

Apart From the World

An Account of the
Origins and Destinies
of various

Swiss Mennonites

Who fled from their Homelands
In Remote Parts of the
Cantons Zürich, Aargau and Bern
as well as

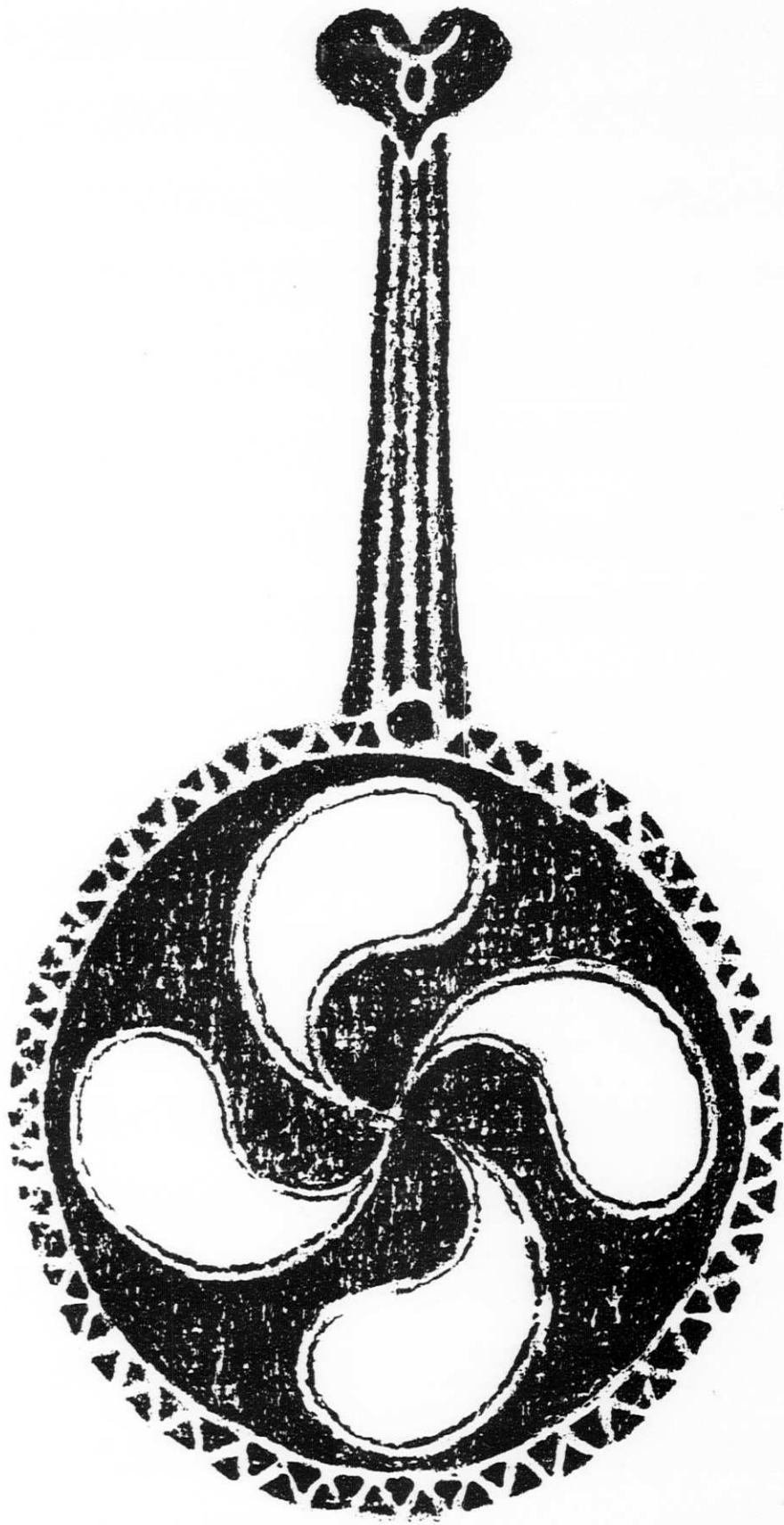
Alsace, the Rurpflaz,
and later along the edges of the
American Frontier

in
Pennsylvania and Virginia;

Namely the Families
Bachman, Bär, Bruppacher, Hauser, Hiestand,
Leaman, Ringger, Schmidt and Strickler

1458 - 1865





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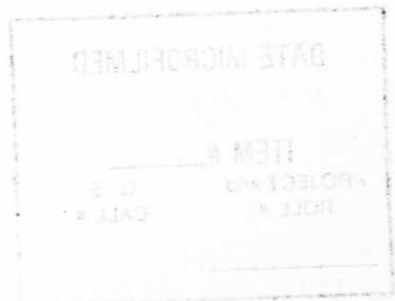
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**“A few strong instincts and a few plain rules
Among the herdsmen of the Alps, have wrought
More for mankind at this unhappy day,
Than all the pride of intellect and thought.”**

— William Wordsworth (1770-1855)
Writing of his 1790 walk across Switzerland

*In the hope that
All of my Great, Great-Grandparents
Wondered about me as often as I will about them.*

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LIBRARIES ARE ACTUALLY filled with mirrors, at least as far as the German author Johann Wolfgang Goethe saw it. When he had Wagner speak to Faust in his classic drama, they both took a moment to reflect on history:

“Forgive me! It is a great delight to place oneself in the spirit of the times... and then see how far we have advanced from that.”

To which Faust replied:

“The past is a sealed book for us. What you call the spirit of the times is really your own spirit in which the times are reflected.”^{5:27}

While rereading files compiled by one of my predecessors in Baughman family research, Walsie Baughman Ruble, I came across a faded 34-year-old letter she wrote to Lancaster County historian M. Luther Heisey. It proves that many of the pieces of the puzzle were maddeningly close to fitting together for her. When I first looked over her notes ten years ago, I felt she had swamped herself with much that was unconnected. After reinventing her basic research during the last few years, I see much better now the lines and patterns she was following.

In this same letter, Walsie recalled part of the oral history that she had grown up hearing:

“The legend of the Baughman family, as I know it, was there was a father and seven sons, and the sons scattered to different places to learn the English language and to become a part of their new country. The oldest son was to look after the youngest son. Some of the Baughmans were clock makers in the old country.

“When I was a very young child [ca. 1905 in Harrison, Arkansas], my mother took me to visit an elderly great-aunt and uncle. His name was John Baughman, and they had an old grandfather clock that had been in the family for many generations. It was made by the first Baughmans in America, and I remember them talking about the clock keeping good time. I remember my great-uncle saying that — in each generation that had owned the clock — there had always been one in the family that had been clever enough to repair anything that had needed repair. His bachelor son that was living with them had put a new cord on one of the weights. It was a weight clock, but I am not sure what that is.”

New material that was hard to ignore continued to arrive in during the Spring of 1997 just as the finishing

touches on this book should have been complete. Archeologists in Germany announced that three different 400,000-year-old wooden spears proved that Stone Age people had not simply scavenged for food in that era, but rather had reached a defining degree of sophistication. These earliest ancestors understood how to make carefully balanced hunting tools, combining them with the exercise of foresight, social cooperation, planning and systematic hunting. Dr. Harmut Thieme of the Institute for Historic Site Preservation in Hanover announced his discovery in the issue of the journal *Nature* circulated in early March. Overnight, the age of thoughtful human ability had been pushed back 200,000 years beyond what leading scientists had previously believed. In effect, the story that yet needs to be written about our earliest times just doubled.

A no less profound story appeared in the popular media during first week of April. Researchers from Oxford University visited a classroom in Cheddar, England, to collect DNA swabs from 15 different students. Since some of the students’ families had long histories in the area, the Oxford team wanted to see if a 90,000-year-old human skeleton found in a nearby cave (the oldest complete human remains ever found in Great Britain) could turn out to be an ancestor to one of them. On a whim, the students’ history teacher, Adrian Targett, gave a scraping of his own mitochondrial DNA from inside his cheek. Unfortunately, none of the students matched up when compared to a pulpy residue beneath the skeleton’s teeth. Their 42-year-old teacher, however, instantly gained the world’s oldest genealogical pedigree.

Almost all of Baughman ancestral ground in America remains amazingly the same as it was even centuries ago. It is still possible to see the brooks and appreciate the lay of the land. Only the Paulus Dirckszen farmstead in Bedford, Long Island has been swallowed up in concrete, as part of the urban blight in Brooklyn’s “Bed-Stuy” neighborhood.

It is interesting to visit little crossroad towns in Pennsylvania and Virginia and know that George, John, Jacob and Henry Baughman were the first to own a deed to them, to plow those acres and build on them. Try to visit Coopersburg, PA, in the Lehigh Valley and Saumsville or Hudson’s Crossroads in the Shenandoah Valley. By all rights, each of these spots could have been named after the Baughmans, but modesty and fate chose otherwise. We just didn’t make our mark clearly enough — or stick around long enough — to keep from being erased by time.

o o o

JESUS CAUTIONED HIS DISCIPLES ABOUT A VERY peculiar dilemma: He wanted them to know that they were *in* the world, but they were not *of* the world.^{313:44} Apartness is also at the core of every person who chooses mountain living, of each Swiss citizen when they think of Germany and Austria, of every taxpayer who resents an unjust government, of every stubborn-hearted soul made into an outcast by his neighbors, of all who chose to join the Protestant Reformation, of every Anabaptist who debated the state church, of every pacifist who thinks of war, of the struggle between the Amish and their brethren, between frontier folk and easterners in early America, between the Hardshell Baptists and the Missionary movement, between the South and the North in the United States. Our Baughman folks were all of these things.

This has led not only to a continuity of character and spirit, but even to an undying loyalty between families. In northwest Arkansas during the early 20th Century, some of the names from five centuries before were still together. The Strickler family and their descendants continued to marry with the Reiffs and Bushongs, and prominent also are the Laymans and the Moyers, those old neighbors from Lake Zürich and Conestoga Creek.

Why did I feel the need to make this book? Can my son possibly know the same pleasure as he picks up this finished volume that I found in discovering each sentence — one by one — that went into it?

How do I do it? What ghostly hand guides me to the next question before I even know what I'm about to find? Eight years ago, I chose sentences to include in *Some Ancestors of the Baughman Family* without any criterion other than instinct. The careful reader may look back and find mentions of Alsace and Saucon townships and be as amazed as I am by what became of those first thoughts.

SENDING BLIND INQUIRIES OFF TO EUROPE YIELDED amazing results. From Alsace came many answers from Robert Baecher at the Association Française d'Historique Anabaptist-Mennonite; and from Switzerland wrote Hanspeter Jecker, Heinrich Peter and Ida Pfrunder Bachman from Richterswil and Peter Ziegler from Wädenswil.

Special thanks are due to David Rempel-Smucker and Carolyn Wenger at the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society; as well as Lois Bowman and Harold Huber from the Menno Simon Library at Eastern Mennonite University. Great help came in friendly letters from William A. Neff and Jane Evans Best. Although we have not met, I feel a strong affinity for John Heatwole's love of Shenandoah Valley Folklore.

The meaning of the words in this book are seriously rivaled in importance by the visual content of its many drawings and maps. The capital letters at the beginning of each chapter are courtesy of Christopher Froschauer

and were first seen in the forbidden Bibles he published for the Swiss Brethren. Joel Alderfer kindly provided high quality copies from the Froschauer Bible once owned by the Bachman family but now cared for by the Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania at the "MeetingHouse" in Harleysville.

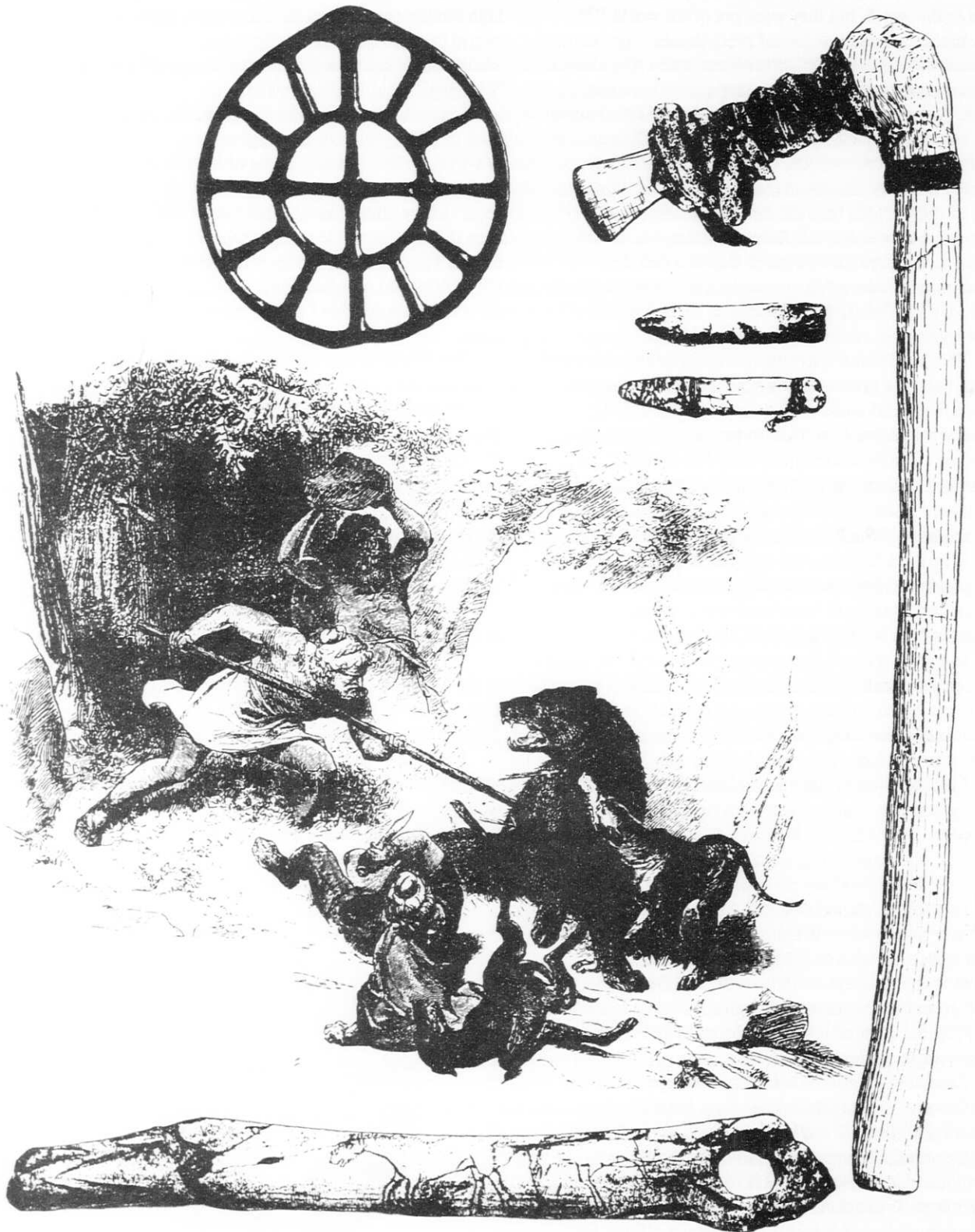
I probably would not have undertaken an illustrated book of history without the inspiration and example provided by Eric Sloane. Some of his pictures were so perfect that I could not resist "quoting" them in this book. Many other views of Baughman life would have been difficult for me to attempt without adopting Sloane's approach. Dick Burruss, Cecil O'Dell and Floyd Wine did all of the hard work assembling land survey boundaries that I pieced together for my section of maps.

For this book and the two that came before it, Klaus Wust has been like a father to me. He opened my eyes to the title page illustration for *Harvest Time* and also provided a rubbing for the *frontispiece* of *Apart From the World*. Printed here slightly smaller than life-size, it includes an image of the stubborn heart — marked by the zodiac's Taurus — set off from the swirling world. In this case, it had been made in the late 18th or early 19th century into an iron trivet where boiling pots could be safely set down. It came from a place not far from Klaus's home, where the first Mennonites found refuge in the Massanutten Settlement of Old Shenandoah County. Klaus also generously undertook the translation of the 49 verse *Zürich Lied* at the end of this book, and without his lifetime of studying this era, its meaning in English would remain unknown.

My mother gave me an oasis where I could concentrate for the last several months, without which it would have been difficult to complete this work. In this I have finished the book I wish one of my great, great grandparents had written while thinking of me.



THE FAMILIAR CRESCENT MOON
HERE AS INSIGNIA FOR VAN DORN'S ARMY OF THE WEST



PREHISTORIC LIVES IN THE ALPINE RANGE

MAGDALENIANS FIGHT WITH A CAVE-BEAR; SURROUNDED BY A CLOAK-FASTENING BROOCH;
 ICE MAN'S AXE, SHARPENING TOOL AND KNIFE; THE EARLIEST KNOWN SWISS ART — WILD HORSES ETCHED UPON A BONE

prologue
THE EARLY DAYS BY LAKE ZÜRICH
10,000 B.C.-1450 A.D.



OUNTAINS SERVED AS anvil so their hearts could be hammered into shape. Otherwise, not even the Swiss could have lived alone up there — high above the rest of Europe. There they could remain aloof, defended by their mountains, with

their lakes turned into motes. There they could stay independent in their beliefs, and indifferent to every war and alliance of recent centuries. Still, they constantly interject their ingenuity into science, the global economy and add much to the conscience of the world — in the politics of autonomy, charity, democracy, privacy, rescue and negotiation in all things.

Between snowcapped peaks of the Jura on its north and the Alps proper to the south, the Swiss Plateau has ever been that remote but strategic corridor permitting exchange from Italy to Central Europe and from France to the Slavic East.

Some 1,332 feet above sea level, Lake Zürich has almost always been two miles wide by 18 miles long and in some spots up to 469 feet deep. In recent centuries, the climate has been the very definition of temperate, with an average warmth in July of 65 degrees Fahrenheit and 32 in January. Annual precipitation amounts to 45 inches.^{14:133}

The Stone Age

FOR 120,000 YEARS, THE LAST AGE OF GLACIERS encased much of central Europe, encroaching from either the Scandinavian north or the Alpine highlands. A Swiss river valley gave its name to the great Würm Glacier smothering the central plateau. The group of Cro-Magnon humans known today as the Magdalenians entered Switzerland from the east following the last retreat of the ice flows in 10,000 B.C. Up until then, a continuous thick layer of ice had made the mountains and valleys equally uninhabitable.^{24:22-24}

The earliest traces of humanity in Switzerland naturally rise up from the Swiss Plateau, a 125-mile-long corridor formed by the fertile Rhine and Aare River valleys running diagonally across the middle of the tiny nation. Two ranges of Alpine summit frame this crossroads of Europe: the Jura peaks on the north side and the Alps proper on the southern border.^{22:19}

After the last Ice Age, renewed vegetation amounted

to dwarf pines, birches and willows, along with thorn bushes common to the tundra. Reindeer foraged with little more competition than hare and snow partridges. As soon as the climate softened, wild horses, bears, bison, musk-oxen, polar foxes, lynxes and wolverines arrived.^{22:32}

In a cave at Schweizersbild, 25 miles north of Lake Zürich, a foot-long piece of reindeer antler suggests a Magdalenian love of art and perhaps a hunter's pride or superstition: a whole was drilled into one end that is large enough to grip a flint blade, and carved into the shaft are two wild horses with bristling manes.^{6:86}

On the edge of the Bernese highlands can be found some of the oldest Paleolithic sites in central Europe: at Rangiloch by Boltigen, and in the caves of Schnurenloch above Emmen Creek, some 4,045 feet above sea level near Oberwil. At Schnurenloch, stones chipped in the manner of a Levalloisian blade matched marks on the fossils of a musk-ox. Other sites, such as the shelters near Zweisimmen, show contact with large cave-bears.^{22:27} See maps on pages 168-171

Seven centers of denser population sprang up across the Alpine range during the early Stone Age, including the Swiss lakeshore dwellings and one culture as far afield as the Balkans. One of the older lakeshore communities in Switzerland was discovered in the bay off Wädenswil,^{19:8} and 36 other sites have been identified on the shore of Lake Zürich alone. The ruins of 150 distinct, prehistoric lakeshore villages have been tallied in northeastern Switzerland, although the actual number of communities at any single time may be more fairly put at 45.^{8:19} In the year 4000 B.C., the total population around Lake Zürich ranged somewhere between 500 — the minimum size that a viable population needs to field a robust marriageable generation — and 2,500 people.^{5:12}

When nomads became hunters and collectors, they began to populate the moist grounds of the treeless lakeshore. Lakes also made the only large open spaces in the middle of endless forest and so also allowed the easiest transportation across inland water routes. With boats made from dug-out trees, these families fished, as has been proven by the early hooks, barbed jigs and nets that they fashioned. They also tried their hands at livestock-breeding, tanning, weaving, and developed the technologies of stone cutting and ceramics.^{8:20}

The era of lake dwellings coincides with the first farming of a wild wheat called *Einkorn* around Lake Zürich.^{3:9} During the Stone Age, villages cultivated about 15 acres, and Swiss farmers were even known to

have rotated the crops in a single field from wheat to spelt to barley.^{5:36} At the beginning of the next era, the New Stone Age, Magdalenians gave way to a people known as the Cortaillod.^{24:90}

Each house sat atop its own platform supported beneath by long pilings screwed into the soft, chalky subsoil. Deliberate base plates prevented the posts from sinking farther into the mud.^{5:58} The framed design featured walls made of log and a thatched roof most often with two sloping sides. Averaging ten feet long by three to four feet wide, the windowless, one-room structure would have been able to sleep about five or six people.^{5:12} The walls were covered with tough-cast clay as was the fired clay hearth, which, due to the lakeshore dampness, was periodically replaced. Each village usually set aside a building or two to be their granary.

By studying the tools and growth rings of the timber used, it is known that the buildings were put together in the late autumn, when the farming season was done, and that one could be completed in about 60 working days. Layers of ash prove that settlements burned down but were rebuilt as many as eight times on a single site.^{5:54} The structures sometimes only lasted a few years, but occasionally remained standing for a century.^{5:45}

Settlements varied from just a few buildings to as many as 50. Houses were clustered very closely together into small villages and they were almost always surrounded by a palisaded circle of sharpened poles.^{22:48} These fences, which stood about as tall as grown man, sometimes formed into double rings, the better for keeping livestock in, predators out and improving the defensibility of the village in case of human attack.^{5:45}

The size of such lakeshore villages varied greatly. At Egozwil, the entire perimeter was only 148 x 50 feet, while another on the Swiss Plateau measured 1,968 x 500 feet. Since these town layouts represented so many centuries of overlay and staggered development, a simple count of the old pilings cannot afford a perfect census for any given century. During the same era, though, flatland towns north of the Rhine got to be four times as large.^{24:90}

Besides hunting and fishing, the people farmed several varieties of wheat, barley and millet and kept dogs for watching their sheep. Hunting for small game, wild honey and eggs also supplemented their diet. Stone Age families simply turned their livestock loose to forage in the woods; enough trees had not yet been cut down to create meadows for grazing. Ancient goat and sheep dung inside the houses suggest that livestock might have come indoors with a family during harsh weather. Poultry and cats were unknown on the Swiss Plateau for many more centuries.^{5:39}

A wide choice of pottery served their needs, finished with handle lugs and incised with geometric patterns. Since potter's wheels were not in use in Switzerland for

another 3,000 years, the elegance and symmetry of these prehistoric designs prove a considerable skill. Their tradition of imprinting a birch-bark texture beneath the rim gave beauty and a better grip to the vessels. The outside of one urn from northeast Switzerland was decorated with fully formed human breasts, evoking the nurturing Earth Mother. A particularly rich trove of these artifacts was recovered from the lakeshore at Pfäffikon.

The Cortaillod peoples also created an important series of early copper tools and ornaments. Within stone cists, they buried their dead in a seated position, and adorned them with wide pectoral necklaces made of boar tusks, along with shaped, polished and perforated Mediterranean shells. At Lenzburg in Canton Aargau, their largest and most complete cemetery was discovered. One immense stone covered a grouping of six children and another single tomb contained 14 individuals.^{22:48-59}

As it would continue to be throughout history, Lake Zürich became a border zone between two contesting cultures. Between 4100 and 3850 B.C., the westward-looking Cortaillod people met the Pfyn Culture hailing from the northeast. Pottery variations associated with the Pfyn began to appear frequently on the western lakeshore, perhaps resulting from peaceful trade or a simple evolution of preferences, but by 3800 B.C. the original Cortaillod style completely disappeared.^{5:58}

Archeologists have noticed that prehistoric skulls found on the Swiss Plateau, particularly those from near the lake dwellings, tend to fit an Alpine profile: a round shape overall, called brachycephalic, showing a broad face and low brow. By contrast, Mediterranean skulls from this era are dolichocephalic, meaning long and narrow; while Nordic facial bones are mesocephalic, even more drawn out by prominent thin noses.^{18:15}

Researcher Peter D'Adamo theorized in 1996 that a family's legacy can be matched to the blood type of their ancestors. Grain eaters from an agrarian lifestyle evolved the blood type A; mountain dwellers who subsisted on dairy products developed type B blood; hunters who preferred meat became type O.

A Witness from Out of the Ice

IN SEPTEMBER 1991, THE ALPS GAVE UP THE 5,300-year-old body of a man, the oldest preserved human ever found. Entombed beneath a glacier 10,500 feet up in the Ötztal mountain range, the freeze-dried corpse was still outfitted with small tools, rope, a copper axe, an unfinished long bow and arrows.

For warmth, he wore a cloak of woven grass, while tanned hides made up the rest of his clothing. Leggings were topped by a wide rectangular loin cover. For the

upper body, contrasting vertical stripes of leather made a knee-length jacket, with sleeves down to the elbow. The hat was shaped like a blunted cone with the fur-side pointed out, and was held in place by a knotted chin strap.^{25:132} Shepherds of this era certainly knew about early woven wool cloth, so the complete absence of it on the Iceman suggests that he was less likely a part of their world and more likely part of the hunter's culture.

Carbon-14 dates for the grass stuffed in his calfskin boots averaged out at 3300 B.C., coinciding precisely with dates of the rising Horgen Culture 90 miles northwest in Switzerland.^{25:198} Stag antler fragments he carried matched the kind used for carved arrowheads found at Swiss lake dwellings.^{25:128} Only 12 miles south of where the Iceman's body turned up, the Remedello Culture at the Val Venosta later appeared, but so much so as to make it an unlikely home for him.^{25:198}

Scientists were at first puzzled by a Stone Age man having a copper tool some 500 to 700 years earlier than had been earlier supposed, and in an area where they thought copper could not be readily mined. Carbon-14 tests also confirmed the date of the axe, and fluorescence readings of the metal blade showed traces of silver and arsenic and proved to be made from a local Alpine azurite.^{25:90}

The Iceman stood just over 5' 2" tall (160 cm.) and was between 25 to 40 years old when he died, most likely in the later range. Medicinal aids, such as birch fungi, sloe berries and bits of bone, appear among the items carried in his belt pouch and backpack pannier. Tattoos on his wrist, lower back and legs were perhaps part of a treatment he received for rheumatism and arthritis in the southern Eurasian tradition. X-rays revealed that the Iceman suffered from arthritis in the neck, lower back, right hip and one little frostbitten toe. He also had lungs blackened by campfire smoke and heart disease due to hardening of the arteries. Eight rib fractures that had occurred over several episodes were knitting back.^{25:159}

Microscopically shallow grooves on a fingernail

match the wear patterns on pre-industrial farmers and stone masons, and transverse furrows suggested episodes of stress, malnourishment or serious illness lasting several days or weeks each. Forensic examination of his flint knife and axe indicate they had been used to kill or at least butcher deer and ibex. Traces of a starchy grain, wheat or possibly barley, also appeared on his tools.

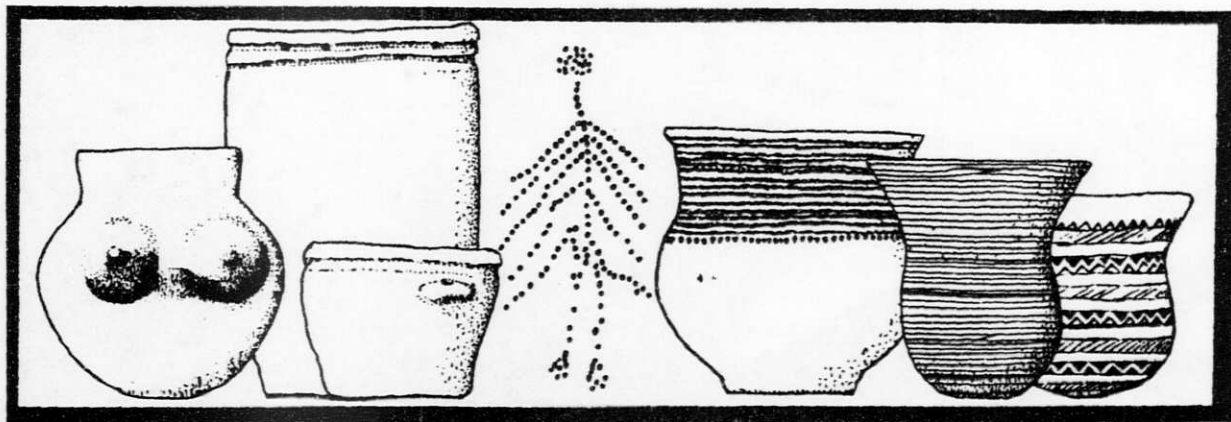
Although he was found just over the border in modern Italy, a check of his mitochondrial DNA proved the Iceman had a Germanic ethnicity. At the great genealogical distance of over 212 generations, he would be a direct ancestor of 75 percent of central European Caucasians living north of the Alps today, as well as their North American cousins.^{25:177&4}

The Bronze Age

BETWEEN 3400 AND 2900 B.C., TOWARDS THE END of the Stone Age, a new power known as the Horgen Culture replaced many of the trademarks of the indigenous Cortaillod people, although it did not completely disrupt their local economy. These newcomers, spreading out from Lake Zug northward across Lake Zürich and up to the Black Forest, may have been a proto-Celtic people from north of the Seine River. Their arrival colonized the whole base of the Alpine range which had still been largely empty of people until then.

The first and still biggest discovery of their culture came on the western shore of Lake Zürich at the town of Horgen, four miles north of Richterswil, but they also left evidence of their crafts at Schönenwerd Island and at Wädenswil.⁹ Schönenwerd — literally "Beautiful Isle" — sat 800 feet offshore southeast of Richterswil. The average rise and fall of the lake's water level exposes an island of 25,000 square feet.³

The graceful variety of Cortaillod ceramics



PREHISTORIC POTTERY FROM AROUND LAKE ZÜRICH

(LEFT TO RIGHT) CORTAILLOD, HORGEN, CORDED-WARE AND BELL-BEAKER DESIGNS FLANK THE EARLY HUMAN

persisted, but a simultaneous and more widespread culture began to produce a basic choice of coarse, thick and sparsely decorated pots and bowls. In purely practical terms, the Horgen potters lowered the center of gravity on their thick-based designs, making any of them virtually impossible to tip over.^{25:201} As a motif of dots pressed into clayware, simple pictures of people appeared for the first time in Switzerland.^{22:56} Their diets are implied by the kinds of bones discarded or saved and put to use at their villages: 90 percent were stag and wild boar. Sheep and goats were not slaughtered for their meat, but instead were milked and shorn.^{24:123}

The Horgen people raised megaliths across the Swiss plateau. A pierced stone slab known as Soul's Hole can still be seen at Pierre Percée at Courgenay in Canton Bern; and in southwest Germany, the *Heidenstein* — Heathen's Stone — still stands at Niederschwörstadt near Säckingen. These clues endorse an imperfect but intriguing circumstantial link to Celtic stones from the same era in northern France.^{22:60}

Especially around prehistoric Lake Zürich, many

personal objects were decorated with upturned or tilted horns of the crescent moon, perhaps as a religious motif. Engravings of spirals and suns decorated many sites across the Alps, along with primitive depictions of humans in postures of prayer. The Stone Age precursor of a wishing well turned up in Switzerland, where an ancient wooden framework once encased a mineral spring. Sacrificial gifts, such as brooches and swords, had been dropped into it. Amulets of animal teeth and bone also seemed popular, and hearths often had portions of or complete animals buried beneath them.^{5:55}

Eventually, the Battle-Axe or Corded-Ware Culture took over from the Horgen, arriving from Germany's Kraichgau and upper Neckar River Valley by 3000 to 2500 B.C.^{24:117} It's most specific calling card was a well-formed perforated hammer-axe, thought to be a weapon of war. They also brought domesticated horses into central Europe for the first time.^{24:123} Corded-Ware pottery returned to the refined style of the Cortaillod period, and often showed a decoration of rope



A LAKESHORE VILLAGE IN PREHISTORIC SWITZERLAND
WHERE FAMILIES KEPT DRY AND WARM PERCHED UPON PILINGS AND BOARDWALKS

patterns pressed into the dampened clay.^{22:61}

Even though they influenced wide parts of central Europe with their ceramics and tools of wood, bone and copper, their only permanent settlements identified so far are to be found at the rebuilt lakeshore villages around Zürich.^{24:119} Shards of their ceramic work made a thick layer of sediment at Wädenswil.^{8:38} Their dead were cremated and placed singly in the ground beneath round wooden barrows.^{22:62} Their favored burial mementoes included weaver's spindles.^{24:119}

Between 3000 and 1500 B.C., the next outsiders to make Switzerland their home were metalsmiths from the Bell-Beaker Culture.^{25:197} Along with their fellow hunters and cattle breeders, these pioneers traveled and explored in small groups, filtering through or lingering with many different cultures from the Atlantic to the Adriatic Sea. Their name derives from the shape of metal and ceramic vessels they created. The wide, flaring lip on their decorated cups resembled an inverted bell.

Their skill with copper, gold and silver quickly influenced the lakeside villages, but their quest was for the best deposits of easily gotten ore. Southern Germany, the Swiss Alps and the Iberian peninsula turned out to be their favorite sources, and at that time, the brooks and streams of the Swiss Plateau were particularly rich in gold.^{22:66}

In the Early Bronze Age, between 2000 to 1500 B.C., Bell-Beaker craftsmen largely replaced the intensive labor of hammering. They mastered sustained, higher smelting temperatures through the use of bellows and greatly improved methods of metal casting. Some scholars believe that Celtic metalsmiths from Portugal brought the secret of bronze along with them, since tin can only be found there, or else in Cornwall on the British Isles or among the Erz mountains of Russia. By mixing one part tin with nine parts copper, the alloy's melting point lowered, the casting properties improved, the finished metal became harder and held its sharpened edge far better.^{5:50}

A surplus of quality finished goods secured wealth for them and helped attract commerce and cultural exchange to the Swiss Plateau from all over Europe.^{6:95} Their settlement on the northern edge of Wädenswil called Vorder Au dates to 1604 B.C.⁹ An early settlement of metalworkers commanded the heights at Bürglen — present-day Untersiggenthal in Canton Aargau — where the Limmat and Aare Rivers intersect.^{22:90}

Bell-Beaker artisans made sickles and knives for harvesting grain, allowing larger community farms of up to 30 acres under cultivation.^{5:36} Every member still pitched in for the final threshing of grain, which was accomplished with wooden flails. Traces of ground grain mush have been found that were baked flat like a pita bread on circular clay plates. Pottery from this era often

showed black graphite paint accented with red and white designs. Traders carried the popular earthenware as far away as the Mediterranean.^{5:51}

Pollen analysis shows a dramatic decrease in the plateau's dominant elm tree forests and an equally marked increase in a variety of grass pollens. It is possible that the woods were being cleared to promote grazing for their cattle, a theory reinforced by the large numbers of axes and wedges turning up in the archeological evidence for the period.^{24:122}

A radically new burial style on the Swiss Plateau suggests that values and traditions at the lakeshore were in a state of stress. A body was placed alone in fetal position inside its own stone enclosure. Known as a funereal dolmen, this was among earliest styles of marked graves for ordinary people. It often had four or five erratic blocks set upright — resembling the walls of a stone coffin — that were topped by one or two large cover stones.^{18:32} Men were placed on their left side, their heads oriented toward the north, while women rested on their right side, headed south. People rarely reached the age of 60, and only ten percent of all known burials show ages over 40.^{5:62}

At the end of their era, human ashes were buried inside bell-shaped beakers. Without any further clue of a change in their climate or surroundings, the lake dwellings were abandoned again.^{24:120}

For the next two centuries — the Middle Bronze Age — Swiss farmers headed for hill tops, sometimes into the shelter of caves. Once again, burial tombs became rare, and the dead were cremated and placed beneath wooden barrows.^{22:93}

Along with the introduction of iron between 1250 and 750 B.C., the Late Bronze Age found dwellings rebuilt once more on the beautiful, wind-protected bays.^{22:99} New houses were built immediately on top of the older ruins. On Lake Zürich, five such villages were resurrected on the shore's edge beginning 200 feet north of the harbor in Wädenswil — designated as Meilibach, Nablikon, Hinter Au, Vorder Au and Scheller. Enough pieces have been recovered in recent years to restore at least eight of their Bronze Age artifacts. Although the pilings are now completely under water, they may have been originally planted on a peninsula.^{19:9} Some archaeologists argue that the connecting corridors and wooden flooring were not built to hover over the water, but only served as a kind of dry boardwalk along the shore.

At least some of the prehistoric Swiss, however, appreciated the added privacy, security and defensive advantage guaranteed by surrounding their homes with water. Several island villages on Lake Zürich were steadily reoccupied, such as Schönenwerd Island offshore from Richterswil, or northward where Saffa

and the Little and Big Hafner Islands sit beside the mouth of the Limmat River.^{8:20,38}

At Richterswil, the evidence includes a nicely tapered lance and two variations of a Bronze Age axe.^{19:9} The Late Bronze Age village of Haumesser should also be viewed as an island settlement, since it is not clear that a 1,500 foot stretch of dry ground could have ever connected it to the shore.^{8:20}

The highly refined metalwork from this era has turned up plentifully at Canton Zug, around the village of Sumpf, and at several sites around Zürich.^{22:103} At a lakeside village of Mörigen in Canton Bern, sophisticated metal workshops were found with fully-appointed hearths, molds and casting foundries. Bronze tools underwent innovation and diversification: formal anvils appeared for the first time, felling axes, goose-wing hewing axes, adzes, chisels, hammers, hooks, harpoons, knives, razors, saws and sickles. At first, iron was considered difficult to work with and was not exploited for its strength, but was more often used as a small contrasting inlay on decorated bronze. Of considerable historical importance though, Mörigen held the oldest

Swiss sword made completely of iron.^{22:105}

Their metalwork frequently showed designs that hint at their religious beliefs. The sun predominated — often expressed as wheels or spinning geometric discs — but the crescent moon was also favored on many personal ornaments. The most popular animal representations were horses and birds.^{22:110}

Their spiritual world shared many traits in common with theologies throughout the ages. Mother Earth, named Freya, represented goodness and rebirth, marking her cycles by the moon. Her role was much the same as the Egyptians' goddess Isis or the Romans' Venus. Most of the strength of Sky God was credited to Wodan, although he shared a trinity of power with Thor and Tiu. They very closely matched the archetypes of Zeus, Mercury and Vulcan, and represented destruction, the sun, fire, lightning and thunder.^{18:200}

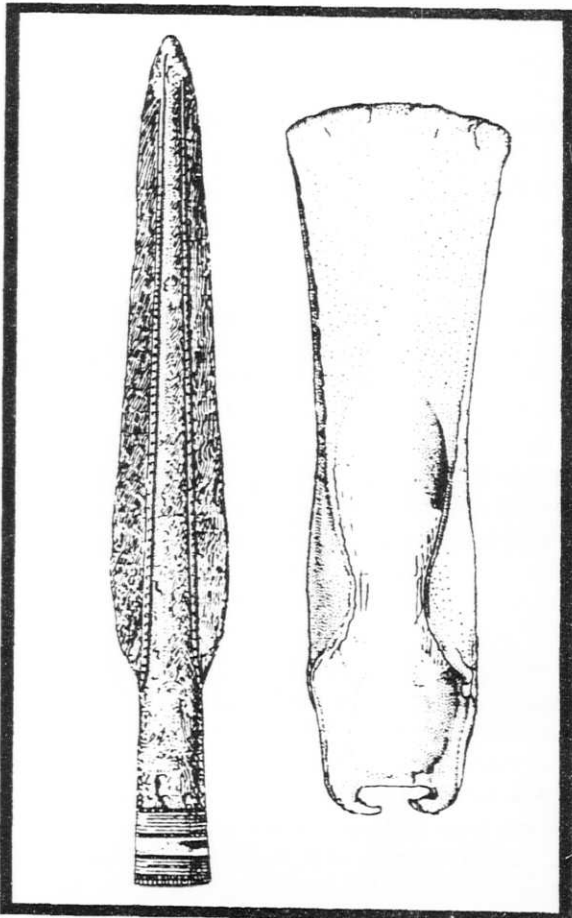
One of the oldest stories among these people was of a beloved god named Baldr. To ward off every danger on the face of the earth, an oath was forced upon water, fire, stones, beasts, birds, worms and plants that none of them should cause Baldr to be harmed. One little seedling was excused from the pledge because he was so young. Eventually, Baldr died anyway. The earth had kept its pledge and wept for him, but his soul went to live in the mighty oak — the Tree of Life — that had grown up from the seedling.^{11:647} Burial grounds have been found north and east of the Rhine where fallen Germans were entombed within hollow trees, honoring the memory of Baldr.

Up where the sky meets the earth, other gods chose different trees, veiling themselves high among the rustling leaves. Certain groves in the forest were especially sacred. When the hunter had her stag and the shepherd had his lamb, they laid it before a tree and spoke their thanks. With the greatest affection, skulls from every kind of creature were hung in its branches, along with the breastbones of each bird eaten, as a wish for good luck. Some offerings asked forgiveness of a sin or sought advice on the future.

For prayer, they would meet in the woods, link hands around a tree and make a circle dance. At the welcoming of spring, bonfires were made out of trees that had died during the winter, and flowers of the field were thrown into the flame.^{11:41-43}

If the ancient Germans found anyone who dared to peel the bark from a standing tree "the culprit's navel was to be cut out and nailed to the part of the tree which he had peeled, and he was to be driven round and round the tree till all his guts were wound about its trunk. The intention of the punishment clearly was to replace the dead bark by a living substitute taken from the violator; it was a life for a life, the life of a man for the life of a tree."²⁰

Whenever land changed hands, the last owner had



A BRONZE AGE SPEAR HEAD & AXE
RECOVERED FROM RICHTERSWIL

to be given a bough covered with fruit from that place. At harvest time, every individual showed their gratitude with small sacrifice. Down to the present day in German-speaking lands, five or six apples may be found left hanging on each tree so that the next crop will thrive.^{11:158}

The Iron Age

THE FRUIT OF THE FIRST IRON AGE, SUCH AS WAS first unearthed at Hallstatt, southeast of Salzburg, Austria, filled the next three centuries. In 800 B.C., a climatic crisis in Switzerland raised the water levels some 20 feet, enough to swamp the shore villages along Lake Zürich. The disaster even reached further down the Rhine River Valley, into the region of Alsace and the Black Forest.^{22:113}

When people began settling away from the lakeshore, they built their log houses in a row. The most important ones measured 16 x 20 feet, but the more common were designed as 8- or 10-foot squares. They were usually positioned on a slope, and made level with pilings just as had been used over the water.^{22:104}

Between 600 to 450 B.C., local chieftains who could control trade routes and mining centers rose to importance. The wealth, prestige and powers they amassed were proven by the size and quality of their funeral treasure troves, and included many shades of foreign trend and influence.^{22:119} Wine casks bearing the Black Greek image circulated around Lake Zürich between 560 to 500 B.C.^{7:345}

The dead were now less and less likely to be cremated. Both men and women were fond of personal ornaments, with most men wearing one or two bracelets, several fibulae and occasionally a ring. Fibulae were iron or bronze brooches — some looking more like fanciful safety pins — that were used for hooking all their clothes.

Men liked sheathed iron swords and spears to be buried beside them, although knives and battle axes seldom were.^{22:135} No warriors' graves have been found that contain helmets or shields made of metal. These items may have been made out of leather and wood which simply disintegrated over time or perhaps these weren't wanted in the afterlife.^{22:136} Even though it had fallen out of fashion in Germany by the 6th Century B.C., chieftains of the Swiss Plateau chose burial in large underground wooden vaults — complete with their wagons hooked up to a team of mannequin horses.^{24:236}

At around 200 B.C., samples of the ancient Germanic writing called Runes were made that have survived to this day. As far back as the Bronze Age, similar marks were intended as very abstract pictograms, each recalling

a different mystical icon from their oral tradition. In their traditional order, the figures translated as wealth, vitality, the demon, god, ride, torch, gift, joy, hail, need, ice, year, yew tree, dance, no, sun, Tiu, birch twig, horse, man, lake, fertility, day and possession.^{18:213}

The very name "Rune" came out of ancient Gothic and German words that mean a secret or a mystery. Phonetic values eventually made them into 24 characters called the Futhark Runic alphabet, named for their first six sounds. The trouble that Germans would long have distinguishing the letters D and T can be traced to a later version of the runes, which only have one character for both.^{18:210-211} The angular design came unavoidably from their method of writing: a sharp blade put to wood, stone or metal.

Scholars have argued inconclusively whether ancient Runes evolved into the Greek, Phoenician and Etruscan alphabets or if it was the other way around. One scenario pinpointed the Alps as cradle to every written language among Celts, Germans and



THE TREE OF LIFE
SPARED FROM AN OATH FOR BALDR

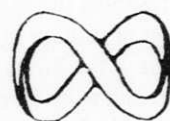
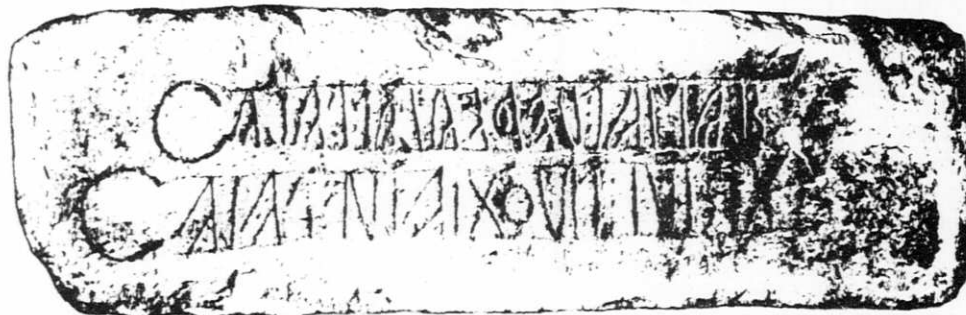
Norsemen.^{15,216} Some of the earliest examples have been translated as genealogies, poems and requests made to the Old Germanic gods.²⁸

In his early account called *Germania*, the Roman historian Tacitus described written Teutonic runes and their spiritual use in reading the future:

"To the casting of lots they pay more attention than any other people. Their method... is a simple one: they cut a branch from a fruit-bearing tree and divide it into small pieces which they mark with certain distinctive signs and scatter at random onto a white cloth. Then the

priest of the community, if the lots are consulted publicly, or the father of the family, if it is done privately, after invoking the gods with eyes raised to heaven, picks up three pieces, one at a time, and interprets them according to the signs previously marked upon them."^{26,19}

Mediterranean writing eventually overtook the runes, although German-speaking people widely continued to decorate their most solemn works this way, along with their crafts and jewelry charms for another 1,800 years.²⁸



EARLY GERMANIA AND THEIR MOST SOLEMN WORKS
THE FUNERAL OF A WARRIOR; A SWISS RUIN STONE; A GOLDEN RING RECOVERED FROM AN IRON AGE BURIAL SITE

Swiss Chieftains made partnerships with the outside world, likely starting off with Etruscan traders. The Swiss probably wanted salt since none of their own mines, still hidden deep in the mountains, had yet been discovered. The trade also included metalwork, cattle, hides, cheese and the occasional slave.^{22:122}

Within just two generations of this cross-pollination, Swiss decorative arts made a giant leap into the Second Iron Age, or La Tène, named for a village on Lake Neuchâtel where such artifacts were first characterized. The northern Germanic and Celtic peoples also became permanently involved with Mediterranean culture.^{24:249}

The Iron Age peaked with the onset of the Historical Age and the arrival of the Roman armies. Further Celtic migrations were about to remake the ethnic map of Switzerland.^{22:131}

The Road to Rome

IN THE NECKAR VALLEY AND BLACK FOREST OF southwestern Germany lived a Celtic nation called the Helvetii. Two of their tribes, the Teutoni and the Tigurini, became infamous during expeditions into the French territories of Provence and Aquitaine in 109 B.C. The neighboring Cimbri nation soon joined them.

At each turn, Roman record keepers described the Helvetii willingness to stop fighting in exchange for farmland where they could settle. Negotiation began each time amid great expectations, but always deteriorated into Roman refusals and stalemate.^{24:341}

The new enemies to the north were further described by Tacitus:

"The peoples of Germany are not contaminated by intermarriage with other tribes, but have remained a race peculiar, pure-bred, and unique. This accounts for their physical type, which in spite of their numbers, is universally the same. They have fierce blue eyes, golden hair, and large frames, only capable of sudden effort...

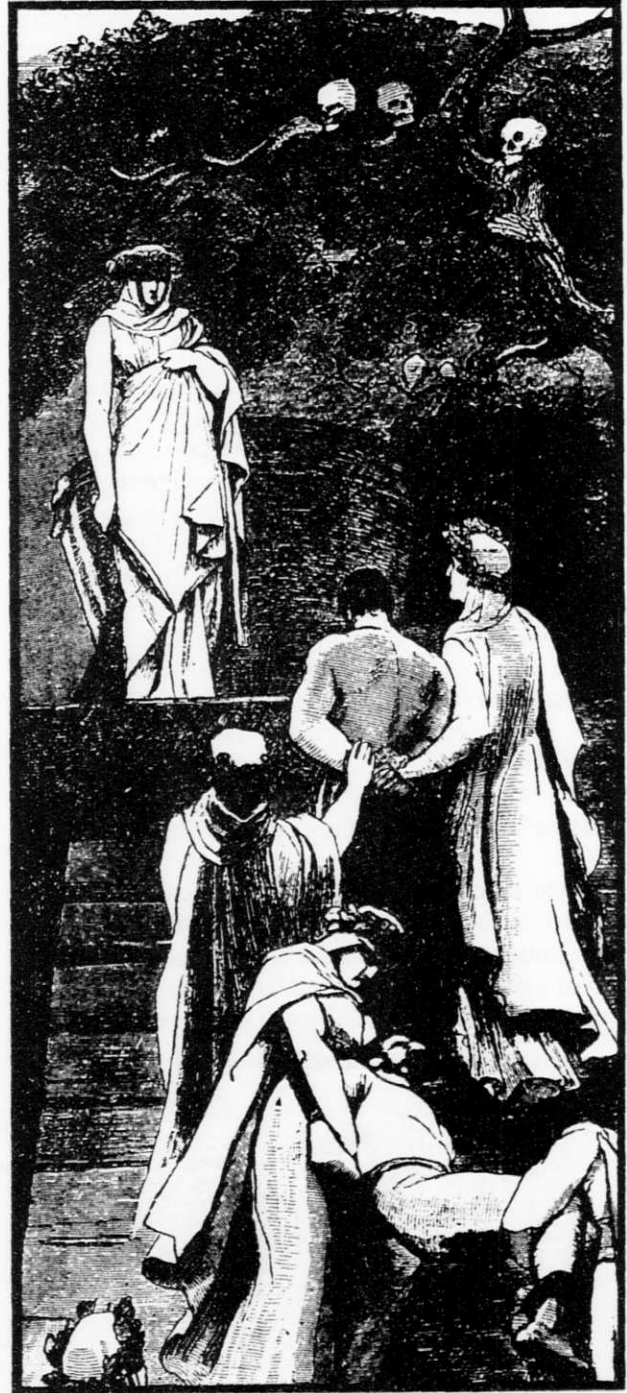
^{18:180} Every mother suckles her own children and does not deliver them into the hands of nurses... Hospitality and convivial pleasure are nowhere so liberally enjoyed."
^{21:48}

Two years later at Garonne, near Agen, they smashed a Roman army and killed its commander, the Roman consul Lucius Cassius Longinus. Two more Roman armies totaling 80,000 men fell before Ambrones, the Helvetic commander at Orange.

After the battle, Roman prisoners were brought for sacrifice before white-robed Helvetic priestesses. Forced to lean over a cauldron one by one, the legionnaires' throats were slashed so that the swirling streams of blood could be interpreted for omens. To celebrate their victory, the Helvetic forces would thank Mother Earth for the use of their bronze and iron weapons and promptly

return them all together into a huge pit.^{18:196} They made a similar dumping of spears, swords and armor in Lake Geneva. Whether or not the Helvetic priestesses foresaw and warned of the coming reversal in their fortunes, a Roman general named Marius beat them in a four-day battle at Aix-en-Provence in 102 B.C.

For one last stab at the Romans in northern Italy,



HELVETIC PRIESTESSES
READING THE BLOOD OF THEIR ROMAN PRISONERS

the front line of Helvetic fighters were chained together at the waist, making a fight-to-the-death for one and all the only possible outcome. Romans poured through the line at Vercelli, only to reach the Swiss camp where hundreds of women were killing the weak, the elderly, their own children and themselves in order to avoid imprisonment and slavery.

Despite these chilling attempts, Romans hauled away 60,000 Teutonic slaves from the battlefield. In Rome, the term "Germani" was first applied to prisoners from among the Helvetii after the great slave uprising led by Spartacus in 73-71 A.D.^{24:341-343}

For 50 years, the surviving Helvetii lived in relative peace across the Swiss Plateau, building some 12 towns and 400 villages, reestablishing commerce and turning the area around Zürich into a center for the minting of their own gold coins.^{22:144} Caesar estimated their population at 263,000, but he might have been trying to inflate the size and importance of his enemy.

Divico, one of the senior Helvetic leaders, persuaded his people to pack up for a mass migration to the Rhône Valley in Gallic France. So that no one, especially the Romans, could profit from their exodus, everything that the Helvetii couldn't move was burned to the ground. Even though their movements were slow, well-known and not war-like, Caesar stopped the Swiss from crossing out of the mountains at Geneva. The best Tigurini fighters were crushed along the right bank of the Rhône River at Saône, and the rest of the population was vanquished after they turned north at Bibracte near Autun. From then on, their country was occupied and the surviving Helvetii were called confederates of Rome.^{22:146} The formal name of Switzerland today remains The Confederation Helvetica, often designated by its initials "CH."

Caesar's most enduring mark on Europe was the arbitrary line he drew along the Rhine and the sober compromise of his ambition that it symbolized. He divided a single Celtic people into those in the west he thought Rome could control from those who would not

submit — the Barbarian Germani — in the east.^{24:344}

Civilizing the Pagans

ON TOP OF THE HELVETII WHO LINGERED NEAR Lake Zürich came another infusion of people from the Germanic north. An alliance of tribes known as the Alemanni had been gathering along the Rhine and first came to notice by 213 A.D. in battles around Mainz. The Alemanni further solidified the southern and western borders that have defined Germany ever since. In number, they were second only to the Franks, their principle rivals.^{2:58}

Because their military efforts always came from a loose alliance, Alemannic land could only be described as a confederation of individual domains. More than 280 years would pass before one king would develop a centralized power over them. Before King Clovis of the Franks began a crucial battle with the Alemanni in 496-497 A.D., he vowed that he would convert to Christianity if his prayers for victory were granted. When Clovis was baptized, thousands of Germanic chieftains followed his example.^{2:66}

As the Alemanni moved south and west into Switzerland they met yet another Germanic tribe, the Burgundians. These people had recently arrived from further east around Worms and Ibersheim.^{2:59}

As the whole Roman Empire turned to Christianity, more ways were sought for converting all remaining pagans. Since Scripture offered no clue as to exactly when the birth of Jesus should be observed each year, they chose to take over celebrations of the Winter Solstice already enjoyed by the Germans and other Celts. It had long been the pagans' End of the Year time: the harvest was over and the hard work was done, beer and wine were fully fermented and meat was fresh from slaughter. Rome announced that December 25th would mark the Savior's Nativity only to guarantee a massive observance. The split personality of Christmas was ensured ever after; and all of the extravagance, feasting, revelry and tree worship never changed.¹⁷



SWISS GOLD COINS
DURING THE ROMAN ERA

Richterswil seems to have been founded in the year 850. The oldest surviving writing from that region was "The Life of Saint Meinrad" begun in 861 A.D. just seven miles to the southeast at Einsiedeln. At that time, Switzerland was a province in the Holy Roman Empire under King Ludwig.

Meinrad had Alemannic parents who were born in southern Germany at the time of Charlemagne. Since they didn't have much money, Meinrad was sent to a cloister school at Reichenau where a monk turned the boy toward the priesthood. He joined the Benedictine Order, but eventually moved into the southern Lake

Zürich area for a life of solitude, poverty and prayer.

Two men decided that since Meinrad appeared to be holding secrets that he would not share with anyone, they would kill him. Meinrad asked those who had come to murder him to leave his corpse in a certain spot and put one candle at his feet and one at his head. The murderers started to fulfill his final request but were suddenly attacked by ravens who had once been fed by Meinrad. As the men ran away, they saw that the candles burst into flame on their own. The ruckus raised by the birds alerted nearby villagers, who came to look.

The candle by the head of Meinrad burned low enough to ignite the straw mat draped over him and the fire roared up. After seeing the body close up, the people realized that the hermit had been murdered, and so went after the two strangers. Promptly taken prisoner, they were sentenced by Count Adalbert and repaid with the same fate, both being burned at the stake.^{19:12}

On the exact spot by Lake Sihl where Meinrad was murdered, a community of other monks gathered that was named Einsiedeln. By 934 it became a Benedictine monastery and turned into a significant political force when Otto I granted it imperial status.

Knights of God

CHRISTIAN EUROPE HAD LONG CRAVED A CLOSER union with land of Jesus. In 603, Pope Gregory sent an abbot to Jerusalem with orders to set up a hospital

for sick and exhausted Christian pilgrims.

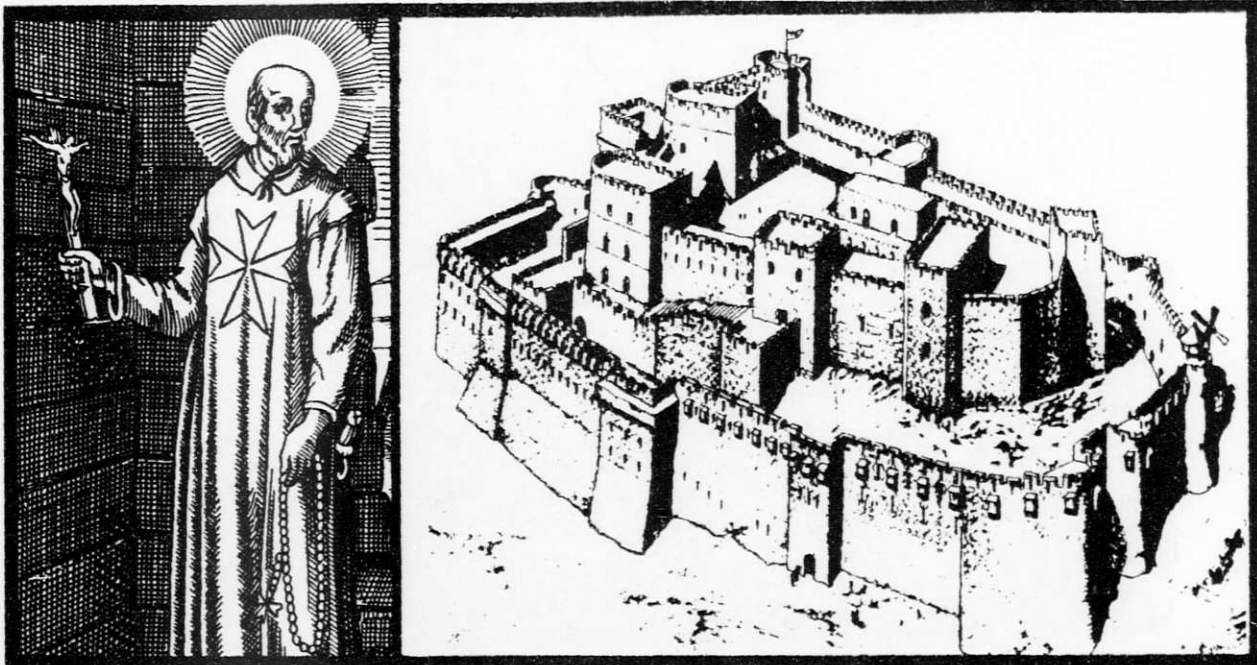
Charlemagne repeated this philanthropy in 870.

Merchants from the Italian port of Amalfi dedicated a traveler's inn and hospital in Jerusalem to St. John the Baptist during 1071. The mission was not only self-sustaining, but steadily expanding when Gerhard, its first formal director, died in 1120.

Over the next 40 years, Director Raymund du Puy succeeded at a delicate balancing act — making the hospital not only self-governing, but fully accredited with Rome, which authorized them exclusive rights to the red banner with a white cross on it. Over the next century, the Order of St. John first wore black tunics and mantles in concert with the Order of St. Augustine, emblazoned with a plain, white Christian cross. By 1259, their trademark turned into a red surcoat with the eight-pointed Maltese cross.

In the most novel roll for a hospital, Raymund du Puy also volunteered to take on military tasks for the church against Moslems in Jerusalem. Between 1136 and 1142, the order received several key fortresses as gifts, finally including the sprawling Krak de Chevaliers. With its garrison and staff of 2,000, Krak became the headquarters of the Hospitaller Knights during its 30 years of domination over Syria.^{27:13}

More and more the brothers were recruited out of European aristocracy. According to their native language, the knights were organized into eight "Tongues." German was one of the last to be added because the largest influx of German-speaking



THE HOSPITALLER KNIGHTS OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN

FOUNDER RAYMUND DU PUY, WEARING THE MALTESE CROSS; THE KRAK DE CHEVALIERS, HEADQUARTERS, 1142-1272



SURMOUNTING THE FORTRESS WALL OF A MOSLEM STRONGHOLD AT ACRE DURING THE CRUSADES
GERMANIC KNIGHTS FROM THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN HELD THE TOWN FROM 1190-1291

crusaders did not come until 1146.^{29:27} Together with the Knights of the Templar, the Order of the Knights of St. John formed the military backbone of the Christian war against the Moslems. Eventually, the Hospitaller Knights built or took over more than 50 stout castles throughout the Middle East. Pope Eugen III gave his official blessing to the brotherhood in 1153.

In 1158, Christian forces took on the Egyptian Campaign following the Second Crusade. Five hundred mounted Knights of St. John led 1,000 squires and another 500 Turcopole foot soldiers into the invasion.^{27:12}

The first headquarters of the Order of St. John in present-day Switzerland was established in 1180 at Lake Buch near Bern.^{29:28} When Moslem armies under Sultan Saladin drove out the crusaders in 1187, the Hospital of the Order of St. John closed in Jerusalem.^{29:26} Five years later, a knight from Toggenburg named Diethelm managed to get back unharmed to Switzerland, and was so grateful that he made a gift of his yard and chapel at Bubikon to the Order. Erecting quarters there for the first commander, Master Burkhard, began in 1217.^{29:28}

Around 1172, a knight named Walter von Hüenberg, who was loyal to the Freemen of Eschenbach, came to court the daughter of a freeman from Wädenswil. Through marriage, he inherited the tower on Reid Brook and became Walter I of Wädenswil. His son Rudolf II and grandson Rudolf III carried on the line for over a century.

The Castle at Wädenswil

AT THE NEXT WELCOMING SPOT ON THE SHORE OF Lake Zürich south of Horgen appeared a wooded ravine carved out by the Reidbach — pronounced by

Swiss Germans as "*Rīd'-bohkh.*" On the western side of this brook, a gravel bank became the base for stone megaliths of monumental scale and unknown age. By 1130, they were built up with stone blocks of up to six cubic feet, making the five-sided western tower, the oldest part of Wädenswil Castle.^{29:87}

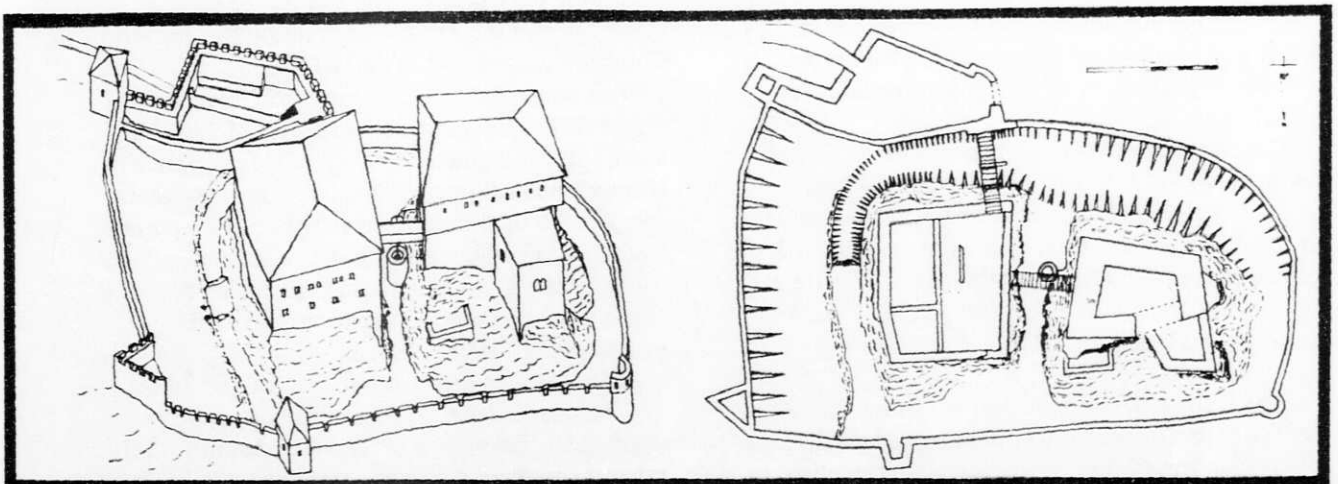
Many in Europe, especially those knights returning from the Crusades, felt castles should be prepared as a defense in case of an invasion by Moslem armies. At the base of the Wädenswil tower, the stone walls fluctuated between 10-12 feet in thickness. Within the rising walls, at least three distinct floors divided up the residential quarters, an armory and positions for military defense. To increase their security, a ditch measuring 35 feet across and nine feet deep was cut around the base of the gravel bank, and a wooden stairway was built across it to reach the second tower's main entrance.

A chapel was added onto the outside wall facing the lake, and was eventually filled with two altars — one to St. John the Baptist and the other to St. George. It was also appointed with a crystal cross, four tapestries, a silver reliquary in the shape of a foot, four relic-boxes of wood, ten books of various sizes, a missive on large parchment, a silver cup and a bronze bowl.

Walls of four to five feet in thickness formed the irregular four sides of the second tower, which was added considerably later. An enclosed wooden walkway formed a bridge between the two towers and crossed directly over the water well dug in the bottom of the ditch. It's bucket could be drawn directly up to the private quarters of the Baron and his wife.^{29:88}

In early writings, the castle often appeared as "*Wädischwyl,*" even though the preferred pronunciation eventually became "*Vey'-denz-veel.*"

In 1265, the signature "*Uolricus plebanus de*



TWO OVERHEAD VIEWS OF THE CASTLE AT WÄDENSWIL, AS IT APPEARED BETWEEN 1450-1557
THE TOWER AT RIGHT DATES TO THE REIGN OF WALTER I IN 1130

Richtliswile" appeared, the Latin translation of Ulrich, priest of Richterswil. This is not only the oldest written example of the name Richterswil, but it also certifies the presence of a church.^{23:16} This little chapel dated back perhaps to 1230, and was certainly a seat of the Baron Rudolf of Wädenswil who also held the fief of neighboring Richterswil.

Rudolf's personal coat of arms, a silvery rectangular clasp, tilted as a diamond, set upon a shield of black or deepest midnight blue, appeared as the official designator for both villages, although later, Richterswil's leading noble families put forward a gold shield bisected by a wide red vertical stripe called a post.

No description of the Richterswil's first church has survived, but in the tradition of the times, it would have been small, simple and rustic. A short steeple would have served for the tower and a simple rectangular choir would have resembled something like the bow of a ship.

Presumably, Sir Rudolf III had the church built and then donated it to the townspeople, although he continued to exercise his Patron's Rights. Lady Anna von Bürglen, the first wife of Rudolf III, donated more than 30 valuable relics associated with Saint Martin to be safeguarded at the church.^{23:17}

With more value and power than any of the spices or gold brought back from the Crusades, relics purportedly came from the bodies of saints or had been saved from the life and death of Jesus and the Apostles. Instead of worrying about the commandment to not worship graven images, church leaders held that adoration of the saints was natural and that pictures and relics should be admired if it led to a worship of God.^{12:122}

When the faithful from Canton Zug found out that relics from Saint Oswald could be brought to them from England, they spent the next 33 years building a church just to showcase the items. Many thousands made the pilgrimage to the Benedictine cloister at Einsiedeln just to see the relics kept there. On 10 November 1348, thieves stole many of the precious items, but the outrage of the Swiss people was so strong that everything was quickly returned.^{12:121}

The canton of Schwyz fought over Einsiedeln with the Austrians in 1315, and took it over from Rome in 1424. Ulrich Zwingli became one of the more celebrated graduates of their seminary. The buildings burned down on many occasions before a lavish make over in the early 18th Century turned Einsiedeln into one of Europe's finest baroque buildings.^{10:128}

Rudolf III, without a male heir but with four princely dowries to provide for his daughters, ended the dynastic reign of his grandfather. Other powerful institutions in the area were not in a position to exploit his desperate circumstance. The cloister at Einsiedeln had spent a tenth of its resources between 1275 and 1280 paying for a

contingent of crusaders in the Holy Land. The Council of Zürich had made virtually no contact with Wädenswil since 1218 and was spending every extra mark it had on fortifying the city's stone walls. The Fraumünster Abbey was not about to buy Wädenswil Castle since their heavy renovation debts over the last 30 years had just forced them to sell their mill at nearby Horgen.

Although the knightly Order of St. John had no tradition of influence or jurisdiction at Wädenswil, they said yes and traveled from their headquarters at Bubikon to Rudolf's tree garden on 17 July 1287.^{29:30} Also in attendance were the Bishop of Constance; Brother Beringer, representing the Lord Colonels of the Order of St. John in the German Lands; Earl Ludwig von Homberg; local officials from Bubikon and Rudolf along with his daughters and sons-in-law.^{29:21}

An understanding of the price had originally amounted to 500 pounds of silver in five payments of varying size, equivalent to 965 silver marks. On the large vellum document, festooned by eight wax seals with red and yellow ribbons, the payment was corrected in Latin to 650 silver marks, of which Rudolf acknowledged receipt for the payment of his debts. Rudolf would be allowed to remain in the castle until his death, and both he and his wife would receive a scheduled allowance of food, drink and seed to support them.^{29:22}

On 1 December 1300, immediately upon the death of the Rudolf, the land around Reid Brook became known as the *Komturei* or the Wädenswil Estates of the Commandery, the Knights of the Order of St. John. Also known as the Hospitaller-Knights, and later as the Knights of Malta, they were the perfect embodiment of the warrior, the state and the church rolled into one institution.

During the Crusades, they had started off as a monastic order that erected hospitals on the frontiers of Christianity, especially in the Holy Land.^{29:25}

Beginning in 1310, their early roll call included a representative from Bubikon, Friedrich of Stoffeln, along with the Brothers Heinrich of Sulz, Heinrich of Marquart and Niklaus Brechter. It is not clear that a complete list of all the monks at Wädenswil were ever made, but in keeping with the size of similar communities, it probably fluctuated between six and a dozen. Besides those dedicated strictly to the priesthood, the order houses often kept knight-brothers in residence to enforce order and defend the community.

The monks of the Wädenswil Estate enjoyed a comfortable but rather quiet and secluded life. Each priest there received support through turns taken by the community. A loaf of bread had to be delivered to the castle for each monk or knight every day, and special black bread came twice a week.

In turn, the Order had responsibilities and services to perform. Any traveling official from the council at Zürich was entitled to show up at the castle and get full hospitality, free board and lodging. The monks were expected to serenade the area children at Easter, and supply them with sweet cakes. Another annual festival at the monastery commemorated in song the fathers and sons from Richterswil and Wädenswil killed in 1315 at the Battle of Morgarten. Besides the monastery, the Order at Wädenswil also maintained a hospital and welfare services for the poor.

Otherwise, the earthly service at Wädenswil seldom made it into the Order's records. The size of their monastery's surrounding farmland steadily increased every time they appeared in estate bequests of their God-fearing congregation — in 1316, 1332, 1347, 1366 and 1373. Many records and artifacts from the Order of St. John have been maintained down to the present day at their museum in Bubikon.^{29,34}

The Fight for Home Rule

DURING THE 13TH CENTURY, SWITZERLAND WOKE up again to a desire for political liberty. The rugged mountaineers started their rebellion with the

alliance of Waldstätten in 1291, the core of what eventually became the highly independent Swiss Confederation.

In 1315, the revolution against oppressive rule from the Austrian Hapsburg family first broke out at the Einsiedeln monastery. A force of ordinary citizens plundered the imperial outpost, drawing a response of 2,000 mounted Austrian knights under the command of Leopold I and the backup of 7,000 foot soldiers. A meager force of 1,300 Swiss, including the men from nearby Wädenswil and Richterswil, were cut off from any further support from the other cantons.

The Austrian column tried to attack through the Morgarten Pass, near the village of Schafstetten, but were halted by a stubborn guard of Schwyzer. The back of the Austrian army pressed forward into the bottleneck but soon the whole mass became disorderly and paralyzed. From the steep hills on either side, rocks began to pour down on the confined horsemen, followed by the Swiss with their halberds and battle axes. Some 2,000 Austrians, mainly knights, were slaughtered, while the Swiss losses were relatively minor.^{15:7}

In 1351, Zürich joined the Swiss Confederation started by the "forest cantons" of Schwyz, Uri and Unterwalden 60 years earlier. In the evolution of



SWISS FIGHTERS RUSH ACROSS THE BACK OF THEIR FALLEN COMRADE, ARNOLD VON WINKELRIED AFTER HE EMBRACED ENEMY SPEARS DURING A STALEMATE IN THE CRUCIAL BATTLE OF SEMPACH, JULY 1386

modern democracy, the power of the nobles had been balanced against the popular trade unions, known as guilds. The first Swiss constitution had enshrined these protections and already survived for 15 years. At first it was known as the "Everlasting League" but then settled on the name *Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft* — literally "The Switzerland Made of Sworn Comrades."

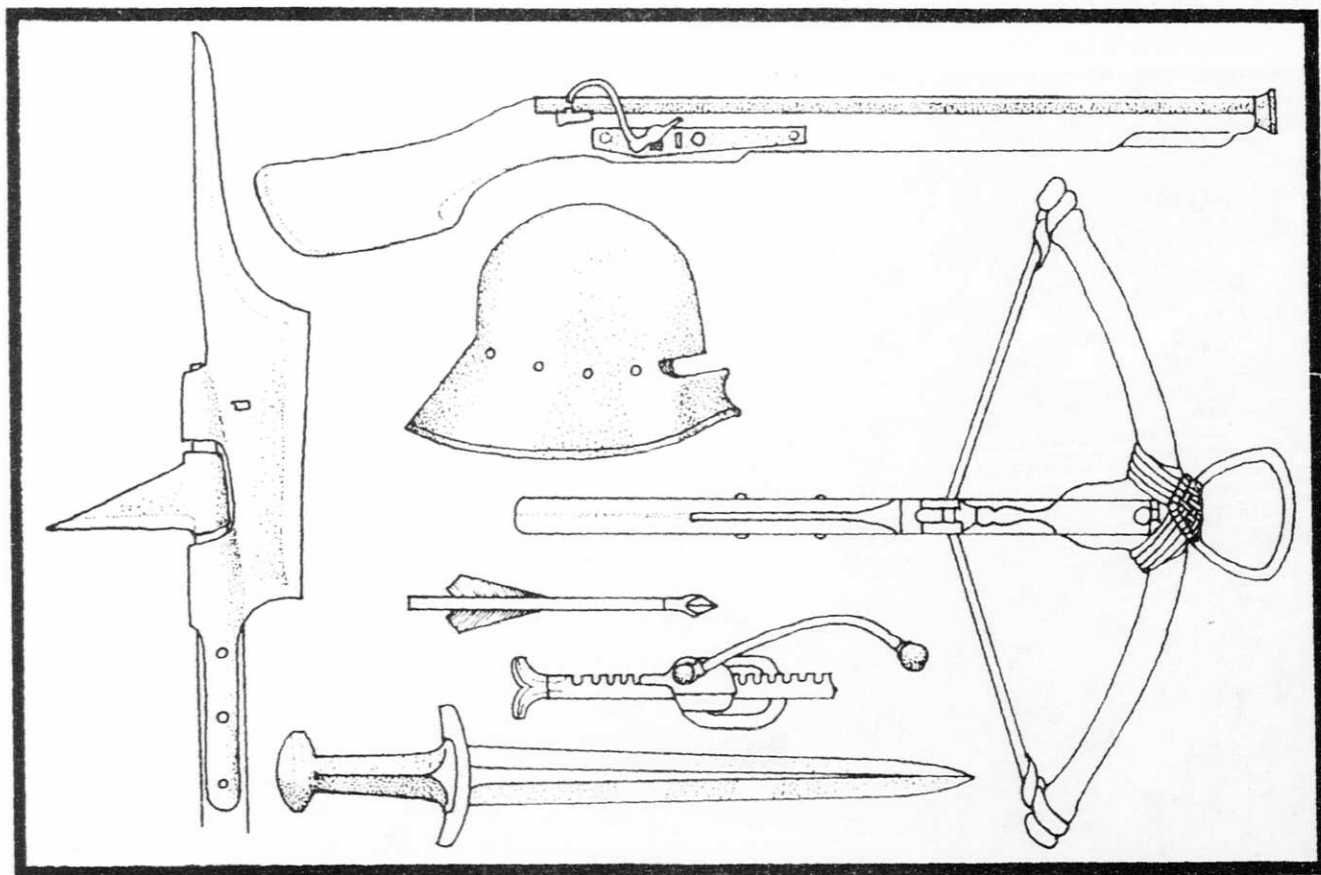
Canton Zug became a comrade in 1352, and Canton Bern followed the year after that. As soon as they joined, Zürich took a leadership role in the war against Austria. An early meeting at Dättwil mentioned 150 warriors from Wädenswil who joined in the fight for home rule. In 1358, a permanent bridge first spanned Lake Zürich at Raperswil southeast of Richterswil, further strengthening the Swiss alliance. As a city, Zürich signed a treaty with Austria in 1400 and made a lump-sum payment to "buy" its economic independence.

Crucial battles at Sempach (1386) and Arbedo (1422) announced major changes in Swiss military tactics. As the main battlefield weapon, the hacking power of the six-foot halberd finally gave way to the 16-foot-long, five-pound pike as a method of withstanding mounted attack.

The first five rows of pikemen each had a different job within the phalanx: the front men knelt down with their points very low; over their shoulders were the second rank stooped over, the butt held under their right foot; the third rank held their poles at chest level; the fourth up to the height of the enemies' heads; and every one behind them held their tips straight up, ready to fill in any gaps. The moving wedge of the Zürich army during these centuries made any enemy think of an unapproachable, bristling hedgehog.

In 1443, when Zürich threw 2,760 troops into battle formation, their exact placement was preserved in a diagram. The city of Zürich provided most of the gunners (45 out of the 61 total) who fired their rudimentary firearms in the manner of a small, over-the-shoulder cannon. Otherwise, blacksmiths from the outlying districts such as Horgen supplied the lion's share out of the total of all other weapons: 473 crossbows, 635 pikes, 1,591 halberds and battle axes.

A rank of cross bowmen and hand gunners made the forward advance, followed by swordsmen and halberdiers arrayed in a tight rectangle. The canton's battle flag was centered in the main body of troops, comprised of 16 companies from every town and guild



ARMAMENTS MADE BY SWISS BLACKSMITHS FOR THE OLD ZÜRICH WARS, 1300-1515
HALBERD-LANCE; GUN; HELMET; CROSSBOW; BOLT-ARROW; CROSSBOW CRANK; *SCHWEIZERGEGEN* SHORT-SWORD

that could command the loyalty of able-bodied men. Three ranks deep at the far left, in Company A, were 12 men from Knonau and 50 from Mettenbühl. To the right of the flag, in the middle by Company J, were clustered 30 members of the blacksmiths' guild and 15 from the carpenters' guild. Other organized craftsmen called into service included 10 haberdashers, 17 cobblers, 29 tailors and 16 weavers. On the far right wing, in Company O, were 30 men from the Horgen district, which would have included those from Richterswil and Wädenswil. A rear guard mirrored the front units, but without the presence of swordsmen.^{15:24}

Changes at Richterswil

ZÜRICH BEGAN TO EXTEND ITS INFLUENCE OVER THE lake's southern districts at the beginning of the 15th Century. The Order of St. John's commander, Hugo von Monfort closed an agreement with the city council on 24 February of 1415. The Order declared itself neutral in 1440, during the Old Zürich Wars, when the armies of Schwyz and Zürich were constantly at each others' throats. On 8 April 1450, the Contract of Kappel returned Wädenswil Castle to the northern sphere of influence.

In 1446, during the time of the Old Zürich Wars, the Estate at Wädenswil was deeply in debt and its active business affairs were mentioned for the last time. One cause might have been significant changes undertaken on the church at Richterswil, when the Order's commander, Johannes Lösel, replaced the old quadrilateral choir with a hexagonal tower in the Gothic style.

In 1454, just before the Bachman family rose to authority of the neighboring estate at Meierhof, Rudolf Keller led the brothers of the Order of St. John at Wädenswil. An inventory taken inside the castle in 1495 showed 31 beds and 54 plates, a good number of which must have been dedicated to the sick.

On 24 March 1524, during a meeting at Zürich of the church pastors from Richterswil and Wädenswil, delegates vouched that their parents had told of "12 brothers living by the castle in God's service, but that they no longer did so." When Zürich was arranging for the sale of the castle in 1550, an inventory described "29 beds in the back chamber of the hospital."^{29:52}

Not only was the church changing physically, but their manner of doing business also underwent transformation. When deciphering early church records, it becomes obvious that Swiss German peasants preferred their own lunar divisions to that of the Roman calendar. The German word *Januar* often turned into *Jenner*. The German word *Februar* was often switched to *Hornung*,

referring to the Horn Month, a euphemism for bastardy. In the 7th Century, little February and January had been added to the ten-month Roman calendar, leading Swiss



4. April.



5. Stejj.



7. Heumonath.

A FARMER'S CALENDAR FROM SWITZERLAND MARKING APRIL, MAY AND THE HAY MONTH

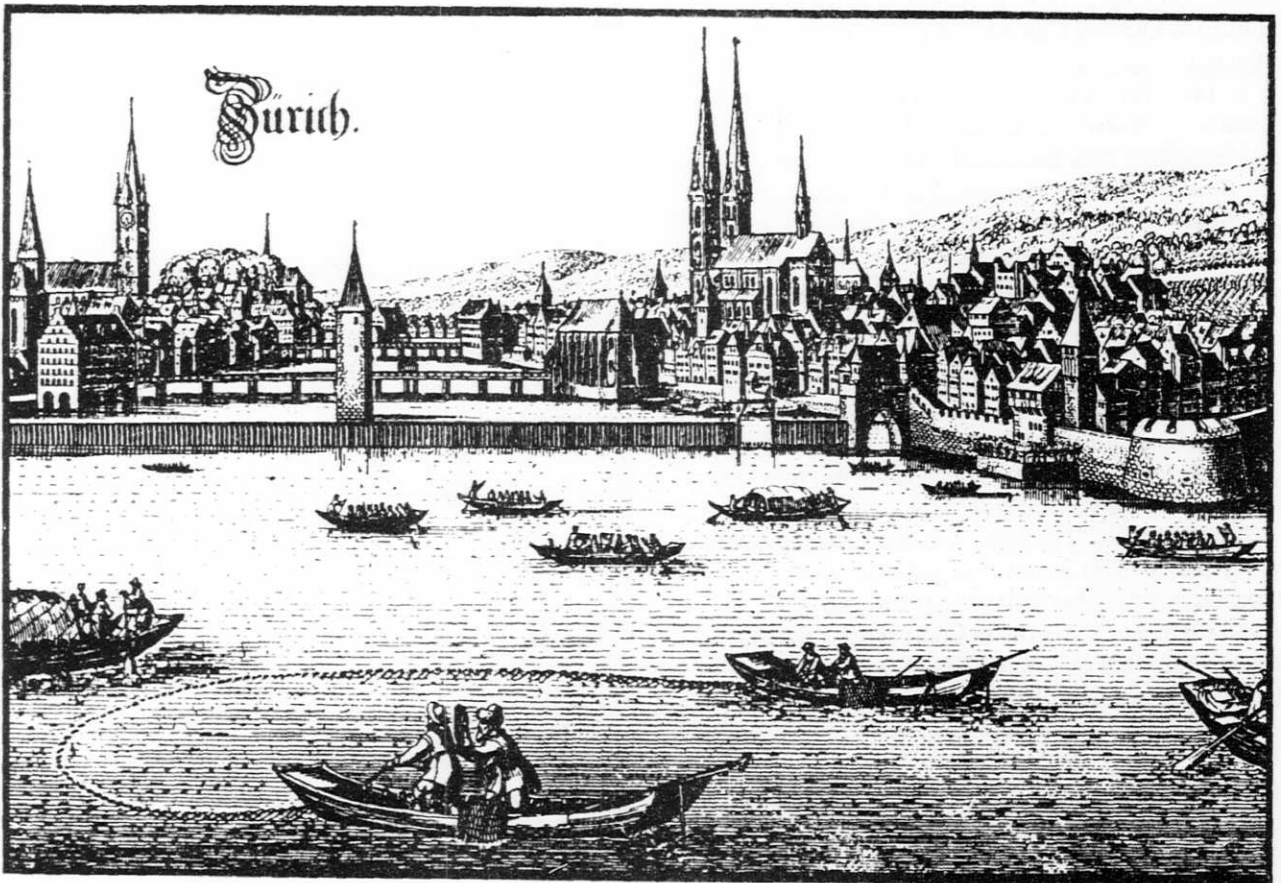
Germans to nickname them “the illegitimate months.”
^{13:317} June became *Brachmond*, or the Fallow Moon, while July was called *Heumonde* or *Heumonat* (the Hay Moon or Hay Month). September, being the Harvest Month was *Herbstmonat*; October was named *Weinmonat* in honor of grapes and wine; November turned into *Wintermonat* because of its cold temperatures; and December became *Christmonat*.

In old church records, Roman numerals often showed up in place of the named months, but these could also become confusing depending on the habits of the scribe: VII might mean the seventh month (July) just as we know it, or else it might be a short-hand for the Latin word *septem* to indicate September, originally the seventh month of the old Roman calendar. Similarly, VIII might be for *octo* to mean October. IX might be for

novem as in November, and X would stand for *decem* to indicate December.

Some church officials disliked the way months and days of the week referred to pre-Christian gods like Janus, Mars, Wodan and Thor, and so instructed their priests to keep to plain numbering where December would always be the XIIth month.

One other change made Swiss records a bit peculiar for the modern reader. The pope in Rome, Gregory XIII, ordered that 4 October be followed by 15 October in 1582 so that the following Vernal Equinox could be restored to 21 March. His Protestant neighbors in Canton Zürich were slow to follow any Catholic order, and only rejoined the continental standard some 119 years later. The English kings stubbornly held on to the “old style” for a full 170 years.^{16:17} ■ ■ ■



A VIEW OF OLD ZÜRICH AT THE MOUTH OF THE LIMMAT RIVER
 WITH FISHERMEN AND SHUTTLE BOATS PLYING THEIR TRADE



DETAIL FROM A GERMANIC STONE MEMORIAL, 5TH CENTURY A.D.
ONE OF THE EARLIEST KNOWN DEPICTIONS OF THEIR MOST ENDURING FOLK ART MOTIFS



OUT OF THE EARTH BY WÄDENSWIL

GYGER'S 1667 MAP OF LAKE ZÜRICH, INSET WITH THE BACHMAN SHIELD; A 15TH CENTURY SWISS NATURAL SPA



SETTLERS IN AMERICA along the banks of the Conestoga and Shenandoah Rivers could trace their lives back up the Rhine into the heart of Europe. In particular, a pretty Swiss village called Richterswil was wellspring

to dozens of families who eventually saw no other choice but to leave it.

The most popular given names from 500 years ago persist among the Bachman descendants that stayed on in Richterswil. Jacob, Elizabetha, Anna, Heinrich and Conrad were chosen during the 20th Century as the names of the parents, grandparents and great-grandfather of one of the village's elder historians, Ida Pfrunder Bachman. One of the ancestral Bachman houses still stands at N°57 Burghaldenstrasse, and was yet owned and occupied by a direct descendant in the 1990s.

The Richterswil Bachmans knew that their ancestor's coat of arms was simple and very old: twin crescent moons separated by a flowing brook. Knighted warriors claimed the simplest designs as early as 1150, being a natural improvement of the colors and shapes they used to distinguish friend from foe on the battlefield. In the 13th Century, knights began using the same shield designs to decorate and identify their homes and personal papers.

Royalty began to confirm, improve or invent coats of arms for Swiss knights about 1330. Late arrivals, pretenders and other title holders were obliged to differentiate themselves with combinations of increasing detail. When the aristocracy began using them for businesses and institutions, they also took up the fashion of Latin mottoes and fanciful adornment.^{54:28-29}

In the highly ritualized world of heraldry, certain symbols and colors were to be used only when tied to the honors earned by the original wearer. The Bachman brook — or *bach* — was always to be the blue known as *Azure*, to honor the sovereign as well as high military honor and celestial purity, running *per bend* from the top left corner down diagonally, with *Or* the color of twin crescent moons, gold instead of the traditional silver, to be all the more precious, one on each side with their horned tips pointing at the brook. All this was to be on a shield of the blackest *Sable*, for veneration, grief and its avengement, a common Germanic heraldic motif. Many Christian crusaders adapted the Islamic crescent moon onto their battle dress to remind them of the enemies that

they had fought; but for Bachman, it had first and foremost the pictographic power of combining *Bach* or brook with the masculine German word *monde* for moon, rooted closely to their word *mann*. In many languages around the world, the moon is described as feminine, but the "Man in the Moon" came out of our German cultural heritage. The crescent moon adorned many prehistoric artifacts from Lake Zürich, leading archaeologists and anthropologists to the theory that an ancient religion there made it into an icon of their faith.^{47:55}

Ida Bachman cites a family tradition that most of the Bachmans arrived in the area of Richterswil from just across the border in Canton Zug. The authoritative *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz* supports this oral tradition by recording a matching coat of arms for the Bachmans in Zug. The arms had been "differenced" from the Zürich Bachmans in one small way, a common method for two members of the family to distinguish themselves while still using the sign of their forebearers: the brook traced *per bend sinister*, meaning on the opposite diagonal, from lower left to upper right.⁸⁶

From the middle of the 15th Century, when some of the very first civil records in that part of the world were begun, the Bachman family appeared as the prosperous holders of estate land. By 1458, Bachmans took over title to a fief of meadow and woodland from Heinrich Schmidt that was known as Upper Meierhof. For the previous 45 years, Schmidt had been overseer of this dairy farm estate across the creek from Wädenswil Castle, which itself sat overlooking Richterswil.^{89:60}

A source of Reid Brook came from the Bachman estate where thermal springs pooled up to form a natural spa. Every kind of illness — from a cough to lame legs to the plague — got treated in medieval Europe with mineral water to swim in or soak in, mud to wallow in, or homeopathic concoctions to drink up. In the name of health, many came just to linger in states of loosened dress and indulge their personal pleasures. Outdoor games were popular around Lake Zürich during the mid-1400s. One chronicler reported that "Tables stand under the lime trees, chess boards upon them... there is also a bowling alley and other games [of sporting competition]. Nobles and citizens go on the mountains and shoot with crossbows."^{56:75}

While visitors enjoyed the mineral baths at Bad Meierhof, the air was filled with the tinkling of bells worn by dairy and beef cattle wandering the rolling

meadowland. For the next century, Bachmans enjoyed possession of the Reid Brook estate and a reputation for good stewardship.^{89:60}

"The ordinary man finds the source of all his virtue, powers and effect coming from the water underground," wrote Philippus Paracelsus in his 1533 book, *Of the Bath Priests*. Paracelsus was born with the name Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim around 1493, just seven miles southeast from the Bachmans, at Einsiedeln. The route between his hometown and his later life in Basel certainly took him past the Bachman spa. His life as a doctor, iconoclast, traveler, author and compiler of folk remedies focused on discoveries in the earth beneath his feet. While studying the health of Alpine miners, he was among the first to analyze lung disease, note the health effects of iron and predict the dangers of lead poisoning. Besides the credit Paracelsus earned as the founder of chemotherapy, he was also among the first to debunk the ancient theory that body humors controlled all illness, instead proposing that most disease came from identifiable outside sources.^{65:133}

In 1477, the noble knights from the Order of St. John first decided to develop their lands three miles south at Laubegg. Heinrich Bachman received title and special timber rights to the virgin forest for 13 years, and had a prosperous trade making boards and shingles. Later on, the Danner family made it into a cattle farm.^{89:63}

Other Bachmans held the same kind of title at the Rüti monastery in Hinwil, far across Lake Zürich.^{89&86:514} Unfortunately, Swiss records at this early date do not afford a linking of the two groups. According to the



THE WOODWORKER
FROM A SWISS DAY BOOK OF THE LATE 15TH CENTURY

Landis family tradition, some of the brethren on the west side of the lake also had family in Hinwil, but were forced by difficult circumstance to leave. Heini Landös was living in Pfaffikon on 24 July 1424 but fled to Canton Zug, returning to the western shore of Lake Zürich at Hirzel by 1467.^{71:134} This account echoes the Bachman tradition, and hints at a special, prolonged bond between these families over the next three centuries.

The Bachmans at Wädenswil Castle would have had to give service, gold and loyalty to their feudal lords, specifically, the commander of the Knights of the Order of St. John. In exchange, they were most certainly promised military protection in addition to their fief. In a mirror of this relationship, the Bachmans must have supported their own peasant workers with protection and civil order; and, as lords to them, received labor and food from them.^{53:15}

Most often, a fief meant a section of land held by a person of noble family. Although they were said to "possess" the real estate, it was not owned by complete right, since a kind of rent was due to the Order of St. John in the form of military service, of sums of money in various emergencies and other kinds of moral and material assistance. Fiefs were also granted for a title to things other than land. For example, a vassal might pay homage just for the long-term rights to fish for a mile along the river, or another family might pay for the privilege of keeping the baronial mill in an outlying section of the district. In medieval Europe, nearly all of community life centered around the castle tower.^{58:147}

The Bachmans at Meierhof were entitled to display their own flag and use an insignia such as a heraldic coat of arms. All of their documents could be validated with a seal of their own design. Many fief holders also claimed the right to coin money, even when their lands were on a rather modest scale.

Each fief had to use its wealth to outfit at least one knight, his war horse and several armed footmen, named villeins. Such military service was obligatory, amounting to 40 days of service per year on an offensive war. He was expected to give much greater assistance in defense of his lord's castle. His attendance was also required if the suzerain wanted a great retinue to give prestige to his court. He also had to assist his lord in dispensing justice, bringing grave responsibility back upon himself as judge. The most grievous crimes against a noble lord would be the betrayal of his secrets, offering any aid to his enemies, or the breaking of any oaths made to him — all constituting the capital offense of treason.^{58:149}

When the lord of the manor married off his eldest daughter, bestowed knighthood on his eldest son, or needed ransom money to free a prisoner, the fief nobles

had to contribute. If the lord visited at their homes, the petty nobles also had to provide suitable hospitality.

Any whim, token of loyalty or symbolic gift might be demanded by the land's lord — anything from a basket of roses to a pair of the finest horses. As long as he fulfilled his feudal obligations, a seigneur could run his barony as he wished. By custom, the higher authority was not to interfere with a faithful vassal's hold on his own subjects.

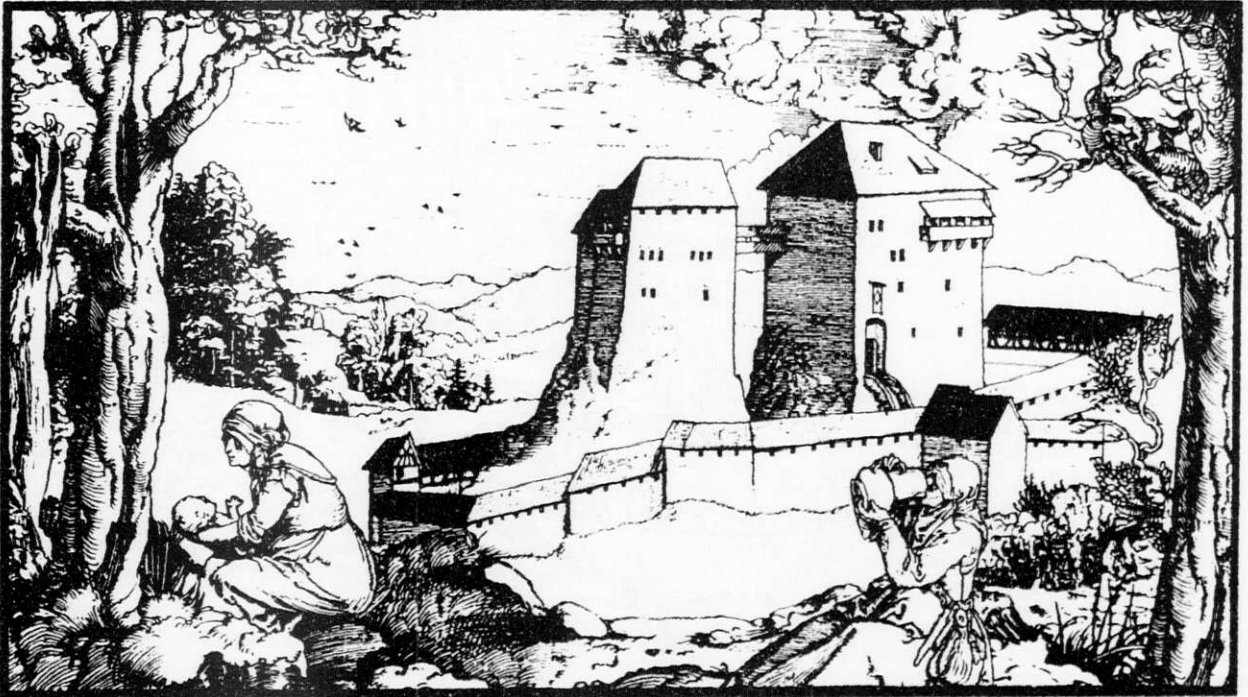
If all feudalism had been perfectly ordered, these petty nobles would have served as the first step in a staircase before the barons, then the earls, viscounts, dukes, viceroys, princes and at last the sovereign. In reality, the constant maneuvering for power made for many short-cuts in this scheme of loyalties. The church created a second, parallel ladder of power, blurring all practical distinctions between them. Relief from tyranny came only by intrigue, petition to the higher suzerain, or, in the final step, revolution.⁵⁸⁻¹⁵¹

During the generations while Bachmans held sway over Meierhof, war demanded their participation at least four times, being in 1468, 1474, 1499 and 1515. A complete profile of Wädenswil's company of fighters, under Captain Walter von Bussnang, the commander of the Order of St. John, brings late medieval military organization into focus. Each soldier supplied his own weapon and armor, but with the understanding that any damaged or lost equipment would be replaced by the

canton. Troops were expected to arrive for roll call carrying enough food to last themselves from four to six days. An expert from Zürich named Hans Conrad Lavater recommended that each soldier have appropriate clothing as well, including strong shoes and stockings, two thick shirts, outer clothing of leather, a thick cloak or coat of generous proportion and a felt hat for protection against the rain and cold. Thick seams and any kind of fur were to be avoided, since vermin could more easily gather there. Outbreaks of spotted fever, spread by insects, had been known to wipe out entire armies.⁷²⁻⁶⁴

The quality of each soldier landed him in one of three categories: men in the *Auszug* formed the élite corps, were usually unmarried and between the ages of 18-30; the *Landwehr* were usually older, but able to make the necessary arrangements to leave home; while the *Landsturm* accepted everyone left over, and only joined the fight under the most threatening circumstances.

Walter, as captain, was entitled to a command staff that included a scribe, a field surgeon, a cook, an executioner and a *weibel* or constable to enforce discipline. Most companies developed around community or guild membership, but there were also tactical sub-units based on weaponry. Sets of veteran gunners or cross bowmen frequently had their own captains and company flags. Within each company, short term objectives were assigned to the *Rotte*, being

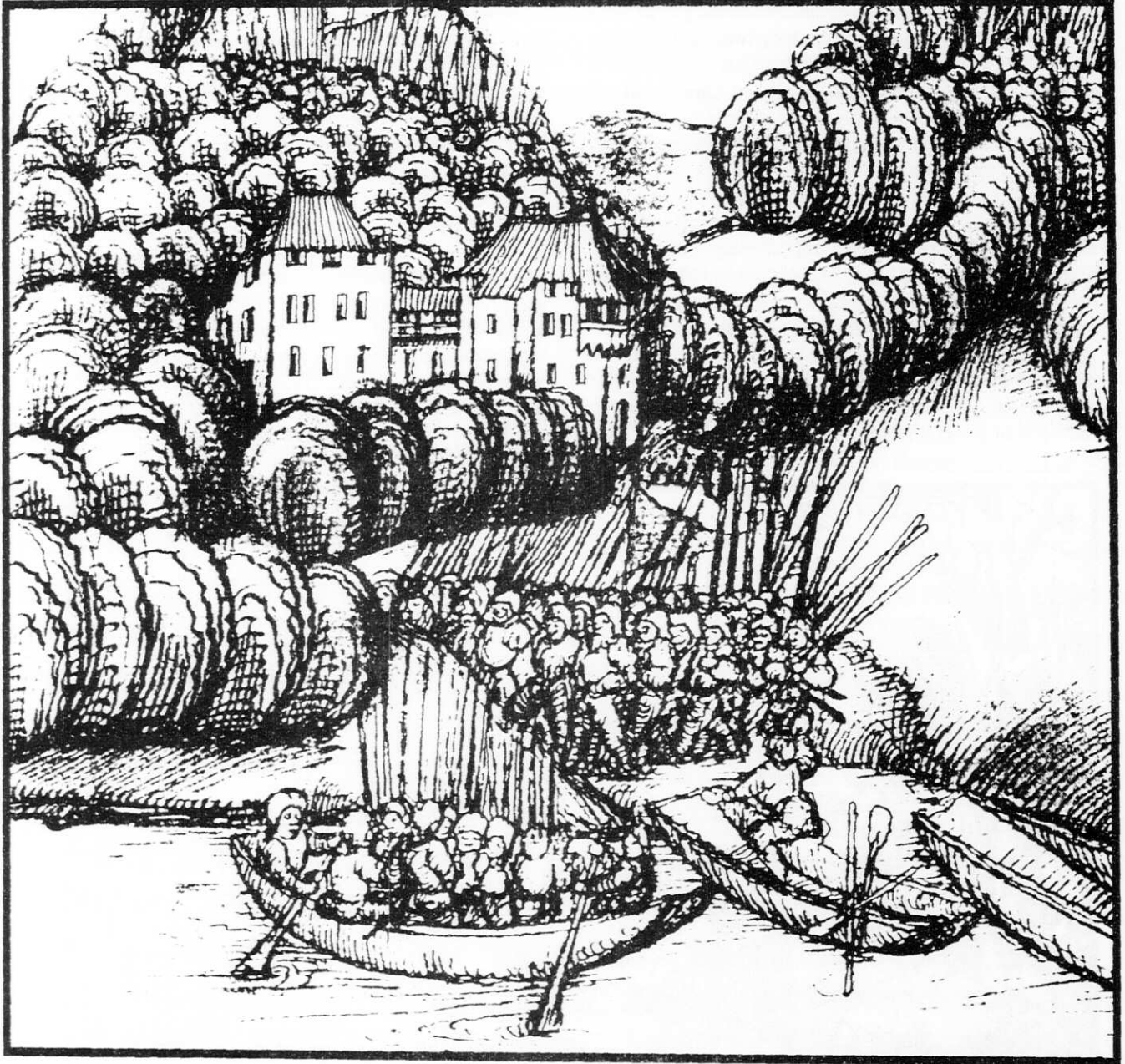


WÄDENSWIL CASTLE, AS IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN SEEN FROM THE SOUTH

squads of ten men.

Beneath the captain, the next most important rank was an ensign who bore the company flag during battle and kept it at his home during peacetime. The larger Zürich banner, or especially the Swiss Confederation flag, had its own detachment of 26 bodyguards drawn from the best men from each guild. The commander of Canton Zürich's army also had a fifer, a drummer and a bagpiper in his personal service. A special officer known as the *Ordnungsmacher* made sure that all of the ranks in the canton kept straight.

At their muster, each recruit was obliged to touch the banner, swear an oath on it and hear the Covenant of Sempach, which spelled out the code of discipline within and between the Confederation forces. At the same time, a community council of elders for Wädenswil cast their votes on who all of the officers would be. The numerous captains from across the canton would meet in a council of war and, in turn, elect the cantonal officers. Democratic consensus guided every Swiss battle, the result being that at some wars there was no supreme commander.⁷⁴⁻⁴⁻⁶



TROOPS FROM ZÜRICH SURROUND WÄDENSWIL CASTLE TO PUT DOWN THE TAX REVOLT OF 1468

To Take Up Arms

SWISS TAXATION IN THE MID-15TH CENTURY CAME in three forms: Everyone owed ten percent of their wealth to the church, also known as the tithing of "tenths;" feudalism required each tier of society to bump up another ten percent to their betters, either in the form of service, goods or hard currency; and finally, periodic one-time, special taxes had to be rendered.^{78:41} In 1455 and 1461, Zürich demanded special taxations to cover the expense of the Old Zurich Wars.

On 4 July 1466, Zürich was called upon to mediate a dispute between Walter von Bussnang and the people of Wädenswil, Richterswil and Ütikon. The main issues centered around interpretation of the Estate Rolls of 1409, wherein self-rule, free-trade, forest rights and festival customs were guaranteed to the people.

On 31 August 1467, Zürich sought to increase its independence and control over neighboring Winterthur by paying a lump-sum of 10,000 gulden to Duke Sigismund of Austria. The scheme could only be afforded if a 2.5 millage came from every household in the canton, as well as head-tax of five shillings on every person over 15 years old.^{89:83}

Zürich tried to force Richterswil and Wädenswil to contribute, but without realizing that the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship had never been extended so close to the southern border. The Richterswilers were well-aware of this distinction, and so refused to pay, encouraged in this stand by Canton Schwyz.

On 7 March, Zürich dispatched 1,500 troops to enforce the collection. They arrived by boat at midnight offshore of Wädenswil Castle. The towns' militias armed for the fight, but forewarned, fell back a couple of miles to join 400 reinforcements from Schwyz.^{89:84}

The mediation that began on 4 June 1468 included Wädenswil, Richterswil, Zürich, Schwyz, Uri and Unterwalden. Bloodshed was avoided, but Zürich proved its power over the Commandery and the whole countryside. The rebels would not be punished but they did end up paying Zürich's tax. Zürich developed monopoly control over every manner of conduct around Wädenswil, including hunting, fishing and all commerce among the trades.

Zürich sent an army to join in with Alsatian and Austrian troops for the defeat of Duke Charles the Bold in the Burgundian Wars of 1474-1477. For the crucial battle at Morat, Zürich's Hans Waldmann led 12,000 pikemen and hand gunners, in concert with 14,800 allies, to surround and devour 12,000 Burgundians. Utterly surrounded, enemy knights fled into a lake where their own armored weight drowned them. The Swiss Confederates inflicted a rate of 30 casualties on their enemy for each one of their own who was wounded.^{74:24-28}

The final blow was delivered at the Battle of Nancy. Despite the wintery snow and ice, 1,000 Swiss boys had tried to join in but were rejected at muster and sent home for being too young. Even without their help, the Swiss Confederates slaughtered 7,000 more Burgundians in one afternoon.^{74:29}

As mayor of Zürich, Hans Waldmann ordered all farm dogs to be butchered in March 1489. Another revolution around Wädenswil bubbled up, this time united with the people from Zollikon and Küsnacht under the leadership of Jacob of Mugerren. Concessions spelled out in a letter from Waldmann on 9 May 1489 reaffirmed the local economic authority of the people.^{89:85}

These were generally respected until the summer of 1497. Once again, Zürich was forced to reaffirm the Bussnang Letters of 1466 — meaning that any new ordinances in Wädenswil, Richterswil and Ütikon could only come with the consent of each parish congregation. Equal protection before the law for women was affirmed, as was protection from torture guaranteed. Zürich would not be allowed to regulate wages, but could devise controls on food and drink.

The Swiss victory during the Swabian War of 1499



A SWISS COUNCIL OF WAR
OFFICERS VOTE BEFORE THE BATTLE OF MARIIGNANO

scaled their independence from the Holy Roman Empire. All that Emperor Maximilian I had left to do was call them names. The Swiss are "crude, wicked, contemptible peasants, who have no virtue, no noble lineage and no moderation."^{85:31} Nonetheless, enemies in France, Austria and Italy were slowly learning how to fight with



battlefield formations and tactics that the Swiss alone had enjoyed.

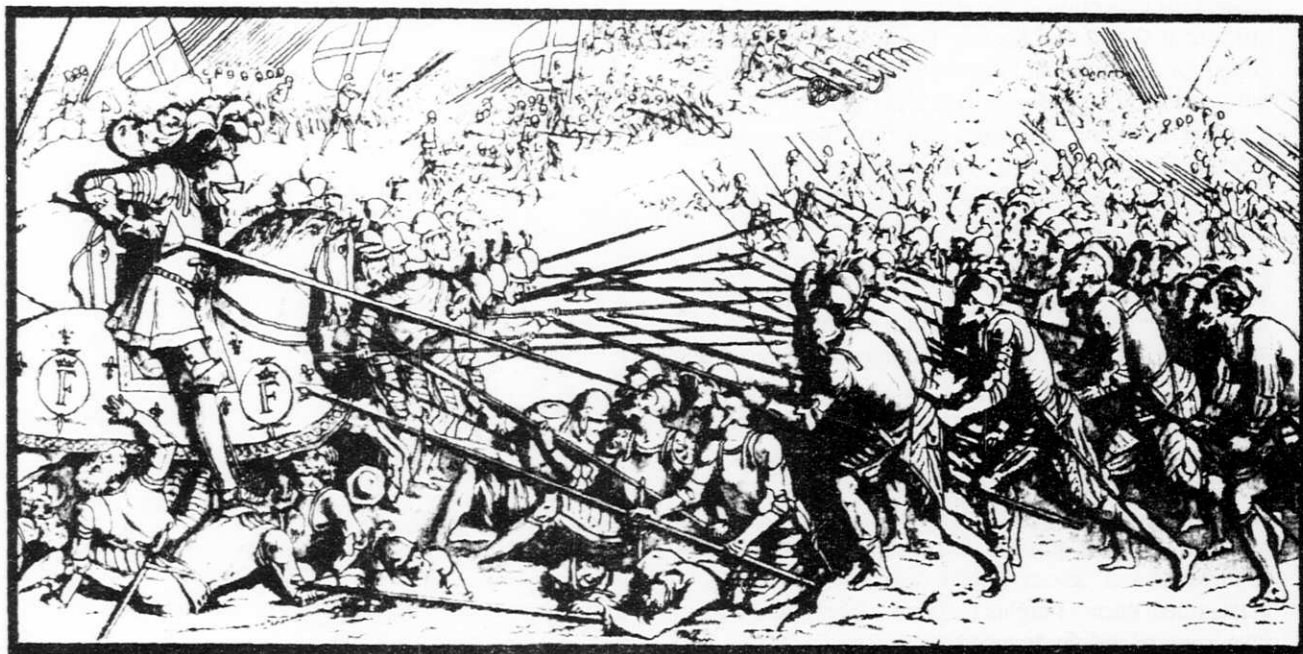
On 13 September 1515, 46 area men were commanded by the Order of St. John at Wädenswil to join in a large, fierce, two-day battle against the French army at Marignano, on the southern outskirts of Milan, Italy. Among those required to march with the Zürich army were a citizen named Bachman, one named Leaman, two Hiestands, three Äschmans and six Stricklers.^{78:1-35} A young Ulrich Zwingli served as their army's chaplain.^{55:112}

The Swiss repeated their classic battlefield moves, which, for the first day, worked. They fell victim on the second day to history's first mobile cannon barrage. They were able to retreat with their weapons, their wounded and their honor.

The defeat of the Richterswilers and the entire Swiss force cemented their doubts about obedience, the state and the infallibility of their rulers. From that day on, the Swiss nation never ventured beyond its borders for military ambition, becoming instead the most steadfastly neutral people in Europe. Their new troubles, though, were only beginning.^{37:19}

The World Exploding All Around

THE REFORM OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE Protestants was just one part of a much wider cultural, political, economic and military rebellion in



ULRICH ZWINGLI, ARMY CHAPLAIN & SWISS REFORMER; KING FRANCIS I DEFEATING THE SWISS AT MARIGNANO

Europe in the early 1500s. Both Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli, however, wanted to believe that their spiritual revolution had nothing to do with the world exploding all around them. See Appendix C, page 191

Many common folk resented having to support the wealthy Roman Catholic monasteries. "These idle, rich, fat beggars, who ride on great horses, who collect tithes from all the farms, who grasp and devour the best houses, fields, grasslands and meadows, who skin and steal from the whole world." The church tithes of ten percent was no longer voluntary. Any who refused payment were regularly threatened with excommunication, sometimes having their property liquidated and poured into church coffers.^{65:47}

By 1520, many Swiss dismissed the leadership of their local Catholic priests, who themselves often dishonored all vows of poverty and chastity. Speaking the very words "monk" and "priest" became a popular way to curse.^{63:40} As a result, many young people were

no longer bothering to be married in the state church — a worry to both the state authorities, village elders and their own parents.

Into this vacume of moral authority at Richterswil stepped Hans Bachman, who wanted both to temper his town folks' worldly appetites and to break their habit of supporting state religion.^{37:20-21}

In 1523, as the Protestant Reformation was getting under way, Catholic authorities were keeping special note of the "people's priests," the inordained spiritual leaders in the countryside. On 9 July 1523, the Knights of the Order of St. John filed a report on Hans Bachman from Richterswil based on a secret informant's testimony.

"As an aftermath to their clumsy sermons, several priests in the countryside did the following:

1. Hans Bachman, an agitator. I was told last Sunday that this people's priest preached. One heard that this fellow was riling up people. 'You boys and girls, if you fall in love, so that you can no longer stop nature, ask



GERMAN MONKS ENJOY GOOD DRINK, GOOD FOOD AND GOOD SONG

your fathers and your mothers to help provide you with a wife or a husband. You could ask them for [a traditional dowery present of] an undershirt or petticoat. So ask them for that too, so you will be ready in case you fall in love and can no longer resist nature.'

"Further, as far as the tithe is concerned, he is also supposed to have preached that 'the demand for the tithe is unfair and unfairly demanded'... claiming 'the tithes are alms and should be given to those that preach the word of God...'"⁶⁰

Bachman's sermon against the tithe was at the forefront of widespread refusals to support the Catholic clergy in Switzerland. The following year saw the Anabaptist Wilhelm Reublin of Witikon widen the protest throughout rural Canton Zürich, as well as the publication of Otto Brunfels's influential pamphlet "On Ecclesiastical Tithes." Brunfels made it clear that only the church should be starved of these funds. "I have not denied tithes to princes, lords and nobles, since, if they perform their duties properly, they have a much better right to them than do... monasteries." Church tithes, he argued, should only go to preachers, the aged and the poor,^{85:46} and secular powers should force the clergy back into the same poverty practiced by the Apostles.^{85:51}

Bachman's mention of undershirts and petticoats

may have been referring to another crisis in Old Switzerland — modesty in an era of public wantonness. The reform fever in Richterswil soon reduced the number of taverns there "to no more than eight," where toasting was soon banned, where last call was at 9 p.m., and no drinking at all was allowed on Sundays or other Holy Days until after the sermon. When the Reformation eventually allowed the state church pastor to take a wife, he ended up divorcing her within the year, convinced she had twice committed adultery during their brief marriage.⁷⁸

A Land of Masterless Men

THE COUNCIL AT ZÜRICH OFTEN MADE THE VILLAGE pastor an arm of their power, using the tithes for their own purposes and drawing profit from the area's natural resources. A priest in Wädenswil listed all of the areas of daily life where special added fees could be charged to the parish congregation: at the baptism of their infants, teaching the children, and again at their Confirmation exams, for the counseling of criminals and single mothers, for marriages, communion and funerals.^{65:130}



THREE YOUNG SWISS COUPLES MAKE PUBLIC DISPLAYS OF AFFECTION AT A DANCE IN THE EARLY 16TH CENTURY

Since early citizenship only protected adult, male property-holders, lords took ruthless advantage of women and youths, immigrants and the landless.^{85:30}

Anabaptism made wide overlap with the era's larger social upheaval. The Peasants' War resulted not only from anger in the countryside, but was born from an alliance of small-town burghers, craftsmen, miners and farmers. Sixty percent of the early Anabaptists came from this same social strata, and their leadership also tended to come from among craftsmen — always outnumbering those from intellectual professions. Two thirds of the verifiable Swiss Anabaptists of known residence lived in cities and towns.^{85:5}

In Richterswil, Bachmans plied the trades of blacksmith, butcher, carpenter, cobbler, cutler, miller and oil maker. Before the general exodus began, everyone's health in Richterswil came under the care of Johannes Bär, doctor and surgeon, or else they turned to the lesser trained skills of Johannes Wild, *medicus und Schnittarzt*, who specialized in bleeding the ill.

In addition to their profound Christian idealism, they believed in the medieval ideal of *Nahrung*. This referred to the virtue of modest self-sufficiency; and that, conversely, any pursuit of luxury was wrong. Through self-imposed habits of thrift and sacrifice, no more than life's necessities would ever be desired.^{85:10}

Religious images were to be destroyed, all of the church's gold chalices were to be melted down into coin, the mass was to be banned, books of Roman canon were to be burned. Monasteries were to be turned into hospitals, old age homes or orphanages.^{85:37} The Swiss Anabaptists would not allow rulers or landlords to associate with them.^{85:56}

In Zollikon, one of the first important strongholds of the Anabaptists, belief in the common ownership of all things became so widespread that locks were broken off all the doors, chests and cellars.^{85:95} Just west of Richterswil, the brethren at Hirzel gathered 15 bushels of grain in the house of Rudolf Staub, and shared it among the poor. Many years before, Staub's family had been supplied by his neighbors in the same way and so the latest generation had donated their harvest surplus back to the congregation. Otherwise, the brethren had no stores of wine, bread or money, since any extra was regularly given away, without any interest ever charged.

In late January 1525, the practice of adult baptism in Zürich became the first public challenge, coinciding exactly with the start of the Peasants' Revolt to the north around the Rhine. Virtually the whole adult population of Hallau near Schaffhausen became Anabaptists in the next two months.^{85:63} The newly aggressive council there sent an armed party to bring the leader Reublin "imprisoned, living or dead, into our hands." The

villagers kept the hunters at bay "with violence and weapons" long enough for Reublin and his brethren to flee and eventually make it to Moravia.^{85:64} At another flashpoint in Canton Zürich, the future Anabaptist Heinrich Aberli was sent an urgent call for reinforcements of "forty or fifty honest well-armed Christian fellows."^{85:72}

One of the earliest Anabaptists in Canton Zürich was Ulrich Seiler from Grüningen, the one-handed man known to the authorities as "Bad Uli," who walked around town with a gun. To disrupt one sermon during an official state church service, Uli began a pigeon shoot directed at the steeple tower. In February 1526, Seiler led a successful prison break-out for Anabaptists at the Grüningen jail.^{85:75} Another noteworthy brethren from Grüningen was Hans Maag, whose descendants became the Mauks of colonial Virginia.



THE LESSON OF *NAHRUNG*
THE ANGEL OF DEATH RESTRAINS WRETCHED EXCESS

The Anabaptists Melchior Rinck and Heinrich Fuchs, both former Lutheran pastors, were known as rebel leaders at the Battle of Frankenhausen during the Peasants' War.^{85:78} Fuchs gave his life in that cause, but Rinck survived and later became a brethren preacher in central Germany, known among those who "wielded the outer sword with the inner Word."^{85:82}

The early Anabaptist Balthasar Hubmaier personally carried weapons, encouraged resistance, and the fortification of brethren communities.^{85:66} A "Draft of a Constitution" attributed to Hubmaier is notable for its blueprint on how a democracy should shun aristocrats, elect just leaders and, when necessary, depose corrupt "tyrants."^{85:60} All this was to be accomplished "without



SOME OF THE 100,000 LIVES LOST DURING THE PEASANTS' WAR
DISMEMBERMENT OF REBELLIOUS FARMERS, FROM THE CHRONICLES OF JOHANNES STUMPF

fighting or bloodshed," but rather through boycotts called the "the worldly ban" that would halt "eating, drinking, bathing, baking, grinding meal, tilling the soil [or] mowing hay" of any who "refuse to enter the brotherly Union and promote the general Christian welfare."^{85:71}

Up until April 1525, the rebellion's violence focused against property, such as the dismantling of a castle or the stripping of wealth from a monastery. Swiss women frequently participated in the sacking of cloisters, and the intimidation of priests and nuns, but also in military actions, such as the defense of Gmund.^{85:33} In some cases, the protesters especially sought out and destroyed church records, court papers and tax rolls.^{85:84} In May of 1529, in the midst of the Reformation's

passion, graven images from the altar at Richterswil were thrown out and burned, likely on the graveyard where every burial cross was also uprooted. The only artwork spared was a beautiful group of carved-wood figures depicting the death of Mary, which were moved and still exist at the church in Wollerau.^{84:17}

Another early Swiss brethren was Heini Soder from Canton Basel, who played a militant if not military roll in the resistance to authority. In May 1525, Soder told a rally, "It is our object to present a friendly petition to our rulers. I can't say that this is not against our rulers, because whatever burdens they remit from us result in losses for them. But we do not at all want to combine against our rulers to compel them, overrun them, harm them, take what rightfully belongs to them or throw off their rule."

In October 1525, Conrad Grebel and Georg Blaurock began a tactic of blustering their way into ongoing state church services, commandeering the pulpit along with the attention of the congregation. They would report the latest news about the falling-out between Zwingli and Grebel, and discuss how Protestant churches should be organized. Grebel wanted a series of independent congregations to exercise complete home rule over the tithes collected, while Zwingli argued for centralized collection and authority.^{85:62}

Putting Theory into Practice

THE GERMAN PEASANTS' WAR INVOLVED 300,000 people at its peak and cost 100,000 lives. It only spanned 24 weeks, from late January through mid-July 1525, even though it was anticipated by an uprising in the Black Forest the previous summer.^{85:20}

The Twelve Articles of the Peasants' War mirrored the philosophy of the Anabaptists, such as Article 1., calling for the village appointment and dismissal of pastors, Article 2., demanding village control and allocation of tithes, and succeeding calls for

home rule over water, forests and common meadows for grazing of animals.^{85:29}

Impossible rates of rent were to be lowered so that a hard-working peasant would not face unbeatable slides into debt. Tenants could also dissolve leases by giving a three-month notice of impending departure. Other proposals of wide favor guaranteed that interest fees due on a loan could not grow larger over time than the original loan.^{85:54} The primary author of the Twelve Articles was Sebastian Lotzer, a journeyman furrier from Memmingen. In the pamphlet *To the Assembly of Common Peasantry*, the rulers' habit of claiming ownership rights over wild animals was refuted, and turned into an argument to justify military resistance.^{85:53}

"All city walls, as well as all fortresses... are to be broken down, so that there be no more cities but only villages, in order that there be no distinctions among men, and that no one consider himself more important or better than anyone else, for from this may flow dissension, arrogance and rebellion... There is to be absolute equality in the land."^{85:55} The only local official will be called 'parish provider,' and be responsible two or three times a year for collecting the surplus from particularly productive villages into storage for their later use or to fill the needs of others. The education of all young children beginning at the age of three or four was also advocated.^{85:59}



THE SWISS ANABAPTIST BALTHASAR HUBMAIER
PACIFIST & REVOLUTIONARY

Then came the rejection of "mine and thine," meaning all notions of private property.^{85:7} The eccentric Anabaptist Claus Fry made the political very personal and was executed in Strasburg for bigamy. Fry had also been prominent in the Rothenburg uprising.^{85:86}

Conrad Grebel later clarified this position under scrutiny from Zwingli, saying that he never "taught that one should have to give his property to anybody for nothing."^{85:99} Christians should be ready to give what they could to their neighbor in need, to lend without hope of return. [Luke 6:35] "Everyone should pay what he owes. A person should pay interest, but not receive it." Just as Christian baptism must be voluntary, so Christian mutual aid must come about as a voluntary decision from the property owner.^{85:105}

The Peasants' War came apart very quickly because of influence from Reformation pastors. They counseled the rebels to pull back from the fight just short of taking life; but this was a price in battle that the authorities readily paid and collected without hesitation.^{85:39}

In the cold of winter, on 5 January 1527, the Anabaptists of Zürich finally saw the degree of intolerance they were up against. At a fish market on the northeast corner of the Rathaus Brücke, sentences were passed against Georg Blaurock and Felix Manz. Blaurock, also known as Georg Jakobi, was a courageous but impulsive man who had tried to convert the whole town of Zollikon to the Brethren by invading the regular church service on 29 January 1525. Of course, this got him arrested again. Blaurock's new punishment was to get thrashed with rods along a gauntlet the length of Marktgasse and Munstergasse "until the blood flows." His sentence was that he pushed and northward out Niederdorfstrasse and expelled from the old city gate.^{77:8-9} Zwingli watched Blaurock's beating and later described a severity that brought the prisoner "near the door of Hades."^{67:63}

Because Felix Manz was a son of Zürich, the punishment for his disobedience and heresy was much higher: he was to become the first of the Swiss brethren to be killed for speaking his mind. At three o'clock in



MASS DESTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRYSIDE DURING THE PEASANTS' WAR

the afternoon, witnesses gathered around the Limmat riverbank in the center of town, opposite a little fishing hut in the middle of the stream.

"He was led by the executioner from the Wellenberg prison down to the lake," according to Heinrich Bullinger, referring to a stone tower also out in the river that no longer exists, "accompanied by two preachers who admonished him to recant and save his life. His mother and brother were also present and encouraged him to constancy and steadfastness to the end. He praised God for grace..."

The executioner was instructed to put Manz in the bottom of his boat and "tie his hands with his knees between the arms, a stick... between his arms and knees and, thus bound, throw him into the water and let him die and perish."^{67:62}

"When he was about to be thrust from the boat," Bullinger reported, "he sang with a loud voice, 'Into Thy hands, Father, I commit my spirit,' and forthwith was held under the water by the executioner and drowned." In the next four years, six more Anabaptists were executed at the same spot, with fully intentional, sadistic irony: death by water to those who believed Christ required adults to be reborn through water.^{67:62}

On 15 August 1527, the Protestant cantons of Switzerland attended a Zürich conference on how the "vice" of Anabaptism — this "un-Christian, malicious, offensive, and seditious weed" — could be destroyed once and for all.^{67:63} In 1528, King Ferdinand I of Bohemia and Hungary wrote that his officials knew of rebels from the Peasants' War that were resurfacing as Anabaptists.^{85:87}

Meanwhile, the struggling Protestant revolution was fighting for its life against the Catholic cantons in Switzerland. When a battle broke out at Kappel, 23 men from a few miles east in Richterswil helped save the day. The patriarch of the Neff family saved the Protestant army of Zürich from the disgrace of having their battle flag captured, but Zwingli was killed in the fight on 11 October 1531. Zwingli's successors thought that the pressures of internal dissent were equally dangerous. A Zürich report in 1535 observed that Anabaptists were increasing in numbers and preaching at "Wädenswil, and all along the lake."^{90:1043}

All We Do or Leave Undone

BRETHREN FELT THAT THE BAPTISM OF YOUNG children was an empty gesture. They believed that this special act of faith had to come from reasoned, voluntary choice, and was meant to express how a thinking individual felt ready to follow the example of Jesus.

The label Anabaptist means "Re-baptizer," because the early inventors of this movement wanted a second christening. When they became parents, their children were not considered members of the church until they reached the age of accountability and could well-understand the choices of life to come.

The brethren were not of the opinion that they alone would get to heaven, or that in order to be saved one had to join with their church.⁶⁶ Nonetheless, every quality of their faith that the Anabaptists saw as a virtue, their



THE MANNER OF PEASANT DRESS
OBSERVED BY THE GERMAN ARTIST ALBRECHT DÜRER

antagonists saw as a damnable fault. Where the brethren saw themselves as steadfast, Zwingli had seen them as stubborn. Were they merely adamant or self-consciously provocative; separate or eccentric; humble or conspicuous; clear-sighted or quick to judge; egalitarian or revolutionary; obedient or anarchistic; paternal or authoritarian; unafraid or unrepentant; ready to take necessary risks or simply incorrigible?

Menno Simons, who was born about 1496, served as an ordained Catholic priest between 1524-1536 in North Holland. Seven years into his calling, he was transferred back to his hometown of Witmarsum where he carried out his regular duties and also took up the habits of playing cards and drinking. Up until this time, Menno had feared to read the Bible because, as he had been taught, only the Catholic hierarchy could explain what it meant without error. He was also developing a fear that whenever he celebrated mass, the bread and wine were not actually and literally being transformed into the body and blood of Jesus, as the Church had also instructed him.

Simons own brother joined the radical Anabaptists who took over the German city of Münster and was among the 300 who paid for it with their lives on 7 April 1535.^{37,21} This culminated the long process of conversion that tore him away from Roman order. In



MENNO SIMONS
SPIRITUAL FATHER OF THE MENNONITES

January 1536, he renounced the priesthood and charged that even Luther and Zwingli, in seeking political accommodation, had been too timid in their reforms. The Brethren had to make two appeals before he agreed to become an elder early in 1537.^{66:19-20}

Simons was persuaded to take up leadership of the scattered flock of Anabaptists throughout Germany and the Netherlands, until his death in 1561. At first, Menno's followers in Zürich and Bern called themselves simply Swiss Brethren and the early use of the label 'Mennists' or 'Menonists' was thought insulting. Within a few generations, inside and outside the movement, 'Mennonite' became the common name.^{81:10}

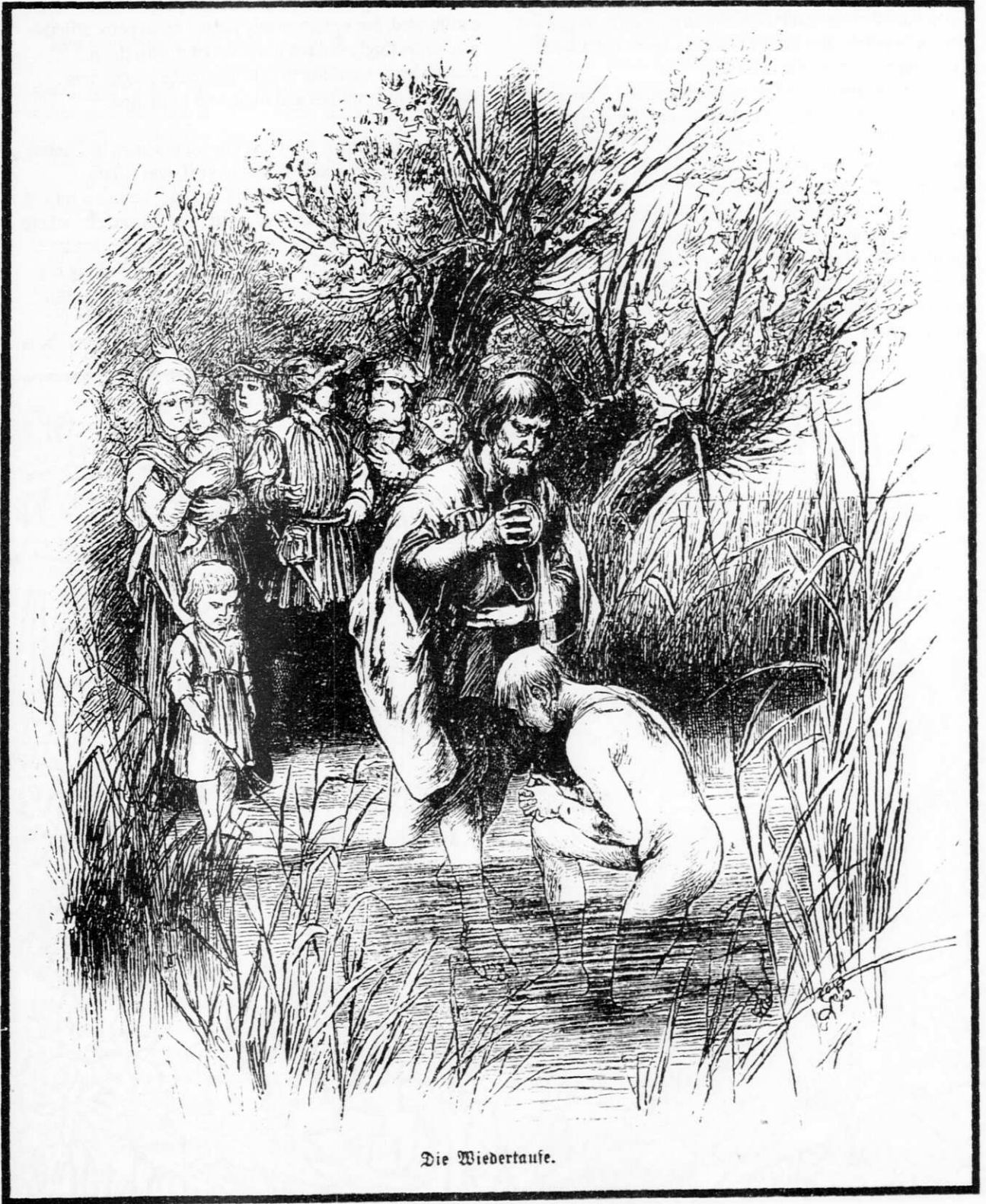
Another significant division amongst the early Anabaptists was over the use of force. Some of them accepted the sword, but the majority that denounced all revenge and use of weapons created the popular image of the peaceful Anabaptists. From an early conference held at Schleithem in northern Switzerland came more of the thinking made concrete. Forever more they would be "Sons and daughters who have been and shall be separated from the world in all that we do and leave undone, and uncontradicted by all the brothers, completely at peace." Among other things, they agreed on five keys of Anabaptism to hold dear: the Baptism of adult believers only, the Ban of sinners, the Supper celebrated by Christ, the Sword abandoned, and the Oath refused.

Bachmans in Rebellion

ON 16 AUGUST 1549, THE COMMANDER OF THE Order of St. John sold the Wädenswil Estate to Zürich's Council. In less than ten years, the chapel of Wädenswil Castle was demolished.^{89:88} The castle had become nothing but a ruin, and across the creek from it, Caspar, Heinrich, Görg and Jacob Bachman could also see the coming end of an era for the family's estate farm and mineral baths at Meierhof.^{89:60}

Baths throughout the Alps and the upper Rhineland had at first become synonymous with miraculous cures and earthy pleasures. In the early 1500s however, they also became the perfect home for outbreaks of syphilis, which gave an unforgettable chill to Spa Culture. As the writer Erasmus noted, the public baths had become empty and cold "because the new skin diseases have taught us to abstain from their use."^{65:133}

Paracelsus suffered his greatest disappointment by failing to find a cure for the bubonic plague, which had arrived from Asia into Italy's ports of commerce about the middle of the 14th Century. The deadly epidemic was spread by flea-infested rats carried aboard ships from one busy port to another. After anywhere between two to



Die Wiedertaufe.

THE ANABAPTISTS

seven days following exposure to this Black Death, victims began to cough uncontrollably, spit up infectious blood, and their general difficulty in breathing turned the skin deep purple and finally black. In dense populations, its contagion spread like wild fire.

Made relatively remote by its mountains, Zürich was hit less than other Swiss districts — only three times in the early 17th Century — as compared to nine times in Geneva and six outbreaks in Basel; but not even the cloisters of Einsiedeln were spared.

Part of the credit for the light death toll in Zürich belongs to guards at the Gotthard Pass who halted all of the obviously ill that tried to escape overland from Italy. All merchandise entering the Confederation there had to be put into a quarantined smoke-house, which burned juniper-berries, dried rosemary, thyme, vermouth and

vine-wood. Cheese and furs were similarly clouded with incense. The possessions of infected people were confiscated, but unfortunately passed on to petty officials who unwittingly carried the contagion with them.^{65:133} Europe lost 25 million people before the plague was stifled by quarantines and improved sanitation.^{65:134}

The Baughman's earliest known kinsman in Canton Zug, a few miles south of Richterswil, was Adam Bachman. Nicknamed "Adam the Red," he was a retired abbot from the cloistered monastery at Einsiedeln, where Zwingli had also been a priest before becoming leader of the Swiss Reformation. It seemed that after serving one year as Scribe in the cantonal seat of Zug, Adam wanted to return to his hometown of Wahlbehörde and run for the same office in a local election in 1585. Bachman was



EARTHLY PLEASURES IN SWITZERLAND
JUST BEFORE A CHILL CAME TO SPA CULTURE IN ALL OF CENTRAL EUROPE

rejected by the town council's Board of Elections, without a reason offered, before he could even get on the ballot.

This contempt for the voters' right to choose their public officials stirred up emotions greatly. The ensuing "tumult" was dubbed the "Bachman Action" and required an arbitration from the Swiss federal authorities. They swiftly condemned this local injustice and reconsecrated the citizenry's rights of elective power. Adam was immediately elected town scribe and held the office until his death in 1588.^{86:514}

In the next century, when all injustices of Roman order had supposedly been fixed by the new Reformed Church in Switzerland, Bachmans were still urging change. The magistrate of Wädenswil reported on 8 October 1612 that the Anabaptists in his jurisdiction "have such a large following that no one wants to lay hands on them."^{90:1045} On 30 December, the Council of Zürich published a great Anabaptist edict, noting that "the erring Anabaptist sect in some places continues to increase" and that they would be "severely punished." At the same time, the edict warned state church clergy "who are guilty of the vice of drunkenness, avarice, debauchery" to stop immediately, since "it is these things that give the Anabaptists occasion to withdraw from our church."^{67:66}

On 2 January 1613, the church authorities in Zürich called for the first new debate with the Anabaptists in several generations "to win them from their erroneous ways."^{67:67} On 26 January, Rudolf Bachman the blacksmith joined Hans Landis, Gallus Fuchs and 12 others for a lengthy debate on Anabaptism at Wädenswil Castle.

A 28-page transcript recounts one of the last calm attempts by state church and civil authorities to tame religious dissent. Even though drastic punishments had been invoked against the Anabaptists for the last 88 years, with renewed expulsion orders in 1585, local officials tried a softer tactic: patient debate might dissuade some of them, and if not, self-incriminating testimony could be collected.^{37:53}

Fifteen Anabaptists accepted the invitation of Wädenswil's mayor, Rudolf Rohn, who hosted the debate at the ruins of the fortress castle. Representing Zürich was Hans Jacob Breitingger, pastor of St. Peter's church, who was soon promoted to *Antistes*, leader of the faith for the entire canton. The parish pastors of Richterswil, Wädenswil and Horgen were also in attendance.

For the brethren, simply admitting their disobedience to the state church was a crime, but to insure a frank and open discussion, free speech became temporarily legal for that one day.

"Many things take place among them which one

cannot discover," summed up an adage whispered about the mysterious Anabaptists. Anti-authoritarian by nature, they took turns reading to each other from the Bible. Brother Jacob Isler had earlier been arrested as "treasurer." Hans Landis seemed to have the dynamic qualities of a leader, and was labeled "preacher," but during the Wädenswil debates he deferred for a number of important matters to Bachman, the blacksmith, and Fuchs.^{31:126}

Gallus, the schoolteacher, said, "I was a servant at Rapperswil, where I neither heard nor saw anything but 'eating and drinking, cursing and swearing and on every hand sin and lust,' and sought God to reveal the truth of His Word, when a brother from Hähren came, that declared with all earnestness of faith, if it does not change your life it cannot be the right faith; the works must follow."

Halfway into the proceedings, Bachman the smith



DER SCHMIDT

A BLACKSMITH OBSERVED BY JOST AMMAN, 1568

spoke up: "Thank you, gentlemen, for willingly listening to me and my brethren."

Mayor Rohn: "Yes. Now, Bachman, the Baptist."

Bachman: "When I was on my travels as a journeyman, and passed through Poland, Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, I saw and heard many a faith, but found none that suited me. I found out that what frightened them all, they denied by their deeds. So I had no choice but to go to church. The more I went to church, the less I did the right thing about this world, below and above. I wiled entire nights away, gobbling food and guzzling drink just like an animal. That pleased everyone, but I finally had to think: This way you shall not go to heaven. I pondered back and forth where I could find people who pleased God. So God led me to these brethren, who honored what God's word proclaimed and who tried to live accordingly. With them I shall remain as long as I breathe.

"So you can understand why I and my brethren believe that you [are erring] in respect to great sins and vices occurring in all classes of the people. Now, the Scriptures say he who goes with filthiness, carries it, and he who has both hands full of excrement, must not be touched.

Mayor Rohn: "Smith, you do not go much with the positive. And you are not behaving well."

Magistrate Grebel: "It is true, as you already recognize. You [Bachman] were godless. For in the entire district, there is no man with whom I have had more trouble than with you."

Bachman: "Yes, but I let go of it."

N.N. [An unnamed cleric]: "In church, no other things should be said but God's words."

Bachman: "We have heard the preaching from the pulpit. Scripture should be like rain and snow, without which no fruit will be borne. But this preaching will not bear any fruit, since it is only full of admonishment and punishment."

Breitinger: "It's nice to talk about rain and snow. Sometimes it refreshes the seeds."

Bachman: "It remains, nonetheless, that whoever dirties himself with excrement cannot touch or be touched."

Later, Bachman allowed that when he knew only the worldly life, his search for the true church had been as difficult as though made in the dark of night. The blacksmith quoted the scripture Sirach 13:1ef., drawing a warning from the mayor.

Mayor Rohn: "He shall not play with fire, or he will be burned."

Bachman: "Yes, I have learned thereof."

N.N.: "You can lead a pious life in the [Reformed] Church."

Bachman: "Even your preachers say, 'There is no true fruit from their preaching — not the correct faith.'" ^{71:131}

Breitinger kept pressing for a fuller explanation on why the brethren had separated from the state church. The response, over and over, was how sinful the church had become, and that sinners should not be taking communion with the godly. But if the brethren returned, another argument began, their holy living could be the best inspiration among the sinners — "the holier the better."

"We are ready to sacrifice life, body, property, and blood," answered the brethren. Gallus Fuchs went so far as to propose that the church at Horgen be loaned for awhile to the Anabaptists so that surrounding townsfolk could choose between them and the state church pastors. ^{70:206}

The brethren were repeatedly asked why they would not render obedience to the Council of Zürich. They replied that obedience was possible, but begged the Council to grant them liberty of conscience. ^{67:67}

The spirit of these discussions was described in the official transcript as "friendly," but the arguments of both sides, no matter how clearly expressed, failed to change the other. Landis was offered the chance to leave the canton but he refused, saying, "The earth is the Lord's and no one has the authority to expel [us]."

Two months later, another debate in Zürich was held, but with no better hope of peace. In these exchanges, Landis outraged the authorities by claiming Christ would not be a member of the government, and that Anabaptists would refuse to help defend Zürich if enemies invaded. ^{70:206}

Landis, Fuchs and Stephan Zehender were dispatched in chains for six years in slavery, all being sentenced to row a galley ship for the French navy. By a stroke of fortune in Solothurn, they managed to escape.

The blacksmith Bachman was mentioned again in a governor's report later that spring. He belonged to one of the 14 area families and eight single women still caught in "economic distress," the euphemistic code used by the government to indicate that fines were crippling the dissidents.

By the next year, the 70-year-old Landis could not keep himself away from his brethren and homeland, and so returned. The magistrate in Wädenswil failed to discover his hiding place for many weeks since "everybody sympathized with them and warned them, so that nobody could be trusted.

In 1614, Landis, Fuchs and Meili were finally arrested again, and Landis was beheaded at Zürich in September, the last Swiss Mennonite ordered to execution for the sake of his faith. One of Landis's

fellow brethren leaders recounted the day in a letter written 45 years later:

"...The Beheading of Hans Landis, which I also still remember well, having seen it myself in the Wolfsstadt, the whole transaction being as fresh in my recollection, as though it had happened but a few weeks ago...

"Hans Landis was a tall, stately person, with a long black and gray beard, and a manful voice.

"When he, cheerful and of good courage, was led out, by a rope, to the fish market on the Wolfsstadt (being the place made ready for his execution), the executioner, Paull Volmar dropped the rope, and lifting up both of his hands to heaven, spoke these words:

"O that God, to whom I make my complaint, might have compassion; that you, Hans, have come into my hands in this manner; forgive me, for God's sake, that which I must do to you."

"Hans Landis comforted the executioner, saying that he had already forgiven him; God would forgive him, too; he well knew that he had to execute the order of the authorities; he should not be afraid, and see that there was no hindrance in his way.

"Thereupon he was beheaded. After his head had been struck off, the executioner asked: 'Lord bailiff of the Empire, have I executed this man rightly according to imperial law and sentence?' Otherwise it was customary to say: 'This poor fellow,' etc...

"The people were of the opinion, that the executioner by dropping the rope meant to indicate to Hans that he should run away, it was also generally said: that if he had run away, no one would have followed him, to stop him." 48:1104

The authorities had already confiscated the Landis farm, but were afraid that if his widow and children were allowed to remain in their house a "new nest and hiding-place of Anabaptist teaching would develop." The 60-year-old Margareta Hochstrasser Landis found herself enchained at a prison hospital where authorities hoped the daily preaching there to all patients might convert her. 70:210

The Crackdown in Richterswil

AS THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR RAGED ON TO THE north, the Swiss began to worry if their official neutrality would protect them. The very natures of war and Europe were changing. Nationalism and a hatred of foreigners and all foreign things emerged among the common public. Terrible firepower, in the form of handy shoulder guns, was for the first time common for just about every second foot soldier and cavalryman. The smoke and deafening confusion this created on the battlefield made the first standard uniforms necessary as

well. Also for the first time, English armies brought tobacco from their new colonies in America to the continent and soldiers on all sides quickly took up the habit.

Because of the rise of newer printing methods, it also became the first war covered in the modern sense by widely distributed newspapers.^{72:7} Seven thousand refugees from southern Germany tried to find safety in Canton Zürich one year, but the authorities insisted that the "beggars" be forcibly pushed back across the bridge at Eglisau.^{72:104} Nervous Switzerland began to fortify its own armies and search everywhere for dissent that might weaken the country from within.

Beginning in 1633, the state church in Canton Zürich revived a persecution of the brethren that lasted



TRIMMING THE TONGUE OF HERESY
THE STATE TRIED TO SILENCE CRITICISM WITH TORTURE

twelve years. A census of the entire population begun that year was intended to root out the heretics. The neighborhood priests in Canton Zürich assembled a list of 182 brethren over the age of 20. Richterswil accounted for 12, and Wädenswil another eight. The only village to have more was Hirzel, next door.

Another public debate was arranged in Knonau for 17 August 1635, with the brethren from Wädenswil and Grüningen also invited. By then, 71 Anabaptists in the Wädenswil area had been identified, but only 36 were willing to come to the debate. The argument that day proved fruitless, so the canton's tactics became even more blunt: Recant in writing or leave. Peter Bruppacher in Wädenswil wrote on behalf of eight others who signed, "and many others" who tried to remain anonymous, all rejecting the moral authority of the state to force the issue.^{90:1045}

The peak of persecution in Canton Zürich followed

in 1637, when most of Anabaptist families saw their elders arrested — perhaps 300 adults in all. Many of their children were taken away, and their custody was awarded to strangers.^{76:59}

Another state church census tallied every Richterswil household in 1637, for a total of 930 people. The pastor noted that Rudolf Bachman lived adjacent to the ruined castle at Wädenswil and was "an almost vehement Anabaptist." The community of Swiss brethren respected Rudolf as the *Ältester* — meaning Elder — at Old Castle. Sometimes this title referred to the office of Deacon.^{90:1046} Although he was quite sick in 1640, Rudolf was arrested on account of his faith, chained to a sled and dragged 16 miles to the Ötenbach Prison in Zürich, where he died still in custody in 1653.^{48:1118 & 304} Twenty more men and women perished in the same way, either as unwilling "patients" in the prison hospital, or as prisoners of conscience in the wintery cold, dampness



THE MASS ARREST OF ANABAPTISTS IN ZÜRICH, 1637

and hunger in the dungeons at Ötenbach monastery "so unhealthful that clothing turns gray with mould." ^{67:68} The *Zürich-Lied*, a hymn of 49 stanzas written by Hans Rycher, recalled the sacrifice of Rudolf Bachman and five other Anabaptists between 1639 and 1640 at the prison. ⁸² See Appendix B, pages 185-190

The chronicle of an anonymous Anabaptist from Zürich describes the difficult beginnings of a young couple who got married on 15 March 1641, a sorry tale repeated many times among the brethren. A little after this union, which was learned of and judged illegal by the authorities, the husband Hans Ringger from Rossau, near Mettmenstetten, was intercepted and taken away to Zürich. In the basement of the hospital at Ötenbach, authorities interrogated and beat Ringger in order to learn the identities of all those at the wedding ceremony. The bride immediately fled Switzerland; but following her groom's release from prison, they were able to be reunited when he was banished to Alsace. ^{36:53}

One night toward the end of 1642, all of the brethren from the area were gathered for their regular worship service. An account of that night is preserved through letters written by Jeremias Mangold and Martin Meili between 1635 and 1645, and published both in the *Ausbund* hymnal and the *Martyr's Mirror*.

"The enemy came with a cruel, noisy gang and fell on them at night while they had a meeting in a stable. They approached with a loud horrifying cry... so that even the cattle began to bawl and bellow because of the unmerciful, unkind and inhuman treatment.

"At this they bound some of the men as well as the women and led them to the castle in Wädenswil in wet frozen clothing and cast them in jail. Later they took them to Zürich in the Ötenbach jail.

"They did not stay long until they released the men. The women had to stay a little longer and for a time, two of them were deprived of their clothing each night and in the morning they would get them again." These women were also eventually released. ^{34:857}

The next year, Elizabeth Bachman of Grüningen, the wife of Jaggli Hess of Bartschwyl, along with her two sisters, Elssa, wife of Jacob Isselme of Knonau, and Sarah, wife of Hans Phister, were dragged off to Ötenbach for their Anabaptist beliefs. They were held in miserable conditions until all three perished. ^{48:1120}

These same letters also recorded the harsh treatment, torture and imprisonment of Peter Bruppacher of Wädenswil; Martin, Barbara, Elizabeth and Hans Meili, Sr., Pastor Heinrich Schnebeli, Heinrich Gut, Hans and Catharina Müller, Hans Ringg and his wife — all of Knonau; Jacob Gochnauer and Catherine Forrer of Grüningen; the preacher Rudolf Hägi, Hans Huber and Hans Rudolf Bauman of Horgerberg; Hans Jacob Hess, Conrad Strickler, Barbara Neff, the elderly Jacob

Baumgartner and most of Oswald Landis' family ^{48:1109-1215} Breitinger became enraged and offered them but two choices: "Either you attend the State Church or you go to jail and die there." ^{34:841}

In 1646, the citizens of Richterswil and Wädenswil rose up for the third time to fight taxation without representation. The council of Zürich wanted a new one percent tax on each citizen's capital wealth to pay for the military fortification of the canton's southern frontier.

Under a renewed sense of danger, the leaders in Zürich didn't bother to consult with citizens about how a tax might be levied fairly. This violated two historic pledges written by Zürich to guarantee democratic freedoms: the Waldman Letters of 1489 and the Kappel Letters of 1531. The Richterswilers knew these documents well because the original copies were lovingly preserved in the blanket chest of their hometown constable named Goldschmidt.

In late April of 1646, the town leaders were summoned to the old castle at Wädenswil and notified that the tax would be collected on 7 July. All present agreed that they owed the tax but wanted to criticize its design. They felt it should not rely on self-evaluation, as it did, but derive from some clear, objective schedule. They also insisted that it be a one-time-only assessment, not an annual habit. A follow-up meeting in June met even worse resistance from 30 leading citizens, who complained that the year had yielded only a poor crop, especially because of insect damage. Only three of the people attending agreed to the tax this time.

On 5 July, the Sunday before the tax deadline, the state church pastor in Wädenswil mounted his pulpit and found an anonymous poem waiting on it. Its two verses expressed contempt for the tax and warned the magistrate, Hans Conrad Grebel, that he would be shot if he did not give up collecting it. The poem implied that 40 farmers were behind this promise, and that their numbers would grow to 80 or more if bigger trouble came.

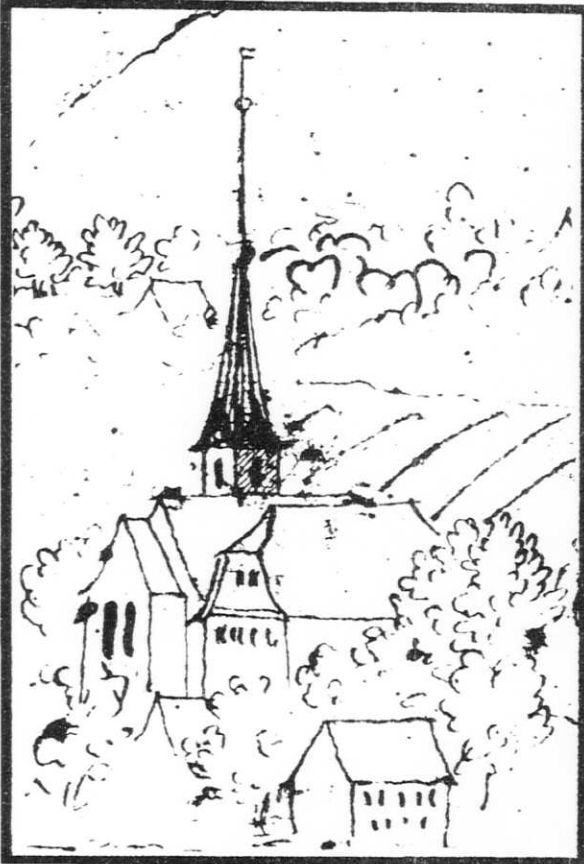
The people refused to assemble for the tax collector on 7 July, but instead gathered at their community meetinghouse. They demanded a postponement of 30 days so that a congress of the people could be held. The voters of Richterswil declared that they would only pay if they would first be recognized as fully entitled citizens of Zürich.

On 2 August, Grebel made fresh, persuasive arguments based on another cornerstone of local freedoms for the Swiss, being the *Burgrecht* or Town Rights of 1342. After these explanations, some of the town elders were ready to give in, but Constable Goldschmidt rallied their spirits, shouting, "Let us resist!"

More weeks of meetings followed, and the town elders became fully convinced about the justice of the rebellion. Each of these meetings started out in a prayer: "We want to be obedient with our bodies, property and blood," but every time they concluded that it was time to risk their very lives. Goldschmidt went to Lochen, a nearby town, telling the story and earning their sympathy and promises of support. Word spread to the district of Knonau, and the rebellion took hold there as well.

On 23 August 1646, the schoolmaster Rudi Danner was enlisted to compose and design a petition to the Zürich government that 150 Richterswilers immediately signed. Within three days, a delegation delivered the signatures in person.

The emissaries on 26 August 1646 signed as Constable Gattiker, Hans Friedrich Bachman, Little Uli Schnyder, Hans Bruppacher, Hans Heinrich Suter, Lieutenant Huber and Hans Heinrich Zollinger, all from Wädenswil village.^{64:115a} From the western side of the castle came Konrad Eschman, Jacob Eschman, Gallus Strickler, Ulrich Strickler, Claus Hauser, Jacob Hoffman the shoemaker, Hans Rudolf Stickli the miller, Conrad Hauser and Georg Staub.^{64:155b} The Richterswil delegation included Constable Goldschmid, Cornel



THE CHURCH AT WÄDENSWIL
WHERE THE PULPIT POEM WAS FOUND WAITING

Müller, Hans Heinrich Hauser, the elder, Conrad Goldschmid, Friedrich Strickler and Peter Wild; and from the east side of the castle lands came Jacob Strickler from Fellmas, Rudolf Schärer, Hans Jacob Staub, Caspar Züricher, Conrad Bruppacher in Löchli and Andreas Strickler in Segell.^{64:116a}

Only a few local loyalists were against the rebellion, notably a quarry master named Schmidt and a Captain Ischman from Wädenswil, who was often threatened by his neighbors for doing so.

To retaliate, Zürich's authorities sealed off the whole area with a total military blockade of travel and commerce. Major-General Hans Rudolf Wermüller was dispatched southbound on Lake Zürich to enforce the quarantine with 2,300 soldiers and four cannons aboard a flotilla of 100 boats. When the rebels tried to get at stores of gunpowder from the armory at Wädenswil Castle, but could not, courage began to fail them. Grebel announced that the resistance in neighboring Knonau had given up, and that help from the southern cantons could never arrive in time. The people's spirits were completely drowned as they gathered at the Zollinger Meadow in a sudden downpour of rain.

General Wermüller's troops arrived offshore from Wädenswil on 18 September at five in the afternoon and found crowds of frightened people holding up white-painted sticks of surrender, their arms outstretched in appeals for mercy.

A delegation of 53 had already left for Zürich in an attempt to defuse the invasion. The emissaries on 19 September of 1646 from Wädenswil included Friedrich Bruppacher, Ulrich Wild, Seckelmeister Stroüwli, and from near the castle, Jos Bruppacher.^{64:239b-240a} From Richterswil came Mayor Hans Rudolff Schmidt, Heinrich Wildt, Jacob Tanner, Heinrich Widmer, and from their side of the castle lands, Peter Strickler and Lorenz Leeman.^{64:241b} Zürich's leaders refused to see these men since the original rebel organizers were not among them.

By Monday, 21 September, the heads of the rebellion had disappeared, and the blacksmith Hans Friedrich Bachman, the miller Hans Rudolf Stickli and Caspar Bruppacher were known to have escaped across the border into Canton Schwyz. Constables Gattiker and Goldschmid, Hans Bruppacher and Lieutenant Huber were betrayed by an informant in town. Zürich troops ambushed and seized them at the lakeshore, and under strong guard took them by boat back to Ötenbach.^{69:81}

The next day, after hearing a long oration from the state church authorities on repentance, all of the men of the area were ordered to bring their weapons to the Zollinger Meadow. A crowd of 450 men, women and children submitted to the authorities from Zürich for a severe oath intended to first humiliate them and then

pardon their offenses. No list of these names survives. Another leader of the occupying force, Stadtholder Leu, started off his speech by saying, "To the Rebellious perjurers and rambunctious people here, you forgot all about Honor, Loyalty, Oaths and God. You are worthy to be stripped of all your freedom and, without pity or grace, to be cut down. You raised your arms against a gentle authority, for which reason you are not even worth being used as a defense against other enemies."

Stadtholder Hirzel started to read the names of some of the rebels, and when he spoke Goldschmidt's name, the rebel's son stepped forward and said, "That is I." His attempt to say more was stopped short.

"You are a rogue, just like your father." Whereupon the boy was tied and dragged to the castle. When the soldiers ordered all rebel weapons turned in, a man from Richterswil named Wieman stepped forward, saying, "I've been loyal to authority, and cannot be accounted to the mass of humiliated rebels, but should be counted among the innocent. People should be allowed to keep weapons since our borders are always in danger." As answer to this appeal, each man was allowed to keep his short sword, but all of the axes, spears and firearms had to be given up. At the close, every person there was forced to swear an even more strongly worded oath of allegiance.

Soldiers broke into Goldschmidt's home and confiscated the sacred old documents, including the Waldmann and Kappel Letters of Freedom. By order of Grebel, the post of constable could no longer be an elected position. Among the 13 ultimately taken away as prisoners were Friederich Hans Bachman, Jacob Äschman, Ulrich Strickler, Caspar Schorrer, Peter Rusterholz, Hans Jacob Rusterholz, Conrad Goldschmidt and Jacob Stickli.^{64:268b} Although Grebel tried to intervene, Goldschmidt and three other leaders were executed on 5 October. Even the anonymous Pulpit Poem was investigated. The author's identity was finally uncovered by the authorities — although they kept it a secret — and he met his executioner on 5 November.

Just two months later, all weapons were returned to the Richterswilers. The townsman Wieman had been right about threats to Zürich's southern frontier. Within another decade, full-scale war broke out again. The First Villmerger War required the draft of three companies of Richterswil men to join with Zürich troops from Rapperswil. General Werdmüller led them into a sudden massacre that was recalled in the church book at Richterswil. On 1 Hornung 1656 (which would have been 12 February) a group of townsmen were buried together and a notation was saved by the state church pastor:

"These people were partially cut down and partially

murdered at the occasion of the unforeseen, regrettable, sudden January attack in Richterswil. A contingent of [soldiers from the cantons of] Schwyz, Zug and foreign mercenaries did it. With that, no doubt, the draftees [from Richterswil] were murdered in defense of women, old folks and children who were, in part, also brutally mutilated. It is a tragic day in the church register, and for twenty from this town who lost their lives in this way."

On the list were Jacob and Heinrich Strickler, Margaretha Hiestand, who was the widow of Ulrich Strickler, Hans Hiestand, Hans Jacob Staub, Hansenman Danner, Jagli Bodmer, Barbara Rusterholtz and 12 others.

Out From the Soil at Old Castle

ONE VILLAGE WITH SO MANY BACHMANS LIVING there — and leaving it — certainly invites a closer look: twenty separate Bachman households yielded 98 people, ranking them along with the Hausers, Hiestands and Stricklers as the largest families in Richterswil.

The earliest surviving roll of Richterswil's families dates to the 1634 census taken by state church pastors throughout the canton. Neighboring towns enjoy unbroken registries of marriage, baptism and death — some dating back to the early 1500s — and Richterswil had these as well until their first volume ended up missing after an 18th-century inventory.

Four years before his arrest, Rudolf Bachman, the blacksmith, appeared among the families living below the ruins of Wädenswil Castle. The account of Rudolf's arrest in the *Martyr's Mirror* takes special note of his advanced age, and this in a town where many others were well into their eighties and one distinguished citizen lived to 106. In this light, an estimated birth year of 1565, or even earlier, could be realistic. Rudolf and his wife Verena Ryff were living with the young family of Heinrich Bachman (born 1614), in keeping with the tradition of *ultimogeniture*, where the last of a man's sons took care of him through his final years and in turn received ownership of the old homestead. This Heinrich, also a blacksmith, may likely be the same man as the one who headed household N^o 163 during the 1650 census. In 1653, when Rudolf died, the smithy business inherited by Heinrich was ordered to forfeit over 248 talers to pay for his father's time at the prison infirmary. Heinrich's brother, Hans Jaggli (1628) was named as secondarily responsible, although he had fled to Jepsen in Alsace.³⁰⁴ Sixteen years later, Heinrich had a different wife, but otherwise fit the description of the provost who left for Alsace with his sons in 1660. Document on page 211.

With them in the same apparent "generation" was Martin (ca. 1580), Hans Jacob (ca. 1592), another Heinrich (ca. 1595), Jacob (ca. 1602), Andreas (1607), Barbara (1607), Andreas (ca. 1608), Georg (ca. 1610), Verena (ca. 1612), Hansenman (1616) and Hans (1619).

The label "Anabaptist" was noted beside the elder Rudolf as well as by Verena Bachman, married to Andreas Wild, and both Barbal Bachman and her husband Hans Thailer. One young Hans Bachman was listed as a laborer, living with the household of Jodocus Bruppacher, another apprenticed with Conrad Äschman.

After comparing over a century of birth records, only one case exists where the Bachman families in Richterswil gave newborn cousins the same first names in the same year. In this review, a birth year following a name will suffice for the individualization of similar names. For his own clarity in record keeping, and perhaps adopting the same nicknames used in the community at large, the pastor of Richterswil used basic descriptors, such as Young Hans, or Hans, son of Hansenman, or Hans at the Old Castle. Even during a flurry of living Hans Bachmans in any given decade, this method afforded clear identification.

Surely, the arrest of their patriarch and his death in prison would have been a blow to the whole Bachman family. The genealogical cascade from the second generation shows clear patterns of grandchildren named in his honor. The focus of this study, however, will be more on those who identified with the brethren, married into other Anabaptist families or fled from Switzerland.

With baptismal records that begin in 1650, it is possible to see how the Bachman families fanned out within two miles from the roots at Old Castle. They seemed drawn to the highland frontier, in ready walking distance to a border nearby. They picked land far away from the authorities, but their homes were still in the middle of danger. Trouble arrived from the south, forcing every generation to endure another war. These same ingrained patterns — seemingly inherited — would haunt later generations of Bachmans no matter where they tried to start over.

The hamlets surrounding Richterswil were little more than crossroads — two or three homesteads huddled in the midst of their farming acreage. Hirtenstall was right outside of town, heading in the general direction of blacksmith Rudolf's place.

A mile from town and right on the western boundary of the parish district, the village of Old Castle sat immediately below the broken twin towers of the ancient fortress. The knights decided to give the castle to Zürich in 1549, but in the following year, as part of the redrawing of borders with Canton Schwyz, the Diet of Zürich decided against restoring and strengthening the old stone walls. When the two cantons finally hammered

out their common border, Schönenwerd Island remained with Richterswil and its southern tip defined the line. The closest property on shore belonged to the Leaman, Treichler, Widmer and Goldschmidt families.³³

By 1557, with its roof collapsing, the castle was left as an uninhabitable ruin.^{79:11:8} Nonetheless, the old stone walls continued to be a gathering spot and focal point for the community. This hilltop separated Richterswil from its neighbor Wädenswil, which was one more mile northwest along the lakeshore.

Heading inland, and close to the border with Cantons Schwyz, were Schwanden, Haslen, Löchli, Weberrüti and Hütten. In the following centuries, Bachmans became entrenched into these seven villages, even through the middle of wars raging around them. See map on page 170

Three Bachman family lines account for the Anabaptist activity under that name in Richterswil. From Hansenman Bachman (1616) came three sons that warrant attention in this study: Johannes (1637), Heinrich (1655) and Hans (1660). The first brother had a son Hansenman (1677) who in turn had a son Heinrich (1711), noted in better detail below. The second of the brothers lived in Löchli and had a son named Hans Heinrich (1683) who had a son Jacob (1718) who emigrated. The third brother lived in Weberrüti, and was himself an emigrant.

The second important line descends from Johannes Jacob Bachman (1628) of Old Castle and involves a correction to earlier research published in *Some Ancestors of the Baughman Family in America*. From among this father's children came a son Johannes Rudolf (1659). Confusion occurred, and a generation became collapsed and overlooked, because this son had a son also named Johannes Rudolf (1693), an emigrant, who was actually the young father of the second Heinrich (1711) and another emigrant discussed below, Rudolf (1715). Suggested by the syntax on a later list, the elder Martin Bachman and his brother Heinrich Bachman the provost, both emigrants, were also part of the family line from Old Castle.

The third significant line descends from another Johannes Jacob Bachman (1629), four of whose offspring fled Richterswil. The first born was Hans Heinrich (1656), bound for Markirch in Alsace by 1680. The second was Jos (1657) also known by the names Jodocus or Oswald or Osli, who had a son named Hans Georg (1686) who emigrated to Ibersheim. The third born was Martin (1659), who emigrated to Alsace in 1678; and the fourth son was Hans (1661) who went to Breisach in the same year.

A detailed chart of the known Bachman households at Richterswil and Wädenswil appears at the end of this book. See Appendix A, pages 181-184



THE MARRIAGE, BAPTISM AND DEATH BOOK OF THE PARISH RICHTERSWIL
WITH AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE CHURCH AND PASTOR'S RESIDENCE BY FELIX VOGLER

A Cruel Record

IN 1650, THE PARISH OF THE EVANGELICAL Reformed Church in Richterswil tallied "1,189 souls" spread among 800 separate households.⁴⁶ Fifty years later, there were 1,560 people. The entire parish could still be divided up among four dozen surnames. In the rolls of the 17th and 18th centuries may be counted these 36 families:

ÄPPLI	HAUSER	RUSTERHOLTZ
ÄSCHMAN	HIESTAND	RYFF
BACHMAN	HERR	SCHÄLLENBERG
BÄR	HUBER	SCHÄRER
BAUMAN	KAUFFMAN	SCHAUB
BODMER	LANDIS	SCHMIDT
BRUPPACHER	LEAMAN	SCHNEIDER
DÄGEN	LICHTI	STÖCKLI
DANNER	MÜLLER	STRICKLER
DEWEILER	MOYER	TREICHLER
FRICK	OBERHOLTZER	WIDMER
GRÖFF	RINGGER	WILD

The 1662 list of emigrants from Richterswil showed three Bachmans, including the two brothers, Jacob and Caspar, heading north along the Rhine. Jacob went to Jepsen, also known as Jepsenheim or Jebheim, in the Germanic Alsace. Next to Caspar's name, military service was noted. Beside them was Hans Jacob Bachman, house builder.

Antagonism between the state pastor at Richterswil and those straying brethren outside his flock was made obvious in the official marriage and baptismal register kept at the church. In southwest Canton Zürich, many Anabaptist families reluctantly submitted to the expensive, theologically insulting and unwanted blessings that the state church could bestow on them. Occasionally, they plainly resisted, but that was a sure way to draw harsh attention and penalties down on their heads.

For example, Johannes Jacob Bachman (1629) and Regula Strickler never had their son Jos baptized in 1657. The Johannes Jacob Bachman (1628) married to Elisabetha Hauser had a son soon thereafter named Hans Rudolf (1659) who was, without notation or explanation, boldly crossed off the baptismal registry. The same censure happened to Jacob Strickler and Regula Gottinger, who were discovered to have rebaptized their son at a later age privately, dropping the name Hans Georg that the state church had registered for him and switching it to Peter. This disobedience was noted in the margin and the original listing was also boldly crossed out.

In the 50 years between 1665 and 1715, the state

church registry in Richterswil declared 23 children of families related to the Anabaptists to be illegitimate, inscribing the Latin term *Spuria* beside them in letters larger than their names. The list included four babies born to Bachmans: Hans Caspar (1684), son of Hans Bachman and Esther Schwartzentbach; Susanna (1687), born to Susanna Bachman and Hans Jacob Düler; Susanna (1698), born to Heinrich Bachman and Barbara Goldschmidt; and Jacob (1703), born to Hansenman Bachman and Barbara Goldschmidt.

A notation in the Richterswil church book also singled out Rudi Bachman and Verena Schäpin: "She was brought before the marriage court in 1721 because she had committed 'an unfaithful act,' and they knew each other and soon thereafter she became pregnant. They were punished and soon thereafter they were married together.

"Elizabeth Bachman was also punished bodily and then was married to Rudi Ringger."⁵¹

The remaining combinations of young men and women revealed the names — and almost *only* those names — at odds with the state church: Äppli, Äschman, Bär, Danner, Hauser, Hiestand, Landis, Lichti, Ringger and Strickler. It may also be significant that a dozen of these "illegitimate" baptisms attracted two men to be the sponsor or godfather over and over, namely Johannes Reichardt and Hans Jacob Schärer.

Perhaps these young couples were merely unable "to resist nature" as the old People's Priest Hans Bachman had worried, or perhaps they had a chronic distaste for the sacraments offered through the state pastor. Because the state refused to recognize any marriage performed by the Anabaptists, such newlyweds often got labeled as "fornicators."

Across the generations, though, many members of these same families took turns supporting each other at the required church ceremonies. On 1 July 1677, there was a double christening service — for Annali Bachman's baby boy Hans Jacob, that she had with Jagali Bär, where her sponsors were Hans Jacob and Barbara Huber; and at the same time for baby Ulrich Strickler, named in honor of godfather Hans Ulrich Bachman. The parents were Conrad Strickler and Annali Danner, and the pastor couldn't keep from marking the event "*Gravida. Ante Nupt.*" to indicate that this grave event, the pregnancy, happened before he had been able to perform a proper marriage ceremony.

Because Zürich decreed that Anabaptist marriages were null and void, and all their children therefore illegitimate, any succeeding generations were legally incapable of inheriting property.^{76:58} Swiss brethren thrown into prison also forfeited their property — a tactic designed to pressure whole families and even towns with sudden poverty. Sometimes, as with the Huber

family, a confiscated farm was cruelly offered back to them at impossible rates of rent. After the convicted dissenters died in prison, or were simply expelled from Switzerland, officials decided to give back support money to their heirs in the form of "alms."

Despite this antagonism, the Bachmans did not withdraw from supporting their community. Susanna Bachman, wife of Hans Georg Strickler, wanted 60 talers of her personal wealth to go to Richterswil's school children upon her death. Few other townfolk surpassed the generosity of her bequest. Unfortunately, because the state church administered the school's finances, the pastor took over Susanna Bachman's money.^{51,5}

No Word From Him Has Been Heard

DURING THE 1650S, AN ESTIMATED 1,661 Anabaptists fled from Canton Zürich. Unpublished "alms rolls" have survived in the cantonal archives, including the following list from Richterswil, dated 19 March 1679.^{30,4} Childhood nicknames turned Johannes into Hanseli or Hansi, Heinrich into Heini, Rudolf into Rudi, Jacob into Jakobli or Jaggli, Barbara into Barbal, and Georg into Jörgli.

"N° 30: Jakob Strickler's four sons. As of this date in the Kurpfalz and unknown whether dead or alive. Note Well: Nobody is on hand.

"N° 34: Hans [1630], also Rudolf [1641] and Heini [1645] and Konrad [1640], the Hiestands in Haslen, brethren. Note Well: Heini died unmarried. Konrad was an Anabaptist, is said to be in the Kurpfalz in Ybersheim, and had several male progeny. [*Kungold Hiestand (1658) from Richterswil married the Anabaptist Hans Stauffer from Eggwil in Canton Bern and moved in 1710 to Skippack Township in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania.*]

"N° 40: Heinrich Ringger [1654], the son of 'Theggers,' at this time is in foreign lands." [*The mother of Heinrich was Verena Bachman (1619).*]

The alms rolls on 4 April 1716 were later updated with additional commentary:

"N° 79: Hans Rudolf Bachmann [1659], in Hirtenstall. Note Well: Had two sons as heirs: Hans Jakob [1689] (carpenter) and Hans Rudi [1693] (for many years in foreign lands and no word of him is known, was a blacksmith making blades)

"Heinrich Bachmann [1683], son of Hansenman, in Löchli. Note Well: At this time he is the church superintendent [*wachter*] in Sternen.^{55,119} Had two sons: Andreas [1709] of Richterswil; Jakob [1718], in America in 1748 according to writings sent to his father Heinrich the administrator, died 4 April 1757.

"N° 80: Hans Bachmann [1660], known as Hänsi, son of Hansenman, in foreign lands. Note Well: Progeny accounted for, living in Richterswil (Weberütli). Reportedly out of the country temporarily!

"N° 81: Oswald Bachmann [1657, also called *Jos* or *Jodocus*], the son of Hans Jagli. Note Well: Lives at the Old Castle. Had four sons as heirs, Hans Jörgli [*baptized 2 May 1686*], Jörgli [*8 March 1679*], Hans Heinrich [*14 February 1685*] and Heinrich (nicknamed 'Oil Heinrich')[*14 May 1682*]. Hans Jörgli for many years in Kurpfalz, was an Anabaptist, moved to America in Pensilvania, living by a great swamp, according to various letters to his father, had sons. [*The above Hans Georg moved to Ibersheim and was eventually at Saucon Township in Pennsylvania. In 1735, he lived on the edge of the Mennonite community at Great Swamp Creek in Old Bucks County, the area of present-day Coopersburg in Lehigh County.*]

"N° 82: Johannes, Hans Jakob and Jakob Bachmann, Oswald's brothers. Note Well: Heinrich (not the one mentioned above) the old provost marshal [*Profos*], has been in Alsace for 56 years with no word about him. Had three sons that he took away with him: Hanseli, Jakobli and another, name not known, and not another word from them is known. Note Well: Martin Bachmann, the brother of Heinrich the provost, is in the Netherlands and no word from him has been heard."

Oswald's younger brothers, Martin Bachman [1659] and Hans [1661] headed up the Rhine in 1678. [*Likely the Hans Bachman of Heidolsheim.*] Hans Heinrich Bachman [1656], an Anabaptist, left for Markkirch in Alsace the year after the alms roll was reported.⁷⁹

Pastor Felix Vogler, the state church chamberlain in Richterswil, recalled a much more cursory list on 15 May 1744. Canton officials were alarmed by the avalanche of departing Swiss. A stiff exit tax, called the *Abzug*, tried to discourage those who might consider joining the exodus. At the very least, one last healthy tithe was taken from them. To measure the hemorrhage, and how many "midnight" departures had cheated the government out of its emigration tax, every local district was ordered to list those who had recently fled. Zürich lost at least 2,300 citizens during the ten years leading up to the tally Vogler helped compile. Secret departures added at least another 200 people, according to scholarly estimates.^{83,24}

Another state church pastor nearby claimed, "...As far as my parish is concerned, I do not know of a single person who has cherished a desire for this so-called *Schlaraffenland* [Promised Land], where, according to some people's fancy, roast pigeons fly into one's mouth, nor one who has departed thither... to such a 'fruitful land,' as many frivolous persons believe Carolina or Pennsylvania to be."^{61,49} Of course Pastor Vogler and all

other state church shepherds had a conflict of interest in these reports. Their first duty was to keep the flock from straying, but failing this, to at least monitor the adequate collection of the *Abzug*.

On List No.68, Vogler reported "Rodolph Bachman [1715], son of Rodolf [1693], is said to have gone to Carolina about five years ago [1739], but we know nothing of him... Still another Bachman is said to have gone to Pennsylvania before the war [1712], and to have died there." ^{61:75} It was beyond Vogler's orders to reach back 55 years for the disappearance of Ulrich Bachman and his entire family, sometime before 1689, or to make up for the omissions from his predecessor's emigration reports between 1657 and 1663.

Vogler also didn't raise the much more recent disappearance of two Bachman cousins. Both were named Heinrich, both were born in Richterswil, and both were born in the autumn of 1711 — the son of Hansenman Bachman on 7 September and the son of Hans Rudolf Bachman on 13 October. Hans Rudolf's boy had temporary permission to be traveling up the Rhine and was reported drowned on 12 March 1733. His body was never found. Hansenman's boy was working in the pond of a miller in Wädenswil on 31 July 1735 and simply vanished. It was assumed that he had drowned even though his body was also never recovered.

It bears repeating that Hans Rudolf (1693), father to Heinrich, also disappeared to the Kurpfalz, as did Heinrich's younger brother, Rudolf (1715). It is this first Heinrich who is thought to have boarded the *Jamaica Galley* in 1738 and arrived in Philadelphia. If the other Heinrich also went to America, perhaps aboard the *Lydia* in 1749, then the second Henry Baughman of the Shenandoah Valley, who died in Greenbrier County, Virginia, could also be neatly accounted for.

At least one of the Bär families was transplanted to Richterswil from a few miles off to the west, in the village of Bruder Albis. Appearing in the 1650 census for the first time, Hans Jakob settled at Kneüwis-Hof with his seven children. Perhaps because he was the son of two parents of notorious Anabaptist persuasion, the state church pastor at Richterswil noted the following beside his name:

"All of them came to us only a few weeks ago from the region of Knonau. This summer we shall see how it will be" [...if they can fit into and belong to this parish.] ^{40:17} Several more generations from this family did flourish in their new home, including several intermarriages with the Bachmans. Heinrich Bär from Richterswil fled north for Streichenberg in Germany and it was his son who became Henry Bare of Hempfield Township in Pennsylvania. ^{44:26}

Heinrich Hiestand also left Richterswil but ended up

in Friedrichstadt, on the North Sea in Schleswig-Holstein. It was his son Jacob that went on to Hempfield. ^{41:60} Rudolf Strickler, the son of Heinrich in Richterswil, was a mason and stonecutter who married in 1672 at Mühlbach in the Kraichgau to Maria Wust. ^{59:171} Jacob Widmer emigrated about the same time to Zimmerhof, but made it himself to Hempfield. ^{42:17}

While Richterswil's congregation endured these spiritual growing pains, the church building itself was also torn apart. It had become 450 years old, far too decrepit and small for the growing village. In 1700, Zürich pledged 400 gulder out of the estimated 2000 required for a new building. Only the beautiful Gothic choir and the tower, with its sun dial, remained standing. Behind the double windows, two bells hung safely: a big one dating from 1536 and a little one from 1592. A third one was in place by 1717. A stone mason from Rapperswil completed the baroque exterior while local craftsman completed the interior woodwork. ^{84:15}

A few other Bachmans are known to have left from the opposite side of the canton — from its northern edge and from across the eastern shore of the long Lake Zürich. Hans Bachman, a 64-year-old paper maker from Hinwil, with his 50-year-old wife Elsbeth Pfenninger, 7 children and 3 grandchildren left in 1661 for Sundhausen in Alsace. ^{73:38} Another departing Bachman from the Hinwil area was Hans Konrad from Langmatt, son of Georg, who married Elisabeth Harder at Bretten in the Kraichgau by 1689. ^{59:21} Hans Melchior Bachman, known only as being from Switzerland, worked at Eppingen in 1686, and following perhaps in his footsteps was Heinrich, an assistant mason from Eglisau, who moved to Eppingen by 1719. Another notable union came in 1631 at Raterschen by Elsau, when Margaretha Bachman married Jacob Mayer, but their descendants are not fully known.

Rorbas saw three of its Bachmans leave: In 1661, Hans Heinrich Bachman, a young apprentice tradesman from there left for Rottweil in southern Germany's Württemberg. ^{73:38} Jacob, son of Heinrich, arrived in Bretten by 1669 and was married there to Margaretha Hemmer. Ulrich, a miller, moved to Heidelberg in Germany and got married to Anna Maria Rawfelder. ^{59:21}

Horsemen of the Apocalypse

BESIDES RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION, THERE WERE certainly more reasons for leaving Richterswil. Waves of dysentery twice ravaged the people, with the first death recorded in late 1659. Young Caspar Züricher introduced the contagion from its outbreak in Wädenswil, and three days after Christmas, the next victim was

Hanseli, the son of Hansenman Bachman at Old Castle. On New Year's Day, his sister Barbali died, and so it continued for 12 months, peaking in the heat of August, eventually taking nine Bachmans and 70 others in Richterswil. Escaping this disease might well have been a motive for the old provost Heinrich Bachman and his brother Martin when they took their families away that year. During a second outbreak in 1690 and 1691, the toddlers Verena and Hans Bachman were among the 65 who died.

In his report on emigration, Pastor Vogler referred to "another Bachman" who left before the Toggenburger War of 1712. He may have been indicating the Hans Bachman (1660) of Weberrüti, known to have left around that time and who had good reason to flee: the backyard of his village was directly on the front lines with Canton Schwyz, and he was of an age to get drafted and forced into the fight. Sometime after the birth of his last child in 1695, this Bachman fled, leaving many of his family behind.

Also known as the Second Villmerger War, this turned out to be the last of the armed conflicts in Switzerland between Protestant and Catholic, following on the Second Kappeler War (1531) and the First Villmerger War (1656). In April 1712, the fight resumed between the southern, Catholic cantons and the solidified Protestant Reformation in Zürich and Bern.
^{78:11:29} Once again, the fighting fell upon the area around Richterswil, behind the Bachman's homesteads in Weberrüti, Löchli and right on top of the family of the blacksmith Rudolf Bachman at Hütten.

The Catholic Abbott of St. Gallen wanted to have an easier approach to his allies in the south, over the strategic Ricken Pass in the Toggenburg highlands. With such a road, Catholic troops from Canton Schwyz could quickly move to his aid. Local workers forced into building the road did not want outsider troops pouring through their homeland and so refused to complete the project. Zürich and Bern supported those Toggenburgers who resisted, causing Catholic villagers to jump on the other side.

On 22 April, a large force of Zürich troops, with detachments from Bern, entered eastern Switzerland at a place named Wil, next to the Thur region and the monastery at St. Gallen. There they took the bells from the church tower, a large number of books from its library, and quantities of wine as their war booty. Bernese troops, supported by the Zürichers, marched on to Mellingen, defeating 4,000 Luzern soldiers from Bremgarten. Another victory followed in Baden. Cease-fire negotiations led to the signing of a treaty in June at Aarau, and rights of passage were guaranteed anyway to the Catholics. On 18 July, the cantons of Uri and Luzern also signed the terms of peace.

War in the Backyard

TROOPS FROM RICHTERSWIL AND WÄDENSWIL HAD been quartered close to home to defend the canton's southwestern border. They had been helped by other parts of the canton during several small skirmishes, but concentrated all Spring on building several forts.

Between Lake Zürich and the village of Sternen, a series of deep, wooded ravines made a natural barrier to invasion. But at their leveling off, Fort Sternen was built, a plain rectangle of 210 by 180 feet, large enough for many defenders to occupy. They added around it a wooden barricade, crossable at only one large wooden gate. The earthworks built up around the fort were still visible nearly 300 years later. They also built Little Fort Oak, a smaller oval position some 200 feet north of Samstagen village.

Their biggest stronghold was Fort Bellen, immediately south of Weberrüti, where fortifications had existed since 1656. It was constructed in the form of a pentagon, and pointed east like a ship's bow toward the enemy. In front of these walls was a double firing line of trenches and a palisade fence of sharpened logs. Four cannons were mounted inside the fort and a storage hut was built for keeping the munitions dry.

The next and last defensive position, named Fort Hütten, sat on a hill beside the River Sihl, overlooking the town of Hütten from its southern edge. It was designed as a small rectangle of about 90 by 120 feet, and equipped with two cannons. Soldiers here could defend the village well, and also spy on any enemy movement towards the nearby bridge. Unfortunately, Fort Hütten was too far away from Fort Bellen to adequately protect all the ground between them.

Taking command of the area was Major-General Hans Konrad Werdmüller. From the same military family that had put down their grandparents' rebellion, another Werdmüller was sent by Zürich to save them. The Major-General's headquarter staff was split between the Old Castle at Wädenswil and the stone wall enclosing the Schönenberg cemetery.

The forts were completed by May, but the end of the war already seemed likely. Because peace negotiations had already begun and harvest time was near, the soldiers were eager to get back to their farms. Werdmüller agreed, and left nothing more than token guards to staff the forts. The neighbors from Richterswil and Zug returned to their old ways — helping each other, mowing hay and even transporting produce for each other to market. The borderland folks from Canton Zug even came over to help finish work on the forts.

But by mid-summer, the war began again. An army of 4,000 Catholic troops invaded the Reuss Valley on 20 July, which was defended by a Bernese outpost of 1,200

men. The invaders were repulsed, but Richterswil's frontier was in danger again.

During the night of 22 July, when the clock in the church tower at Schönenburg rang three o'clock, Zürich sentries were alerted to the sound of many men singing. They saw signs of campfires and were sure that this had dire meaning.

Just before sunrise at a settlement east of Hütten called Bergli, the first enemy contact came with an outpost of two dozen Zürich guardsmen. At the approach of 2,300 Schwyzer troops, the outpost let off a warning shot to signal the other forts. The invaders paused, and decided to take eight civilians from Bergli prisoner, torturing and killing them. The victims included Barbara Staub, the 63-year-old widow of Heinrich Hauser; the 71-year-old Hans Rudolf Blatman and his daughter Elisabetha, 29; Ursula Strickler, 50; Anna Hauser, 15; Anna Treichler and Elisabetha Äschman, 24, of Wädenswil.

The army from Canton Schwyz was hoping to be joined by an equal force of their Catholic allies from Canton Zug, and the previous night's signals by fire from Rossberg had been an effort to hurry their arrival. They were supposed to attack from the west, but the Zugers never arrived. The Schwyzers decided to go it alone.

The invaders managed to break the first line of defense at Fort Hütten, and rush past them through the wide gap between it and Fort Bellen, beyond the effective range of gunfire. They camped at Sägel, still hoping that

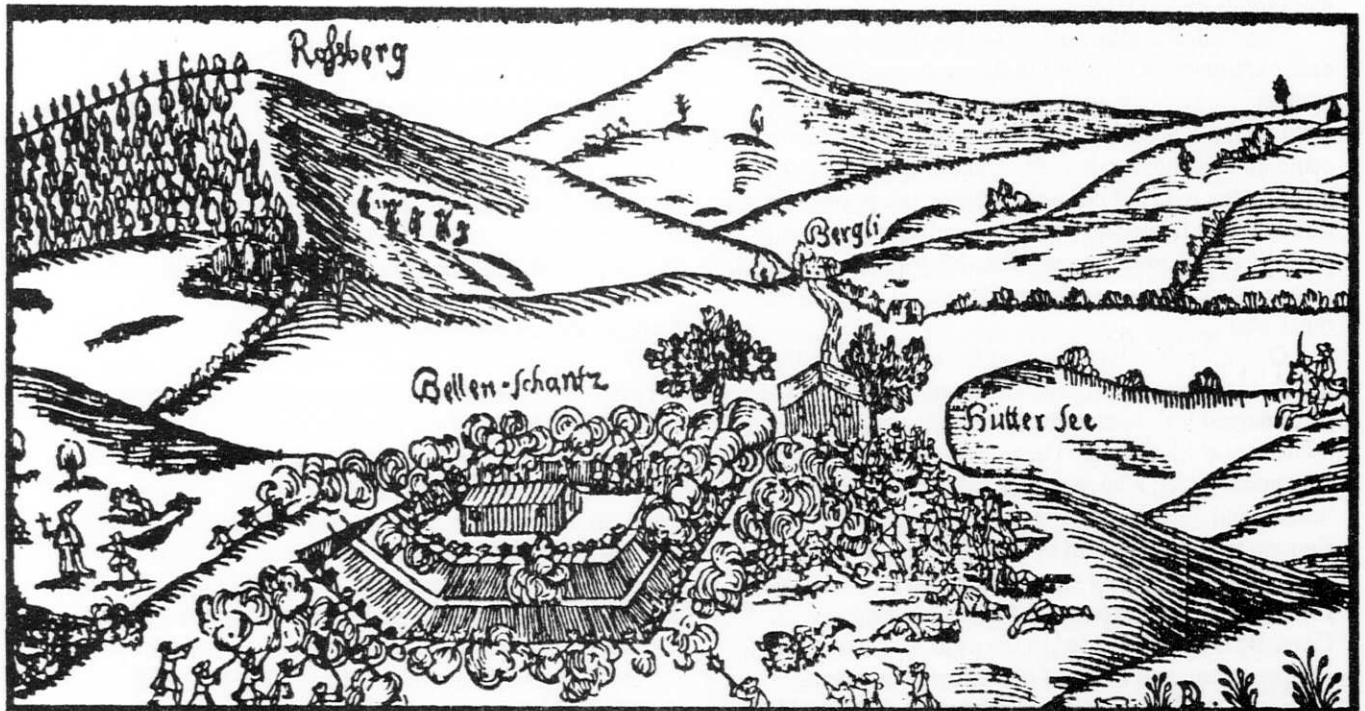
the troops from Canton Zug were on their way. The first response from Zürich was also tentative: only three companies of Protestant soldiers were dispatched to restrengthen Old Castle.

At Schönenberg cemetery, the military camp had only four men to defend it. With only 24 horsemen, the cavalry commander at Old Castle, named Eschmann, raced off for the front lines. Eschmann hoped to trick the enemy commanders by leaving two cavalrymen behind on top of a hill. Just as the 22 came charging at the enemy camp, the other two waved their hats in pantomime, urging forward imaginary armies of reinforcement.

Luckily, the Schwyz commander took in the whole performance, assumed that hundreds more cavalry were on their way, and so ordered his entire force into a hasty retreat.

Eschmann was eventually joined by more cavalry under Commander Meyer along with 140 Richterswilers in an infantry force under Major Mattli. Combined, they sought to rescue the small unit defending Fort Bellen from a simultaneous attack on three sides. In heated battle, Eschmann had his horse shot out from under him and Mattli was wounded. All along their double line of trenches, the Richterswilers kept up a steady fire, but at times, due to difficulty reloading their old flintlocks, as much as three minutes separated each salvo.

The Catholic priest of Galgenen urged the Schwyzers into a third charge against Fort Bellen. At



THE ATTACK ON FORT BELLEN, WITH CAVALRY RIDING TO THE RESCUE (AT RIGHT) AND A PRIEST IN RETREAT

the head of the army, and with his crucifix held high, the priest finally got himself shot. The Richterswilers at Fort Bellen halted the third attack, but with no confidence that they could have fought off a fourth wave. The deciding factor arrived at 11 o'clock, when fresh Zürich cavalry from Kyburg, resplendent in their red uniforms, drove the Schwyzer force into full retreat. On the battlefield lay 29 enemy dead, while only 11 of the local men had paid with their lives.

The real end of the war came three days later and far away: 8,000 Protestant troops from Bern crushed the 10,000-strong main force of the Catholic allies.^{78:29-37}

From the Larger Community of Brethren

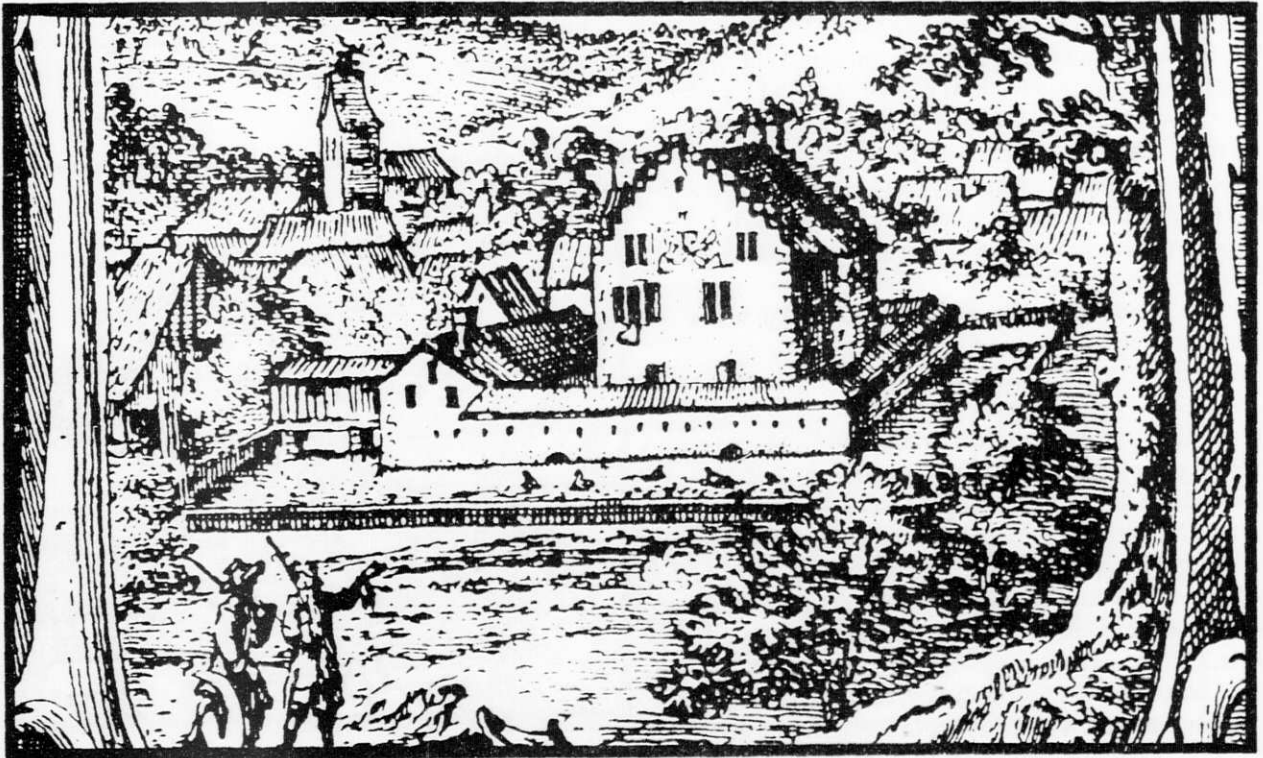
WHEN THE BACHMANS LOOKED WEST AND SOUTH from Lake Zürich, behind Richterswil, they could see the Albis Mountains rise up. Hopping from one town to the next, never more than a few miles apart, were the rest of the Anabaptist core in Canton Zürich. Much as the Bachmans dominated their hometown numerically, the other Anabaptist families tended to identify with and remain in certain villages, even though some of each name, through intermarriage, could be found sprinkled among them all.

A mile northwest of the Old Castle lived Peter

Bruppacher of Wädenswil. His son Hans Jacob married Kleiann Hiestand from Richterswil and together, with another son Hans, they moved to Ibersheim by 1661. The next generation — being Jacob, John and Peter Bruppacher — found themselves in Pennsylvania's Hempfield Township beside the Susquehanna River. Heinrich Zimmerman left Wädenswil in 1698 and arrived soon in Germantown north of Philadelphia as Henry Carpenter. He made one secret visit home and spread the word of a wonderful America. He encouraged many to make the trip and himself chose Lampeter and Paradise townships.^{71:134}

In Hirzel, during a 1633 headcount of known-Anabaptists, 46 were named,^{43:19} including the families of Hans Landis, the martyr, Hans Rudolf Bauman and Conrad Strickler. These Stricklers may have been the family recorded in Friedrichstadt in Germany in 1693.^{45:52}

Across the Sihl River at Hausen were the Huber and Bär families, and the son of Martin Meili, who lived at Dühren in the Kurpfalz in 1661. Jacob Bär from Hausen became a tavern-keeper in Rockingham County, Virginia, by 1740.^{40:26} The next town north was Knonau, with Schnebellis, Fricks, more Meilis and two of the few Bachmans living outside of Richterswil, being Johannes Jacob, born 1657, and Melchior Bachman, born 1644, from the hamlet of Maschwanden, who emigrated to the



THE CASTLE AT KNONAU IN 1667

Pfalz respectively in 1697 and 1702.^{50&79}

North of them was Mettmenstetten, where Johannes Heinrich Bachman and Jacob, son of Zacharias Bachman lived in the adjoining hamlet of Dachelsen. They also moved to the Pfalz during those same years. Beside them were the Funks of Mettmenstetten, including Heinrich's family who later moved to Dühren.^{49:90}

From Obfelden came Jacob and Peter Gut. The Näf family grew strong in Kappel, right beside Affoltern am Albis, where four households of Schnebellis thrived by 1633. The brothers Johan Jacob, Felix and Phillip Schnebelli all quit Affoltern before 1656, stopping first at Baldenheim in Alsace before they finally settled in Ibersheim. A grandson, Johan Georg, born 1684, found himself among the Conestoga settlers of Pennsylvania in 1728.^{88:24-27} Hans, Leonhardt, Heinrich and Caspar Schnebelli along with their families left straight from Affoltern to Pennsylvania in 1743. Also in the town's citizenship roll of 1695 can be found Hans Müller, born 18 November 1669, who eventually left for the Pfalz. He has since been identified as the uncle of a Johannes Müller, who emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1749.³⁸

In the spring of 1734, around the same time that the two Bachman cousins disappeared, Heinrich Näf led a group of 11 brethren from the neighboring village of Hausen am Albis in the Knonau district to America. Among them was the Provincial Governor's son, Heinrich Walder from Knonau. The Näf's hometown pastor wrote about the affair:

"Heinrich... and Hans Näf were brothers from Graben, close to Hausen am Albis, and served as leaders. They traveled in spite of the advice of the government. Heinrich was a badly disoriented fellow who belonged to a so-called 'Pietistic' group. Heinrich had been sentenced to the castle at Knonau and later escaped... Afterward there was an inquiry because they had not paid their *Abzug*."

The authorities summoned Näf to Knonau in hopes that their departure could be stopped, but he ignored the order and fled to the town of Cham across the border in Canton Zug. On 3 August, the rest of his little group joined him to walk out of Switzerland into France, reaching London by September. On the way, the 57-year-old Näf married a 19-year-old member of his group, Verena Müller. Her brother Jakob Müller also married a fellow fugitive, Barbara Frey. Tragically, both Näf brothers and Heinrich Walder died within two years of settling in Puryburg, South Carolina, probably from fever.^{75:9-10}

Later, and just north of Zürich, came other confirmed ancestors of the Swiss in Pennsylvania and Virginia. George Kindig, born 1678 in Pfaffikon, went to Ittlingen in the Kurpfalz and on to the Conestoga

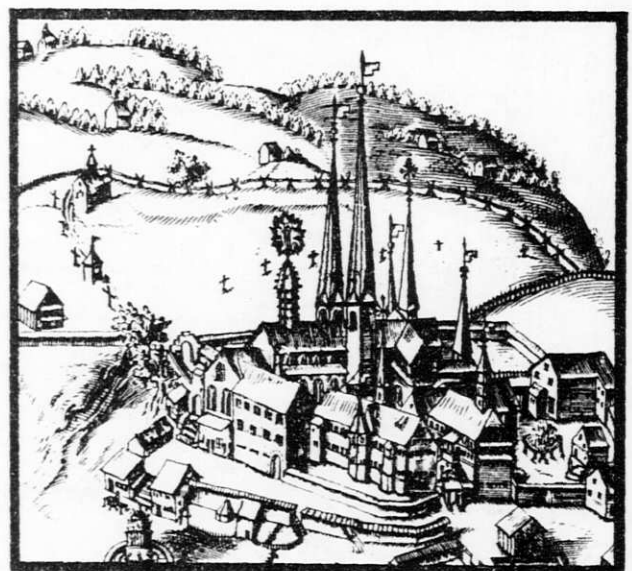
settlement in Pennsylvania by 1717. His brother, Hans Jacob Kindig, born 1671, eventually settled in Strasburg township, also in the part of Chester County that became Lancaster. They were both cousins of the Mennonite leader Martin Kindig.^{57:E:14}

One Ringger family resided in Oberwil, north of a village called Nürensdorf. Hans Jacob, the eldest boy at eight years of age, saw his mother die the day after Christmas in 1732, and his father remarry the following Spring to Susanna Bachman, daughter of Rudolf Bachman and Verena Leibacher, all from their same village. In an awful turn of events, the father Jacob died in 1734 shortly after the birth of his only child with Susanna, named Heinrich Ringger.

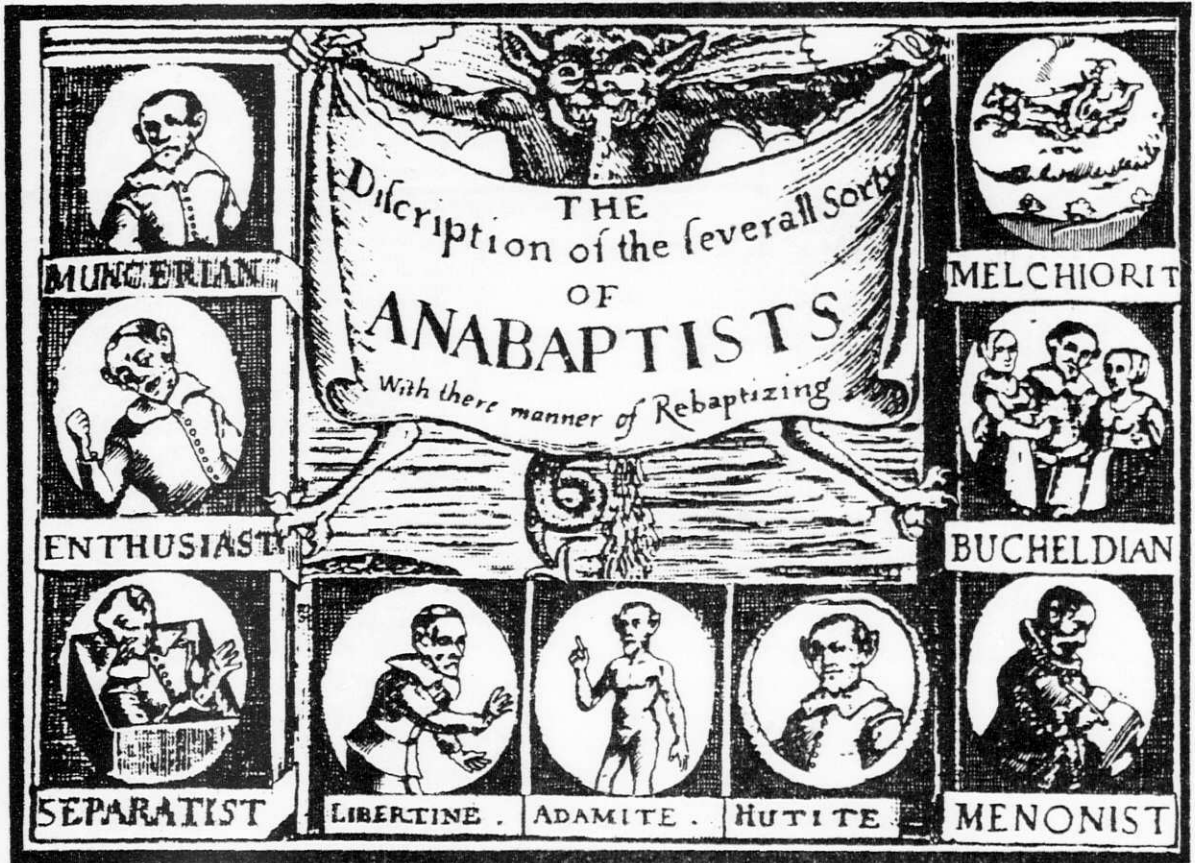
The state church pastor at neighboring Basserstorff wrote about them under the heading: "A List of those Pitiable Persons, who Contrary to Faithful Warnings and Admonitions Obstinate went away from the Parish Basserstorff, with the intention of seeking their fortunes in Carolina or Pennsylvania.

"Left Sunday, 5 May 1743... Susanna Bachman the deceased Jakob Ringger's widow from Nürenstorff. Born 20 August 1707, left with her son Heinrick, Baptized 13 March 1735 and three sons... born by Barbara Morff from Effretikon."

Susanna and her brood arrived in Philadelphia on 30 August 1743 aboard the *Francis & Elizabeth*. On the same ship was a 23-year-old Jacob Bachman, perhaps a cousin, although church books establish that he was definitely not her brother. Eventually, they all made it to the Shenandoah Valley.^{52:2-3} ■ ■ ■



THE MONASTERY AT EINSIEDELN
SEAT OF CATHOLIC POWER IN CANTON SCHWYZ



HATE LITERATURE OF THE REFORMATION: THE DEVIL INTRODUCES SEVERAL SORTS OF ANABAPTISTS IN ENGLAND ; AND THEN HELPS A GERMAN MONK TO COOK CHRIST INTO COMMUNION BREAD



A BROTHERS FAMILY DRIVEN OUT OF CANTON ZÜRICH
THE SPIRE OF THEIR TOWN'S CHURCH AND THE ALBIS MOUNTAINS LOOMING BEHIND



FTER THE REFORMATION took hold in Switzerland and the persecution of the Anabaptists began, a man named Heinrich Bachman left from Zürich. Facing direct threats of punishment, many

Anabaptists traveled down the Rhine to the "low lands" where religious tolerance was more common. When the political mood back home seemed calmer, some tried to sneak back into Switzerland and resume a quiet life. On 19 December 1537, Bachman was described as being from Emmerich, perhaps some tiny Swiss village that has disappeared from modern maps, but more likely, the German town on the Rhine just before the Dutch border. Either way, his "customary attachment" to Zürich was noted.

On that day, Heinrich bought a farm at Böttenstein from Hans Jäggli situated near the Aare River in the Free District which later became Canton Aargau, five miles east of Zofingen and a half mile east of Bottenwil.¹³² In those days, Aargau was a buffer zone of sorts between the Cantons of Zürich and Basel, administered under their supervision by their third partner, Canton Bern. Because of this cumbersome governmental structure, Anabaptists that gathered there were comparatively unbothered.

Five years earlier, Zofingen had been the site of a great public debate on the principals of Anabaptism, and promises of safe-conduct drew out 23 brethren leaders. "Everyone may be satisfied and no one might claim," wrote the Bernese authorities, "that we attack them without a hearing."^{150:1035} The government printed a transcript of the debate in booklet form, hoping this might help suppress the movement, but it had the opposite effect in Sumiswald and the rest of the Emmenthal.^{107:289} For two centuries, many Bachmans clung to Böttenstein, despite harsh measures taken against them. See map on page 171

In 1578, citizens in Aargau were ordered not to purchase the estates of departing Anabaptists just so that these fortunes would be forfeited to the state. During 1580 in Balzenwyl, "the entire village with women and children, and man and maid-servants" all left. Also around that time fled Henry Stählin of Birrwyl, Ulrich Bär of Schöpfland, and Melchior Hunzicker and Uli Häggi of Leerau.^{92:5}

On 4 July 1585, the Councils of Bern and Zürich were hosted in Canton Aargau at Aarau and they unanimously agreed on a policy of mass arrests and

expulsion for all Anabaptists. In 1592, Ulrich Bachman became the first of that name officially expelled from Switzerland. After his arrest at Böttenstein, he was immediately banished to the Kurpfalz.

Moritz Bachman took up the Böttenstein farm in 1614. The Anabaptists Ulrich Bachman and his wife Margareta Widmer annoyed authorities at Zofingen often between 1617-1620. Peter Häggi of Seon was allowed to come home to Aargau in 1624. After he promised to "conduct himself obediently," his confiscated life savings of 400 talers was given back to him.^{92:5}

In the records of Bottenwil, a later Ulrich Bachman, nicknamed "Horn-Üli," came to the attention of authorities many times between 1694 to 1696 for his Anabaptist beliefs. Caspar Bachman left Böttenstein in 1696 bound for the "Low Lands." Twenty years later, he wrote to the local authorities at Zofingen trying to get some of his money back that they had confiscated.¹²⁷

Most of those who felt threatened in Bottwyl left in the great emigration in 1711, but those who stayed rallied around the Bachman family. As late as 1720, a Hans Bachman left from there to the Kurpfalz. Until death took him many years later, still far away from his homeland, he received financial support from his old Swiss neighbors.

Another of the Bachman lines in Canton Bern had its roots in Canton Zürich. Leaving there sometime around 1650, they also settled near Zofingen. By the end of the 17th Century, these Bachmans entered Canton Bern in the Anabaptist stronghold of the Emmenthal. See Appendix D, page 192

Across the 17th and 18th centuries, Bachmans showed up in 36 distinct communities in Canton Zürich, suggesting not only the largest numbers in all Switzerland, but also the oldest presence and longest period of dispersal. Moving westward, the family appeared in five communities in Canton Aargau, which became a bridge of sorts to the other large Protestant canton in northern Switzerland. Parts of the family showed up in 12 different towns in Canton Bern.⁹³

Further proof of the pattern of brethren migration comes in the saga of Heinrich Funk of Mettmenstetten in Canton Zürich. As a traveling preacher, he was on a missionary visit to the Emmenthal in 1671 when Bernese authorities arrested him for having passed "20 years in the canton of Bern without authorization." Once conducted to the Burgundian border, he was stripped in the cold weather and his flesh was branded with heated irons. Funk's bruised body was abandoned in the middle of a crowd of French. He wandered thus for three hours

“because he could not communicate with anyone.”^{104:46}
Funk survived, and his nephew, Johannes, emigrated
from Bonfeld in the Pfalz to Pennsylvania and onto the
Shenandoah Valley in Virginia.^{109:22}

From the archives at Bern, came the following notes
about two Anabaptist Bachmans in 1657/58 from the
district of Signau: “The Anabaptist Hans Bachman was
taken prisoner and ordered to pay a fine of one kronor.
Ulrich Bachman, an old Anabaptist preacher from the
district of Signau was imprisoned at Trachselwald Castle.
The three men who brought him in were paid a reward of
three kronen. Because he is very poor, he could not raise
bail for eight days. Costs were deducted from his meal
allowance.

“After an imprisonment of four days and serious
interrogation, Bachman recanted and declared himself
ready for returning, and swore to his conversion.”¹³⁵

Also from Trachselwald came the family of Benedict
Brachbühl that settled eventually in Strasburg Township
with the early Pequea settlers of Pennsylvania.^{114:12}

An emphatic repeat of the expulsion order came on
15 June 1660. An exodus of 700 Anabaptists left from
Canton Bern for the Pfalz in 1671, the peak year,
although some had left as early as 1655. Additional Bern
mandates came in 1691, 1693, 1695 (“People too old to
be expelled must be imprisoned for life”), 1707, 1708,
1722 and 1729.

In 1702, a great drive to find the Mennonites of the
Emmenthal was announced. This Baptist Hunt had to
make its way through contempt from the entire mountain

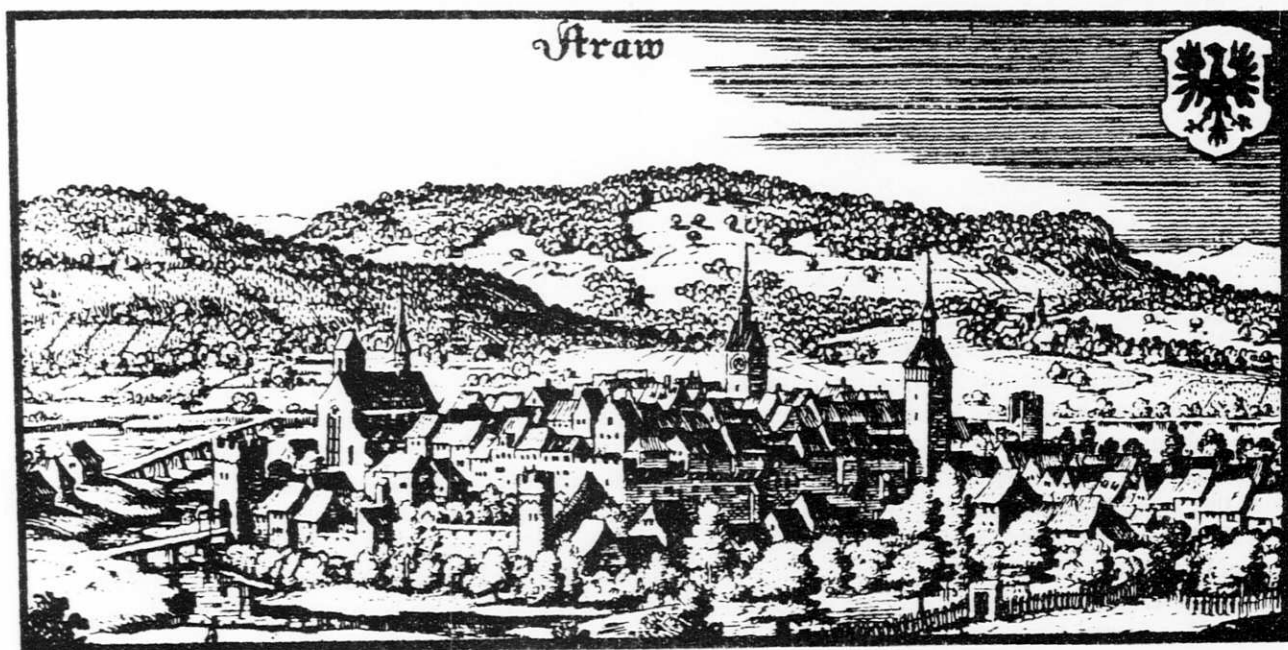
population, all blowing horns, shooting, shouting and
making every other kind of warning signal to spoil the
progress of the posse.

To avoid capture near Trub, the Anabaptist Christian
Hörschi lived high in the mountains. His house, named
the *Höhlenfluh*, was tucked beneath the ledge of a bluff
so that neither rain nor snow ever fell on its roof. Three
hundred years later, the cave-house still stands, used by
the Fankhouser family as part of their goat farm.^{123:44}

In the town of Sumiswald, the “hunters” who had
already taken a small group of Mennonites prisoner were
surrounded by an angry mob of 60 or 70 irate citizens
who forcibly released the brethren.^{107:295} Some of the
most notorious hunters, when finally face-to-face with
their prey, experienced such remorse that they forgot the
awaiting blood-money, and released their prisoners.
Some decided to unite with the meek Christians and
shared the burdens of future punishment.

The *Halbtäufer*, or Half-Anabaptists, helped the
persecuted brethren at every turn. Since they did not step
forward to endure the fines, imprisonment, torture and
execution, these people were not counted by the state
church among the activists. But the Anabaptists could
not have survived for two centuries in Switzerland
without this broad web of “true-hearted people.” In the
many mandates against the brethren, *Halbtäufers* were
also condemned for being influenced by the constancy
and testimony of the brethren.¹²⁵

On 19 March 1709 in Canton Bern, the Anabaptist
pastor Jacob Bachman received shelter from Ulrich
Wanger and his wife. When authorities found out what



AARAU, SEAT OF THE AARGAU

TEMPORARY REFUGE TO SOME BRETHREN; HOST TO BERN AND ZÜRICH DURING THE ANABAPTIST DEBATES

the couple had done, they were sentenced to three months rowing as slaves in a galley ship, although they did not have to spend their time manacled in chains.¹³⁵

The center of the peasants' political agitation in Bern were the same neighborhoods where Anabaptism was increasing. The church and state were so closely intertwined that revolt against one was automatically revolt against the other. This helps explain why the government felt an overwhelming reaction was necessary to the threat they perceived from the brethren.^{110:78-79}

To Send Out a Colony

WITH AN EXPULSION PLAN FOR THE SWISS Brethren in 1709, Bernese authorities put a whole sequence of events and personalities together. After many false starts, it finally led many to the faraway mountains of Virginia.

In the employ of that colony's royal governor just two years earlier, Franz Ludwig Michel was the first European to map the Shenandoah Valley.^{105:284} He had already taken several trips there, dating back to 1701. In 1703, Michel claimed that William Penn had made him Director General of all the mines in Penn's territory.

While in Philadelphia in 1704, Michel met the gunsmith Johann Rudolf Bundeli. They were both members of the burger class from Bern, and Bundeli told him all about his plan to settle a community of Swiss where a certain Pequea Creek fed the Susquehanna River. Michel, at the age of 34, took up the crusade of settling Anabaptists in the new land beyond the mountains in Pennsylvania.

"How praiseworthy and easy would it be," wrote the young Michel, "to send out a colony like other nations, which would be a greater glory and praise for our country than to send a large number, for the sake of money, to slaughter in battle... Who has more reason to look for expansion and places of retreat than our country?" It was to be a colony populated by the homeless, by Anabaptists and "for the removal of undesirable subjects."^{141:157}

On 28 February 1706, Secretary Hedges presented to the Council of Trades and Plantations the following letter written on behalf of Michel to Queen Anne in London:

"François Louys Michel, citizen of Berne, having settled in Pennsylvania, has... persuaded a colony of 4 or 500 Swiss Protestants to go and settle on some uninhabited lands in Pennsylvania or on the frontier of Virginia... Prays Her Majesty's consent and protection and that they should be regarded as H.M. subjects, that they should be settled on some navigable river, that each colonist have about 100 acres... [be] advanced seed corn for the first year, to be repaid in four years, that they

have freedom to trade... exemption from taxes for 10 years, freedom to choose ministers of the Gospel and officers of justice and police under the direction of the governor; that after public prayer for H.M. they should be allowed to pray for the Republic of Berne, which is allied to H.M., that similar privileges be granted to all who hereafter come from Switzerland to increase that colony, and that they be transported with their effects from Rotterdam at H.M. expense."

A repeat of the petition was given again to the Queen on 28 June 1709, but this time mentioning settlement on the southwest branch of the Potomac River — meaning the Shenandoah River — "near the settlement of François Louis Michel." This was followed up with a supplementary map of the frontier of Virginia.

The colonial authorities liked the idea, too, but they seemed unclear on the fact that Mennonites were being sent instead of the Vatican's Swiss Guard. "Nothing can be of more Security and Advantage to... Great Britain," wrote John Lawson in 1709, "than to have our Frontiers secured by a War-like People, and our Friends, as the Switzers are; especially when we have more Indians than we can civilize... and none are more fit than an industrious People, bred in mountainous country and inured to all the Fatigues of War and Travel."

Michel's father was David, Lord of Ralligen, a member of the Great Council of Bern and prefect of Gottstatt. Between father and son, enough enthusiasm, political and economic clout were mustered to get the plan rolling.

So Michel, the new emigration agent and Georg Ritter, another council member, were hired to round up and escort a first contingent of Mennonites — some of whom were already in prison — to America. If the first mission went well, Michel's contract would be continued. The target was for 100 Anabaptists, but by the time all of the other arrangements had fallen together, only 56 could be found, including the brethren elder Christian Fankhauser from Hinter Hutte, near Trub, in the Langenau district of Canton Bern.¹³² The first boat load of brethren came from a rugged region called the Emmenthal, part of where the Jura Mountains span the border of cantons Aargau and Bern. The name refers to the valley, or *thal*, surrounding Emmen Creek. Many from the Emmenthal Anabaptist congregations were those who were persecuted and driven out of the cities beginning in 1525.

The Bernese authorities had not planned on what would happen when their prison ship docked at Nimwegen in the Netherlands. The well-to-do Dutch Mennonites exerted considerable political influence over the government there, and in any case, slave ships were not allowed by Dutch law to pass through their territory. The brethren were promptly freed. With financial aid

from the Dutch Mennonite relief agency called *Fonds voor Buitlandsche Nooden* some returned to their families in the Kurpfalz.^{117:8} The Fankhousers may have reunited at Steinwenden, near Kaiserslautern, although the local records are inconclusive.¹³³

Bern issued an amnesty on 11 February 1711. "All efforts up to this time to cleanse the land of Anabaptists have proved fruitless, and the sect has increased." The latest tactic was to force the brethren to come out in the open or be released from prison, dispose of their property, then to exempt them from departure taxes, make them promise under pain of death never to return. This plan still had to be followed up with more public decrees against the brethren on 20 February, 17 April, 19 April, 11 May, 2 June, 22 June, 24 June, 30 September and 11 December. Ritter was reassigned to the task and paid 45 talers per person.

Michel and Bundeli did not give up, however, and with the help of their friend John Rudolph Ochs, recruited more Swiss to voluntarily make the trip. Bundeli obtained a warrant in Pennsylvania for 10,000 acres along the Pequea Creek. Michel returned to America and took to the frontier, living among the Indians until he died of a high fever around 1720.^{110:81}

According to official records at the state archives at Bern, the following names of interest appear:

- Äbi, Christian from Affoltern/Trachselwald went to the Pfalz on 26 September 1714.
- Bachman, Christian left for Hohenhardthof-Weisloch in the Pfalz by 1671
- Bachmann, Johannes & Christian, along with two sons, left from Heimberg-Steffisburg, Amt Thun on 7 June 1753, bound for Mümpelgard [*Montbéliard in Alsace*] and then to [*Pennsylvania in*] America.
- Bachman, Samuel, from Dössberg, son of Hans, took Communion at Mühlbach in 1672.
- Carle, Jakob from Boltigen to Annweiler, Zweibrücken on 11 January 1720; and Stephan & Johannes (his brothers) from Boltigen to Fischbach, Sembach on 4 November 1728
- Glück, Ulrich from Hunirgen to Pfalz on 5 September 1709
- Langenecker, Peter from Langnau to Pennsylvania on 14 October 1727
- Langenecker, Ulrich (family with 3 sons) to Pennsylvania on 8 April 1748
- Lehmann, Nicolaus, Michel, Peter (brothers) and Maria, married to Jakob Sonderregger; also with Catherine (daughter of Hans Lehman) all bound for Leinsweiler, the Pfalz on 19

April 1712 [*Peter Layman was aboard the Maria Hope with Kindig's group*]

Mosimann, Peter, wife & children to Pennsylvania on 10 August 1716^{128:132-136}

Also departing from Canton Bern was Christian Fankhouser from Trub on 17 March 1710. Jacob Döllinger moved to Hilsbach in 1719. A considerable Tschantz family came from the parish of Oppligen. Ulrich and Joseph Schürch also came from the Emmenthal.¹⁴⁹

A Safe Haven in Alsace

PUSHED OUT OF SWITZERLAND, THE BACHMANS headed north and began to reassemble along either side of the Rhine. Right of the river lay the Black Forest belonging to Baden and Württemberg, and above it, where the Rhine turned sharply west, the Pfalz. To the left of the river was Alsace, almost 3,500 square miles of German land up until 1697, when France took command of it for the next two centuries. The Swiss brethren chose a 20-mile circle right in the middle of it for their new home. The Vosges Mountains bordered a snug valley known as the Leberthal running parallel to the Rhine.

From the earliest days of the Protestant Reformation, the brethren met secretly to pray in the Alsatian forests at Epfig, Eckholsheim, Lingolsheim, St. Oswald and Schnakenloch, and in a cave at Ingersheim. Up through the 1540s, mass jailing of Anabaptists preceded the execution of 600 at Ensisheim, south of Strasbourg.^{95:68}

Nonetheless, some of the brethren survived. Count Leopold Eberhard put Mennonites in charge of his estates in Mümpelgard — called Montbéliard by the French — and they thrived.^{120:39}

The Schmidt family landed at Ingersheim by 1624. In succeeding generations, they intermarried with the Houser family, built a successful tannery at Rappoltsvil (also known as Ribeaucville), owned the manorial mill at Heidolsheim, and later an apothecary shop. Whenever they hired apprentices during the rest of the 17th Century, Schmidts showed strong loyalty to the Anabaptists from around the Bachman's land near Zofingen in Canton Aargau.^{104:30} Barbara Schmidt, the matriarch, made a loan of 694 francs to Christian Neff, born in 1637 at Kappel am Albis in Canton Zürich.^{104:43}

The village of Ohnenheim was another of the first places to absorb the fleeing Anabaptists. A Gochnauer came directly from Ötenbach Jail in 1639; Bär, Frick, Guth and Müller families came from the Knonau district in Canton Zürich; Forrer came from Gruningen; while Häggi, Landis, Bauman, Neff and Schnebelli from unspecified parts of Canton Zürich.^{102:26}

Scholarship in the 19th Century tried to simplify the

northward patterns of the Swiss dispersal, but careful review of the emigration in 1663 from Richterswil showed that just one town in Canton Zürich had 26 fleeing west of the Rhine into Alsace and 32 headed for the Pfalz, east of the river.

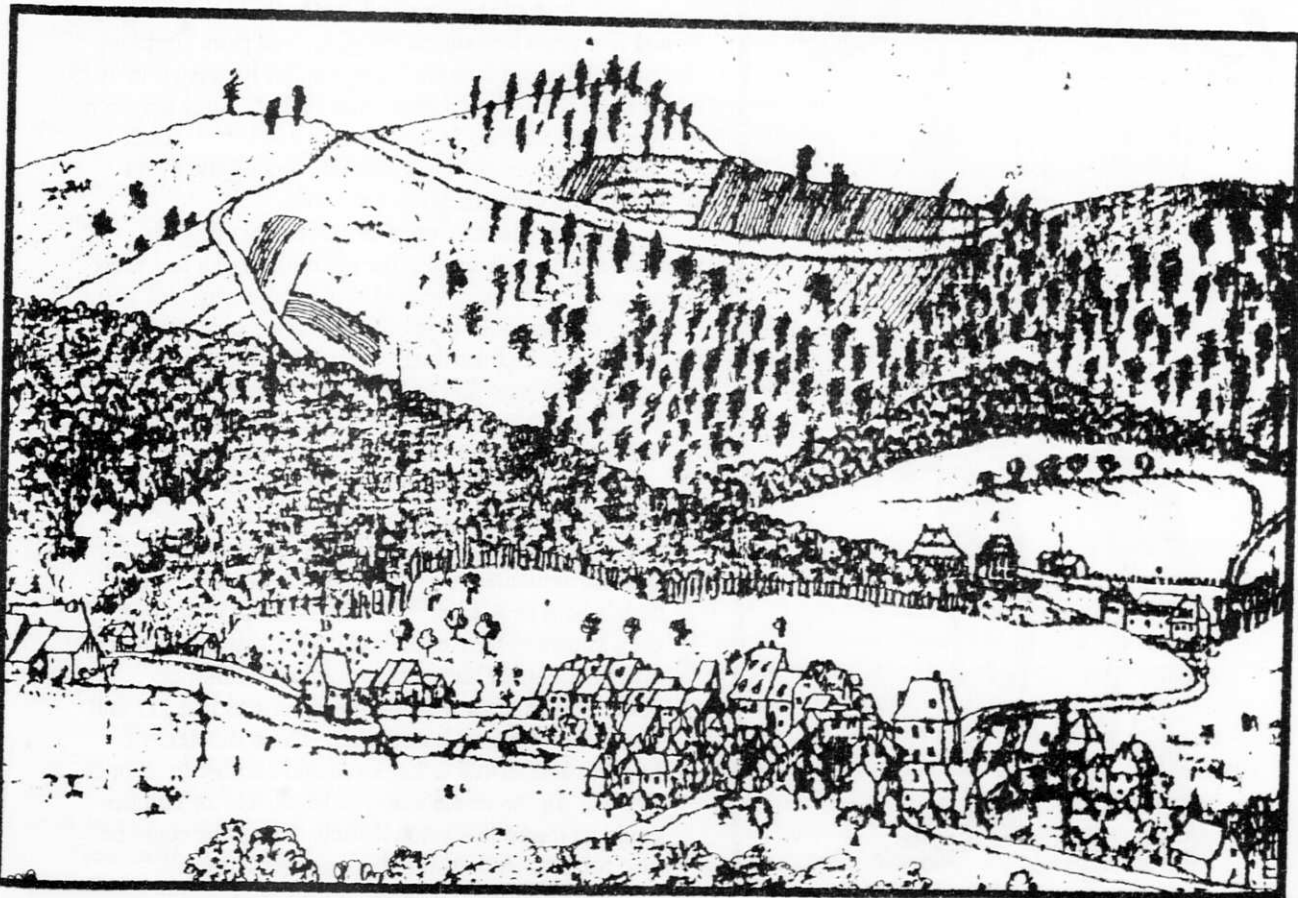
Bachmans from Richterswil reached Alsace in 1660: Martin, and his brother Heinrich, the old provost, with his family, including sons Hanseli and Jakobli.¹¹⁹

The 1663 list of Emigrants from Richterswil shows two Bachman brothers, Caspar and Jacob, heading north, as well as a Hans Jacob Bachman. Caspar was noted for his war service, perhaps as a conscript. They were bound for Jepsen, also known as Jepsenheim or Jebheim, 15 miles east of Markkirch.

The Bachmans joined a group of Richterswilers that included the Anabaptist couple Hans Äschman of Horgen, Elsbeth Hiestand and their four children, as well as Ulrich Äschman, Hansenman Danner, the carpenter Heinz Holz, Caspar Ringger, Heinrich Ringger, Hans Heinrich Schmid and Heinrich Strickler. A long list of Äppli, Bruppacher, Hiestand, Leaman, Ringger, Ryff, Schmid and Staub emigrants from Richterswil headed for Heidelberg, Stuttgart, Strasburg and unnamed points in

the Pfalz and Alsace. In Markkirch, Hans Jacob Strickler and other Richterswilers settled.¹¹⁹ The Bachmans that emigrated to Mümplegard arrived directly from Bern although they had also originated in Zürich.^{102:61} At Mackenheim, documents from 1663 mentioned a "Hans Barman" without further detail. That this name could have been a mishearing or mistranscription of Bachman is suggested by the many brethren names also there. The Anabaptist Hans Rohrer of Richterswil was a bourgeois farmer from Mackenheim by 1661.^{104:37} The bishop and lordship of Rathsamhausen had already welcomed the Swiss brethren to Mackenheim and Kunheim in 1651. Making a call for his fellow believers to join him, an anonymous writer claimed "The Anabaptists in these villages pay nothing [in rent] because nobody else wants to live there." Four years later though, they had to leave the parish of Mackenheim or else suffer heavy fines.^{102:53}

The religious tolerance of Lord Hans Jacob von Rappolstein, a Lutheran of pietistic bent, proved most welcoming to the Swiss refugees at Markkirch. And the surrounding 30 villages his family possessed. Fast upon the border between Upper and Lower Alsace, his lands in



THE LEBER VALLEY AT A TOWN CALLED MARKKIRCH
FROM AN 18TH CENTURY DRAWING

the valley of Sainte-Marie around Markirch gave the Richterswilers a place to resettle. The brethren were usually occupied by weaving, farming and raising livestock, although the area was best known in the outside world for its silver mines. In Markirch, known to the French as Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines, the brethren quietly made a contract with the religious and secular authorities to pay 45 pounds per person and be excused from military service.



ONE MANNER OF MENNONITE DRESS
IN THE REGION OF ALSACE

A Catholic priest at Markirch described the resurgence of Anabaptists in his parish after 1648 and the end of the Thirty Years' War:

"The Anabaptists, who are still a dozen families, formerly held open worship in a woods between here and Schlettstadt [Sélestat], called la Bausse, but now they meet in the barn in a woods that belongs to one of them. They have no priests, but one of them reads the Scripture aloud in German, and then they sing psalms according to the translation by Lobwasser. Then anyone who wishes to do so or has anything to say stands up and says it. If someone wants to be married or baptized upon confession of his faith they have somebody come from Switzerland; he is a working man like them. I have seen one of them who was a winnow maker and was dressed in a chamois after the Swiss manner."^{143:4}

The Mennonite Valentine Hütwol made a census of his Alsatian brethren near Strasburg in January 1672. At the western edge of the city, he visited four familiar Switzers with their children in the village of Wolfsheim: Christian Nieuwkommet, aged 38, Hans Nieuwkommet, 27, Christian Stauffer, 35, and Ulrich Witmer, 53.¹⁵¹ The following families from Zürich came to Alsace: In 1652, Rudolf Meili arrived at Künheim from Äugst, and five years later Jacob Häggi arrived from Ürzlikon near Affoltern; Lienhard Steinman left Rifferswil in 1655 for the town of Sundhausen; and Felix Schärer left from Wengi and reached Müttersholz in 1663.^{137:35} Adolf Schmid established his leadership among the Swiss Brethren at Ohnenheim by the 1660s.^{104:37}

In 1675, French troops destroyed the village of Jebnheim, and returned three more times in a few short years. At first, they demanded all of the wine and grain, and then every bed, copper-kettle, spare sack and goat. To make their camp fires, they grabbed the remaining wooden furniture and hearth ware. The Reformed church pulpit and pews were turned into kindling, along with every door and window frame in the village.^{137:43}

At the Autumn communion in 1679 at Markirch, 446 Switzers appeared. Those born in Zürich totalled 82, along with 45 of their descendants born in Alsace; the Bernese amounted to 63 newcomers with 192 more of their's born in Alsace.^{137:58} Four families in Markirch were known to have come from Wädenswil, joining eight other Anabaptist households. Lutheran families outnumbered them with 40, the Reformed had 171 and Catholics filled 442 households. Three Richterswil families had moved to Eckkirch and another lived in St. Blasien. In the whole valley of Markirch, 24 families could be traced to Canton Zürich. The same could be said for another 36 throughout greater Alsace.^{137:60}

The condition of church records in Alsace is lamentable. For most of the Switzer settlements, ravages of war have left little upon which to build a genealogical

record. For Jepsenheim, there is a fragmentary glimpse of life in 1688 and then nothing more until 1706. Surviving fragments from the village's roll call are unmistakable: Bauman, Danner, Hauser, Huber, Moyer, Rusterholtz, Schärer, Schmidt, Wittmer and Zimmerman.⁹⁶

Many brethren quit Alsace for the other side of the Rhine, but many more came out of Switzerland to replace them, especially during the peak years between 1671-1711. Out of Aargau and Bern in 1671 came more from the families Bachman, Bär, Gautschi, Gut, Häggi, Hunziker, Kauffmann, Lehmann, Mosimann, Müller, Rot, Stauffer and Wittmer.^{120:39}

Johan Jacob Schnebelli (1659-1743) of Baldenheim moved to nearby Bösenbisse by 1690 and remained there for the next 17 years during the births of his five children: Hans, Johan Jacob, Eva, Maria and Anna. In 1717, they moved to a part of Chester County that later became Manheim Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, as did a younger Johann Jacob Schnebelli, born 1686.^{114:16}

Hans Heinrich Huber lived in Jepsenheim by 1668, and on 30 September 1692, an infant son Heinrich was registered at the church. Felix Funk from Mettmenstetten arrived in Jepsenheim by 1684.^{137:44-45} Jacob Walder from Ottenbach arrived at Jepsenheim by 1689; Jos and Hans Jacob Müller from Ürzlikon arrived there by 1693.^{137:53}

Known Anabaptists at Ohnenheim included Hans Bachman (1681), Jacob Bachman (1693), Hans Jacob Bauman (1665), Ulrich Forrer (1646), Heinrich Gochnauer (1651), Georg and Jacob Gochnauer (1659), Ulrich Houser (1651), Hans Houser (1677), Felix Häggi (1674), Heinrich Karle (1672), Heinrich Müller (1659), Jacob Müller (1650) and Hans Rohrer (1689).

Associated closely with these people but of uncertain religious affiliation were Josef Funck (1680), Hans Hersberger (1681), Hans Meyer (1665), Laurentz Müller (1668), Jacob Schmid (1645), Conrad Walter (1665)^{102:23-62} and Christian Zimmerman.^{103:52-74} Caspar

Bachman followed closely the trail of Hans Urner at Ohnenheim in 1662.^{102:68} From among 16 villages southwest of Strasburg, the French author P.A. Grandidier made a conservative count of 496 people within 62 Anabaptist families. The most heavily populated communities were Baldenheim, with eight brethren households; Jepsenheim with seven; Markkirch with ten; and Ohnenheim with nine, which was next door and within the same Catholic parish, to Heidolsheim which started off with four families.^{95:69}

About 1673, the Catholic priest that served Ohnenheim and Heidolsheim complained that nobody was attending his church services, and denounced the secret worship meetings held by the Mennonites. Not

only did they ignore his ministry, but during the last decade, they dared to take over the mill at Ohnenheim to host a Mennonite conference on their Confessions of Faith. On that occasion, the hosts had been the ministers Ulrich Hauser and Jacob Gochnauer along with Johann Ringer, the Mennonite elder from Heidolsheim. Among the others joining them were the elders Jacob Schnebbli from Baldenheim, Adolf Schmidt from Markkirch; as well as the ministers John Rudolf Bauman from Jepsenheim, and Jacob Schmidt from Markkirch.^{140:171} This Catholic priest's abbot, Charles Marchand, recalled that the Anabaptists had been granted permission to settle only on the expressed condition that they should not practice their religion. Complaints such as this were not uncommon and were sometimes heard as far away as Vienna and Versailles, and edicts were issued and reissued.

Heidolsheim and Hans Bachman

DURING THIS ERA, A RISING NUMBER OF SWISS exiles gathered downstream from Ohnenheim, one mile northeast at a village called Heidolsheim. As early as 1651, Hans Jagli Landis arrived from Hirzel in Canton Zürich with his wife and three small children. It remained a small hamlet throughout, with eight families counted during the War of Holland in 1678. There was no change three years later, but it grew to 13 households by 1688.^{102:69}

By 1692, Hans Bachman served as their most prominent leader, and the minister Heinrich Karle was also there from Mussig.^{103:52-74}

Christian Döllinger, from Zweisimmen in Canton Bern, married at Heidolsheim in 1680.^{115:44} The minister Felix Häggi and Ulrich Schnebele possessed a farm there up until 1690, and Hans Jacob Schneider joined them by 1711.^{102:69} Also reported at Heidolsheim in 1718 was Johann Tschantz, of Sigriswil in Canton Bern.

Another accounting of the brethren in Alsace was preserved in the early 18th Century by Grandidier. This description was endorsed and in part provided by Mennonite preachers from Heidolsheim whom Grandidier called Jean Bachman and Phillippe Heggi:

"The Mennonites always live in the country, on the estates of large landowners, who like to take them as renters because they pay more than others... [as well as for] the industrious tilling of the soil and their good conduct. They are the most gentle and peace-loving of all people in their trade; they are energetic, alert, moderate, simple, benevolent. They wear beards, their shoes have no ties, their clothes no buttons. They seek to settle in the loneliest part of the mountains.

"When it is time for the harvest, mowing and threshing, the Swiss Brethren come and help, and when the work is finished they return to the places where they are tolerated or where they are not known. If a Mennonite needs hired help he employs only members of his faith.

"These Anabaptists don't have any temple, but assemble in one of their houses, each one in his sect... anyone whom wants may carry the word [as a preacher.]"
99:59

"In the villages where they live they pay the same fees to the [state] church for registering a marriage or burial just as the Catholics do, and are obliged to pay the same school fees... although they do not wish to have their children instructed by the schoolmasters.

"They do not accept infant baptism and assert that no church has the right to say that it is the only true one in contradistinction to the others. The government should be obeyed. Baptism should be imparted at a mature age; baptismal candidates must pass an examination to determine whether they are worthy of being received into the brotherhood. In baptism the elder takes water and pours it on the candidate with the words, 'I baptize you in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' Communion is observed twice a year, usually in the home of the elder, where services are also held... The elder gives each brother some ordinary bread; each one extends his hand and receives it... The preacher says, 'Take, eat'; then they all eat it together... With the cup, the preacher says, 'Drink in the name of Jesus, in commemoration of His death'."

The manorial mill of Heidolsheim dated back at least to the Thirty Years' War, when it was in the hands of a Hans Deitsch. "Uninhabited and in ruins during the past 50 years," the leader Hans Schmidt paid 50 florins for its restoration and hired Hans Löhner to serve as miller in 1681. Records suggest that Heinrich Karle of Mussig was his replacement in 1684, when four-year contracts to run the business became the norm.

In 1690, the farmers of Heidolsheim accused the miller of not "giving back his customers what their fruits should bring them." A fine of one florin was ordered but the court record does not reveal any solution or whether the accusations were founded. In 1695, the lordship still seemed to have confidence in Hans Schmidt, because the mill at Jepsheim was offered to him to run in partnership with Hans Guth.

To restore the community's confidence in the mill and the manorial farm, Hans Bachman personally oversaw the withholding of taxed grain beginning in 1697 and continued with this reassurance for 15 years, perhaps with the help of Jacob Kleiner of Jepsheim.

Bachman also drafted the manor's 18-year lease that

was approved in 1700. The number of livestock was protected at 24, transferable to the heirs of the brethren "in all liberty." The annual rent was set at 100 florins and two-and-a-half casks of wheat, five quarter-casks of barley and another five of oats. Pasture and meadowland were available for the livestock for an additional 50 florins.

The brethren also had to pay slightly over a cask of both wheat and oats each year for the rent on their church, and provide upkeep for all of the village's common buildings. In the agreement, the lordship promised to rebuild in case of the ravages of war. If the Anabaptists proved to be good tenants, they and their heirs would not "be hunted without major reason." This kind of involvement with the outside Catholic and Reformed community was especially galling to Jacob Amman, who felt that Bachman was leading the Swiss brethren into worldly entanglement.

In 1702, the mill was reassigned to Hans Georg Wöhrlin of the Margraviate of Baden, who was not an Anabaptist. Six years later though, it passed back into the hands of a brethren named Peter Augsburgur of Markkirch. He served until a royal decree forced all of the Swiss brethren to leave.^{102:68}

Hans Bachman was a busy man in Heidolsheim, and a traveler as well, sharing responsibility for the community seven miles south at Jepsenheim. He was an elder and preacher for the whole congregation made up of the several surrounding towns.

Hans Bachman was also a humble man. Even when drafting important papers on behalf of his community's church, his handwriting was always small, leaving out all embellishment or even capital letters. His signature always crouched at the last possible corner of the page.

Bachman's hands were filled and tied by disharmony from within the brethren community as well as severe tests from the outside world.

Nor Even Talk to One Another

IN 1693, THE BRETHREN AROUND MARKKIRCH splintered over matters of doctrine, forcing loyalty to either the conservatives behind Jacob Amman, known as the Amish, or to the more adventurous elements. A French observer noted three distinct groups of Anabaptists in the valley that would not even talk to one another.

The Amish made up the largest group, wore long beards and dressed in coarse woollens all year around. These clothes, which many could not otherwise afford, were produced in quantity through Amman's household as a kind of social security or pension and were not imposed as a restriction of choice. Keeping to their

austere style later was simply a matter of tradition. They were upset by all manner of prideful ostentation, and in an era when the ruling class flaunted huge, shiny metal buttons, they removed any fastenings from their clothes except hidden hooks and eyes.^{124:66}

Many Amish came from the remote *oberland*, meaning the higher elevations of isolated mountain life, and were very strict about discipline. Because of the remoteness of their society, the Amish felt most at ease being ultra-independent, and were more easily shocked by outside society. Quite naturally, they believed in a spiritual order separate from sinners and all temptations of the material world. From the New Testament, they focused on the second book of Corinthians, chapter 6: verses 14 through 17: "Do not be yoked together with unbelievers."

The several groups loyal to Hans Reist thought Amman's reading of Bible doctrine was too severe. They had already made friends and business allies out of sympathetic neighbors, nicknaming them "The True-Hearted." These were the same sorts of folks that had so often sheltered and saved the brethren back in Switzerland. The more moderate brethren believed that shunning all contact with such kind people was in itself un-Christian.

Another faction of the Mennonites, following Rudolf Houser, wore shorter beards and dressed in linen. These were the traditional, mainstream Anabaptists who had arrived from Canton Zürich a generation ago.^{102:66}

The third group, also originally from Zürich but growing fast with new arrivals from Canton Bern, dressed exactly like their ordinary neighbors.^{95:69} This last group was by far the most worldly, having established cordial relations with neighbors from the Reformed faith. They did not hesitate to attend social gatherings such as weddings and funerals that involved neighbors in the Reformed Church. They willingly served in local citizens' committees of governance called the Heimburg, even though these groups oversaw tax collection and police militias. Some of these Mennonites men amassed considerable wealth, owned large houses, shaved their faces smooth and their hair fashionably long. Within a few short years of their arrival, the wider community of brethren controlled about one-third of the Leber Valley's entire economy, far out of proportion to their small numbers.

This "Third Way" among Anabaptists had started to gravitate around Hans Bachman.^{99:59} Jacob Kleiner, a loyalist to Jacob Amman, was the manorial farmer at Jepsheim during the late 17th and early 18th centuries. His community presented an opposite stronghold to the manorial mill at Heidolsheim run by Hans Bachman.

From Amman's point of view, life was changing at a dangerous speed. The Anabaptist sense of security had

become destabilized and fragile since 1660 from the disappearance of three of its pillars: Jacob Schmidt had moved to Holland, Bertram Habich and Adolf Schmidt had died. In a blistering verbal attack, Amman doubted that "gray beards" such as Rudolf Houser and Peter Layman could shoulder the responsibility of the community, or that they had any goodwill remaining.^{102:46}

By Amman's account in 1694, 52 brethren families were settled in Alsace and ten of those were in the valley of Markirch. The splitting among them was very bitter, with the sides calling each other heretics and putting each other under the ban. Amman called Reist's people "false teachers, excommunicated liars and servants of the devil."^{139:282}

The followers of Jacob Amman lived mostly around the village of Reid, which also happened to be the name of the creek running into Lake Zürich by Wädenswil Castle. When the Amish left Reid and dropped out of the Alsace congregations, they defaulted leadership of the remaining Swiss at Baldenheim, Ohnenheim and Jepsheim to Hans Bachman and Rudolf Houser.^{95:69}

In 1696, the provincial judge of the valley had become "visibly intrigued" by the personality of the Patriarch Jagi, as the Amish entourage preferred to call their leader.^{101:75} His report concluded:

"The appointed Jacob Amman, chief of the new sect of the Anabaptists, coarsely called the Patriarch, is a man of whom we could make no complaint... being a most submissive and respectful man to the orders of King and local officials; this he also appears to have inspired among all those of his sect who are governed in the same way..."^{99:59}

The chancellery began to notice that many of the Swiss brethren had been arriving unofficially and were therefore never enrolled for taxation. Instead of clamping down with a cold hand, they decided to monitor "by sweetness" this wild growth of immigration.^{99:65} Nine new arrivals were rounded up for questioning by the authorities on 4 March 1710. Hans Wisler and his married son Heinrich, both weapon makers from Richterswil, had just arrived for the first time at Heidolsheim. Also included were Ulrich Steiner, a manager named Walter, and Peter Reinhard from Sumiswald, who lived at the mill of Adolf Schmidt, the younger.

They were first obliged to declare how long they intended to stay, and who was responsible for them. All nine unanimously denied affiliation with Jacob Amman, but hesitated to name another. Their experience of persecution in Switzerland made them suitably cautious about getting their fellow brethren in trouble. After two days, they finally admitted attachment to Hans Bachman

of Heidolsheim, and were relieved and delighted by smiles and belated welcome. The process was soon speeded by the intervention of Jacob Kleiner and Hans Bachman, who had also acquired the greatest confidence of the lordship from years of loyal service.^{99:58}

Despite their stubborn refusal to talk with fallen brothers, the Mennonites often wrote to one another, as is demonstrated by correspondence to and from Peter Layman. On 23 December 1697, Layman and Rudi Hauser wrote from their adopted hometown of Mannheim back to fellow Reist Mennonites in the Emmenthal.^{124:222-223} Multiple copies of a letter were sent two years later by Jacob Gut on behalf of all the congregations of the Upper Palatinate. On 19 October 1699, one copy was sent to a group that included Peter Layman, Christian Newcomer and Hans Meier, all Reist Mennonites in the Lower Palatinate, and another went to brethren back in Canton Bern.^{118:129}

Ulrich Amman, thought to be the Patriarch's grandson, along with the more cool-headed Amish ministers, convinced Jacob Amman to take back the harshness of his criticisms. On 7 January 1700, a letter summarized the peace conference in Alsace held between the quarreling groups.^{99:65}

"We are deservedly excommunicated," wrote the Amish delegation, "and therefore stand blameworthy outside the church and desire to be reconciled to God and fellow beings... [and] prefer to do penance for our sins while we are yet alive and healthy... Therefore have patience with us, and forgive as much as there is to forgive..."



"MEN, THOU ART DUST"

A WARNING ON PRIDE IN A 1720 MENNONITE PAMPHLET

To which was appended a reply from Hans Bachman, Felix Häggi and Hans Weir, the Reist leaders, and Jakob Kleiner for the Amish:

"we also confess that we should have come to you and made inquiry, and not given you up so quickly and lightly. we therefore request patience and forgiveness of you all. include us in your prayers to the lord. We are disposed to do likewise for you. may the lord extend help and grace to us all."^{124:243-244}

Hans Reist also prayed, "Let no dissension or scattering come among us any more, but rather see, O Lord of Harvest, how great the harvest is, but how few Thy faithful workers are..." Despite the healing tone from both sides, Reist refused to alter his group's doctrine that had led to the break in the first place.

The Tests from Outside

BACHMAN AND THE REST OF THE BRETHERN BECAME painfully aware of inequality in the tax system devised by the Margraviate. While the Mennonites were willing to pay higher rents and special fees to be exempted from military service, they drew the line at taxes that were higher for them than for their Reformed and Catholic neighbors.

A letter Bachman wrote on 30 December 1694 to the Superintendent of the Chancellery of Rappolstein proved not only his fluency in dealing with nobility but also how bold he could be to insist on justice:

"monsieur de la grange, counselor to the king, superintendent of justice, police and finance in alsace and brigau, and his majesty's armies in germany:

"from the provosts, inhabitants and community of the village of heidolsheim, your instruction is requested very humbly by hans bachman, resident of the place of his palatine highness of birkenfeld. [We] much enjoy exemption from some manorial burdens, especially that which is imposed for the business of the king, that up until now has ever been contributed without imposition, since [we] enjoy nearly half of the [land] proclamation and grazing of the so-called place of heidolsheim, effectively having close to forty head of large livestock. but it is likely against the intention of his majesty that any of his taxpayers enjoy the exemption to the prejudice of the other, which is actually founded in the natural right, that any who want to participate to the advantages and emoluments of a place must participate fully to bear the loads, supplicants found obligated of your presents they very humble request:

"be it considered, if it pleases your eminence, ordaining how the aforesaid hans bachman could not pretend any exemption of right, will be imposed to the loads and impositions made and yet to be made for the

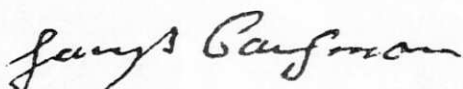
service of the king, and also aware of the other inhabitants of this so-named place, that justice will be made.

"the present request is a message to the bailliff and provost of this place, in order to impose the appointed hans bachman, named herein by spoken request, to the burdens and responsibilities of the community in proportion to all that he possesses of it, at the same [rate] that the other inhabitants of this place have, and compel it from all [others] through reasonable means..."

Confident of the rightness of his position, Hans Bachman refused to pay more tax than his non-Mennonite neighbors and then promptly surrendered on 18 February at Rappolstein in order to defend his reasons. He denounced the abuses of the tax system in the following terms:

"since the beginning of this year, the topics of heidolsheim are given [in summary] for the opinion and decree of the intendant, [regarding] chores and other burdens. previously, [we] had refused to hold back the quarter-casks of grain of a value of 30 florins... there is now [a tax collector, who] asked 63 florins for the month and [received] half. this would represent 150 talers annually. elsewhere, he [quotes] up to 220 pounds and promises liberty in all things..."

"[Hans Bachman] asks for the application of his rights, or at least that the lordship reveals what must be his attitude in order to pursue serenity.



[signed]: hans bachman, Hans Ringer

A short time later, in March 1698, the chancellery nullified the higher tax rate imposed on the manor and mill at Heidolsheim "because the peace came back."^{102:63}

A Certificate of Anabaptists in 1703 at Markkirch listed Christian Bachman, Hans Müller, Hans Rott and 20 others.^{131:40-41} In 1704, armies locked into the War of the Spanish Succession began to thunder their cannon along the Rhine north of Alsace. To avoid having the French troops confiscate, overrun or destroy the brethren's farms, Hans Bachman applied for a new declaration of their rights "just as that of our predecessors." He finally succeeded in having the community declared a "Holy Estate." It was due to Bachman's intervention with the ruler Christian III on 11 February — the same day of his petition — that the brethren of Heidolsheim were guaranteed their safety.^{103:64-65}

The manorial farm at Heidolsheim was staggering

under the amount of work that needed to be done. In spite of urgent appeals, the labor force was not strong enough. Hans Bachman decided in 1706 to send "a young man by the name of Bachman, who had emigrated to Alsace," back to Switzerland. Probably choosing one of his own sons or kinsmen for this dangerous, four-week mission, the elder Bachman instructed him to find new recruits for their community from among the young men of Richterswil, "being himself descended of the same place."^{103:62} He may well be the Bachman who went on to Hempfield.

By September of 1706, a fresh list of 60 brethren had arrived in the district around Markkirch, and enough reinforcements had joined the manor at Heidolsheim to consider building a new place to lodge them all.^{131:40-41} Bachman made a demand to Rappolstein that it provide drink and 20 fir trees that would be necessary in order to cut the added flooring at the manorial sawmill. He pointedly promised that "the other works would be entirely to his burden."^{101:72}

The occupations of several Anabaptists in greater Markkirch were noted by officials on 23 April 1711:

Hans Landis, gunsmith; Rudolf Houser, the younger, blacksmith and principle cutler; Claus Zimmerman, the miller; Hans Rup, who possessed a factory, lumber- and grist mill; Peter Wenger, tanner; Adolf Schmidt, merchant and tanner; Benedict Eyer, tailor; Heinrich Goldschmitt; principle tailor; Ulrich Neuhouser, surgeon; Ulrich Schallenberger and Peter Rott, yeoman.^{101:74}

Scars of the Spirit

THE AMISH MADE ONE FINAL ATTEMPT TO REUNIFY the brethren, this time in Heidolsheim at the home of Hans Bachman. In very reserved terms, Hans asked for counsel from the brethren in Switzerland and the Palatinate through a letter dated of 26 February 1711:

"on the 21st day of january, the year 1711, these men came to us at hirzenheim, named ulli ammen, hans gerber, hans anken, yost yoder, from the pfalz; hans gut, hans günglich, christen zaug, hans kaufman and one other from the upper pfalz who was with them. these men made an offer to make peace with us. if we can hold with their doctrine on the ban and the washing of feet, then they will consider us their brethren. they do not want to force us to take up their opinions, but there should not be two peoples over these two issues. we responded, asking them how they could consider us brethren, since they hold us as a different people? they answered that we should give to each other what we can. we did not say 'yes' or 'no,' but that we would think about it, and get more advice about it. we heard that they

allowed their people to follow our doctrine. this is the reason that we ask you for your advice.

dated, hirzenheim on 26 february 1711
 hans bachman,
 Felix Hägi, Hans-Yägi Schneider, Jacob Fretz,
 Hans Blum, Hans Müller”⁹⁸

No record of a reply exists.

Through correspondence with their brethren on the other side of the Rhine, word was spreading about new possibilities. Many of the Mennonite families in Alsace began to think about leaving. At first, the local authorities would hear nothing of it.

“Estates of the Anabaptists of the County of Ribeaupierre who may not withdraw from the Province of

Alsace before the Feast of St. George of next year without bearing the great prejudice of the Montgrave, the Prince of Birckenfeld, who is the Lord of these lands:

Hans Bachman, holder of a farm at Heidolsheim
 Leonard Leheman, a carpenter at Illheusern
 Hans Rott, a miller at Illheusern
 Hans Müller, holder of a farm at Heitern
 Melchior Schowalter, holder of a farm at Markirch
 Christian Zimmerman, a miller at Ohnenheim
 Jacob Kleiner, holder of a farm at Jebnheim

The official pronouncement came on 8 August 1712 and was entitled “The Old Community of Anabaptists also known as Hans Bachman’s group at Markirch.” They were commended for their “exemplary conduct” but only offered the conciliation that “military necessity made their removal unavoidable.” It was mentioned that, in general, the Swiss were departing from Zweibrücken



THE MASS EXECUTION OF ANABAPTISTS AT ALZEY
 “THE REST, WHO WERE YET ALIVE AND WAITED FOR DEATH, SANG”

(known to the French as Deux-Ponts) for the margrave of Durlach, near Kaiserslautern, in the Pfalz.^{103:67}

Hans Bachman negotiated his departure from Heidolsheim on 20 January 1713. On the next and apparently final stop in his life's journey, he went to the duchy of Zweibrücken, where he wrote of having "had a lot of satisfaction to serve the prince of Birkenfeld." This same letter also serves to establish that Hans Bachman the elder remained in Europe at least until 1726, and that he had previously contacted the chancellor of the county with a view to proposing the candidacy of his son-in-law for residence "in case a room came to be free."^{101:86}

The old community around Markirch finally broke up. Jacob Amman vanished by the end of 1712, never to be heard from again.^{124:13} Many of the Reist Mennonites decided to move, and continued along the currents of the Rhine to the north. The Amish left Markirch but managed to stay in Alsace by keeping a low profile through much of the 19th Century. Several Bachmans fell on either side of the divide, some remaining Amish and others choosing the ways of Reist.^{131:40-41} The Bachmans who stayed with the Amish became so prolific in numbers that they turned into the fourth largest clan.^{97:203} Anabaptists generally had large families, with nine children not unusual. One branch of Anabaptists called the Hutterites have as a group one of the highest fertility rates in history of humanity.^{138:27}

Some Reist Mennonites found that they could remain in the cities unmolested. From the Jepsheim church book came a glimpse of Hansenman Bachman and his wife Catharina Mathis on 5 August 1715 with their new baby

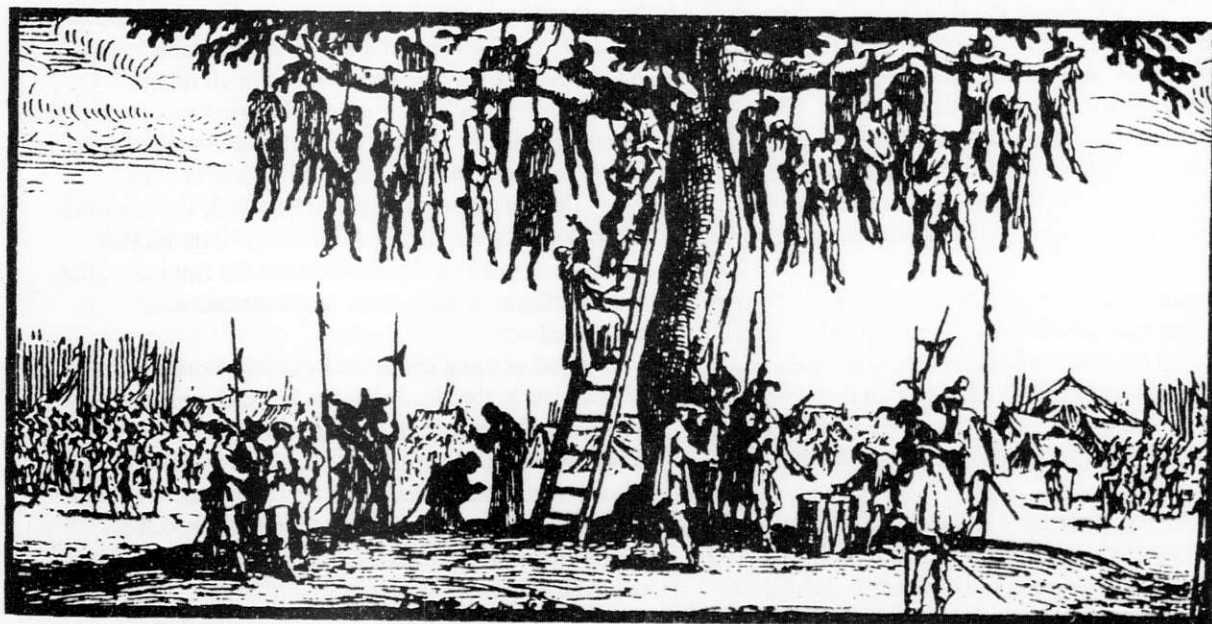
boy Lorentz Heinrich Bachman; and later that year on 24 December, Jacob Bachman and his wife Barbara with daughter Anna Maria appeared.

Although their numbers also decreased well before 1712, the community of Rudolf Houser was weakened the most.^{101:84} In 1713, Christian Zimmerman was the last Anabaptist of Ohnenheim. He resigned from the mill and turned it over to a Hans Georg Discher, who successfully ran it. The mill was completely destroyed by a fire 70 years later, but was rebuilt by Anton Weber.^{101:85}

North and East into Germany

BY 1650, ANOTHER DOOR HAD OPENED TO THE Anabaptists, only farther east in Germany. The Barons of Venningen sent an invitation to Alsace for Hans Müller and Hans Meili to resettle at Dühren in the Kraichgau.^{108:22} Mennonites might have been understandably nervous about this offer at first. One of the most frightening events in Anabaptist martyrdom happened in the Kurpfalz at the town of Alzey. In 1529, pursuant to a mandate of the Holy Roman Emperor, 350 Anabaptists were arrested in one awful morning. The Burgrave Dietrich von Schönburg was the local official charged with beheading the men and drowning the women.

"In one fell swoop, they were rounded up from their homes, gathered together and obliged to watch as the day wore on and their neighbors were put to death one by one. While the others were being drowned and executed the rest who were yet alive and waited for death sang



HALF OF THE KURPFALZ DEPOPULATED
A MASS HANGING NEAR THE RHINE DURING THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

until the executioners took them. During the torture and maiming of some, the burgrave said, 'What shall I do? The more I cause to be executed, the more they increase.'" ^{111:437}

The next important town to the south, Worms, had also proved its appetite for hysterical mass executions, launching witch hunts and a pogrom in the late 1620s against the Jews. ^{72:57}

By a sharp bend on the west bank of the Rhine sits Ibersheim, a village in a part of the old Palatinate known before as the Kurpfalz but today as Rheinhessen. Ten miles southeast of Alzey and eight miles north of Worms, it has sometimes been lost on maps as Uebersheim, Ybersheim or Jbischheimerhof. Following the Thirty Years' War, it became a magnet and safe haven for Mennonites.

As of 1648, fighting had wiped out half of the German population in the Pfalz, and the great electoral estates there were deserted. To make his plantations productive again, the Elector prince Karl Ludwig invited Anabaptists exiled from Switzerland to live on his lands. He knew even though these religious folk had rebelled against Swiss authority, they were still excellent farmers.

Karl Ludwig faced competition for the Mennonites from other European leaders. Oliver Cromwell was approached by a Dutch Mennonite named Peter Cornelius Plockhoy about resettling the Swiss in Ireland and Scotland. Cromwell liked the idea well enough to present it to Parliament in 1658, but his untimely death later that year brought the plan to a halt. ^{117:4} In later generations, over 3,800 Palatines did find homes in the Ulster province in northern Ireland. ^{141:164}

Some of the Mennonite families that came through Ibersheim, as well as the neighboring cities of Worms and Alzey, had recently arrived from temporary settlement in Alsace.

Elector Karl Ludwig issued an "Edict of Tolerance" towards the Mennonites on 4 August 1664. While the Anabaptists were not to be persecuted for their beliefs, strong limits were imposed on many exercises of their faith.

For instance, in Ibersheim or in any village with five or more Mennonite households, no more than 20 persons could meet at the same time for religious services. No one from a different faith could pray with them — to hold down on converts — and they were to refrain from "rebaptizing," which cut to the very heart of the Mennonite faith.

In 1671, the Mennonites at Ibersheim were caught after they baptized Jakob Weber, a member of the state's official church. It turned out that Weber's grandparents had been Mennonites anyway, but the elector fined them 100 talers for disobedience. Spies found out that the Mennonites were holding services with 50 to 100 in

attendance. All of the Anabaptists of the region rallied to their support with a petition, asking that the limitation on congregations be raised from 20 individuals to 20 families. The crown relented.

In 1672, Valentine Hütwol and Georg Lichti made their own census of fellow Mennonites living between the towns of Brehm and Bingen, south of Ibersheim. They found, among others, Bets Bachman; Peter Baumgardner; Melchior Brenneman; Barbara and Ulrich Lehman; Hans Meili; Hans and Michael Müller; Hans Röt; Daniel and Michael Schnebelli; Christian, Anna, Daniel, Ulrich and Hans Staufer; and Christian Wenger. ^{118:118}

In a town near Ibersheim named Rudelsheim were found the Mennonites Hans Meyer, Anna Baumann, Hans Jakob Hagmann and Maria Brubacher, whose "lives and behavior... were neighborly to date." But from Wolfsheim, not far away, where Christian Nieuwkommet, Christian Stauffer and Ulrich Witmer lived with their families, came this complaint on 8 December 1685:

"In summary, the Anabaptists are very detrimental at this place because they don't take office and don't share food with the other [people of this village]. In a seductive manner, they have the advantage together with their relatives and keep it, while the others will be ruined."

One of the elector's officers, a man named Zachmann of Alzey, helped maintain the crown's affection for the dozen families at Ibersheim, along with the special privileges that the Mennonites kept. "Everyone must give them the testimonial," Zachmann wrote in 1685, "that they live quietly with their neighbors, and have proven themselves more industrious than others, obedient to the government, true and constant in all things."

Ibersheim was leased in its entirety to the Mennonites for 12 years at a time, terms more generous than those given to other Mennonite communities. When the contract was negotiated in 1683, the names of Jakob Dentlinger, Hans Leitweller and Heinrich Reif stand out as different from the census list two years later; and significant to our search, no Bachmans were mentioned yet.

Instead of being considered as renters like all other Anabaptists in the electorate, the Ibersheimers enjoyed ownership rights to their domiciles and furnishings. A school was fashioned for the Mennonite children soon after their arrival, according to a visiting Lutheran tutor. "In the lower story of a two-story house is the school, which looked very handsome, clean, and orderly. Above to the right is a little room in which the schoolmaster lives, and to the left the room... for the meeting of preachers and elders before the service. Adjoining these rooms is the meeting hall, which, in addition to the good

points in its arrangement, has the defect of being very low.”

At first, only six Mennonite families could stay on the crown lands there, but by 1685, Karl Ludwig's successor, Philip Wilhelm, subdivided it again, allowing 12 households. In the next century, the number of families permitted there doubled again, but no more than 200 Mennonite families were permitted in the entire electorate.

The crown demanded a special tax from all Mennonites — a stiff annual “protection fee” of six guilder per person. To control these payments and monitor the level of community growth, the Elector made Mennonites submit to registration at his whim, and sent out census takers to search their homes for hidden families.

Recorded in the Mennonite census of 1685, when the new elector prince took over, the following information appears on folio 83:

“The twelve Mennonite tenants of Ibersheimer Hof, along with 61 children. Certified that no more, young or old, could be found,” so recorded the census taker from the neighboring town of Hamm on 10 September 1685.

Hans Bachmann with 4 brothers and sisters
 Hans Jakob Brubacher, no children yet
 Jakob Dahnauer [*Gochnauer?*] 8 stepchildren
 Hans Jakob Fuhry [*Forrer*] 6 children
 Henrich Gochnauer, 8 children
 Henrich Hiestandt, 10 children
 Hans Leuthwyler and his (Miss) sister
 Rudolf Müller, 4 children
 Heinrich Nef, 4 children [*confirmed as the father of the Lancaster County Doctors Neff.*]
 Peter Opmann, 3 children
 Hennrich Reist, 6 children

Because the Bachmann and Brubacher households appeared together at the end of the original manuscript, a closer proximity if not association between them may be inferred. During the next two months, a survey of “Hereditary tenants” from Ibersheimer Hof deleted Hans Bachman's name and added two more “Mennists” to the list:

Jakob Bendlinger
 Ulrich Hagman's widow

The four Bachman brothers and sisters were underage and therefore counted as part of the community's 61 children. It is possible that Hans, as their eldest brother, was tall enough to be the grownup of their household even though he was still in his teenaged years. Whatever his age, the next oldest sibling had to be young enough to be counted as a child. Other records suggest that the

Bachman family in Ibersheim had come from Freinsheim, 14 miles southwest, where two Mennonite families remained — the Kreybühls and the Brygers, along with the widow of Wilhelm Damm.

A separate Mennonite Bible record from Ibersheim describes Georg Bachman who was born in 1686 — the year following this census.

The intertwining of the Bachmans and Schnebellis was documented in Ibersheim with a decorated fraktur bookplate and family register in an ancient family Bible. The 1536 book — which still survives — is a rare, early illustrated Anabaptist labor by the printer Christopher Froschauer from Zürich. Because it was the first Bible printed in the Swiss German dialect, it was an especially treasured edition among early Mennonite families. State church authorities in Switzerland made it a crime to possess the Froschauer Bible or to even take it or any from a list of other Mennonite printings to have them bound.^{106:295}

An unknown ancestor to the Schnebellis brought it out of Switzerland around 1660 to Baldenheim in Alsace, where a pastor Jacob Schnebely was listed; and then later at Mückenhäuserhof, immediately west of



PUBLISHER OF FORBIDDEN BOOKS
 THE 1534 LOGO OF CHRISTOPHER FROSCHAUER

Ibersheim.^{142:469}

In 1708, "Matthias Schnebelli at the Ibersheimerhof" signed a bookplate opposite the New Testament title page:

"Diese Biebel Geheret dem Madteiss Schnebelli Auf dem Iversheimer Hoff und sie ist im Lieb so geschrieven Im Jahr Christi 1708." ("This Bible belongs to the Matthias Schnebelli at the Ibersheimerhof, and it is in love so written in the year of Christ, 1708").

This bookplate is noteworthy for being one of, if not the oldest Mennonite fraktur still in existence.^{94:25}

In 1715, the book apparently became a wedding gift to his sister, Anna Maria Schnebelli (1698-1776) when she married Hans Georg Bachmann (1686-1753), probably at Ibersheim. He was the son of Oswald Bachman of Richterswil in Canton Zürich. After their first son, Heinrich, was born there in 1717, Hans George, his wife and her parents moved to Pennsylvania, settling in Saucon Township near present-day Coopersburg in Lehigh County.

For the rest of the 18th Century, more generations were entered on the pages of the old Bible, and it was eventually passed among the Oberholtzer and Stouft families. Since 1990, it has become an honored display at the MeetingHouse of the Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania, in Harleysville.^{94:26}

Between 1644-1689 at Ibersheim, a long list of other family members came through, staying secretly, contrary to the laws of the Elector prince, and for unknown lengths of time. A number of these had just arrived from Osthoven, west of Strasburg in Alsace.¹⁵¹ These brief glimpses offer a heart-breaking composite of families torn apart by religious persecution, economic hardship and the difficulty faced by all fleeing refugees.

A Peter Bachman, "40 years old and still unmarried" brought with him two Reichstalers in cash. Barbara "Babe" Lehman, 76 years old, left her husband and four children and arrived at Ibersheim with one quilt and five

Reichstalers. Christian Stauffer, over 90 years of age, who was father, grandfather and great-grandfather to over 94 souls — "among whom 16 died and 78 were living" — arrived without any property of value. Daniel Stauffer, 39, along with his 43-year-old wife, had six children and one more expected. The oldest, aged 17, came with them, but five were left behind. They brought two quilts and 14½ Reichstalers. Steffen Lichti, 70, managed to save 10 Reichstalers, and came in the company of Ulrich Lichti, 32. The younger Lichti left behind his wife and five children "and hopes that they will follow." Hans Müller, an 80-year-old widower came with his daughter, a 50-year-old widow. They shared one quilt.^{134:46-49}

During the same era at Ibersheim, an Anabaptist brother and sister named Conrad and Kleiann Hiestand arrived, having left their Swiss hometown in 1657. Family researchers believe that Kleiann married Hans Jacob Brubacher and lived side by side in Ibersheim with Conrad. The two Hiestands were the grandchildren of Heinrich Hiestand and the Anabaptist Anna Luttol to be found in a 1633 list from Richterswil in Canton Zürich.

Michael Denlinger, born in 1685, lived in Ibersheim prior to moving to the Conestoga settlement at the age of 32. He brought with him a wife and two sons, Jacob, 2, and Heinrich, 1.^{114:I:13}

The Elector Johann Wilhelm (1690-1716), a strict Catholic, was very slow to renew the Mennonites Ibersheim concession. His reign saw the flight of a group of Mennonites from Ibersheim to Friedrichstadt in Schleswig-Holstein in 1693 and the expulsion of all the brethren from Rheydt in 1694, which caused anger in the entire Protestant world.^{136:110}

Tracking Others in the Kurpfalz

IN 1683, THE FIRST GROUP OF PALATINE MENNONITES that emigrated to North America started from a little town only seven miles south of Ibersheim. From Kriegsheim, Peter Schumacher lead 13 families to start what turned into Germantown, northeast of old Philadelphia. He had recently converted into a Quaker, which no doubt, gave William Penn even stronger feelings about inviting these beleaguered folk to settle on his lands.

When the Elector Karl Phillip began his rule in Palatinate in 1716, he doubled the protection fees charged to the brethren and limited their right to purchase land, all in hopes of keeping the number of Mennonite families in his territory to no more than 200. This certainly hurried the departure of many more brethren.^{136:110}

"On 27 April 1706, a census of Mennists residing in



A TALER COIN MINTED IN ZÜRICH
WITH A SCENE OF THE CITY THEY LEFT BEHIND