

Christopher Ludwick

Patriotic Gingerbread Baker

THE flood of German immigrants into the port of Philadelphia was at its crest in 1754. One of those who stepped ashore that year near the foot of High, now Market, Street was a tall, erect young man of some thirty-four years named Christopher Ludwick. In his sparse luggage he carried considerable baking gear—gingerbread molds, forms, and pans, all of British manufacture—basic equipment unobtainable in the colony of Pennsylvania. This young immigrant was no raw peasant from a Rhineland farm, but a much-traveled, hard-headed, experienced man who had practiced his trade over most of the known world of his day. During the next half century, the half century that saw American independence established and a new national government launched, he would come to be respected and honored for his distinguished services to his adopted country. Later generations of Americans, however, have all but forgotten him.

Christopher Ludwick's life began on October 17, 1720, in the small town of Giessen in Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany, in the home of a fairly prosperous baker, Heinrich Ludwick. Very little is known about his early life.¹ Evidently he grew up tall and robust, much influenced by the warm, emotional pietism so prevalent among the German tradesmen and bourgeoisie of his day. He received the customary catechetical religious training of the time, and served as apprentice and assistant to his father in the bakeshop. The boy's mother,

¹ Most of the information we have about the early life of Christopher Ludwick (as he was later called in America) comes from Benjamin Rush's *Account of the Life and Character of Christopher Ludwick* (Philadelphia, 1831), 6-9. There is an excellent brief sketch, based largely on the Rush account, "Christopher Ludwick: 'Excellent Citizen' of Philadelphia," in *The Ludwick Institute, 1799-1947* (Philadelphia: privately printed, 1947), 15-29. Edward W. Hocker's manuscript, "The Baker General of the American Revolution," is in the Valley Forge Museum. This work is hereafter cited as Hocker Manuscript.

Catherine Hiffle Ludwig, died when he was twelve. At fourteen he was sent to a local *Freischule* established by a town philanthropist and conducted by two badly harassed teachers in charge of three hundred pupils. There he received rudimentary instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Perhaps it was the inadequacy of this schooling that produced his life-long interest in education, his desire, eventually so notably fulfilled, to improve educational opportunities for others.

Life in Giessen must have been happy enough. The town was the capital of Oberhessen, one of the three political subdivisions of Hesse-Darmstadt. It had been founded in 1203 by the consolidation of three villages, and through its university had become the intellectual center of the province. In Ludwig's youth the town was quietly prosperous, though it had known better times. Like most of the rest of Germany, it had never really recovered from the devastations of the Thirty Years' War and the later economic and political disturbances caused by the incursions of French troops under Louis XIV.

Germany as a nation did not yet exist. There were only a large number of German-speaking states loosely bound together under the nominal sovereignty of a moribund organism known as the Holy Roman Empire, whose power to enforce law and order was approaching the vanishing point. Through all the wars of the first half of the eighteenth century, Hesse remained loyal to her neighbor, Austria, a loyalty which the Electors of Hesse capitalized on by the profitable business of exporting soldiers. During the wars of the Polish Succession and of the Austrian Succession, Hessian troops served with the Austrian forces. In later life Christopher Ludwig often remarked that he had entered the Austrian service at seventeen as a baker. Whether he joined the army from a desire to evade conscription, from ambition, or from wanderlust is not known. His actions in later life seem to suggest that it was probably from one of the latter two motives.

From 1737 to 1739 Austria, under poor, corrupt, and inefficient leadership, was waging, in alliance with Russia, a hopeless and unfortunate war against the Turks. The Russians reaped the harvest in territorial acquisitions; the Austrians bore the defeat and the disgrace. In 1739, under the terms of the Peace of Belgrade, Austria ceded Belgrade, Serbia, and parts of Bosnia and Wallachia to

Turkey. During the winter of 1739-1740, in the bitter Balkan cold, the inadequately provisioned Austrian forces withdrew. Ludwig found himself in a contingent of a hundred men marching doggedly to Vienna, three hundred and fifty miles away. Cold and sickness cut down seventy-five of the men, but thanks to the kindly ministrations of humble, devout Catholic peasants, Christopher Ludwig survived.² Their help he remembered all his long life, and his will reflects the realization that kindness and mercy could exist among those in poorer circumstances and of another religion than his.

Back in Vienna, Ludwig remained on garrison duty for several months in 1740. There he witnessed the hanging of the commissary general of the Austrian army for graft and peculation. In later years, when he himself occupied a somewhat similar office, this scene returned to his mind, for he frequently spoke of the impression it had made on him.

Meanwhile, the Empress of Austria, Maria Theresa, appealed to the Hungarian nobles for assistance in maintaining her throne in the face of French and Prussian threats. The armies of Louis XV descended on Moravia in 1741. When, in November of that year, after a siege of seventeen weeks, they took Prague, Ludwig was among the three thousand Austrian troops made prisoner. Thereafter, lacking other employment, Ludwig enlisted in the army of Frederick the Great. His former masters, the Austrians, were now his enemies. This *volte-face* should not be considered a traitorous act, for Ludwig had never been an Austrian citizen, merely a hired soldier, much like the *condottieri* of an earlier period.

After his victory at Czaslau, Frederick concluded the Peace of Breslau in June, 1742, thereby gaining Upper and Lower Silesia. Withdrawing to Berlin to strengthen his resources for further campaigns, Frederick paid off many of his hired soldiers, including Ludwig. Later in life Ludwig spoke of having to beg a few pence for bread and beer in Berlin at this time.³ From Berlin he made his way to a Baltic port and thence to England, arriving in London sometime in 1742.

In London Ludwig could survey a much broader vista. This phenomenon among cities, already a sprawling metropolis of more

² Rush, 26.

³ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

than a million souls, dwarfed not only his birthplace, Giessen, but also Berlin. The very London air must have smelled different, redolent as it was of freedom in startling contrast to the continental despotisms under which he had lived. More sophisticated Europeans like Voltaire had commented on it, and it could not have failed to impress the semiliterate but intelligent Ludwig.

Perhaps Ludwig worked as a baker in London, for it is certain that he had no resources beyond the skill he had learned from his father. At all events, early in 1743 he enlisted in the royal navy as a baker and saw three years of service in this capacity, most of it aboard H.M.S. *Duke of Cumberland*. Part of the time he served under Admiral Boscawen, a redoubtable mariner known as "Old Dreadnaught," who was as famous for his careful attention to the health and food of his men as for the strictness of his discipline. During his naval service, Ludwig saw a good deal of the world, especially China, India, and the East Indies. In Canton he purchased a fine silver-chased china bowl, around the rim of which he later had his name engraved and from which he used to offer the toast, "Health and long life to Christopher Ludwick and wife."⁴

In 1745 he left the navy and went back to Giessen, where his father had left him a small estate which he was able to dispose of for five hundred gulden, the equivalent of perhaps two thousand dollars today. Since he had received one hundred eleven guineas on leaving the naval service, he found himself, upon his return to London, in possession of a considerable sum of money. This he spent foolishly, he later confessed, by "gallanting the girls to Greenwich." However, he could not have been reduced to complete poverty, because he retained his silver-chased bowl and a silver medal, given him by his father, on which was inscribed, "The blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin."⁵

From 1745 to 1753 Ludwig was employed in the merchant service as a common seaman. During these years he visited Ireland, Holland,

⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 29-30. He later had the medal affixed to the lid of a silver tankard on which were engraved a Bible, a plough, a sword, and the motto, "May the religion, industry, and courage of a German parent be the inheritance of his issue." Whether this was a reference to his own revered father or an expression of his hope for the offspring he never had will never be known. *Ibid.*

and the West Indies. This period must have been relatively uneventful, for he seldom mentioned it in later years.⁶

There is no way of knowing how many times he may have touched American shores. A Christopher Ludwig is known to have landed at Philadelphia on September 13, 1749, from the ship *Christian* out of Rotterdam.⁷ It is possible that this was he, but both his names were so common among Germans of that day that there can be no certainty. He definitely visited Philadelphia in 1753, however, bringing with him twenty-five pounds worth of ready-made suits, sixty in number, which he sold for three hundred per cent profit. During his stay he noted the lack of good pastry and bake shops in the city. Returning to London, Ludwig studied the finer arts of baking, and nine months later, in 1754, stepped ashore in Philadelphia to begin a new life.

In Philadelphia Ludwig did not lack the companionship of fellow nationals. There had been Germans there and in neighboring Germantown since the beginning of the colony. Descendants of these early settlers had been joined by Palatine wanderers from the Schoharie Valley of New York and by thousands of immigrants who had arrived in almost weekly shiploads, especially between 1749 and 1754. By the time of Ludwig's arrival, Pennsylvania was almost one-third German. Like other immigrants, the Germans were not all alike in background, ability, or intellect. Some few were university scholars. The majority were honest peasants in search of property of their own. At first, upon landing, they must have appeared uncouth and bedraggled; many were ill from the confinement of the long voyage. Most spoke only German, and consequently were looked upon with distrust by the Quakers and other English-speaking inhabitants. But before long, their erstwhile severe critics, among them Benjamin Franklin, had to revise their opinions. The industry and pertinacity of the Germans fitted them neatly into the colonial Pennsylvania scene.

There is no record of where Ludwig lived immediately upon arrival, but within a year, having married a young widow, Mrs.

⁶ While on trips to Holland he may have visited his sister Helena Ludwick Loch, who had recently settled in Amsterdam. Helena's second husband, a Sergeant Loch, was a stocking weaver, possibly a former comrade-in-arms of Christopher. See T. G. Tappert and J. W. Doberstein, eds., *Journals of Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg* (Philadelphia, 1942-1945), II, 492.

⁷ *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, XVII, 284.

Catharine England, he was installed in comfortable quarters in Letitia Court, near Front Street. There he came to be highly respected and acquired the appellation of "Governor of Letitia Court." With his English-bought equipment he set himself up in business, concentrating on gingerbread and confectionery. He was an efficient worker and soon had a high reputation for honesty and sobriety, though he was occasionally given to some conviviality. He once admitted that he could never "pass by a fiddle." There were many "fiddles" in his section of Philadelphia. The London Coffee House, the Rising Sun, the Golden Swan, the Black Horse, and the King of Prussia were favorite resorts of Ludwig's during much of his life.

In general, however, he was as frugal as any other middle-class German artisan or tradesman, generous to those in need, but comfortably modest in his own demands. He made a habit of seeking out needy individuals and aiding them without seeking either repayment or publicity. When approached by habitual drunkards, however, he could be quite severe. He had not carried sacks of flour on his back for so many years, he would tell them, to help them destroy themselves with drink.⁸

Ludwig sometimes baked on a large scale for parties and for prominent citizens. His bills often ran quite high. In 1758, for example, he signed "Christoff Ludwick" (as he now wrote his surname) on a receipt to William Fisher covering payment in full of £4 12s. 6d. Another surviving receipt, to Thomas Riche, dated February 24, 1769, amounted to six pounds.⁹ In view of the low price of bread in that era, his business must have been a large one.

As Philadelphia prospered, so did Christopher Ludwick. By 1775 he had bought nine houses in the city, a farm in Germantown, and 123½ acres in Lancaster County. In addition, he had £3,500 invested in interest-bearing bonds, together with a fair sum invested in his business. In 1775 he rented a house on the corner of Fourth and Race streets in Philadelphia. It was typical of the dwellings of the day, surrounded by trees, with an eighty-foot frontage on Fourth Street and sixty-eight on Race. That same year he rented out his

⁸ Rush, 22-23.

⁹ Stauffer Collection, XXII, 1672; Gratz Collection, Case 1, Box 16, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP). Some of Ludwick's gingerbread (cookie) molds are in the Valley Forge Museum.

"plantation" in Germantown. This farm, on the south side of Haines Street, the first house east of Chew, comprised thirty-three acres. Among its improvements were a large dwelling and outhouses, a barn forty-six by twenty feet in size, a pigsty, milk house, and curing or smoke house, all of stone, and a large apple orchard.¹⁰ Ludwick was very strict in his choice of a tenant, requiring references and security before leasing the place.

Throughout his long life Christopher Ludwick was a staunch Lutheran, though never a narrow one, as is evident from the terms of his will. He was active in the Lutheran churches of both Philadelphia and Germantown. In 1764 he lent £400 to St. Michael's in Germantown.¹¹ (The very fact that he could afford to lend such a sum only ten years after settling in a new land is testimony to his business acumen.) He represented his church before the provincial authorities. In April, 1775, he appeared before the Board of Properties to purchase a burial plot bounded by Sassafrass (now Race), Sixth, and Vine streets for Zion Church.¹² Again, in October of that year, he was one of a delegation composed of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, Henry Keppele, Jr., and Michael Schubert, which went before the governor in an effort to purchase additional ground for a cemetery.¹³

Although he became a naturalized British subject in 1763,¹⁴ Ludwick never lost interest in his German compatriots. The monolingualism of the great majority of Philadelphia Germans offered him one avenue of assistance and undoubtedly had a profound influence on his American career. His years of British service had given him a good command of English, though he never lost his German accent or phraseology. Furthermore, his business and social activities naturally brought him into contact with English-speaking Philadelphians, and his later political activity, often in support of German groups or interests, was largely among the English. He was thus an ideal choice as spokesman for the German community.

¹⁰ The warrant, dated May 3, 1775, for affixing the Great Seal to the patent for his Lancaster acres is in the Penn-Physick Papers, IV, 273, HSP; *Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, Jan. 24, 1775.

¹¹ *Journals of Muhlenberg*, II, 3.

¹² *Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series*, I, 399.

¹³ *Journals of Muhlenberg*, II, 708. The governor never appeared and the matter ended for a time.

¹⁴ Hocker Manuscript; "Christopher Ludwick, 'Excellent Citizen,'" 19.

Ludwick was one of the founders of the German Society of Philadelphia, organized in 1764 to supply "the poor, the sick and otherwise distressed Germans . . . to teach and improve their poor children both in the English and German languages, reading and writing thereof, and to procure for them such learning and education, as would best suit them in their capacities and genius. . . ."¹⁵ At the incorporation of the Society, Ludwick was elected secretary. In this capacity he frequently came to the aid of German immigrants who had been abused and exploited en route to America by shipmasters, or by employers to whom many were subsequently indentured.¹⁶ Except for the years of his military service during the Revolution, Ludwick continued to be an officer of the Society almost to the end of his long life.

As the American Revolution approached, Philadelphians tended to divide into three groups—Tories, comprised largely of conservative Anglicans and some of the "plain people," led by Joseph Galloway; moderate Whigs, consisting of many wealthy Presbyterians, some prosperous Germans, and a few Quakers, under the leadership of men like John Dickinson, Thomas Mifflin, and Charles Thomson; and radical Whigs, including many of the poorer Scots-Irish and German workmen, who followed men like Tom Paine and Daniel Roberdeau. Christopher Ludwick, a moderate Whig, had considerable influence among the radicals.

Because of his German associations, Ludwick was elected to the Philadelphia Committee of Correspondence in May, 1774, and by July was urging that the colonies forcibly oppose British tyranny, even at the expense of a long and bloody war. He seldom spoke in the meetings, but when he did, it was usually at a strategic moment. On one occasion, when General Mifflin, stated the pressing need for a private subscription to raise arms for the newly organized militia, many deputies mentally buttoned their pocketbooks. Ludwick stood up and declared in his heavily accented English: "Mr. President, I am but a poor gingerbread baker, but put my name down for two

¹⁵ Manuscript records of the German Society of Philadelphia for 1764, Philadelphia.

¹⁶ Instances of such aid by the German Society are noted in the minutes; for example, the case of the widow Mary Christina Martin and her six children is entered on Oct. 24, 1772.

hundred pounds.”¹⁷ Ludwick thus made the first of his many financial contributions to the cause of independence.

In addition to his work on the Committee of Correspondence, Ludwick served as a deputy to the Provincial Convention which met in July, 1774, to draft resolves to the Pennsylvania Assembly, and as a delegate to the convention which assembled in January, 1775, to approve the work of the Continental Congress and provide a wide variety of measures for the city's protection. He was one of the representatives of the Philadelphia committee to the conference of provincial committees of Pennsylvania which met in June, 1776.¹⁸ Apparently, his responsibilities were largely concerned with the procurement of ammunition, for in October, 1775, the Continental Congress paid him \$41.20 for forwarding powder to Ticonderoga, and in December, 1775, Robert Towers, the commissary, delivered two and a half pounds of powder to him in exchange for four pounds of saltpeter. The next year Ludwick was advertising in the Philadelphia German newspaper *Staatsbote* for a man “who knows how to get saltpeter and make gunpowder from it.”¹⁹

All the while, Ludwick was busy rallying support for Congress among the Germans and doing many routine chores for the revolutionary movement. His business sense, so highly respected in the community, was put to good use. In March, 1775, when Benjamin Rush, Ludwick's friend and later biographer, organized a company for furthering woolen manufactures, Ludwick was chosen a member of the board of managers. The manufactory, established at Twelfth and Market streets, employed four hundred spinners. During the next two years, until the British occupation of the city in 1777, it forwarded desperately needed cloth to the army.²⁰

In the late spring of 1776, Ludwick left the urgent affairs in Philadelphia to volunteer, without pay or rations, in the “flying camp”

¹⁷ Rush, 10-11.

¹⁸ *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, III, 545, 625, 635.

¹⁹ *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, III, 286, hereafter cited as *Journals of Congress*; *Colonial Records*, X, 421; *Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, May 14, 1776.

²⁰ J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884* (Philadelphia, 1884), I, 294-295; Nathan Goodman, *Benjamin Rush, Physician and Citizen, 1746-1813* (Philadelphia, 1934), 46. The name of the society was the United Company for Promoting American Manufactures.

which had been organized to assist Washington in his defense of New York. At the age of fifty-six, Ludwick again became a soldier. Whatever the exact nature of his duties, he exerted considerable influence on the morale of the troops. According to Benjamin Rush

He animated the soldiers with the love of liberty, by his example and conversation, and often pointed out to them the degrading nature of slavery, by describing the poverty and misery of his native country under the rapacious hands of kings and princes. Upon one occasion he heard that a number of militia soldiers, who were dissatisfied with their rations, were about to leave camp. He went hastily to them, and in the sight of them all, fell suddenly upon his knees. This solemn and humble attitude commanded general silence and attention. "Brother soldiers," said he, "listen for one moment to Christopher Ludwick. . . . When we hear the cry of fire in Philadelphia, on the hill at a distance from us, we fly there with our buckets to keep it from our houses. So let us keep the great fire of the British army from our town. In a few days you shall have good bread and enough of it."²¹

Ludwick's speech had the desired effect, and the mutinous spirit in the militia was checked.

In addition to his self-appointed role as a morale officer, Ludwick also engaged in psychological warfare. On August 9, 1776, Congress passed the following resolution: "*Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed, to devise a plan for encouraging the Hessians, and other foreigners, employed by the King of Great Britain, and sent to America for the purpose of subjugating these States, to quit that iniquitous service."²² The members chosen were James Wilson, Thomas Jefferson, and Richard Stockton. A few days later, Franklin, a master of propaganda, was added to the committee, which had been given the responsibility also for seeing that the Congressional resolutions reached the foreign troops. Among other persuasions, the resolutions offered free land to German deserters. On August 26 Washington wrote to John Hancock, President of Congress, that the resolutions had been "put into several Channels." Almost certainly Christopher Ludwick was one of these "Channels."²³

As a native of Hesse-Darmstadt, Ludwick understood his Hessian opponents and spoke their language. With his demonstrated devotion

²¹ Rush, 11-12.

²² *Journals of Congress*, V, 640.

²³ L. H. Butterfield, "Psychological Warfare in 1776: The Jefferson-Franklin Plan to Cause Hessian Desertion," *American Philosophical Society Library Bulletin* (1950), 236-237.

to the American cause, he was a natural choice for an espionage maneuver. Washington summoned him to Headquarters on August 18, and sometime in the days that followed, Ludwick, posing as a deserter, was rowed across to Staten Island. It is more than likely that he carried with him the handbills prepared by Congress, and buttressed these arguments with his own glowing and enticing descriptions of life in America and the success of the Germans already settled in Pennsylvania.²⁴

Returning unscathed from the enemy lines, Ludwick was put in charge of German prisoners. The arrival of eight Hessian prisoners late that fall stirred his imagination. "Let us take them to Philadelphia," he urged, "and there show them our fine German churches. Let them see how our tradesmen eat good beef, drink out of silver cups every day, and ride out in chairs every afternoon; and then let us send them back to their countrymen, and they will all soon run away, and come and settle in our city and be as good whigs as any of us."²⁵ Washington agreed to this course. On November 15, 1776, he wrote from Hackensack to the Board of War in Philadelphia: "I . . . wish that you would have all the British prisoners collected that you conveniently can, and sent to me as soon as possible, with the Hessian prisoners, that I may exchange them. The return of the latter will, I think, be attended with many salutary consequences; but should it be made without that of a large proportion of other troops, it will carry the marks of design and occasion precautions to be taken to prevent the ends we have in view."²⁶

By coincidence, John Hancock wrote to Washington the following day, November 16, and the two letters crossed in the mail. "Since my last nothing material has occurred here," Hancock wrote, "nor have I any thing in charge from Congress, except to request that you will negotiate an exchange of the Hessian prisoners at Elizabeth-Town under the care of Mr. Ludwick, as soon as possible. They have been treated in such a manner during their stay in this city, that it is apprehended their going back among their countrymen will be attended with some good consequences."²⁷ Some of these prisoners

²⁴ *Ibid.*; Rush, 12-13.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

²⁶ *American Archives, Fifth Series*, III, 699.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 705.

were exchanged and, as Ludwick had prophesied, desertions among the German troops presently began to increase considerably.

In his dealings with prisoners, Ludwick once found himself in the company of some British officers, one of whom proposed a toast to General Washington. Ludwick's reply, somewhat prophetic, illustrates the acerbity of his wit: "Everybody drinks Washington," he said. "I'll give you George III. May he live long and see his downfall, and may the Lord take his senses away from him—may he wander in the fields and eat grass, and may he feel what he should for making war on the Americans and dragging such a poor old man like me into the army."²⁸ George III was, of course, later subject to fits of insanity.

On December 5, 1776, the minutes of the Council of Safety record that "Mr. Nesbitt was directed to pay Mr. Christopher Ludwick £11 5 0, in part for Services done at Camp last Summer, to be charged to Congress"²⁹—a small price to pay for the services of a skillful propagandist. His work, it has been surmised, had resulted in losses to the British equal to the casualties several regiments might have inflicted.

At the Christmas victory at Trenton, many more Hessian prisoners fell into American hands. On December 28, 1776, a committee of Congress wrote to General Washington³⁰:

We cannot avoid mentioning that we don't think it advisable to exchange your Hessian prisoners at this time. We think their capture affords a favourable opportunity of making them acquainted with the situation and circumstances of many of their countrymen, who came here without a farthing of property, and have, by care and industry, acquired plentiful fortunes, which they have enjoyed in perfect peace and tranquillity until these invaders have thought proper to disturb and destroy those possessions. It will be proper to separate the officers from the men, and to canton the latter in the back Counties; which may be done by the Council of Safety, until the Congress are consulted thereon.

It was decided to scatter the German prisoners through Lancaster and York counties. On January 2, 1777, they were assembled in Philadelphia on Front Street, between Market and Walnut, and "Kept from conversing with disaffected people as much as possible."

²⁸ "Christopher Ludwick: 'Excellent Citizen,' " 21.

²⁹ *Colonial Records*, XI, 32.

³⁰ *American Archives, Fifth Series*, III, 1459.

They proceeded to Lancaster, where citizens talked with them and the local Germans showed real friendship; measures were taken to prevent their being insulted by "the weak and overzealous."³¹ Some of the Hessians stayed in Lancaster, where they were employed on farms or at making shoes and clothes for the Continental Army. During the winter Ludwick corresponded with their keepers and visited their places of detention and employment. He did not go to northern New Jersey with the army that winter, but remained in Philadelphia until spring. His observation of the prisoners led him to submit the following petition to Congress on March 8, 1777, in which he set forth

That many of the Hessians and Waldekish Prisoners of War, especially single men, are so well pleased with this country and the way of its Inhabitants that at all events they would rather prefer to settle here than to return to the dreary abodes of Bondage from whence they came—That the working of such like men for wages at their respective trades or in agriculture might in some measure relieve the public of the burthen [sic] of maintaining them but what is still more be of service to the inhabitants who are greatly in want of journeymen and labourers—and that your grant of the enlargement of their persons with the permission to breathe in the open fragrancy of American air would be to them a renewed instance of American public benevolence and lay them under further Obligation to a generous and merciful Enemy—

Your Memorialist begs leave to propose and on behalf of these unhappy strangers within your gates to pray for a special act of Grace or a resolve of your Honorable Assembly That a provident discreet and humane German person be appointed to muster at Philadelphia and Lancaster those Prisoners who would do as aforesaid go to work—provide masters and Employers for them—be their counsel and solemn Witness in Contracts which they may make with their employers—register their names and places of abode and the substance of their mutual contract—take a promise of Obligation from such Employer that he will see his labourer forthcoming when required—or if he should leave him give notice to the Guardian of the German Prisoners of War—So that they or either of them in case of an exchange of prisoners should be agreed upon by the Parties at War, or of any Prisoners disturbing the public peace might be returned to the place where prisoners of War properly belong.³²

It is interesting to note that part of Ludwick's suggested plan was already being tried in Pennsylvania. In January, 1777, the Council

³¹ Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 136, I, 113, Library of Congress.

³² *Ibid.*, No. 41, V, 175.

of Safety had authorized that shoemakers among the Hessian prisoners at Lancaster be employed in making shoes for the state.³³

The records of the Continental Congress for April 9, 1777, contain additional reference to Ludwick's work with the Hessians: "The Committee of the Treasury reported, That there is due to Christopher Ludwig, for maintaining Hessian prisoners, and for cash he paid to several Hessian deserters who brought in their arms, the sum of [$\text{\pounds}46\ 9\ 6/90 =$] 123 84/90 dollars. *Ordered*, That the said account be paid."³⁴

Meanwhile, the hodge-podge of requisition and supply for the Revolutionary army stood in desperate need of overhauling and integration. Farmers wanted good prices, and were usually reluctant to take paper money for their produce. Many sold their food supplies to the British for coin.

Bread was one of the staples of existence, much more so then than now, and bread was one thing Christopher Ludwick understood. As early as November, 1776, the Pennsylvania Council of Safety had consulted him on the subject and noted that "Mr. Ludwig recommends a pound of flour per week per man to be allowed the Army."³⁵ On May 3, 1777, hoping to ensure a more adequate supply of bread and honest administration of its production, Congress, on the recommendation of the Board of War, commissioned Christopher Ludwick superintendent of bakers³⁶:

Resolved, That Christopher Ludwick be appointed superintendent of bakers, and director of baking, in the grand army of the United States; and that he have power to license, with the approbation of the commander in chief, or officer commanding at any principal post, all persons to be employed in this business, and to regulate their pay, making proper reports of his proceedings, and using his best endeavours to rectify all abuses in the article of bread:

That no person be permitted to exercise the trade of a baker in the said army without such license, and that he receive for his services herein, an allowance of seventy-five dollars a month and two rations a day.

³³ *Colonial Records*, XI, 85.

³⁴ *Journals of Congress*, VII, 248.

³⁵ *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXIX (1915), 233.

³⁶ Society Collection, HSP; *Journals of Congress*, VII, 323-324. The pay was that of a lieutenant colonel. John C. Fitzpatrick, *The Spirit of the Revolution* (Boston, 1924), 139-157, gives an account of Ludwick's career as superintendent of bakers.

The Congressional committee which delivered his commission stipulated that he furnish a hundred pounds of bread for every hundred pounds of flour. (The committee apparently did not know that flour increases in weight upon being baked.) Ludwick indignantly replied: "No, gentlemen, I will not accept of your commission upon any such terms; Christopher Ludwick does not want to get rich by the war; he has money enough. I will furnish one hundred and thirty-five pounds of bread for every cwt. of flour you put into my hands."³⁷ Two days later, Washington, at Morristown with the army, voiced his satisfaction in a letter to Congress: "I trust the appointment of Mr. Ludwick as Superintendent of Bakers, will have the salutary consequences you mention. I have been long assured, that many abuses have been committed for want of some proper regulations in that department."³⁸

Ludwick promptly went to Morristown and set up bake ovens for the troops, returning to Philadelphia in July to recruit bakers. Congress empowered him to ask the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania to furnish him with journeymen bakers from the militia.³⁹ One wonders whether Ludwick lost his celebrated temper at the prospect of employing militiamen. Ludwick, who devoted full time to his job, and who paid for the erection of some of the ovens out of his own pocket, had no use for summer soldiers. Moreover, the military situation was precarious and a new campaign was about to start.

On July 24, Washington set off to protect Philadelphia from Howe. From Pompton Plains on the 25th he wrote to Ludwick in Morristown⁴⁰:

I imagine you must by this time have a considerable parcel of hard Bread baked. I am moving towards Philadelphia with the Army, and should be glad to have it sent forward. You will therefore immediately upon receipt of this, send all that is ready down to Coryell's Ferry [now *New Hope, Pennsylvania*], except about two thousand Weight which is to be sent to the place called the White House, and there wait for the Division of the Army which is with me. I expect to be in that neighbourhood the night after tomorrow, if the weather is fair. You will continue baking as fast as you can, because

³⁷ Rush, 14.

³⁸ J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, 1931-1944), VIII, 16, hereafter cited as *Writings of Washington*.

³⁹ *Journals of Congress*, VIII, 575.

⁴⁰ *Writings of Washington*, VIII, 475.

two other Divisions will pass thro' Pitts Town and will want Bread. You are to hire Waggons to transport the Bread, and if they cannot be easily hired they must be pressed. I desire you will inform me at what places you have erected public Ovens, that I may know where to apply for Bread when wanted.

Ludwick still lacked bakers. He left his army ovens and went again to Philadelphia to make a personal appeal. On September 12, the day after the American defeat at the Brandywine, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania finally took action—just before fleeing to York before Howe's advancing troops. The commander of the militia was ordered to "permit & encourage Bakers in the Militia to enter the Service under Mr. Ludwick."⁴¹

Just before the Battle of the Brandywine, Washington had sent Ludwick orders to repair at once to camp, to forward by water all the bread he had on hand, and to set all the ovens in Philadelphia to work baking for the army. The Brandywine defeat naturally changed these plans. Ludwick, however, returned to the Quaker City before Howe took it on September 25, and then went to Skippack with the Continental Army. He was appalled at the lack of baking facilities at Skippack, and by the enemy destruction a week earlier of 4,000 barrels of his flour. Ovens were wanting both in number and size, and the commissary had failed to supply him with sufficient flour. Ensign Willie Antes managed to obtain food from the German farmers in the vicinity, and out of his own pocket supplied money to build large brick ovens. As a result, the army was fairly well fed when it marched to Germantown to lose another battle to the British. The Skippack baking facilities were used again on the retreat from Germantown and until the American forces went to Whitemarsh, just before encamping at Valley Forge for the winter.

From the first, Ludwick faced a series of vexing problems. Though he had been commissioned as superintendent of bakers, he had no precedent for his duties and no way of knowing the extent of his authority. Late in the summer of 1777 he sent to Congress four queries to clarify his status⁴²:

1. Whether he has a right by virtue of his Commission to demand of the commissaries or keepers of Stores next to any division of the . . . Grand

⁴¹ *Colonial Records*, XI, 303.

⁴² Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 41, V, 193.

Army, and receive of them as much Flour as shall be necessary to supply such division with Bread?

2. Who is to pay, or on whom shall he draw for the Pay of Bakers employed in the said Army?

3. As in the discharge of his Office several small expenses occur for which it is in the nature of the Transaction impossible to take vouchers: Whether he ought not upon his honour or solemn oath, if required, be credited for such small sums?

4. The chief difficulty under which your memorialist labours is that when the bread is baked he is at a loss to know in what manner he shall dispose thereof so that it may not be wasted. Whether there should not be of every Regiment, Division or Post a certain Officer be [*sic*] appointed who shall issue his order to the nearest station where Bread is baked, for the quantity from time to time wanted, receive the same on covered Waggon large and strong enough to carry a ton, and that the same officer be charged to take care of the Bread, that it comes under a good roof and not remain in the open fields?

At Valley Forge Ludwick erected his main ovens in the house of Colonel William Dewees, Jr., and set up smaller ovens at scattered points throughout the encampment. As usual, flour was scarce. The effort to extract grain from the great barns of the neighboring German farmers of Bucks and Montgomery counties called forth his best powers of cajolery. Some of the flour he managed to obtain was stored at Valley Forge, but the main depot was at Reading. To purchase supplies, Ludwick advanced his own money, and even sold a house to obtain ready cash.

At Valley Forge, he was often in attendance at Headquarters. He had frequent interviews with General Washington, who invited him to dinners and parties, where he drank his well-known toast, "Health and long life to Christopher Ludwick and wife," from his china bowl.⁴³ Ludwick was on friendly terms with other high-ranking officers, like Generals Arthur St. Clair, William Irvine, and Anthony Wayne. Indeed, he was a favorite among all groups at camp with his rough-and-ready humor and his strange turns of phrase. Except for occasional side trips to Reading to inspect the flour depot and to York, where he continued to show an interest in the Hessian prisoners, he remained at Valley Forge until camp was struck on June 18, 1778.

⁴³ John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1844), II, 44-45.

His complaining letter to Congress of the previous summer finally bore results, although an ambitious plan to set up a company of bakers, sixty-five in number with sixteen directors and subdirectors, was abandoned.⁴⁴ The quartermaster corps had been reorganized during the winter at Valley Forge, and some of Ludwick's earlier complaints were no longer valid. Quartermasters were now under orders to accept bread as it was baked, to provide adequate transportation for it, and to house it properly.⁴⁵ Congress, furthermore, gave Ludwick \$1,000 to build ovens. He was also given authority to request flour from the commissaries, and the commissary general of issues or his appointed deputy was to receive it. Quartermasters were required to furnish him with one-ton wagons, as he had requested.⁴⁶

Armed with his new authority, Ludwick proceeded to set up ovens throughout northern New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. He must have been extraordinarily busy that summer, for Washington had more troops at his disposal than at any other time since 1775. In addition to his regular work, Ludwick also did some private baking for Washington. On April 1, 1778, at Valley Forge, he submitted a bill for £13 10s. to his commander in chief, for which he received payment in full—some ten months later.⁴⁷

The summer of 1778 was marked by the Wyoming Massacre in Pennsylvania and the equally bloody Cherry Valley Massacre in New York. To chastise the Iroquois, Washington organized a punitive expedition under the command of the celebrated New Hampshire lawyer-soldier John Sullivan. Detached from the main army and sent to Easton in June, 1779, Ludwick prepared to supply the expedition with bread. Although he found the supply situation bad, he exerted himself with his customary vigor and apparently to good effect, for on June 24, the Reverend Dr. William Rogers, chaplain

⁴⁴ This plan was apparently not Ludwick's idea. See *Journals of Congress*, X, 206; Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 147, I, 526.

⁴⁵ Lack of adequate storage facilities was one of the serious defects which threatened Continental supply. When Gen. George Clinton, for example, ordered bread that had been baked and stored at Fort Montgomery, N. Y., to be opened, fifteen tons of hard bread was found to be ruined. Ludwick had to send another fifteen tons to Fishkill, one of the principal baking points for Continental supply. Other main points were at Morristown, N. J., West Point and Stony Point, N. Y., and Springfield, Mass. Fitzpatrick, 144-145, 147, 151, 152-153; John T. Faris, *Romance of Forgotten Men* (New York, 1928), 89-102.

⁴⁶ Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 147, I, 529.

⁴⁷ Washington Papers, XCVII, 124, Library of Congress.

of General Hand's brigade, reported that "owing to his activity, a bake-house was built in eleven days and a large quantity of bread was in readiness."⁴⁸ Some of this bread may have been lost later when several cargo boats capsized in the Susquehanna; the soldiers subsequently suffered great privations.

Ludwick was probably back in Philadelphia before the expedition returned, for on October 12, 1779, he was elected one of the sheriffs of the City and County of Philadelphia.⁴⁹ In this capacity he exercised his penchant for routing graft. Never had he forgotten the Austrian commissary general he had seen hanged for peculation forty years before. Ludwick prosecuted one Isaac Hancock, a miller from near Reading, for example, for cheating the government on a consignment of flour. As sheriff he received half the fine, but he was still out of pocket thirty-six pounds he had spent in prosecuting the case.⁵⁰ In the summer of 1780 he testified at the trial of Dr. William Shippen, surgeon general of the Continental Army, for misusing and appropriating to his own use certain funds and army supplies, including Madeira intended for medicinal purposes. Appearing as a government witness at the urging of his friend Dr. Rush, Ludwick made some strong accusations in characteristically vigorous language.⁵¹

The winter of 1779-1780 brought more hardship to Washington's army. Grain was lacking, the commissary administration was once more in a state of virtual breakdown, the public was apathetic, the troops were demoralized by two seasons without active campaigning. The following winter was even worse. Ludwick loyally remained with the army, but the financial drain and his increasing age were beginning to tell on him. On January 27, 1781, he tried to resign. In his long and touching petition to Congress he pointed out that "the Bakers heretofore inlisted by him have now all left him (their term of Inlistment being expired) except *three* whom he inlisted from the first of September last for two shillings specie, or the Exchange and a Gill of Rum per day, and a suit of Cloaths and *twenty-two* who are drafted from the different Regiments (tho' with great reluctance of

⁴⁸ *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, XV, 260.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, *Sixth Series*, XI, 349.

⁵⁰ "Christopher Ludwick: 'Excellent Citizen,'" 25.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* Ludwick frequently stated his dislike of Shippen and his fondness for Rush at meetings of the German Society in after years.

the officers) and are to have three dollars Contin'l pr. day." He had personally recruited a number of hands, he declared, "at great trouble and Expence to himself," but found it impossible to retain them "unless some regulations be speedily made, and the bakers inlisted to Receive Pay, Cloathing and other necessities, equal if not more than, the artificers or any other Corps in the Army."

From this he launched into a more general complaint:

That the Baking Department, tho far preferable to, and more beneficial than the Doctor or Surgeon's Department, hath been too much neglected, and no proper encouragement given to the Bakers and workmen to induce and enable them to continue in the Service, Never having any allowance of Cloathing, and your memorialist no orders or authority to draw any—That your memorialist since May, 1777 had no directions or Line of Duty pointed out to him for his government in his department but hath acted therein on his own Judgement for the public good. . . .

Finally, he came back to himself and requested that his immediate resignation be accepted:

. . . your Memorialist having served his country honestly from the Commencement of the War, (the first six months as a volunteer finding himself and horse without fee or reward)—built the greatest part of the Bakehouses for the use of the army;—ventured his life on several occasions for the cause;—had his property ruined by the enemy⁵²;—expended his private fortune earned by his industry before this War; and by his assiduity and vigilance in his Department saved great sums of money to the States; is now willing and desirous to retire from the service in the 61st year of age, with the loss of his right eye⁵³ and a ruined constitution.

After begging Congress to accept his resignation, he added, with a touch of pride, a final postscript: "Your memorialist begs leave further to represent that his Department for the year 1780, during which he had 25 Men at least in the Service did not cost the United States above Three thousand Pounds Cash Continental currency exclusive of his own pay. Your Memorialist having employed the Sweepings and empty barrels towards making up the deficiency."⁵⁴

⁵² When the British left Philadelphia two years before, he had found his Germantown farm and residence pillaged and left virtually bare. Rush, 17.

⁵³ He lost the sight of this eye when a falling flour barrel struck him on the temple. Hocker Manuscript; Rush, 26.

⁵⁴ Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 41, V, 230.

Ignoring his request for relief, the Board of War replied on February 14, 1781, with a complimentary resolution: "That Mr. Christopher Ludwick, who has acted with great industry and integrity in the character of principal superintendent of bakers, be, and is hereby continued in that employment; and that he be empowered to hire or inlist any number of bakers, not exceeding thirty, on such terms as the Board of War shall think proper."⁵⁵ In addition, he was to receive "as a compensation for all past services, one thousand dollars, in bills of the new emissions." To put the office of superintendent of bakers at last on a satisfactory footing, it was provided that henceforth the incumbent should receive a regular salary of fifty dollars per month, two rations a day, and forage for one horse.

Under these conditions Ludwick continued his service, but he was hardly repaid financially for his efforts. The currency reform which Congress was putting through was to produce bills with little real value. The degree of inflation was vividly reflected in a bill which Washington paid to Ludwick early in 1781 for private expenses. The bill totaled \$144; nine pounds of butter cost \$78, or about \$8.66 a pound, and other items were correspondingly high.⁵⁶

In the late spring of 1781, Ludwick accompanied Washington's army to Yorktown. When news of the British surrender came, Washington ordered six thousand pounds of bread to be baked. "Let it be good, old gentleman," he said to Ludwick, "and let there be enough of it, if I should want myself."⁵⁷ Ludwick remained with the army for some months, most of the time at West Point where he had professional military bakers from the French army in his service.

Life was difficult for several years after Ludwick's return from service. His ready funds were so low at one point that he slept for some weeks without sheets rather than go into debt to buy any.⁵⁸ Many of his relatives were in straitened circumstances and depended upon his help. His properties were in ruinous condition, partly from British pillage, partly from neglect. Some he had sold during the war to help pay the expenses of his department. The money he had out at interest had suffered from inflation. Rather than resume the bak-

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 147, VI, 165.

⁵⁶ Washington Papers, CXXXI, 116.

⁵⁷ Rush, 15.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.

ing business, Ludwick began to liquidate his still extensive real estate holdings and to invest the proceeds in stocks, from which he was able to live well, though unostentatiously. Once more he ran for sheriff, but unsuccessfully.⁵⁹

In an effort to recoup part of the losses he had sustained while in military service, Ludwick applied to Congress in March, 1785, with a typical "memorial." He recited how "from a Zeal for the Cause of America, notwithstanding his advanced Age," he had accepted the office of superintendent of bakers, how "by his Skill & Knowledge in the Baking Business and strict Care and Attention to prevent frauds . . . he saved vast Sums to the public, but at the same time greatly diminished and injured his own private Property, as well as his Constitution." How much money he had sacrificed by selling his real estate at a loss to pay his men's wages, and how much he had lost through depreciation of the currency, he could not tell "for want of Knowledge in Accounts & Bookkeeping." But he knew that by paying the bakers their wages every two months "and from time to time adding a few Dollars more as the Money grew worse," he had saved the public no trifling sum, "as these Men being thus satisfied got no Depreciation of Pay like Soldiers in the Army." The thousand dollars he had received "as a Bounty or extraordinary Gratuity for his Services" had been so reduced by depreciation by the time he received it that "he might as well almost have had nothing." With due submission he conceived himself entitled to "a Compensation or Bounty in Land or otherwise equal with other Officers who have served in the American Army."⁶⁰

To this appeal he appended three impressive testimonials from general officers who had known him well⁶¹:

The Services rendered to the Army of the United States by Mr. Ludwick, his Zeal in the Cause of his Country and the Losses he sustained in General are well known to Us the Subscribers.

Ar. St. Clair
Wm. Irvine
Anty. Wayne

⁵⁹ *Pennsylvania Archives, Sixth Series*, XI, 388.

⁶⁰ Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 147, VI, 165.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

Mr. Ludwicks disinterested Zeal, his indefatigable industry in the duties of his department, his unsullied integrity, the essential Services he rendered to the Army, and the generous Sacrifices he has made in the Course of the late Revolution appear to me to merit the very grateful Attention of his Country, and the embarrassments he now feels in consequence of his public exertions, excite the warmest wishes that he may obtain relief proportioned to the justness of his claims.

Timothy Pickering

I have known Christopher Ludwick many years. He is one of our first and most determined Whigs. Mr. Ludwig's early Exertions in Pennsylvania in the American Cause, his disinterested Services in the Army and the great Sacrifice he has made of his property to promote the Revolution entitle him in my Opinion to the Attention of Congress.

Thomas Mifflin

This array of names was imposing, but Ludwick had one more ace in the hole. On March 29, 1785, he wrote to his old commander in chief⁶²:

As your Excellency often expressed a friendship and Regard for your old Baker Master, and well know what Service he was to the Army—I now beg leave to acquaint you that, finding my private Property greatly injured and diminished by my Attention to, and Exertions in the Public Service, and by necessary Advances of my remaining Cash to some near Relations of my Wife who by the Event of the Revolution have been reduced to indigent Circumstances, I have been obliged to apply to Congress for Compensation. . . .

Several Gentlemen late Officers in the Army have cheerfully granted me their Recommendation, but in order to ensure my success I wish to have a Recommendatory Letter from Your Excellency in my behalf to Congress on the Subject of my Memorial—I flatter myself that You will not refuse me this favor, and am with great Respect and Esteem

Your Excellency's
Most obdt. & Very humble Servt.
Christopher Ludwick

As a postscript he added: "Should your Excellency grant my Request, a letter by the Post will be very acceptable to C. Ludwick who is now 65 years of age."

⁶² Washington Papers, CCXXXII, 60.

Washington's reply of April 25, 1785, was kept framed on Ludwick's parlor wall⁶³:

I have known Mr. Christopher Ludwick from an early period of the War; and have every reason to believe, as well from observation as information, that he has been a true and faithful servant to the public. That he has detected, and exposed many impositions which were attempted to be practiced by others in his department. That he has been the cause of much saving in many respects. And that his deportment in public life has afforded unquestionable proofs of his integrity & worth.

With respect to the particular losses of which he complains I have no personal knowledge, but have often heard that he has suffered from his zeal in the cause of his Country.

Ludwick's memorial, supported though it was by such impressive testimonials, bore only limited fruit. On June 13, 1785, Congress voted the old baker the paltry sum of two hundred dollars "as a gratuity for his services."⁶⁴

At the outbreak of Philadelphia's yellow fever epidemic of 1797, Ludwick was living with Frederick Fraley, one of his former apprentices who had become a prosperous baker in his own right. Neither he nor Fraley was obliged financially or otherwise to remain in the infected city, but they chose to stay and bake free bread for the poor with flour supplied by the city commissioners.

Watson, the annalist, gives us a quaintly charming picture of the old gentleman in his declining years⁶⁵:

Christopher Ludwick, the baker-general, usually bore and received, the appellation of *general*. . . . He was of a very social cast, talking freely along the street with all he met, and in so loud and strong a voice, as everywhere to announce his vicinity;—so much so, that it was usual in families, in doors, to say, "There goes the general!" The frankness which characterized him, encouraged the woman, who became his second wife, to say to him, in meeting him in the street, that as she felt concerned for his loneliness as a widower, she would offer herself to him for a companion, in case he thought it might conduce to their mutual happiness. He took it, as he said, into a short consideration, and they became man and wife; she being a good wife, and both of them a happy couple, in the opinion of all.

⁶³ Society Collection, HSP; Rush, 18-19.

⁶⁴ *Journals of Congress*, XXVIII, 456.

⁶⁵ Watson, II, 56.

His second wife, whom he married in 1798, was Mrs. Sophia Binder, "an ancient and prudent woman who always treated him with great kindness and respect."⁶⁶

During the last two years of his life, Ludwick's health began to fail. Still he remained cheerful. When Washington died, he was asked to subscribe for a copy of his biography. His reply was: "No, I will not, I am travelling fast to meet him, I will then hear all about it from his own mouth." On Sunday, June 14, 1801, after several days' illness from a chest infection, he asked Sophia to read a sermon to him, for, he said, "You will never read to me again on a Sunday; before next Sunday I shall be no more."⁶⁷ On Wednesday, June 17, he died.

Christopher Ludwick's last civic contribution was posthumous. In his will he left particular bequests of £100 to the German Reformed Church, the German Society of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania Hospital, the University of Pennsylvania, and St. Michael's Lutheran Church of Germantown. In addition, he bequeathed £200 to the Guardians of the Poor to provide firewood for the needy in winter, and £50 to his former mulatto slave Rachel.⁶⁸

He had always shown a keen interest in the schooling of poor children; more than fifty boys had been educated at his expense during his lifetime. It is therefore not surprising that he should leave the residue of his estate, about \$13,000, to found an institution "for the schooling and education gratis, of poor children of all denominations, in the city and liberties of Philadelphia, without exception to the country, extraction, or religious principles of their parents or friends." If such an institution were not established within five years, the estate was to be divided in varying proportions among the German Lutheran, the German Reformed, the English Episcopal, the First and Second Presbyterian, the Roman Catholic, and the African churches and the University of Pennsylvania to be used exclusively for the education of poor children.⁶⁹

The handsome bequest went to the Philadelphia Society for the Establishment and Support of Charity Schools after an exciting race

⁶⁶ Rush, 20. Ludwick's first wife died in 1795. *Ibid.*, 19.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Three other slaves had been freed and provided for earlier. *Ibid.*, 22.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 23-26.

with the University of Pennsylvania—literally a race over the Lancaster Turnpike—to get its charter enrolled first in the state capital at Lancaster.⁷⁰ Since 1872 the Philadelphia Society has been known as the Ludwick Institute. Its long and varied history of benefactions in Philadelphia is a fitting sequel to the life of the man on whose tombstone in the graveyard of St. Michael's in Germantown is written⁷¹:

On every occasion his zeal for the relief of the oppressed
 Was manifest; and by his last will,
 He bequeathed the greater part of his estate for the
 Education of the children of the poor of all denominations,
 gratis.
 He lived and died
 Respected for his integrity and public spirit,
 By all who knew him.
 Reader, such was LUDWICK.
 Art thou poor, Venerate his character.
 Art thou rich, Imitate his example.

Falls Church, Va.

WILLIAM WARD CONDIT

⁷⁰ "An Account . . . of the Philadelphia Society for the Establishment and Support of Charity Schools," in *ibid.*, 37-39.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 31.