⁶ Curtis Grubb, born about 1733. He was a member of the Committee of Safety for Lancaster County from 1775 to 1776, a sub-lieutenant of Lancaster County with the rank of colonel in 1777. He was married to Anna Few. Curtis Grubb took over the operation of his father Peter Grubb's iron works in Lebanon Township, Lancaster (now Lebanon) County, and operated it until his death. He was also colonel of the Lancaster County Associators in 1775. Curtis Grubb died January 22, 1789.

two soldiers to inform Brother Bader that it was ordered that the parsonage be vacated for the soldiers. Brother Bader protested against this and said he would allow no one in his dwelling—it being no public building. In the evening, Brother John Thome⁵⁷ and Adam Orth came concerning it and discussed the matter further. However, Brother Bader declared that it was not right and that he would stick to it—none should come into the house.

1777, Aug. 29 In the morning by the ninth hour, 400 men in all had arrived. Brother Bader had the opportunity to make his emphatic declaration to Colonel Crubb; however, he did not succeed. Brother Bader kept the lower four rooms free, but 200 were billeted in the meeting rooms and in the private rooms.

1777, Aug. 30 Late in the afternoon, the Knipphausen Regiment, 208 strong, came, but still not all of them. Mixed up with these, all jumbled up together, were others from Hesse and Waldeck, and therefore no real discipline or obedience could be expected. Because of that, they were hurried on into town.

1777, Oct. 29 About 10 in the morning, Barracks Master Dave Krause⁵⁸ came and informed them⁵⁹ that they were to be ready to leave for town in half an hour. They are to move into the Lutheran Church. Captain Oldenberg⁶⁰ came with the militia afterward and took them away.

1777, Nov. 18 The Lutheran Church in town is to be used as a powder magazine.

1778, Mar. 1 Everything is in an uproar. The Hessians are getting ready to leave. It will be noon before they are ready to depart. The confusion and commotion is terrible.

⁵⁷ Probably John Thome, born in Lebanon Township, Lancaster County, in 1738. He served in the Revolutionary War, and was also the deputy surveyor of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania. He was married to Anna Maria Reiss in 1765. He died in 1804.

⁵⁸ Captain David Krause, born in Lancaster (now Lebanon) County, about 1750. He was a farmer and organized a company of the Associators which he commanded from 1776 to 1777. In 1785 he was a member of the General Assembly from Dauphin County, and afterwards was a state representative. He was also an associate judge of Dauphin County. Married Regina Orth, a daughter of Adam Orth. David Krause died in 1822.

⁵⁹ The Hessian prisoners.

⁶⁰ Probably Daniel Oldenbruck, captain of the 9th Company, Second Battalion, Lancaster County Militia early in the Revolutionary War, and later the surgeon of the Second Battalion, Lancaster County Militia.

At last they marched off, and then we saw the horrible destruction. The meeting room was like a pigsty.

1778, July 4 Today, in spite of the fact that everyone says our army is surrounded and in bad straits, and that Pennsylvania is lost,⁶¹ some in town and the others in Balth's field are making merry and firing cannon because today is the day independence was declared.

1779, Mar. 22 It is rumored that on the first of April the French fleet is to arrive at Philadelphia. Then all without exception are to swear allegiance to the king of France and, whoever does not, will be handed over to the French and stabbed to death. Also, all are to take up arms and join with the French in marching on New York to storm it. Whoever refuses shall pay 100 pounds sterling on the spot, half in gold or silver and half in paper, or be taken along.

1779, May 15 Pastor Stover⁶² buried.

1779, May 27 In the morning a gentleman asked for Brother Bader. He said he was one of the captured officers who had been in Bethel and had now been brought to Lancaster. He had served as chaplain of the Braunschweig Regiment and had received his discharge. Was of a mind to take over the duties in town of the late Pastor Stover and had therefore preached in town, also in a couple of churches, and had given the people two weeks to think it over. He wanted to do the same. He had stayed with Brother Hasse⁶³:

⁶¹ The British occupied Philadelphia until June 1778; Washington and his troops remained in winter quarters at Valley Forge until June 18, 1778. The French had not yet given visibly effective aid to the American colonies, and many soldiers were deserting from the American army. Indians from New York state had attacked and massacred the inhabitants of the Wyoming Valley in northern Pennsylvania on July 3, 1778, and it looked as if there would be more such raids. The future for the colonies, and especially Pennsylvania, looked very dark indeed.

⁶² The Reverend John Casper Stoeve, Junior, Lutheran pastor in Lebanon. Born on December 21, 1707, in Germany, he came to Pennsylvania as a young man, landing at Philadelphia on September 11, 1728, from the ship *James Goodwill*. He was married to Mary Catharine (last name not known). He died on May 13, 1779, and is buried in the cemetery at the Hill Church, a few miles northwest of Lebanon.

⁶³ John Christian Hasse, born at Ebersdorf, Germany, in 1740. He had attended the Moravian college at Barby, and joined the Moravian mission in Jamaica in 1767. In 1771 he moved to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where he was a notary public. He was married twice, first to Anna Chase, and second to A. M. Demuth. He died in 1797 and is buried in the Moravian cemetery at Bethlehem.

and had preached in the meeting room of the unmarried brethren's house. Because he was now riding back to Bethlehem to return Brother Ephraim Culvert's⁶⁴ horse which he was riding, he stopped by to ask if Brother Bader wanted anything in town. He had many dear friends in Bethlehem but none in Lebanon. He didn't know Brother Bader, being just arrived in the community, else without hesitation he would have gotten a letter from Brother Ettwein.⁶⁵ On Sunday he wants to ride over to see him (Bader) and talk with him. He is staying with the Widow Soverin and is named Melsheimer.⁶⁶

1779, Oct. 5 We hear from town that there is general discontent among the people because of a lack of salt, which could have had results if the scarcity isn't alleviated.

1780, Aug. 17 We saw different people go toward Lebanon very early. At least we learned that he [Bucher]⁶⁷ was to be buried at 9 o'clock.

1781, Oct. 25 After midnight the bell in the Lutheran Church and also in the Reformed Church began to ring, and there was

⁶⁴ Probably Ephraim Culver (Colver), Junior. An Ephraim Culver, born on July 17, 1717, died at Bethlehem in March, 1775. He had been the landlord of "The Crown" inn in Bethlehem, and was a Moravian. He had later lived in Nazareth, Pennsylvania.

⁶⁵ Bishop John Ettwein, born on June 29, 1721, at Freudenstadt (Wuerttemberg), Germany, came to America in 1754 with Bishop Spangenberg and a group of Moravians. He served as one of the guiding figures of the Moravian Church during the period of the Revolutionary War. He was married to Joanna M. Kymbel. Bishop Ettwein died on January 2, 1802, and is buried in the Moravian cemetery at Bethlehem.

⁶⁶ The Reverend Friedrich Valentin Melsheimer, born on September 29, 1749, in Negenborn, near Holzminden (Brunswick), Germany. He was a Lutheran minister, formerly chaplain of the Brunswick Auxiliaries Dragoon Regiment which fought on the British side in America during the Revolutionary War. Reverend Melsheimer was a prisoner of war and came to Lebanon in 1779, hoping to obtain the Lutheran pastorate there which was left vacant by the death of the Reverend John Caspar Stoecker, Junior. In this, Reverend Melsheimer did not succeed. He remained in America after the Revolutionary War and became noted as a Lutheran minister in Pennsylvania. He was married to Agnes Mau of Bethlehem. He died on June 30, 1814, and is buried at Hanover, Pennsylvania.

⁶⁷ The Reverend John Conrad Bucher, Reformed minister at Manheim, Quittaphahilla, Hummelstown, Lancaster, and Weisseichenland [White Oak], Pennsylvania. He was pastor at Lebanon from 1768 to 1780. Born on June 10, 1730, in Neunkirchen (Canton, Schaffhausen), Switzerland, he died at Lebanon, Pennsylvania, August 15, 1780. Married to Mary Hoke of Carlisle, Pennsylvania. He had been a captain of colonial troops in the British Army during the French and Indian War, but later became a minister. He was the founder of the Reformed Church in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

terrible shooting until daybreak and again several times during the day. The reason given for such a frolic was that an express brought news around midnight to Christ. Kucher⁶⁸ that the English general Cornwallis is supposed to have been captured in Virginia with all his men. It was true.

1782, Mar. 17 Rainy day. Only four brethren and one sister came from town. Brother Bader preached to these and the neighbor with the children, and a couple of strangers (Reformed Church directors from town).

1782, Oct. 1 The distress far and wide because of the lack of water is indescribable. Everything is dried out and burnt up. The mills stand idle. We have never before experienced anything like this in Pennsylvania.

1782, Oct. 26 Rain. God be praised! Most of the wells are without water, and most of the mills are standing still.

1873, May 28 For some days very great visitation from locusts. Unasked, they come out of the ground by the hundreds and thousands in the night and climb on the trees.

1785, Feb. 5 It is said that a panther is staying in our neighborhood.

1785, Feb. 7 We saw undeniable tracks of the panther.

1787, Aug. 26 In the afternoon we went into town. A child was buried in the Lutheran cemetery, but since Pastor Kurz⁶⁹ was not here, we heard Pastor Lub⁷⁰ preach in the Lutheran Church on the words of Isaiah 45:22.

1789, June 22 At 9 o'clock was the burial of our beloved Brother Lorentz Bage.⁷¹ A great number of friends and neighbors

⁶⁸ Probably John Christopher Kucher, born on March 15, 1739, a son of Peter and Barbara Kucher. His wife was named Margaret.

⁶⁹ The Reverend John William Kurtz, Lutheran minister at Lebanon from about 1780 to 1793. Born on February 3, 1732, he died on November 27, 1799, and is buried at Jonestown, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania. He had studied theology at the University of Halle in Germany, and came to America in 1754. An orphan, he lived with and studied theology under the Reverend Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg.

⁷⁰ The Reverend Ludwig Lupp, Reformed minister at Lebanon from 1786 to 1798. He was born in Germany on January 7, 1733, and landed at Philadelphia on September 29, 1753, from the ship or snow *Howland*. He died on June 28, 1798, and is buried in the Reformed cemetery at Lebanon.

⁷¹ The Reverend Nicholas Lawrence Bage, Moravian minister at the Hebron Church from 1786 to 1789. He was born in Germany in 1732 and came to America in 1754 with Bishop Spangenberg. From 1773 to 1784,

from town and vicinity were there, also the pastors Mr. Kurz and Mr. Lupp.

1790, Mar. 20 Dr. Stoi,⁷² who offered us a free bit of his service, came this afternoon and inoculated our little Henrich against the smallpox, whereupon we commended him to the care of his Maker and Saviour.

1791, June 11 I went into town to the Reformed preacher Lupp who begged me to be present at the presentation of children whom he confirmed today, and who go to Holy Communion today for the first time. First, there was a preparatory sermon and after that, the 50 children were questioned twice on all the questions of their Catechism to which they had to answer. During this necessary performance, there was general weeping throughout the church and the young hearts were completely carried away by it. It took six hours to get through it all. I took heartfelt leave of Pastor Lupp and was thankful that I had gone.

1792, June 6 We had storms the whole day. In the afternoon the Reformed Church was struck but didn't burn. All the windows were broken, and the steeple too, and we also heard of other unfortunate happenings. During the last down-pour there was hail, too.

1792, June 17 In the afternoon Brother Peter,⁷³ in company with Brother Buehler⁷⁴ and Balth. Orth to Gimmelstown⁷⁵ 11 miles from here to preach. They got there at 2 o'clock. An unusually large number of people had gathered together

Reverend Bage was the Moravian pastor at the town of Betheraba, the first Moravian settlement in North Carolina. He was married to Anna Benigna Hessler. He died at Lebanon in 1789.

⁷² The Reverend Doctor William Henry Stoy, Reformed minister and medical doctor at Lebanon. He was born in Herborn, Germany, on March 14, 1726, and came to America as a theological student in 1752 with the Reverend Michael Schlatter. Dr. Stoy was married to Maria Margaret Maus. He was noted for his experiments and research in the field of smallpox inoculations, and was one of the first physicians in America to advocate inoculation as a protection against smallpox. His experiments and research were carried out independently of Dr. Edward Jenner of England, who is universally considered the discoverer of the effectiveness of inoculation against smallpox. Dr. Stoy died at Lebanon on September 14, 1801. He is buried at the Host Church in Berks County.

⁷³ The Reverend Christopher Gottlieb Peter, Moravian minister at the Hebron Church from 1792 to 1793.

⁷⁴ Probably the Reverend Franz Buehler, formerly the Moravian minister at the Hebron Church from 1757 to 1762.

⁷⁵ Probably a corruption or misspelling of Campbellstown.

in Mr. Wolfensberger's⁷⁶ garden under a large and shady tree. He preached on the words, "Come. All is prepared." They were all very attentive.

- 1793, Aug. 24 Was requested by Mr. Grunewalt⁷⁷ and Brother Nagel⁷⁸ to bury a child in the morning, since Mr. Lup was not expected until noon. Brother Peter went at the specified time to Mr. Grunewalt. As the people and we were just ready to go with the body, Mr. Lup—his Bible and song-book under his arm—came into the room with these words and sat down: "Brother. You have my body!" Soon both old and young Grunewalt came, took him into an adjoining room and came out again after a short talk. Young Grunewalt said, "Brother Lup is here now." However, they said I should perform the ceremony which I did.
- 1794, Nov. 17 The Reformed preacher, Mr. Lupp, was also present at the burial of Adam Orth.
- 1796, Jan. 8 Our William Henry was inoculated for smallpox to-day by Dr. Stoy.
- 1796, May 8 Sunday. Today was the solemn dedication of the new Reformed Church in Libanon [*sic*], which was solemnized by three sermons given by Pastors Becker,⁷⁹ Pauli,⁸⁰ and Hendel.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Probably Johannes Wolfensberger, born on April 11, 1767, died on September 8, 1818. His wife was Margaret Thomas of Lebanon Township, Lancaster (now Lebanon) County.

⁷⁷ Probably Philip Lorentz Greenawalt, born in Hassloch (Boehl), Germany, on June 10, 1725. He arrived at Philadelphia on September 15, 1749, in the ship *Phoenix*. He was married twice. His first wife was Mrs. Uhland of Muddy Creek; his second wife was Maria Margaret Feeser, whom he married in 1755. Greenawalt was commissioned a colonel of the First Battalion, Lancaster County Militia at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, and he took a part in the New Jersey campaign of 1776. After the war he returned to his farm in Lebanon Township, Lancaster (now Lebanon) County, where he died on February 28, 1802. He is buried in the Reformed cemetery at Lebanon.

⁷⁸ Probably John Jacob Nagel who came to Bethlehem in 1748 with a group of Moravians from Herrnhag (Wuerttemberg), Germany, under the leadership of Henry Jorde.

⁷⁹ Possibly the Reverend Christian Ludwig Becker, Reformed minister at Easton, then at Lancaster, and finally at Baltimore. He was born in Anhalt Coethen, Germany, and came to America in 1793. Reverend Becker died at Baltimore on July 12, 1818.

⁸⁰ The Reverend Philip Reinhold Pauli, born at Magdeburg, Germany, on June 22, 1742, the son of the court preacher at the court of Halle. He came to Pennsylvania in 1783 and served as the Reformed pastor in the Lebanon area. He died at Reading on November 12, 1815.

⁸¹ The Reverend John William Hendel, Reformed minister at Tulpehocken.

- 1796, June 6 The cornerstone of the Lutheran Church in Libanon was laid. In the afternoon, Mr. Hendel from Tulpehocken preached.
- 1797, Jan. 4 Today was the coldest it has been for 15 years. On the windowsills everything froze, even in the warm rooms. Vegetables in the cellars froze, and many people in our neighborhood have no water and are in great distress for themselves and the cattle.
- 1789, June 29 Very early we heard that Mr. Lupp died last evening. Brother Schlegel had visited him just yesterday.
- 1800, Oct. 20 It is bad everywhere now. A sickly time, and all the neighbors around us have the fever.
- 1804, May 20 Because it was Holy Whitsuntide, there was Holy Communion in the Reformed Church at which the confirmed children took part for their first time. On such days everybody goes to church who never goes any other time during the year.
- 1809, Jan. 18 I attended the convention of the preachers in Lebanon, which is to be held every Wednesday evening in the future as long as the winter continues, one time at Brother Hiester's,⁸² one time at Brother Lochmann's,⁸³ and one time here in Hebron.
- 1810, July 23 The cornerstone of the Catholic Church was laid today in Lebanon.
- 1812, Oct. 25 The newly-built Catholic Church in Lebanon was dedicated at which many people were present.

He was born at Durkheim (Pfalz), Germany on November 20, 1740. A graduate of the University of Heidelberg, he came to Pennsylvania in 1764. He was the Reformed minister at Lancaster first, then Tulpehocken, again at Lancaster, and finally at Philadelphia where he died of yellow fever on September 29, 1789. He is buried in Franklin Square, Philadelphia. He was married to Elizabeth LeRoy, a sister-in-law of the Reverend Philip William Otterbein, one of the founders of the United Brethren Church in America.

⁸² The Reverend William Hiester, Reformed minister at Lebanon from 1799 to 1827. He was born in Berks County, Pennsylvania, on November 11, 1770, and died at Lebanon on February 8, 1828. He was married to Anna Maria Bentz.

⁸³ The Reverend John George Lochmann, Lutheran minister at Lebanon from 1794 to 1815. He was born in Philadelphia on December 2, 1773, and was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania. He was married twice, first to Mary Magdalena Grotz of Philadelphia, who bore him two children; and second to Susan Hoffman of Philadelphia, who bore him thirteen children. He died on July 10, 1826.

1814, Apr. 14 Having been invited, I rode with the Reformed preacher Mr. Hiester to Heidelberg⁸⁴ to the cornerstone laying for Daniel's Lutheran Church being built 17 miles from here.

ENDE DES DIARIUMS

⁸⁴ Schaefferstown, Lebanon County.