

FEEDING THE PALATINES: SHIPBOARD DIET IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY *

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Throughout the eighteenth century no aspect of shipboard life found such universal and consistent criticism as the food for crews and passengers. Even on swift voyages in uncrowded vessels, travelers considered the ship's provisions less than agreeable. Compared to most contemporary diets on shore, they were simply atrocious. A ship's fare consisted mainly of items that would keep reasonably well for months such as hardtack, flour, peas, beans, rice, preserved meats and aged cheese. If the provisions taken aboard were fresh and securely stored, and the trip was uneventful, a healthy passenger could subsist on such a fare though its lack of balance and its heavy salt content made even strong individuals susceptible to a variety of illnesses. Moreover, seasickness, especially during the first days of the voyage, prevented many passengers from eating regularly while supplies were still fresh. After two or three weeks at sea, water turned increasingly putrid, beer became sour, and grain products humid and alive with varmin.

Vessels filled to capacity with emigrants and operated for hard-headed merchants more often than not were unable to provide at all times the minimum of the monotonous and salty fare stipulated in the passage contracts. If delays in port and weather conditions at sea extended the trip beyond the anticipated term, there was a real threat of starvation. It was customary to provision emigrant ships for twelve weeks which was reasonable in view of the fact that most Atlantic crossings were accomplished in much less time. But monetary considerations tempted shippers and captains to take on, at bargain prices, supplies left over from other ships.

In the beginning of the century, the wholly uninitiated landsman heading for America had only scarce information available to prepare himself for the shipboard diet. The early accounts were all written by men who had booked individual passages. Yet even Francis Daniel Pastorius recalled in his *Beschreibung* in 1700 that "our entertainment in food and drink was almost bad." After enumerating rations for a mess of ten passengers, he warned: "One has to save every time so much at the midday meal as to have something to eat at night."¹ Daniel Falckner's pious admonitions for the Pennsylvania-bound traveler, also written in 1700, were scarcely of practical use: "Give unto the body its proper food, and so far as possible beware of unclean drinking vessels, bedding and company."²

*The above article is in a sense a by-product of an overall study of the actual process of emigration from Central Europe during the eighteenth century, covering all North American colonies from Nova Scotia to Louisiana.

Franz Louis Michel of Bern, who crossed on the spacious ship *Nassau* on his first exploratory trip to Virginia in 1702, gave a more realistic report to his friends back home. The passengers had to group themselves in messes of five persons each. A mess received daily four pounds of biscuit, one quart of beer and two quarts of water. On five days of the week each mess was given two pieces of beef or pork, weighing six pounds. This meat was sometimes replaced by "fresh and large beans." On Sundays and Wednesdays, the passengers received a pudding which Michel describes as "a good dish." Two pounds of flour, half a pound of lard and grape juice were worked into a thick paste and cooked in a linen sack. He concludes his comments: "The food was often, on account of the heat and because it is not salted sufficiently, like the water of such bad taste that we suffered considerably, especially because the large number of mice spoiled our bread altogether."³

In his *Americanischer Wegweiser* of 1711, John Rudolph Ochs advises emigrants to insist that the daily fare be specified in their passage agreements to know "how much in weight and what kind of food the person should receive daily and that they should not be old and stale but fresh victuals."⁴ In his appeal to Mennonites to come to Pennsylvania, Ochs suggests six years later as a minimum for the voyage "twenty-four pounds of smoked meat, fifteen pounds of cheese and 8¼ pounds of butter " per person.⁵

As the emigrant transport business became more seasoned, shipping merchants included a detailed bill of fare in their contracts. When Jörg Peter Hillegas of Eppingen in the Kraichgau and 39 fellow travelers agreed in 1722 with Thomas Pillans of Rotterdam for their passage on the ship *Greyhound*, they were promised:

"five dayes a Week, Hash one pound a day for every Person, also one pound bread, one english quarter beere & one quarter Water for every Person; two dayes in each Week Fish and butter with bread;
further bread and chease and other conveniences thereto belonging every day & that the said Master shall allow said Passengers convenient firering every day if Wind and Weather does permit it."⁶

The description of the daily fare aboard became a firm part of all passenger contracts. As the solicitation of emigrants was intensified in the 1740's and 50's, shipping houses included the full text in their promotional literature to soften apprehensions. A certain standardization but also, at least on paper, some improvement ensued from the intense competition for emigrants as return freight on vessels in the colonial export trade. Isaac and Zachary Hope of Rotterdam promised in their circulars "good bread, beef, pork, flour, rice, barley, peas, syrup, butter, cheese, beer, good, fresh water and other necessaries."⁷ The rations offered per whole freight (one adult passenger) that evolved over the years were pretty much the same with all major "Palatine" merchants, as shippers of German and Swiss emigrants were called through much of the century:

HOPE BROTHERS (1752) ⁷	JOHN DICK (1751) ⁸	DANIEL HARVART (1753) ⁹
SUNDAY— 1 lb. of Beef boiled with Rice.	1 lb. Boiled Beef with as much boiled Rice as they can eat.	1 lb. of meat with peas, rice or beans.
MONDAY— Barley and Syrup.	Barly or Grout Boiled which they eat with Treacle as much as will.	1 lb. of flour.
TUESDAY— 1 lb. of Wheat Flour.	1 lb. Boiled Beeff with as much boiled Rice as they can eat.	½ lb. of bacon with peas, rice or beans.
WEDNESDAY— 1 lb. of Bacon with Peas.	Barley or Rice boiled as on Mondays.	1 lb of flour.
1 lb of Beef boiled with Rice.	½ lb. Porks and a pound of Flower.	1 lb. of meat with peas, rice or beans.
FRIDAY— 1 lb. of Wheat Flour and 1 lb. of Butter.	As much Stock Fish Boiled as they choise and one pound of Butter.	1 lb of butter & ½ lb. of stockfish with peas, rice or beans.
1 lb. of Bacon, 1 lb. of Cheese and 6 lbs. of Bread for the whole Week.	Boiled Pease and 1 lb. of Cheese, 6 lbs. of Bread per week.	6 lbs. of bread, 1 lb. of cheese and pea soup.
Every day a quart of Bear (so long as it remains drinkable) and two quarts of water. Whoever desires Brandy, shall receive the same every morning.	With a measure of Beer every day so long as it keeps good, and 2 measures of Water, to which I have added Geneva (which agrees with them better than Brandy) to be distributed as the Capt. shall see prudent.	Furthermore a measure (quart) so long as it remains good, besides a measure of water, afterwards, however, two measures of water per day. Brandy for sick persons only.

The menus developed by the Hope Firm remained more or less the guidelines for sea contracts during the second half of the century.¹⁰ That such victualling schemes were considered quite adequate becomes evident when compared to the special provisioning which the Georgia Trustees negotiated for the transports of Salzburgers with Peter Simonds, owner of the ship *Purysburg*: "The Daily Allowance to the Passengers was 4 Days in the week Beef and Pudding 2 Days Pork and Peas 1 Day Fish and Butter with 14 Ounces of Bread and 3 or 4 Qts. of Water or Beer to each Person daily which is a larger Allowance than is given in our Man of War where the Sailors never Complain." Henry Newman of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge suggested one change to Simonds: "I told him that as they are great Lovers of Bread more than English People it would be reasonable to indulge them to have as much as they can eat and more than the Value would be saved in other Articles."¹¹

John Dick, who handled the recruiting and transportation of settlers for Nova Scotia, urged the Board of Trade to consider departures from their proposed fare so heavy on salt meat, "however Agreeable it might suit with the Constitutions of Britons, Experience has Evinced the Contrary with these sort of Palatines, Especially where there are Women & Children, as their Chief Diet at home is upon Vegetables, Flower, Oatmeal, Eggs, Fish, Butter, Cheese & c." In order to forestall complaints, Dick even allowed a few selected passengers to inspect the provisions to be taken aboard at Rotterdam.¹² In 1756, the Hope Brothers announced improvements in their fare: "Inasmuch as we, as experienced merchants, who have been transporting people twenty or more years already, have found that bacon and meat are very heavily salted, giving rise to scurvy and other complaints, and, moreover, the High Germans being brought up more on fresh than on salted provisions, we are ready to give two or three fresh meals weekly."¹³

The experience the Hopes boast of here included brushes with the authorities on account of harsh complaints by some of their passengers in the past. The most conspicuous case occurred in August 1737. During the obligatory stopover for customs inspection at Cowes, the passengers of the *Three Sisters* decided to act. Theobald Kieffer and three fellow travelers went straight to Hampton Court "Praying to His Majesty for Relief " and stating in their petition: "Contrary to the agreement . . . they suffered very much from hunger on board of the said Ship which had taken on little or no Provisions in Holland." The ensuing investigation revealed that provisions taken from Rotterdam were indeed bad. The report cites "stinking" water in improperly cleaned, former wine casks and India rice of poor quality, "musty, and good-for-nothing," but with new supplies now on board there should be no more reason for complaint, the investigators stated.¹⁴

Despite the special care taken on behalf of the Salzburgers, the diary of the two Lutheran pastors aboard, Johann Martin Bolzius and Israel Christian Gronau, cites their dismay on the *Purysburg* in 1733 over "the very miserable fare." "The meat is very salty and tough, and the peas that are cooked with it are also bad. Drink is likewise sour. We too partake of such fare—may God let it agree with us," the clergymen wrote on the second day at sea.¹⁵ Seven weeks later it was much the same: "Because the dear Salzburgers get only one meal a day—and poor and scanty at that—and the hard ship's biscuit is so dry that they can't put it in their stomachs, they buy cheese from the helmsman, a pound for six stivers, whereupon they show themselves as grateful as if it were given to them."¹⁶

Letters from emigrants who had experienced the ship's fare contained the ever recurrent advice to future wayfarers to supply themselves with supplementary foodstuffs. In 1711, Hans Rügsegger wrote home from New Bern, North Carolina: "On the sea provide yourself with some food and drink besides what is offered on the ship, for by hunger and thirst one must not save."¹⁷ His fellow emigrant, Christen Jansen, was more specific: "The journey can be endured if you are properly provided with aged cheese, dried meat, dried fruit,

vinegar, wine, beer, water, butter, biscuits—altogether what is good to eat and easy to carry; also a kettle, narrow on the top and wide on the bottom, for when the sea is rough, the ship tilts to one side and all is spilled."¹⁸

Christopher Sauer sent rather favorable letters home about his trip in 1724 yet he too listed a few "troubles":

- "1—that we had not taken an extra ration of water along, instead of believing the captain so fully that he would give us as much as wanted....,
- 2—the meat was overly salted,
- 3—the cod-fish was soaked in fresh water, to be sure, but boiled in the same water in which it was soaked."

Sauer admonished friends who were to follow to Pennsylvania: ". . . see to it that, apart from the ship's fare, you provide yourself with such food as you are accustomed to, dry bread, sausages, flour, butter, dried fruit, and something to move the bowels, because one easily gets constipated on shipboard."¹⁹ Hans Jacob Thommen who traveled on the *Princess Augusta* in 1736 was blunt enough: "Eating and drinking is no pleasure. And the ship people do not keep what they promise. You have to provide yourself with bread, wine, flour, dried things and sugar."²⁰ That such additional provisioning was not without pitfalls is borne out by the remarks of Johannes Naas, a passenger on John Stedman's *Pennsylvania Merchant* in 1733: "And since the voyage owing to many changes of wind turned out a little longer, and most people had consumed the foodstuffs they brought along, counting on six weeks from land to land, they merrily devoured and gulped down everything from morning into the night. Now, at last, they found it hard to live on the ship's fare alone so that most of them lost courage altogether and never expected to set foot on land again."²¹ Naas attributed the excessive eating in the early stages of the trip to the enforced idleness and close confinement of normally active people. While the ship's fare was still palatable, they tossed it overboard and depleted their own supply. By the time their own resources ran out, the ship's fare had suffered from being so long in the pickle of salt and the water had become foul so that rice, barley, peas and the like could no longer be boiled properly in it. Discontent of the travelers often turned into turmoil. Some even resorted to stealing food and water from more provident fellow passengers.²²

A brighter moment came when the *Pennsylvania Merchant* met with a ship on its way from Rhode Island to the West Indies. Captain Stedman visited her and returned with half a sack of apples which he distributed among the passengers. Naas wrote to his brother in Krefeld: "That caused great rejoicing to get such beautiful American fruit at sea. They were delicious. Those left over, he tossed among the people who all fell in heaps over one another to grab the nice apples." Occasionally there was fresh fish when the crew harpooned a tuna or a dolphin and captains ordered the catch to be distributed among the passengers. Naas even recalled how Captain Stedman dispensed with gusto the meat of a huge shark to the people's joy.²³ Georg Friedrich von Berbisdorff on the *Albany* in 1728 thought the dolphins "delicious to eat, the broth tasting as

good as from a chicken." This adventurous nobleman from Berlin had plenty of "separistic" food but some of his companions did not "because they could not imagine that the voyage would be so long, or that the ship's food would prove so unpalatable."²⁴

All passengers learned to loathe the so-called ship's bread. Eberhardina Christiana Lotter on the brig *Dispatch* in 1786 gave a striking description of it:

"The biscuits deserve special mention; we received 6 pounds per week. They came all in pieces, black, without flavor or taste, like a clod, and hard as a rock. For quite a while I did not know how to get at them until at long last hunger and privation brushed aside all disgust and taught me how to bite and chew. Often I dampened them with water to soften them. I also tried them on the fire once but the captain strictly forbade us to do so because it could bring us instant sickness, and I noticed that the biscuit teemed with worms as soon as it was warmed up. That resulted from the fact that the leftovers are taken along on the next trip and are never thrown out, even if they were 100 years old. None of our food was to be looked at by light."²⁵

Similar comments were evoked by the stench of the meat which became familiar to passengers every time a cask was opened. Johann Georg Käsebiel in 1724 spoke of "meat that was 6 or 7 years in casks, and had come back from the East Indies." For him, the "Dutch cheese was still the best food on the ship's fare."²⁶

Supplying vessels of moderate size with adequate amounts of water for a full load of passengers was mainly a problem of space. Bulky water casks had to compete in the hold with the often considerable effects of the emigrants and frequently also with consignments of merchandise taken on for an extra profit. Until after the War of Independence when clearance from British ports was no longer required, fresh water was taken on at Cowes or Gosport on the last days before sailing. Quality and taste depended much on the degree of cleanliness of the containers. Passengers rarely burdened themselves with extra water and other drinkables due to their volume. Some had bought a few bottles of wine along the Rhine which were soon exhausted, often during the long wait in Holland and England. Only a few fastidious travelers carried on bottled water. Some who had knowing benefactors in Holland such as the Schwenkfelders, were provided with additional beverages. Most emigrants were wholly dependent on the ship's supply as stipulated in the agreement. They were giving hardly any thought to the fact that the small ration had to be used for cooking the dry staples.

In their concern for the well-being of their future Protestant settlers, the Georgia trustees insisted on additional water for cooking. After the first four weeks during which beer was still expected to remain drinkable, they ordered "a Gallon of Water (whereof Two Quarts for Drinking, and the other Two for boiling Victuals) for each Head by the Day. . . ."²⁷ Once on the high seas, the regular water supply was at the mercy of the elements. The continual lurching of the ship could cause leaks in even well-made casks, not to speak of those that had served on many a previous run. Captains were so haunted by the

thought of having to curtail water because it could lead to scuffles and outright mutiny. Thus Captain Spurrier wrote in 1750 in response to accusations by passengers, who had spent twelve weeks on the *Ann* to Halifax, how he had to cut rations to "one pint or half measure of water about fourteen days and should not have done that but had a great quantity of water leaked out."²⁸ John Stedman, in turn, won the praise of Christopher Schultz while commanding the *St. Andrew* in 1734; "On account of the heat on this day, the captain gave us two tankards of water in addition to the allotted amount, at 5 different times." Schultz commented, though, "it was very foul and unpalatable, but since we had no other we had to drink it. In some tanks it was worse than others, in the coffee it could be changed somewhat but it could be tasted in the foods."²⁹ Schoolmaster Christian Boerstler aboard the *North America* in 1784 noted in his diary that, though food was running short after a while, there was "not any scarcity of water but it has a nasty taste, there is some lime in every cask to preserve it longer."³⁰ Henry Melchior Muhlenberg experienced a complete lack of water shortly before reaching Charleston in 1742. The passengers survived by drinking olive oil, vinegar and other liquids. The rats aboard gnawed off the corks on the vinegar bottles, lowered their tails into them and then licked off the liquid. At night they licked the sweat off the faces of the agonizing travelers. Rescue came unexpectedly from passing English warships which transferred several casks of water.³¹

The elements also brought relief to many a ship. Naas recorded such an abundant rain that some people caught as much as 30 gallons of water from the runoff along the sails and the captain's cabin alone.³² Christopher Schultz also related how "much rain water was caught for drinking and cooking. This water was very refreshing compared to the foul-smelling ship's water."³³ The Alsatian Johann Philip Meurer, traveling to Philadelphia in 1742 with the specially sheltered Moravian transport on the *Catherine*, told of stopping at Funchal on the island of Madeira where the empty water casks were replenished, and "a live ox was taken on board."³⁴ Live cattle, hogs or poultry for slaughtering during the voyage were only found on specially chartered ships with plenty of room or, like on the Moravian-owned *Catherine* where care was taken to accord all members of the "sea congregation" some degree of comfort. Some America-bound travelers could afford private quarters on swift ships but if wind and weather did not cooperate, they fared hardly any better than the average emigrant. A Reformed minister, Johann Heinrich Helfferich, who booked passage from Amsterdam to New York for himself and relatives in 1771 on Captain Arthur Helme's *Rising Sun*, confided to his diary how little immune even privileged passengers were from the elements. His voyage lasted from September 6, 1771 to January 14, 1772. The ship was well provided with provisions but after two months at sea, food and water ran perilously low. During a storm in the English Channel a lot of chickens and ducks, kept in crates on the fore-deck, were drowned. By October 14th, Helfferich noted the loss of 86 chickens. Although the captain wisely rationed food and water, the situation became critical when adverse winds forced the vessel repeatedly off course. The passengers

and the captain no longer spoke to each other. An occasional large fish brought some relief. On December 18th the sailors caught a dolphin "weighing between forty and fifty pounds, which was quite good." Captain Helme held back one hog for extreme emergencies but on January 7th it was also washed overboard. Down to a daily ration of two and a half cups of water for drinking and for cooking, the *Rising Sun* with all her passengers and crew cast anchor in New York harbor two weeks later.³⁵ Such prolonged sailing under similar conditions would have been distasteful on a regular emigrant ship. The literature of the 18th century abounds with tales of tragic crossings on crowded "Palatine" transports.³⁶

Space was at a premium, and with 200 and more passengers to feed at the one mealtime per day, the open hearth in the galley was such a busy place that only the simplest warm dishes could be prepared anyway. Generally sea contracts promised the people use of a fireplace. Isaac and Zachary Hope's agreements with the captains stated: "They shall have liberty in time of fair weather to dress their victuals for themselves and their children, and for that purpose to make use of the fire from six o'clock in the morning to six at night, and to be on deck."³⁷ The realities of shipboard life fell far short of such promise as Christian Boerstler's diary revealed: "In four days nothing but a little meat could be cooked for the mess. Everybody tried to make so much coffee, tea or Soup (with roasted flour) for himself but often you would get drenched because the water swept over the ship. . . . I have to cook for my mess and have to fight with men and women over the use of the fire."³⁸ Käsebier dreaded the daily drudgery: "If you still have something to cook and go to all the trouble, it can be spilt in a moment by the heaving of the ship, and if the smartest fellow thinks he is on one side of the ship, he finds himself, *salvavene*, on his behind on the other side."³⁹

Käsebier also records one of the awful accidents which happened time and again during the arduous food preparation. A woman carrying an iron kettle with soup fell into the hold and died after four weeks of constant suffering from her burn injuries. There was always the danger that the unaccustomed user of the open fire, which was often an improvised stove made of the lower half of a cask filled with sand, could set the whole ship aflame. David Scholze noted on a stormy day how "one of the women spilled butter in the fire so it was all in a flame. Had the main sail been lying on the other rigging, it might easily have caught fire." A few days later he recorded another incident. The cook poured a pail of sea water on the fire to extinguish it instantly. The vapors filled the ship in such a way that the captain and all aboard thought the ship was on fire.⁴⁰ A similar panic broke out on the *Purysburg* when the captain in jest bumped into the cabin boy who promptly spilled broth into the fire and the ensuing steam penetrated the entire vessel. "Everybody ran to the bow of the ship and believed to be face to face with death. It is impossible to describe what a wretched sight this was and how miserably the old and young were screaming," the two Lutheran pastors wrote in their common journal.⁴¹

Slow-burning coal was mainly used for the galley fireplace but on prolonged crossings the hunt was on for anything burnable. "Firewood is lacking, people are dismantling the bedsteads, and that over the captain's protest. He called for pistols. They laughed at him: 'We got rifles, too!'," Boerstler recounted and mused: "What can a captain with 12 sailors do against 100 men?"⁴²

The preoccupation with food and its preparation is reflected in almost every letter and diary. Much of the criticism aimed at captains and merchants accused them of skimping with supplies guaranteed by the contracts. One of the questions raised now and then concerned the rations for children. They were charged as "half freights," and smaller ones traveled for free. Ships were provisioned according to the number of paid "freights" which was not clearly understood by passengers with children. Thus, the *Royal Union* to Philadelphia in 1750, for example, would have been victualled for 350 whole freights while it actually carried 500 souls. Among the great number of youngsters up to 14 years of age must have been many with hearty appetites. Experienced and humane masters of vessels provided whatever food was aboard rather than causing starvation. But under duress they had to enforce unpopular measures. Some of them also labored under constraints imposed upon them by shipping merchants who ultimately decided what quantities of food and water were taken aboard and to whom the captain was answerable. Some again were whimsical enough to play tricks on the landlubbers as did Captain Fry of the *Purysburg* in 1738. He taunted his passengers "by saying that a single Salzburger gulps down more than three Englishmen," as the accompanying pastors recorded. The next day they had to admit that the captain gave the Salzburgers pudding with raisins, oat groats and pork instead of beef "for such food agrees with the people better," and the good pastors reluctantly praised "this kindness."⁴³

Distribution of rations was another cause for discord. Already Daniel Falckner had advised the future wayfarers to be on good terms with the cook and the steward. A little gratuity—be it a dram of brandy—proved helpful to many a hungry soul. During the years of large emigration when merchants employed as recruiting agents people who had lived in the New Land and for some reason or other made return trips to Europe, many unsavory practices evolved from personal greed and ignorance. These newlanders accompanied the emigrants on the whole trip. Shipping merchants and captains found it convenient to let them direct the distribution of food and favors on the ship. They also arranged for the sale of extra items to passengers who still had cash, or most eagerly added the inflated cost to the amount the redemptioners owed. The previously cited investigation of conditions aboard the *Three Sisters* at Cowes in 1737 revealed that Captain Hewitt had entrusted his "interpreter", one Anna Maria "the only person that could speak good English among them" with the dispensing of food. The passengers claimed she had divided the meat unfairly while the investigating officers themselves had reasons "to suspect her to be prepossessed in ye' Master's favour."⁴⁴ Hans Wyss, a cooper from Canton Zurich, landed a job cooking for the crew on the *Priscilla* in 1749 on his way to Philadelphia, for which he received more than 30 rixdollars. His part of the

bargain was obviously not over with his arrival, for he sent a glowing report back home: "We also had good fare on the ship, and enough at that. . . . you can imagine that it was not bad, for one could buy a pound of butter for two Lucerne shillings so that I got several pounds myself because people did not have use for all of that. We have cooked every day on the ship." And then he wrote: "Truly, our ship was so well provided with victuals that we could not complain." In the same letter he warmly recommended to all prospective emigrants a certain Hans Bär, a newlander in John Stedman's service. Bär, he assured them, would personally supervise the loading of provisions in Rotterdam.⁴⁵ Such positive, albeit motivated, "testimony," distributed by those who stood to profit from emigrant transports, is proof that the "Palatine" merchants felt the need to dispel apprehensions about shipboard fare. For the vast majority of 18th century trans-atlantic emigrants the food provided under passage contracts was a mere subsistence diet at best.

¹Franz Daniel Pastorius, *Umständige geographische Beschreibung*. . . . (Frankfurt, 1700), 36.

²*Daniel Falckner's Curieuse Nachricht* . . . , ed. by Julius Frederick Sachse (Lancaster, PA, 1905), 90-1.

³"Short Report of the American Journey," ed. by William J. Hinke, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* XXIV (1916), 10-1.

⁴Johann Rudolff Ochs, *Americanischer Wegweiser* (Bern, 1711), 90.

⁵J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, "Vriendschapsbetrekkingen tussen de Doopgezinden hier te lande en die in Pennsylvanie," *Doopgezinde Bijdragen*, Nieuwe Serie III (Leeuwarden, 1869), 15.

⁶GA Rotterdam, Notarial Files, Jacob Bremer # 2316/169, pp. 309-10.

⁷Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 15A, pp. 197-9.

⁸Dick to Lords of Trade, 14 May 1751. The Palatine records pertaining to Nova Scotia from the British P.R.O. were consulted on microfilm at the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa. Special thanks are due to the staff for enabling the author to carry out research on an all-night pass. See also Wintrop P. Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1961), 169.

⁹Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, Pfalz-Generalia, 77/6529.6736. Available on photostat at the Library of Congress.

¹⁰For a sample contract of 1784 in English translation see Klaus Wust, *Pioneers in Service* (Baltimore, 1958), 38. The German original of the Fr. Caerten sea contract appeared in *Schloezer's Staats-Anzeigen*, Vol. 61, pp. 114-16 (Göttingen, 1791).

¹¹Newman to H. A. Butienter, 13 Dec. 1733 in George Fenwick Jones (ed), *Henry Newman's Salzburger Letterbooks* (Athens, GA, 1966), 81. See also *Georgia Colonial Records* III, 408-9 for complete scheme for "Mess of Five Heads."

¹²Dick to Lords of Trade, 5 Apr. 1751; Bell, *op. cit.*, 169.

¹³Historischer Verein Alt-Wertheim, Printed sea contract, dated 16 Feb. 1756. Don Yoder, *Pennsylvania German Immigrants, 1709-1786* (Baltimore, 1980), 257.

¹⁴Report on the Petition of Theobald Kieffer and Others, 9 Sep. 1737. P.R.O. SP 42-138. See also Elizabeth Clarke Kieffer, "The Cheese Was Good," *Pennsylvania Folklife* XIX (Spring 1970), 27-9.

¹⁵George Fenwick Jones and Marie Hahn (eds), *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants* . . . *Samuel Urlsperger* (Athens, GA 1972), III, 283.

¹⁶Jones, *Detailed* . . . , III, 305. A stiver was 1/2 shilling sterling.

¹⁷Letter dated 7 Apr. 1711. Leo Schelbert and Hedwig Rappolt (eds), *Alles ist ganz anders hier* (Olten, 1977), 41.

- ¹⁸ Letter dated 30 Apr. 1711. Schelbert, *op. cit.*, 48.
- ¹⁹ 1 Dec. 1724. English translation in *Pennsylvania, Magazine of History and Biography* XLV (1921), 244-5, 253.
- ²⁰ Dated 11 Oct. 1736. One of a series of letters intercepted by the Swiss authorities and copied for the benefit of other governments gathering information on emigration. This letter (and others) has survived in the Pfalz-Generalia file of the Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe.
- ²¹ To Jacob Wilhelm Naas, 17 Oct. 1733, *Deutsche Pionier* XII (Cincinnati, 1880), 344.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 348.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 344-5.
- ²⁴ *Auszug einiger Send=Schreiben in Pennsylvanien, worinnen die gantze Reise, von Rotterdam nach Pennsylvanien, fleissig aufgezeichnet . . .* (s.l. 1729). See Julius F. Sachse (ed. & trans), *Diary of a Voyage from Rotterdam to Philadelphia in 1728* (Lancaster, PA, 1907), 10, 16.
- ²⁵ Ms. Diary, Letter Family Papers, Stuttgart. In Paul Kapff, *Schwaben in Amerika seit der Entdeckung des Weltteils* (Stuttgart, 1893), 19.
- ²⁶ Käsebier to the Count of Wittgenstein, 7 Nov. 1724. *Wittgenstein* L (1962), 126.
- ²⁷ *Georgia Colonial Records*, III, 409.
- ²⁸ Spurrier to Dick, 21 Sep. 1750; Bell, *op. cit.*, 153.
- ²⁹ "Reisebeschreibung von Altenau bis Pennsylvanien," in Samuel K. Brecht, *The Genealogical Record of the Schwenkfelder Families* (New York, 1923) 48.
- ³⁰ J. P. Kenkel (ed), "Tagebuch von Christian Börstler . . . auf der Reise nach Baltimore in Amerika," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* I, iii (1901), 51.
- ³¹ Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein (trans. & eds), *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg* I (Philadelphia, 1942), 55.
- ³² Nass, *Dt. Pionier* XII, 345.
- ³³ Brecht, *op. cit.*, 48.
- ³⁴ J. P. Meurer, "From London to Philadelphia, 1742" *PMHB*, XXXVII (1913), 97.
- ³⁵ "The Journal of Rev. Johann Heinrich Helfferich," *Pennsylvania Folklife* XXVIII (Summer 1979), 19, 31, 24. For a better translation see *PMHB* XXXVIII (1914), 65-83.
- ³⁶ See, for example, Klaus Wust, "William Byrd II and the Shipwreck of the *Oliver*," *Newsletter, Swiss American Historical Society*, XX, No. 2 (1984), 3-19.
- ³⁷ Mass. Archives, Vol. 15A, 197-9.
- ³⁸ *Dt.-Am. Geschichtsbl.* I, iii, 54.
- ³⁹ *Wittgenstein* L (1962), 126. Salvavene (Latin): "with your permission."
- ⁴⁰ Scholze, "Narrative of the Journey of the Schwenkfelders to Pennsylvania, 1733," *PMHB* X (1886), 177.
- ⁴¹ Jones, Detailed . . . , III, 306.
- ⁴² *Dt.-Am. Geschichtsbl.* I, iii, 54.
- ⁴³ Jones, Detailed . . . , III, 307.
- ⁴⁴ Kieffer, "Cheese Was Good," 28-9.
- ⁴⁵ Andreas Blacher, *Die Eigenart der Zürcher Auswanderer nach Amerika, 1734-1744* (Zurich, 1976), 175. Letter dated 4 Nov. 1749.