

DIRECT GERMAN IMMIGRATION TO MARYLAND IN THE 18TH CENTURY

(A Preliminary Survey)

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Despite rather laborious computations no satisfactory figures are available regarding the total number of German-speaking immigrants who came to North America during the 18th century. The colonial German element in particular has remained in the minds of most researchers associated with the term "Pennsylvania Germans (or Dutch)" and it is still commonly asserted that all the onward movement into the South and West originated among Germans who had landed in the port of Philadelphia. A few exceptions are usually noted, e. g. the Palatines of the New York project of 1710, the Salzburgers in Georgia, settlers in Louisiana and Nova Scotia, or some ill-fated direct importations to the Carolinas.

In his standard work *The Maryland Germans* Dieter Cunz stated in 1948: "One point in particular should be made: the share of the Pennsylvania Dutch in the settlement of Western Maryland has long been overestimated."¹ Many descendants of 18th century German settlers have found out the truth of his statement when they referred to the arrival records of Philadelphia, and their search for the immigrant ancestor was frustrated right then and there. Random checks of rosters of German church members and land owners of the immigrant generation in Baltimore and Frederick County show that as many as one half, in some cases even more, of these people do not appear on the ship lists kept for the port of Philadelphia. We know also that ships with German immigrants did come to ports on the Potomac and the Chesapeake Bay throughout the 18th century but no arrival or passenger lists were kept for Annapolis, Baltimore and other points of landing in Maryland. Even the "Port of Annapolis Entries 1748-1775" at best provide us only with a partial impression of the number of German passengers carried on arriving ships.² Comparable records for Baltimore are lacking altogether.

An initial survey of available information supports the assumption that a considerable number of colonial settlers of Maryland and Virginia had come through Maryland ports. Such statement can be made safely for the decades following the opening of western territories for settlement in both colonies. Prior to the 1740's very few ships landed Germans in Maryland, and it is doubtful if Maryland had been their intended destination. When during the great Rhenish exodus of 1710 a boatload of "Palatines" arrived unexpectedly in the Bay, it was a matter to be brought before the Assembly. Both houses concurred "to Encourage the said Palatines and make them as easy as possible they can," freeing them from taxes for the first year ashore.³ Immigration to Maryland, small as it was, came almost exclusively from the British Isles. Indeed there was no market for foreign redemptioners in the slave-oriented Tidewater country other than for some indentured servants, notably Irish, who could reasonably be expected to understand English.

Late in 1722 a ship with German redemptioners arrived at the "head of Elk River" but the captain was unable to find takers for most of his passengers. By January 1723 we read that "the Palatines who were advertised to be at the head of Elk River in Maryland, are now come up to Philadelphia and will be disposed of for five years each, to any one paying their passage money at 10 £ per head. If any of their friends, the Dutch at Conestoga, have a mind to clear any of them, they may see them at this Port."⁴ Among the few who had found people willing to contract Germans for their passage money were perhaps Maria and Godfrey Gash to whom Calvert certified in December 1727 that they had become "free Persons, and under no Debt or Contract to any Person."⁵

It seems from all available evidence that the first organized group of Germans entering Maryland directly from overseas had not embarked in Holland with that destination in mind. In a letter signed by 25 men it was stated that "the Ship in which we agreed to go to Pennsylvania is not Arrived but in the province of Maryland."⁶ Neither the date of the letter nor the names of the signers have been preserved. Yet there can be little doubt that this was the colony headed by John Thomas Schley, the 32 year old schoolmaster and organist of Appenhofen. Prospective emigrants frequently rallied around a teacher or minister who was willing to emigrate himself. This should not infer that such a leader had actively recruited people on behalf of some emigration agent or landowner. Often the pastor or teacher was victimized as much as his followers at the hands of unscrupulous shippers or captains.

Schley emigrated with a group of relatives and neighbors from Appenhofen, Billigheim, Heuchelheim, Mörzbach, Rohrbach and other communities of the Landau area in the Palatinate. Though local historians have repeatedly given 1735 as the year of arrival of the Schley group, conclusive evidence from church records of the Billigheim parish shows that Schley was still in Appenhofen in 1743. By 1746 he and his companions were definitely settled on the Monocacy in Maryland.⁷ Thus the emigration must have taken place in 1744 or 1745. Such dating makes their arrival at an unexpected destination quite plausible. The prominence of privateering on both sides during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48) had not sensibly effected immigrant shipping between Rotterdam and North America until 1744 when very successful Spanish and French operations threw the routine North Atlantic run into complete disarray. In that year several thousand Germans sought passage to America in Dutch ports. Four ships made the voyage to Philadelphia without incident, though somewhat delayed, but several others, trying to outsail privateers, went considerably off course. The *Muscliff Galley*, Capt. George Durell, was chased by French privateers and did not reach Philadelphia till three days before Christmas. Capt. Robert Brown diverted his *St. Andrews* to Charleston and brought his load of 300 Germans safely into port late in January 1745. Another ship reached Philadelphia in February with not more than fifty of 400 passengers alive after spending all winter on the seas. Spanish warships intercepted the *Argyle* enroute to Philadelphia and removed Capt. Robert Stedman from board.⁸ By the late spring of 1745 no more emigrant ships were loaded in English or Dutch ports. In view of such incidents the Philadelphia-bound Schley group was indeed fortunate to have arrived safely in Maryland where, moreover, immigrants were particularly welcome at precisely that time.

On the Monocacy the years between 1744 and 1748 were marked by the first consolidation of the pioneer settlement made largely by Germans who

had arrived overland from adjacent Pennsylvania. What had been a wilderness in 1730 was now rapidly being transformed into a thriving farm colony ready to absorb newcomers as soon as they could be had. Even the land speculators, foremost among them Daniel Dulany and Lewis Carroll, were taken by surprise at the pace of agricultural development in the German settlements. Both became convinced that the direct importation of immigrants would not only further accelerate the peopling of their holdings but it would enable Marylanders to profit from the trade such shipping would bring to the Chesapeake ports.

Daniel Dulany in particular, as Dieter Cunz pointed out, began to take a personal interest in his German tenants and purchasers and found himself soon in the role of a patriarch.⁹ He extended generous assistance which, according to all evidence, he never had reason to regret. The German settlers in turn, both those who had come overland from Pennsylvania, and the recent arrivals from Annapolis, obligingly wrote letters back to their countrymen in Germany. Dulany furnished translations of two such letters to Lord Baltimore. The first one was written by the former Pennsylvanians:

We whose names the hereunder Subscribed all Natives of Germany, by this do acquaint our Country men with our Settlement (some Years since) in the Province of Maryland, into which Province we came from Pensilvania, for the sake of Better Land & Easier terms, & we assure you, that the land in this Province is very fertile, & produces everything in Great Abundance, we here Enjoy full Liberty of Conscience, and the Law of the Land is so constituted, that every man is secure in the Enjoyment of his Property; the meanest person is out of the reach of Oppression, from the most Powerfull nor Can anything be taken from him without his receiving Satisfaction for it, all such of our Countrymen who have an inclination to Settle in this province & will be Industrious, Cannot fail of a Comfortable Substance.¹⁰

The other letter, though the signers are not known and no copy has turned up in German archives, where many such letters of solicitation ended up after having been intercepted by the authorities, was likely furnished by the Schley group:

We take this Opportunity to Acquaint you that the Ship in wch we agreed to go to Pennsilvania is not Arrived but in the province of Maryland, where we found many of our Countrymen, that have Estates & Live very Comfortably, they received us wth great Kindness, Giving us all Possible Assistance, the Land seems to be good, & we have observed that an Industrious man may live wth great Comfort. One of the Principal Gentlemen of this Country, (Mr. Dulany) who Lives at Annapolis, the Capital of this Province, was so kind as to Assist us wth 306 Pistoles & to free us from the Captain's power, we are Persuaded that this Gentleman will be Serviceable to Aid and Assist all Germans that will settle in this Province.¹¹

Such collective *Amerikabriefe* often met with understandable scepticism in the old country. Therefore the letters were followed up with a more effective mission. In October 1748 four Monocacy Germans left for a visit to the Palatinate, provided with a passport and a letter of recommendation of Govenor Samuel Ogle. Four successful men embarked on the trip, farmers John Jacob Brunner and Nicholas Benedick, wheelwright Stephen Remsperger and wagonmaker Henry Thomas.

Remsperger and Brunner were both elders of the German Reformed congregation at Frederick of which Thomas Schley had assumed the leadership in the absence of an ordained minister. Jacob Brunner of Schifferstadt near Mannheim had come to Philadelphia in 1731. He was one of the pioneer settlers in Frederick County. Interestingly, he was the godfather of Schley's first American-born child. Little is known about the mission of the four Monocacy men in Germany. By April 1749 Brunner, on his way back, stopped in Frankfurt where he purchased a record book for his church.¹² During the spring and early summer of 1749 nearly ten thousand prospective immigrants crowded the port city of Rotterdam, all but a few going as redemptioners. Paying passengers were advised to proceed to London where space might be available on regular merchant ships. By coincidence a letter of a Swiss emigrant, Jacob Pfau, a saddler from Benken, Canton Basel, who was headed for Winchester, Virginia, might refer to the four returning Monocacy travelers and some of their relatives and friends who embarked with them for Annapolis:

As for the trip, I went by Rhine boat as far as Holland. From there I alone of all my countrymen proceeded with my household to London where we lay for three weeks, waiting for a ship. When we could go aboard at long last with moist eyes, I had to pay for only two passages, twelve doubloons. Altogether we were 18 paying passengers and 15 children who went gratis. We spent eight weeks on the Thames waiting for favorable winds . . . [on August 25th] we sailed off with good winds and did not touch land anymore. We were nine weeks at sea without sighting land. Then we spent two weeks in this bay and about four weeks before Christmas we came ashore in Maryland. . . . My fellow-travelers left us behind. They went to Monocacy to the German people there.¹³

BALTIMORE—THE NEW IMMIGRANT PORT

A new port, closer to Frederick County, was meanwhile evolving at the mouth of the Patapsco. In 1745 two fledgling communities on both sides of the river, Baltimore and Jones-Town were consolidated and this new trade center grew as the resources of the interior were developed by the Germans and other western settlers. Within a relatively short time Baltimore rivaled Annapolis and wheat exports vied with the old Maryland staple, tobacco. Many a ship brought as many new immigrants in a single run as Baltimore had inhabitants. In 1752 the town counted scarcely more than 25 houses and 200 souls. As the market-place for redemptioners it attracted farmers from the hinterland who were in search of skilled or unskilled help.

The elder Daniel Dulany's efforts in directing the immigrant trade toward the Chesapeake Bay were bearing fruit at last. He dealt directly with two Rotterdam shippers, Rocquette & Vanteylingen and Dunlop & Co. His son Walter was put in charge of the Baltimore operations. The long established redemptioner business in Philadelphia and New York was carried out on a cash basis but in Maryland the situation was different as Daniel Dulany wrote to Rotterdam: "Many of those who purchase the people have no money but can readily pay in the produce of the Country." He cited tobacco, flour and lumber as readily available return cargoes to be offered at prices as low as, or even lower than, Philadelphia quotations.¹⁴

In another letter to the firm of Dunlop & Co., Dulany expressed his

concern for the well-being of the passengers, mindful of his own experiences as an Irish indentured servant half a century before:

The masters who have the Command of these ships, ought to be very careful of the Provisions, to be kind & humane to the People, and to see that every thing is kept clean. These things are more than necessary, as the Germans are quite Ignorant of the necessary conduct in a Sea Voyage, and are naturally very dirty . . . I can assure you that such of the Germans as come here, shall be protected from all Injurys & Oppression so far it is in my power.¹⁵

In his correspondence with Rocquette & Vanteylingen he refers to Captain John Courtin of the ship *Nancy* who had arrived in Baltimore at the beginning of August 1752 with a consignment of German redemptioners:

I believe he was very careful, and tho' he had a pretty long passage, yet very few died or were sick when he arrived here. . . . This [the strict enforcement of sanitary regulations] is the more necessary as these people are naturally very nasty, and that nastyness to which they are accustom'd in their own country, is destructive in a long sea voyage.¹⁶

The year 1752 marks the real beginning of the inclusion of Maryland ports in the immigration shipping business. Several captains of the regular Philadelphia run alternated trips to the Chesapeake Bay. From two old parchment volumes discovered by Francis B. Mayer in the 1880's and first described in pages of this *Report*, five of the ships carrying Germans directly to Maryland from 1752 to 1755 are known to us. The entries made for customs purposes are merely concerned with the cargo but they give us clues in such remarks as "baggage of 300 Palatine passengers."¹⁷ From other sources we know that these ships carried the passengers as well:

Time of Arrival	Ship	Captain	No. of Germans
1752, Sept.	Integrity	John Coward	150
Oct.	Patience	Hugh Steel	260
Nov.	Friendship	James Lucas	300
1753, Sept.	Barclay	John Brown	160
Nov.	Friendship	John Rattray	300
1755, Jan.	Friendship	John Rattray	450

The *Patience*, 200 tons, 8 guns and a crew of 16, was owned by two veterans of the immigrant trade, Captains John Brown and John Stedman. She made annual runs to Philadelphia from 1748 to 1753 with the exception of 1752 when she was consigned to Messrs. F. & R. Snowdens and D. Wolstenholme in Annapolis. John Brown himself commanded the *Barclay*, 120 tons, on her run to Maryland in 1753. Captain James Lucas was the owner of the *Friendship*, 160 tons, built in 1740 in New England. Her home port was Portsmouth. For the voyages of 1753 and 1754 Capt. John Rattray was her master. The latter voyage must have been a particularly long and trying one because the ship arrived in the dead of winter on January 16th, 1755 with her overload of 450 passengers. In 1753 the *Friendship* had continued its voyage to Baltimore after clearing customs in Annapolis on November 8th, for one of her passengers, Rosina Dorothea Kost of Walden-

burg, Hohenlohe, advised her brother-in-law Spohr in a newspaper advertisement of her arrival "in Patapsco" on November 12th where she was "sold at vendue" to serve for her passage money.¹⁸

Much more is known about the *Patience* and her passengers. This information also enlightens us about the efforts of prominent Marylanders to attract direct immigration from Germany. The *Patience* had left England in July and arrived late in September 1752 at Potomac but according to a report from Annapolis, dated September 28th, "they have been transferred to this place now." The passengers came with a special recommendation of Caecilius Calvert, secretary and acting proprietor of Maryland, to the Hon. Benjamin Tasker. Calvert requested all necessary assistance and asked "to forward them to Manockesy . . . or where else they shall want to go to settle within the Province." Calvert's letter leaves no doubt that this shipload of Germans was sponsored by the proprietor himself, "the increase of People being always welcome." He reminded Tasker, however, that "the charges attending any such service to them must be done in the most moderate manner."¹⁹ Among the passengers were Christoph Bartholemew Mayer, a wigmaker and emigration promoter,²⁰ and his son-in-law, the Rev. Bernard Michael Hausihl, a newly-ordained Lutheran pastor, who was to assume the charge of the Lutherans in Frederick County.²¹ Both had probably given Calvert's agents a hand in gathering this shipload of immigrants.

The arrivals mentioned above, spanning the period from August 1752 to January 1755, account for at least 1,800 of the over 2,000 Germans Governor Sharpe reported to London as having been received in Maryland from 1748 to 1755.²² This flow of German immigration was interrupted by the war at sea during the years 1755 to 1763 although arrivals in other colonies continued, indicating that it never came to a complete halt. The almost complete shift of overseas traffic to Baltimore, for which no records are available, leaves us only with fragmentary information for the years until the Revolution. Some ships cleared at Annapolis before proceeding to Baltimore. Aside from the brig *Duke* which landed twelve German passengers from Amsterdam in September 1761, the Annapolis port entries from 1764 to 1773 list seven ships with German immigrants:²³

Time of	Ship	Captain	No. of Germans
1764, Sept.	Nancy	James Thompson	290
Dec.	Lovely Betsy	Aaron Martin	110
1765, Sept.	Britannia	Thomas Arnot	200
1772, Aug.	Baltimore	James Longmuir	73
Oct.	Betsy	Garret Brown	80
1773, July	Baltimore	James Longmuir	90
Oct.	Morning Star	George Dempster	350

The *Nancy* and *Baltimore* were both built in Maryland, and unlike the *Britannia* which traded mostly to Philadelphia, seem to have been primarily engaged in Maryland-bound trade. At this point not even a rough estimate could be arrived at with respect to immigration through the port of Baltimore prior to the Revolution. Occasionally Baltimore-bound ships were forced by the lateness of the season to change course and sail to Philadelphia. In December 1771 the brig *Betsey*, Capt. Andrew Bryson, and on Christmas Eve 1772 the *Morning Star*, Capt. George Dempster,

arrived in Philadelphia with German redemptioners who were consigned to James Christie, merchant in Baltimore.²⁴

Although there was demand for redemptioners, not all merchants considered their importation a lucrative business. When George Washington was looking for two hundred Palatine families in 1774, he met with little encouragement. Merchant Henry Riddell of Piscataway, Maryland, informed him on March 18, 1774 that he "will think no further of importing Germans, the difficulty attending it being so great."²⁵

After the War of Independence Baltimore braced itself for a resumption of immigration. The founding of the German Society in 1783 was undertaken with the expectation that "within a short time from now many of our countrymen might leave their fatherland and seek improvement of their lot in this country." During that year the *Minerva*, *Bels*, *Harmony* and other ships brought hundreds of German redemptioners. Dutch and even Hanseatic vessels were now taking over the immigrant business since British-flag requirements and clearance from ports in Britain were no longer imposed. The Baltimore firm of Valck, Burger and Schouten dominated the importation of Germans and Swiss.²⁶

During the following years other ships joined in the regular run to Baltimore, notably the *North America*, *Candide*, *Capellen tot den Pol* and *Lavater*. The German Society had occasion to thank Capt. Claas Kulkens of the brig *Lavater* publicly in August 1784 for the exceptionally good treatment accorded its passengers.²⁷ The theological candidate John Stanger of Stuttgart had reasons to praise the senior partner of Valck, Burger and Schouten in his diary because Mr. Valck offered him his fare as a gift in 1784.²⁸ The humane attitude of the firm was not always repaid in kind as evidenced by a list of Germans who had fled the *Capellen tot den Pol*, Capt. Herman Ryding, and the *North America*, Capt. Tys de Haas, in October 1784, "as they could not obtain employment in the usual manner . . . were permitted to go free upon signing an agreement to pay the costs of passage" at a later date. By January 1786 the firm was still waiting. A similar disappointment was experienced by Capt. A. P. de Haas of the *Candide*, arriving August 1786, and again by Capt. Tys de Haas of the *North America*, arriving September 1786.²⁹

All evidence points to a significant shift in the immigrant trade. It was now carried out in an orderly fashion under the watchful eye of the German Society. George Washington, who was still trying to import a number of Germans for his large holdings, was informed by Christian Mayer of Valck & Co. in March 1786:

When Germans emigrate to this Country they sign, before they embark from Holland, an instrument of writing made between themselves and the merchant who fits out the ship in which they take their passage. We take the liberty to enclose to Your Excellency a translation of this Contract; and by its contents it will appear to Your Excellency that it is not practicable for us, or any other mercantile house, to enter into a contract for a fixed number of these emigrants qualified to answer certain purposes; also, that, for a period of three weeks after their arrival on this shore, these people are at liberty to provide themselves with masters, and that they are engaged only to procure payment of their passage within that time.

The firm offered, however, to notify Washington of the arrival of "young, single men, labourers and farmers and no families burthned with many small children."³⁰

Captains, merchants and the German Society could ameliorate the lot of the immigrants but the dangers from the elements threatening the sailing vessels had changed little by the last decade of the century as the example of the storm-tossed ship *Pegasus*, Capt. H. Mangels, proved. The *Pegasus* had left Bremen on October 14, 1793 and reached Baltimore only on April 19, 1794.³¹

During the last fifteen years of the 18th century Baltimore was no longer only a port of debarkation for Maryland settlers. It was anticipating the dominant role it was to play in the next century as the great gateway of European immigration to the West. Much more research is needed to assess properly the direct immigration through Annapolis and, subsequently and concurrently, through Baltimore in the second half of the 18th century. The fragmentary records presented here, together with information available for Halifax, Boston, New York, Charleston, Savannah and the Louisiana coast, might eventually lead to an upward revision of our presently accepted statistics of early German immigration.

APPENDIX

In the following the lives of four Germans are sketched who seem to have played various roles in 18th century emigration.

JOHN THOMAS SCHLEY (1712-1790)

John Thomas Schley was born in Mörzheim, now part of Landau, in the Palatinate. He taught school in Appenhofen, the home village of his wife, Margaretha Wintz, from 1735 until 1744 when he left for America as the leader of a group of emigrants. Soon after his arrival in the newly laid-out town of Frederick he began lay services for the Reformed congregation and opened the first parochial school. The Rev. Michael Schlatter, organizer of the German Reformed Church in America, visited Frederick in 1747 and called Schley "the best schoolmaster that I have met in America." Thomas Schley was particularly gifted as a music teacher. He also composed a number of hymns and later served as organist. Only recently Schley has been recognized as one of the earliest fraktur artists in America.³² In May 1746 he had bought four lots from Daniel Dulany as premises for an inn. His home was the first house to have been built in Frederick. Altogether he prospered by various pursuits. In March 1761 he urged relatives in Germany to come to Maryland. Especially for their children, he wrote, "conditions here would be a thousand times better than abroad. Here at least they have a chance to do well in time—in a short time, in fact—and live in plenty. . . ."³³ Thomas Schley died 78 years old in 1790 "after having had the satisfaction of seeing a dreary wood, late the habitation of bears, wolves, deer etc. and the occasional hunting ground of the gloomy savage, converted into a flourishing town."³⁴

CHRISTOPH BARTHOLOMEW MAYER (1702-1753)

Christoph Bartholemew Mayer was a wigmaker and hairdresser in Leipheim which belonged then to the territory of the Imperial City of Ulm. When he became involved in recruiting emigrants for Nova Scotia under a scheme of the English Board of Trade in 1750, the authorities stepped in and forbade him to persuade others to leave. In June 1751 he was released

from his Ulm citizenship and moved with his wife and four children to The Hague. Evidently Mayer intended to go from Holland to "Eben Ezar" (the Salzburger colony of Ebenezer in Georgia). During his sojourn of one year in Holland he met agents of Caecilius Calert for whom he gathered settlers from among the Germans crowding into Dutch ports in search of transportation to America. Provided with a letter of introduction from Calvert, Mayer arrived in Annapolis with more than 250 Germans aboard the *Patience* in 1752. He died in Frederick six months after his arrival.³⁵

BERNARD MICHAEL HAUSIHL (1727-1799)

Bernard Michael Hausihl was originally from Heilbronn. It is known that he studied Lutheran theology in Strasbourg. Next we find him living in Holland where he played an as yet undetermined role in emigration schemes. After marrying Sybilla, a daughter of Bartholemew Mayer, he was ordained in Holland and soon afterward arrived with the Mayer family in Maryland. He assumed the pastorate of the Lutheran church in Frederick and served there for seven years. Later he was active in the ministry in Pennsylvania until the Revolution when, as a loyalist, he repaired to Canada. He was re-ordained by the Bishop of London as a missionary to Nova Scotia where he served with distinction until the end of his life.

CHRISTIAN MAYER (1763-1842)

Christian Mayer, a nephew of Bartholomew Mayer above, was a native of Ulm. He received a solid training in the mercantile business in Ulm and Zurich before coming to Baltimore in 1784. Until 1800 he worked with the shipping firm of Valck & Co. during which he handled much of the redemptioner business. Mayer made a special study of all laws and regulations relating to servitude and indentured service. Some of his findings were published in 1791 in *Schloezer's Staats-Anzeigen* in Göttingen in an article which represents one of the best descriptions of the immigrant trade as it had evolved toward the end of the 18th century. After going into business for himself, Mayer remained for decades a leader in the foreign trade and in marine insurance in Baltimore. From 1917-20 as president of the German Society, he was instrumental in obtaining legislation for the protection of redemptioners.³⁶

¹ Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans* (Princeton, 1948), 91.

² Liber "Port of Entry Records, Annapolis 1748-1759 and Oxford 1742-1756," Hall of Records, Annapolis; Liber "The Port of Annapolis Entries 1756-1775," Maryland Historical Society.

³ *Maryland Archives*, XXVII, 496.

⁴ *American Weekly Mercury*, 15 Jan. 1723.

⁵ *The Report, SHGM*, XXIII (1929) 55.

⁶ "Calvert Papers," Hall of Records. *Maryland Archives*, XLV, 697.

⁷ see Appendix.

⁸ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 25 Dec. 1744; Saur's *Pennsylv. Bericht*, 16 Feb. 1745.

⁹ Cunz, *Md. Germans*, 71.

¹⁰⁻¹¹ *Maryland Archives*, XLIV, 697.

¹² *Maryland Archives*, XLIV, 698; James B. Ranck and Dorothy S. Ranck, *A History of the Evangelical Reformed Church, Frederick, Maryland* (Frederick, MD, 1964), 16-17. This is an exceptionally good congregational history with invaluable information on the early Monocacy settlers.

¹³ Jacob Pfau, Winchester, VA to Hans Heinrich Pfau, Biel-Benken (Basel), 17 Sept. 1750, in Staatsarchiv Basel, Akte Auswanderung A.

¹⁴ Dulany to Rocquette & Vanteylingen, 29 Dec. 1752, Dulany Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

¹⁵ Dulany to Dunlop & Co., 29 Dec. 1752, MHS.

¹⁶ *Maryland Gazette*, 5 Aug. 1752; Dulany to Rocquette, 29 Dec. 1752, MHS.

¹⁷ "Memoranda in Reference to Early German Emigration," *The Report, SHGM*, V (1890/1) 15-19.

¹⁸ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 20 Sept. 1753 (*Barclay*); *Virginia Gazette*, 24 Nov. 1752 (*Friendship*); Saur's *Penns. Berichte*, 16 Feb. 1754 (*Friendship*).

¹⁹ *Penns. Berichte*, 1 Nov. 1752; *The Report, SHGM*, V (1890/1) 16-7.

²⁰⁻²¹ see Appendix.

- ²² Cunz, *Md. Germans*, 91.
- ²³ Compiled from "The Port of Annapolis Entries 1756-1775," MHS.
- ²⁴ Ralph B. Strassburger and William John Hinke, eds., *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* (Norristown PA, 1934), I, 738, 745.
- ²⁵ Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (Charottesville, VA, 1969), 106-7.
- ²⁶ Klaus Wust, *Pioneers in Service: The German Society of Maryland* (Baltimore), 1958), 1-4.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.
- ²⁸ MS "Johannes Stanger: Tagebuch 1784/6." Thanks are due to Mary B. Kegley of Richmond for sharing photocopies of excerpts with our Society.
- ²⁹ The advertisements in the *Philadelphische Correspondenz*, 8 March 1785, 31 Jan. 1786 and 13 March 1787 list all delinquent redemptioners by name. See *The Report, SHGM*, XXXII (1966) 59-60, and XXXIII (1968) 60.
- ³⁰ Mayer to Washington, 3 March 1786, in Brantz Mayer, *Genealogy and Memoir of the Mayer Family* (Baltimore, 1878), 40. For sample contract and indenture see Christian Mayer, "Deutsche Emigranten nach Nordamerika," *Schloezer's Staats-Anzeigen*, XVI (Göttingen, 1791), 114-9.
- ³¹ *Maryland Journal*, 1 Jan. 1795.
- ³² An extensive appraisal of Schley's role as a folk artist is presently in preparation by the author. The help of the Historical Society of Frederick County and the Heimatstelle Pfalz in Kaiserlautern in supplying material on Schley is gratefully acknowledged.
- ³³ For Schley letters in the State Archives in Speyer see *The Report SHGM*, XXX (1959), 112-4.
- ³⁴ From a tribute by John C. Cary in *The Key*, Frederick, MD, 27 Jan. 1798.
- ³⁵ We are indebted to Dr. H. E. Specker, Director of the City Archives in Ulm for references to German sources which substantially revise earlier writings on Mayer and his descendants. Cf. Albrecht Weyermann, *Neue historisch-biographisch-artistische Nachrichten von Gelehrten und Kunstlern, aus alten und neuen adelichen und bürgerlichen Familien aus der vormaligen Reichsstadt Ulm* (Ulm, 1829), 312. Information on Mayer, the peruquier (# 469) will be published in the forthcoming article by Werner Hacker, "Auswanderung aus dem Gebiet der Reichsstadt Ulm," in *Ulm und Oberschwaben* Vols. 42/43 (1978).
- ³⁶ Dieter Cunz, "Christian Mayer, Baltimore Merchant," *American-German Review*, X, iii (1944), 11-13; Wust, *Pioneers in Service*, 6-15, 38-9.