

WHY DID THEY LEAVE WITTGENSTEIN? PRE-DREISBACH EMIGRANTS

People have always moved from their native lands, in particular when the reasons for leaving and the possibility of doing so coincided. Before the opening of North America to settlement from abroad, such persons would have gone to neighboring territories, or possibly other European regions, or even joined some foreign military force. Wittgensteiners were no exception.

Rather surprisingly, when thousands of hopeful German-speaking families converged on London in the years 1709-1710, seeking to find passage to the New World, no Wittgensteiners are known to have been among them. Or if so, they left no record; with one possible exception.

Arnold Hoefnagel (Arndt Huffnagel), the first recorded Wittgensteiner on North American soil?

In the marriage records of the Dutch Reformed congregation in New York, previously New Amsterdam, we find that on 31 November 1712 Arnold Hoefnagel from "Wittenstyn" and Sarah Kleyn from "Manheym" were married, after having registered on 17 November to have the banns read out at the Sunday services.¹ The church records were of course kept in Dutch, but the couple's places of origin are recognizable as Wittgenstein and the city of Mannheim on the Rhine, rather far south of Wittgenstein. We can only conjecture in what circumstances they may have met.

This Arnold Hoefnagel, actually Johann Arndt Huffnagel of Laasphe, eventually settled in Pennsylvania. He evidently maintained ties with his brother, Johann Christian Huffnagel, back in Wittgenstein. A document in the Princely Archive in Laasphe shows that in 1723, Johann Christian had informed the co-regents, Counts Henrich Albrecht and August, of his intention to deal equitably with his brother Johann Arndt in Pennsylvania, in an inheritance settlement.² This archival document provides us with a Laasphe background for the New York bridegroom of 1712. It was surely the same Arnold Hoefnagel from Wittenstyn who was the Arndt Huffnagel who had left Wittgenstein to go to America quite some years earlier (in the words of the document, *für geraumen Jahren*). Of interest to our emigration research is the strong indication we find here that the Huffnagel brothers had maintained some sort of trans-Atlantic contact through the years.

We cannot know exactly why Arndt Huffnagel made the major move of crossing the Atlantic. Nor can we know whether he was on board any of the ships carrying Palatines, Swiss Mennonites and others to North America ca. 1710. In any event, according to emigration expert Heinrich Imhof, Huffnagel is apparently the earliest Wittgenstein emigrant to appear in North American records.³

¹ <http://www.olivetreegenealogy.com/nn/church/rdcmarr1712-13.shtml>. Consulted in October 2013.

² The relevant document, in the holding, WA W 63 III, p. 25a, in the Princely Archive of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Hohenstein in Bad Laasphe, is a decision of the two Wittgenstein co-regents concerning the settlement of property inherited by Arndt Huffnagel, who had established residence in Pennsylvania. Here we also learn that he had left Wittgenstein without official permission.

³ Communication from H. Imhof of 24 March 2013. Here he also mentions that an earlier Wittgenstein researcher, Karl Hartnack, had learned of the 1712 "Hoefnagel" marriage as early as the 1930's while conducting research in Pennsylvania and neighboring states.

Two aspects to consider in migration studies.

Wittgenstein researchers have long been concerned with seeking out, collecting and studying letters sent to the homeland by emigrants, particularly those who had gone to the American colonies. What advice did they give concerning the voyage? How did they report on the conditions they found in America? What type of goods should emigrants take with them? The study of such letters is an important part of trans-Atlantic emigration history. It will never be possible to quantify the amount of influence these letters can have had in encouraging and, at some periods, discouraging decisions to move to America. However, certain letters are known to have been especially influential, in particular, those of Christopher Sauer, sent from Germantown in 1724 and 1725. We shall briefly discuss Sauer and his impact below.

There is, further, another aspect of our emigration studies which has to do with evidence of how new arrivals from Wittgenstein were received and aided by their already established countrymen. Recent findings by Marcia Dreisbach Falconer in records from Philadelphia and Germantown strongly suggest that in the 1740's and 1750's the Simon Dreisbach family benefitted from contacts with earlier arrivals from Wittgenstein and the networks they had developed in Pennsylvania. There are indications that these contacts included persons close to the religious group originally known as the Schwarzenau Brethren. Therefore, we turn now to the tribulations and travels of these early German Baptist Separatists.⁴

Religious refugees on the move: 1715 and 1719; 1720 and 1729.

Dreisbachs, like most emigrants from Wittgenstein, left their homeland in search of greater economic opportunity. They were certainly not religious refugees. In fact, with the main exception of the sectarian baptist brethren with ties to the village of Schwarzenau, Wittgenstein emigrants were generally members of Reformed congregations, both at home and later in North America.



Fig.1. Places relevant to the European origins of the Church of the Brethren.

Schw. = Schwarzenau in Wittgenstein.

M = Marienborn area.

K = Krefeld

S = Surhuisterveen in Friesland

R = Rotterdam. There were significant Brethren-related departures from Rotterdam in 1719, 1729 and later.

Major cities:

C = Cologne

F = Frankfurt am Main

The Rhine River is shown in blue.

⁴ Whether or not to capitalize designations for various religious trends, groups and movements in this period is not always clear. Both 'Pietists' and 'pietists' can be encountered in the literature. The name, 'Schwarzenau Brethren', is always capitalized in accordance with the usage of the movement's direct spiritual descendant, today's Church of the Brethren.

The Schwarzenau and Marienborn adult baptism separatists.

The Schwarzenau group was not an isolated religious occurrence. In the 17th and 18th centuries Europe experienced a flowering of new religious movements both within and without the established churches. Frequently these groups were dependent on the good will of a local ruler whose tolerance might last for a shorter or longer period. In the early eighteenth century this tolerant attitude characterized the ruling houses of both northern and southern Wittgenstein. Individuals and families from many German-speaking regions, especially the Palatinate, who were seeking freedom of religious expression were welcomed. In Schwarzenau they were permitted to build modest houses, exercise professions and worship freely. Under the leadership of Alexander Mack, they began to baptize adults in the Eder River in 1708. These baptisms are counted as the starting-point of today's Church of the Brethren.⁵

Within four years, a daughter group was formed in the Marienborn area, a fair distance southward. The young Marienborn group had only three years of peaceful existence, from 1711 to 1714. In 1714 the lord of the Marienborn area, Count Ernest Casimir of Ysenburg-Büdingen, banned all public religious activity not connected with the officially recognized Protestant church. In 1715, therefore, this small group moved to Krefeld near the Dutch border. After four years there they chose to emigrate to Pennsylvania. They sailed from Rotterdam in 1719, with their ultimate destination being Germantown, some ten miles northwest of Philadelphia.

1719 was also the year when the mother group in Schwarzenau began to lose support in high places. For a number of years they had benefitted from the good will of Count Henrich Albrecht zu Sayn-Wittgenstein-Hohenstein. In 1719 his brother, Count August, who had little use for any type of pietists or separatists, became co-regent.⁶ The Brethren's once favorable situation, which had enabled them to increase rapidly, now became untenable. In 1720 many members felt constrained to leave what had been their safe haven in Wittgenstein, and a number of Brethren and their families moved to West Friesland in the northern part of the Dutch Republic. With the aid of Fig. 1, we can attempt to follow these groups' movements.

Krefeld, 1711-1719 (Marienborn group).

This busy mercantile town near the Rhine had a thriving weaving industry. Krefeld contained other separatists with a longer history than the Marienborn arrivals – Mennonites and Quakers. During the eight or so years the Marienborn group spent in Krefeld, they would have found the pacifism of the local Quakers and the adult baptism of the Mennonites congenial. Moreover, thirty years prior to the arrival of the Marienborners, it was from Krefeld that a group of Quakers and Mennonites had gone to Pennsylvania, settling in the area that soon became known as Germantown. Thus, in Krefeld the Marienborn folk could establish useful contacts with their Quaker and Mennonite neighbors and also with the Krefelders who had long been living in or near Germantown. These connections can have facilitated their own transfer to a new existence in Pennsylvania. Krefeld, along with Germantown, can be considered seminal places in the history of "the historic peace churches".⁷

⁵ There are several texts on the history of the Church of the Brethren online. For those interested in their European origins, this site is most useful: <http://www.brethren.org/bhla/documents/guide-to-brethren-in-europe.pdf>

⁶ See DERR No. 6 for a brief presentation of Count August, probably the most detested of any Wittgenstein ruler.

⁷ In church history the three movements, Anabaptists/Mennonites, Quakers and Brethren are sometimes given the unified epithet, "the historic peace churches".

Surhuisterveen, 1720-1729 (Schwarzenau group).

The departure of the Schwarzenau Brethren for Friesland in 1720 was possibly the first major group emigration from Wittgenstein. Not much is known as to why Alexander Mack and his followers chose to move to the village of Surhuisterveen in West Friesland. Certain marriages found in the Mennonite (Doopsgezind) records there indicate that the Schwarzenau group had friendly and even close relationships with Frisian Mennonites. The nine year sojourn of the Scharzenau group in Surhuisterveen was only marginally longer than that of the Marienborners in Krefeld. In 1729 Mack led his followers from Friesland to Rotterdam, toward the ship that would carry them to Pennsylvania.⁸

Germantown.

Once they had arrived in Germantown, the arrivals from Surhuisterveen could count on assistance from the Marienborners, who by then had been in Pennsylvania for ten years. This is not the place to discuss Brethren subdivisions and alternate names such as the German Baptists and the Dunkards or Dunkers. For our context what is significant is that there was a definite Brethren presence in Germantown and also elsewhere in south-eastern Pennsylvania. Some of the Brethren and their sympathizers, including individuals who had lived in Schwarzenau, can have formed ties of friendship or trade with non-Brethren arrivals from Wittgenstein, including members of the Simon Dreisbach family. Future findings about such contacts can be expected to appear in the DERR, in the Research Notes section.



Fig. 2. The Christopher Sauer house in Germantown (no longer extant). For many years meetings of the Germantown Brethren group were held in the upper story of this house. Picture from M. G. Brumbaugh, History of the German Baptist Brethren in Europe and America, 1899, p. 355.

Christopher Sauer, Wittgenstein's most famous 18th century emigrant to North America.

The best documented Wittgenstein emigrant to Pennsylvania is surely Christopher Sauer.⁹ This man of many abilities took his wife and young son and left Wittgenstein in 1724, and eventually became a pivotal figure among the German-speaking inhabitants of Pennsylvania. By the time the Simon Dreisbach family arrived in 1743, Sauer was a well-established resident of Germantown, and it was in this year that he made a name for himself in publishing history, producing the first German Bible in North America. Sauer's special role as a disseminator of information among the German-speakers of Pennsylvania and other

⁸ See footnote 5 for an excellent presentation of the emigration years and related circumstances. A smaller group of Brethren arrived in Philadelphia in 1733, and by 1750 the Brethren relocation to North America was completed.

⁹ In Wittgenstein the name was at times spelled "Saur", but in Pennsylvania "Sauer" was most frequently used.

colonies cannot be overestimated. He printed a widely read monthly (later twice monthly) newspaper in German, *Der Hoch-Deutsche Pensylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber*. At Sauer's establishment, people could fetch letters that had arrived by ship and were addressed to them care of Sauer. His newspaper also carried a variety of advertisements, some inserted by family members seeking to find relatives from whom they had become separated upon arrival in Philadelphia, others written by employers trying to locate runaway servants, or by persons having property for sale, etc.¹⁰

The young Christopher Sauer. His 1724 emigration.

Sauer's life and work can be studied in various Church of the Brethren publications and online sites.¹¹ Though born near Heidelberg in 1695, Christopher Sauer was taken as a child to Wittgenstein by his widowed mother. By 1713 he was recorded as living in Schwarzenau and working as a tailor. There he certainly knew members of the Schwarzenau Brethren. When Alexander Mack, founder of the Brethren community, led his followers to Surhuisterveen in Friesland in 1720, it was Christopher Sauer who purchased Mack's house. Sauer himself left Schwarzenau in 1720, moving to Laasphe and renting out the Mack house to a tenant.¹² In Laasphe Sauer married, and in 1721 son Christopher (II) was born.¹³ Three years later the family was on its way to Rotterdam and Germantown-

By early 1724, if not before, Sauer had decided to emigrate to Pennsylvania. Information received from Brethren acquaintances and other separatists who were then living in Pennsylvania may well have been a major influence on the decision to emigrate. On 27 May 1724 Sauer's letter requesting authorization to emigrate to Pennsylvania was sent to Count August, whose permission was evidently granted. This letter still exists, and is in the Princely Archive in Laasphe. See Fig. 3 below.

In this letter of request, Sauer writes that having lived in Laasphe for some years now, working as a master tailor, and having lived in Schwarzenau for about two years as a 'foreigner' (i.e. one born outside Wittgenstein and thus not a subject, author's note), he and his wife now desire, together with a merchant from the "island" Pennsylvania, to migrate there as soon as possible. He asks that the Count allow him to sell the house he had purchased in Schwartzenu (this seems to be the Alexander Mack house), and thereafter authorize his departure from the Count's territory. The German text of the letter, with paraphrase, is found in the Research Notes section below.

The merchant mentioned in Sauer's letter is clearly Sauer's companion on the voyage, Johann Georg Käsebier. He and his wife were possibly part of the remnant of the Schwarzenau group. As we learn from letters later sent from Pennsylvania by both Käsebier and Sauer, there was another family also in their party, that of one Nikolaus (about whose identity there is some speculation). The itinerary of the three families went via Rotterdam, and it was from the port of Hellevoetsluis that they sailed to Dover in early August. After various delays off the English coast, their ship arrived finally in Philadelphia on 2

¹⁰ One such 'runaway' in 1744 was apparently the young man from Oberndorf who had sailed with the Dreisbach family on the "Lydia", Conrad Wied. One of those advertising land for sale was Simon Dreisbach Jr., in 1759.

¹¹ See for example the Sauer page at <http://www.johnbryer.com/saur.htm#bio>. See also the comprehensive Schwarzenau Brethren series on Wikipedia: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Schwarzenau_Brethren. Both sites were consulted in November 2013.

¹² "Joseph Leszle from Halle, lives as a tenant in the house of the tailor Sauer of Laasphe, which was purchased from Alexander Mack." Translation from document WA N 72, dated Schwarzenau June 1721, in the Princely Archive of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Hohenstein, Bad Laasphe, as published in Donald F. Durnbaugh, *European Origins of the Brethren*, The Brethren Press, Elgin, Illinois, 1958, p. 292.

¹³ Christopher Sauer Jr. would later continue his father's printing firm in Germantown, and also become a bishop in the Brethren movement.

November 1724, and on 4 November the families were met by a member of the local Brethren community.¹⁴ Sauer's and Käsebier's letters from Pennsylvania are discussed briefly below.

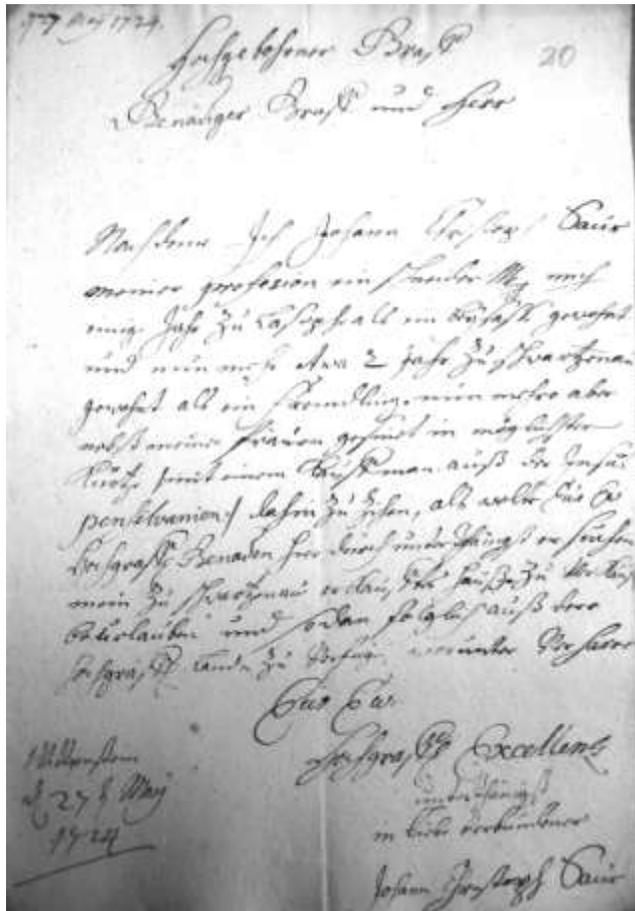


Fig. 3. Letter from Christopher Sauer to Count August of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Hohenstein dated 27 May 1724, requesting permission to leave Wittgenstein and go to the "island" of Pennsylvania.¹⁵

Photo: Heinrich Imhof.

German text and English paraphrase are in the Research Notes at the end.

Early letters from Pennsylvania.

No matter how difficult the circumstances of life were for the Wittgenstein villagers, they were not likely to embark on a costly and danger-filled journey unless they had reason to hope for a better existence at the new destination. Letters or other reports which arrived in Wittgenstein from the North American colonies provided information on which emigration plans could be based. In the following we present three letter-writers and their missives of 1710, 1724 and 1725.

Samuel Guldin (1664-1745). Swiss exile in Pennsylvania.

On September 1710 Samuel Guldin, a Reformed Swiss clergyman, exiled from Bern for his pietistic preaching, arrived in Philadelphia on the *Mary Hope*. Guldin and his family disembarked on September 24th, and "were received by good friends into their houses for several days, free and without money, and were shown much love."¹⁶ Guldin's long and positive letter, from which the above words were taken, was dated 1 December 1710. It presumably reached Europe in the course of 1711. This letter, addressed to "friends, brothers and sisters in our One-Beloved"¹⁷ was intended to be copied and distributed to Guldin's large network of like-minded pietists in various German-speaking regions. Thus, there are extant copies

¹⁴ Detailed information on the voyage is found in Johann Georg Käsebier's lengthy letter, written soon after arrival, to Count Casimir in Berleburg, and cited *in extenso* in Donald F. Durnbaugh, ed., *The Brethren in Colonial America*, The Brethren Press, Elgin, Illinois, 1967.

¹⁵ Preserved in the Princely Sayn-Wittgenstein-Hohenstein Archive, Bad Laasphe, holding WA W 61. Note that here Sauer spells his name "Saur". In the first half of the 18th century, Pennsylvania was thought by many to be a huge island.

¹⁶ Excerpt from Guldin's letter of 1 December (old style) 1710. The letter is printed in full, with annotations, in *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage*, Vol. 33, No. 2, April 2010, pp. 20-33

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

in Bern and Halle, the latter copy containing a list of greetings to many persons, including the famous pietist, August Hermann Francke in Halle, and also persons in the Hamburg region. Another copy of this letter found its way to Berleburg in northern Wittgenstein, where there were several pietist and separatist groups, and where Guldin had a former associate, Samuel König, also exiled from Bern. König was living in Wittgenstein as early as 1699, and was well received by both the northern and the southern Counts.¹⁸ Guldin's letter is preserved in the Princely Berleburg archive.¹⁹ It has been suggested that in this way Guldin, and to some extent König, helped prepare the way to North America for later separatist emigrants from Wittgenstein.²⁰

Johann Georg Käsebier (1697-1724), letter-writer / journal-keeper.

As already mentioned, Käsebier made the voyage to Philadelphia together with the families of Sauer and Nikolaus. An English translation of Käsebier's letter, sent from Pennsylvania and addressed to Count Casimir of northern Wittgenstein, can be found online.²¹ The letter bears the date 7 November 1724, but was probably not sent off until early 1725. In fact, not long after 7 November Käsebier fell ill. He died at his home in Roxborough, north of Germantown, on 19 December 1724, and his widow later added a postscript describing his last weeks. Käsebier's letter is more or less in journal form, and is a detailed and dated description of the voyage and the first days in Pennsylvania. It is possible that this letter/journal was copied in the Count's Chancery and distributed, to be read aloud in gatherings of persons who knew Käsebier and his Wittgenstein traveling companions. It can have been circulated as a kind of memorial document.

Christopher Sauer (1695- 1758): the power of letters.

At least two letters that Christopher Sauer wrote during his first year in Pennsylvania have been preserved in Europe. The first one, dated 1 December 1724, about one month after the three Wittgenstein families had disembarked, is in the library of the University of Göttingen in Germany. A transcription of the German original is in the library of Haverford College, Lower Merion, PA, and a translation can be found on the Historical Society of Pennsylvania website.²² This letter begins, "Dear brothers and friends", and was clearly meant to be copied and circulated within Sauer's circle. It shows Sauer's inquiring mind, is generally positive and, intriguingly, even discusses the belief patterns of the American Indians.

The second letter, dated 1 August 1725, was addressed to "all good friends and acquaintances in Schwarzenau, Berleburg, Laasphe and Christians Eck", which are all places in Wittgenstein.. This letter is preserved in copy form in the Berleburg Archive, filed together with the letters of Guldin and Käsebier.²³ After nine months in Germantown, Sauer can provide a great deal of information about life in the Philadelphia area, including much practical information and advice. Although he warns prospective immigrants of certain pitfalls, his letter is in the main positive.

¹⁸ Werner Wied, "Briefe aus Amerika", *Zeitschrift Wittgenstein*, 50 (1962), vol. 26, no. 4, note 26, pp. 131f.

¹⁹ The Berleburg copy of Guldin's 1710 letter is in the holding BA K 36, *Briefe religiösen Inhalts aus der Zeit Graf Casimirs* (Letters having religious content from the time of Count Casimir), in the Princely Archive Sayn-Wittgenstein-Berleburg, Bad Berleburg.

²⁰ See n. 18 above for Wied's note 26, p. 131.

²¹ <https://sites.google.com/site/shannontcasebeer/family-profiles> Consulted online on 1 December 2013. The letter itself is in the Berleburg Archive, in BA K 36, along with the Guldin letter of 1710. Cf. n. 19.

²² http://hsp.org/sites/default/files/sauer_letter_transcription.pdf Consulted on 1 December 2013. This translation ends abruptly, with no closing remarks or greetings.

²³ Thus, it is also in BA K 36.

Christopher Sauer's letters have their rightful place in migration history. Among Wittgenstein researchers, the influence of Sauer's early letters from Germantown is beyond doubt. These documents were copied and distributed, read and discussed in northern and southern Wittgenstein, and perhaps even farther afield. Many were inspired thereby to make the momentous decision of emigrating.

To sum up

Of the four emigrants and/or correspondents mentioned here by name – Huffnagel, Guldin, Käsebier and Sauer – only Guldin had not lived in Wittgenstein.

As for the 'why' of their emigrating, **Huffnagel's** reasons for leaving Laasphe are not known. As his marriage in the Dutch Reformed church in New York suggests that he remained within the Reformed fold, religious freedom is not an obvious motivation for emigrating in his case.

The other three were all adherents of or in sympathy with various religious currents and movements that were not well viewed by the established Protestant churches in the German-speaking territories. Greater religious freedom can be considered a strong motivation for all three. This, however, by no means eliminated hopes of economic opportunity. **Käsebier** appears on modern Church of the Brethren lists as being a member of the Schwarzenau Brethren at the time of his emigration, but his early death cut short whatever worldly career he might have made in Pennsylvania. **Christopher Sauer** was undoubtedly a religious man, and as mentioned in the caption of Fig. 2, the meetings of the Germantown Brethren were held at his house.²⁴ In the worldly sphere, he was both practical and enterprising. He abandoned his unprofitable tailor's trade, and went from clock-making in Germantown to farming in what is now western Lancaster County, then returned to Germantown and set up his printing shop. As for **Guldin**, Sauer writes in his 1 August 1725 letter that "Güti" possessed 900 *Morgen* (acres) of land! If Sauer's information was correct, then Guldin the exile had managed to acquire an impressive amount of land in the fifteen years he had been in Pennsylvania.

These four men, one single but soon to be married, the other three heads of families, can represent some of the diversity among relatively early arrivals in Pennsylvania. Two came as early as approximately 1710. Of them, Huffnagel seems to have been a young man seeking his fortune, while Guldin seems to have gone from being a recognized preacher to a homeless Swiss exile to a significant land-owner near Philadelphia. The other two, having become acquainted in Schwarzenau, had planned their journey of 1724 together, as we learn from Sauer's letter to Count August. Käsebier, had stayed on in Schwarzenau after the first Brethren exodus from there, and can have been subject to certain constraints imposed by his ruler. Sauer, conversely, after returning to Laasphe in 1720, seems to have lived as he pleased.

In their several ways, these men and their families helped prepare the ground for the hundreds of Wittgensteiners who would follow them to North America in the 18th century. Our emigration story has just begun. In the next DERR we will meet the first known Dreisbach emigrants and learn what fates awaited them.

²⁴ "From 1731 until the death of Christopher Sr. in 1758, the Sauer home was the principal meeting place of the Germantown Congregation." From the Church of the Brethren website www.cob-net.org/america.htm#esoabsuib; consulted on 7 November 2013. This is the source of the information in the Fig. 2 caption. It has been said, further, that Sauer was baptized a Dunkard in Germantown on 9 June 1728 (in Wied's note 42 in his article, "Briefe aus Amerika"; see n. 18 above). However, Sauer biographer and authority, Donald F. Durnbaugh, himself a member of the Church of the Brethren, categorically denies Sauer's formal membership in the Brethren ("Was Christopher Sauer a Dunker?", *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 93, No. 3, July 1969, pp. 383-391).

RESEARCH NOTES: Christopher Sauer's letter of 27 May 1724 to Count August.

Christopher Sauer's supplication to Count August, ruler of Wittgenstein-Wittgenstein, is dated 27 May 1724. This letter is found in holding WA W 61 in the Princely Archive of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Hohenstein in Bad Laasphe, and is reproduced as Fig. 3 above (photo courtesy of Heinrich Imhof).

Recapitulation. Sauer (spelled *Saur* here) says he has lived as a renter (*beysasse*) in Laasphe for a few years, exercising his profession of master tailor, and has also lived for two years in Schwartzenu as [having the status of] a foreigner. Now he and his wife desire, within the shortest possible time */:* together with a merchant from (?) the island of Pennsylvania *:/* to move to that place if, on the basis of Sauer's most humble request, his Grace the Count would allow him to sell the house he had purchased in Schwarzenau and authorize that he thereafter emigrate to Pennsylvania.

Note: The punctuation signs */:* and *:/* are Sauer's, and are used to set apart the section on the merchant with whom Sauer intends to travel. There seem to be no indications in the extant archival records that this merchant (Käsebier) was from ("*auß*") Pennsylvania or had been there. If that little word can be read as "*auff*" then it could have the sense of "to" Further clarification is welcome.

Transcription. Fig. 3 has been inserted in a rather small size, and is not easy to read. The following transcription of the German original is based on that found on p. 61 of Kerstin Fischbach's article, "Christoph Sauer – der erste deutsche Drucker in Amerika", in *Siegerländer und Wittgensteiner in der Neuen Welt*, Thomas A. Bartolosch et al., eds., Universität Siegen, Siegen, 1999.

*Hochgeborener Graff
Genädiger Graff und Herr*

*Nachdeme Ich Johann Christoph Saur meiner profesion ein schneider Meister mich einige Jahr ~~in~~
Laasphe als ein beysasse gewohnt und nun mehr etwa 2 Jahr zu schwartzenau gewohnt als ein fremdling,
nun mehro aber nebst meiner frauen gesinet in möglicher Kürtze */:* mit einem Kauffmann auß der Insul
pensilvanien *:/* dahin zu zihen, als wolte Eur Ew Hochgraffl. Genaden hier durch unterthänigst ersuchen
mein zu schwartzenau erkaufftes hauß zu verkaufen beurlauben und sodan folglich auß dero hochgräffl.
Lande zu verfügen, worunter Verharre*

Eur Ew:
Hochgraffl. Excellentz
unterthänigst
in Liebe Verbundener
Johann Christoph Saur

Note: Sauer ends with the obligatory phrase, "your most obedient ... Johann Christoph Saur", but before his name he adds a surprising "bondfellow in love" or, more simply, "joined in love". It is rather unusual to find a young tailor closing a letter to his ruler in this way. As indicated in n. 6 above, Count August was generally detested by his subjects. One wonders if, for a time, Count August and Sauer shared a connection with some religious group, as unlikely as that may seem. Here too, clarification is welcome.