# GERMAN AND SWISS COLONIZATION IN MORGAN COUNTY, TENNESSEE.

by

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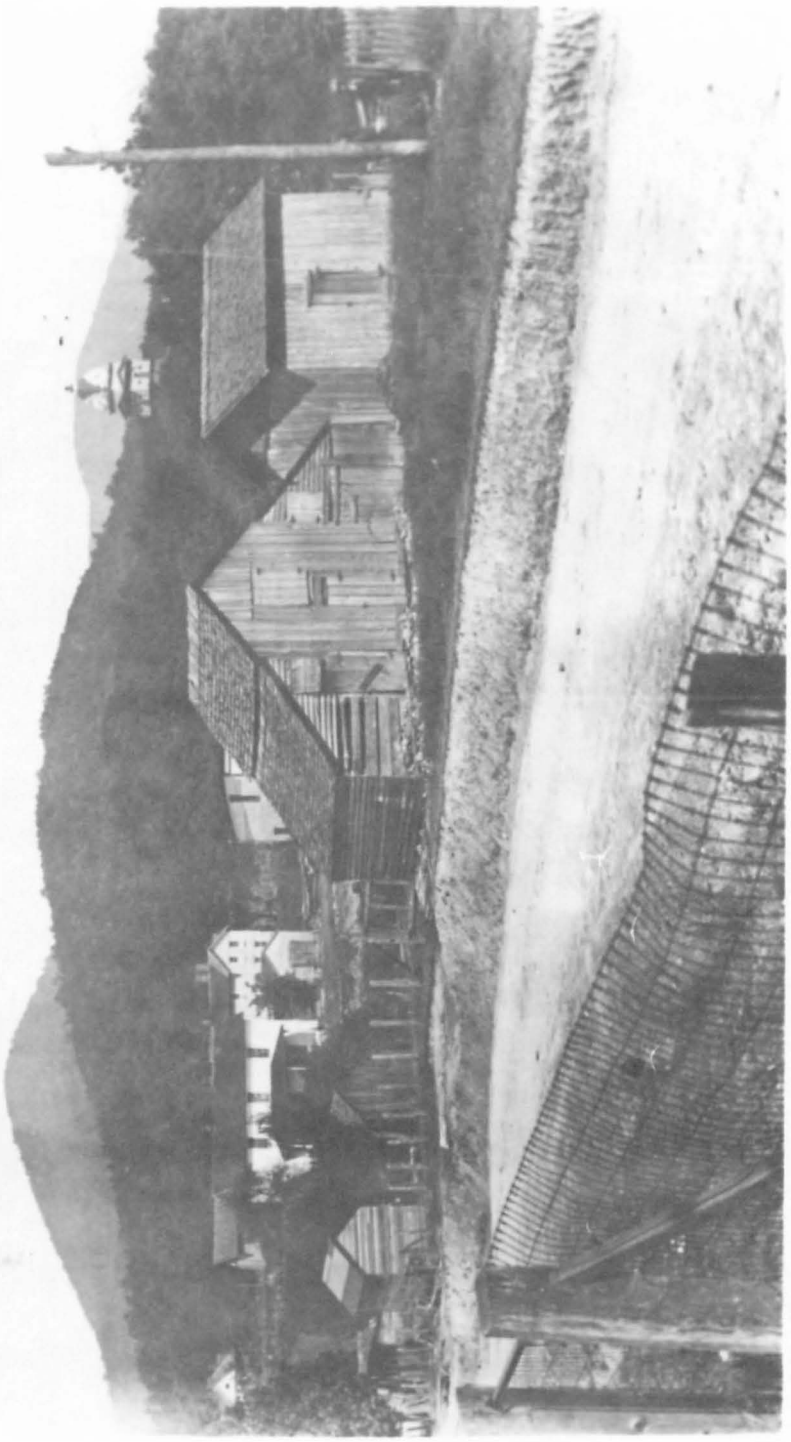
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Wartburg, Tennessee 1922 as viewed from St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church. View is northeast.

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## PREFACE

It is frequent occurrence that certain phases of the development of history escape even the most observant writers of history. In some cases facts overlooked and unrecorded are of negligible importance. In others, these unrecorded incidents leave a flaw, as it were, in the logical trend of historical events. Likewise, incidents of seeming local interest in extent when properly interpreted and coordinated often prove of inestimable value in the light of historical account. It is with a view of presenting a new and hitherto unmemtioned event in the history of Tennessee that the subject of this thesis was selected.

It is generally known that the State of Tennessee has been comparatively free from immigration from foreign countries but the efforts to colonize foreign immigrants in this State and the extent to which this colonization did take place have been left, in a large measure, undetermined. Recognizing this unrecorded phase of the history of the State of Tennessee, the writer has proceeded with the investigation of what seems to have been the first attempt, on a large scale, to colonize foreign immigrants in this State.[1] Accordingly, such materials as were available have been gathered and put into form and, as such, comprise the body of this thesis.

Owing to the fact that nothing had previously been written on this subject, it was necessary to gather the material from the field. Accordingly, much effort has been put forth, and much time consumed in the accumulation of data necessary to the fulfillment of this thesis. Starting with nothing more than the mere statement that "a German Colony settled in Morgan County about the time of the Democratic Revolution in Germany,"[2]

1) Other German or Swiss settlements are Germantown, Mosheim, Hohenwald, Gruitli, Belvidere, Allardt, and Paradise Ridge.
2) William R. Cooper, Knoxville, Tenn., Reminiscences.

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the writer presents herewith an account of the establishment, development and subsequent effects of this colony as have heretofore not been related.

In as much as the sourees for this thesis have been, in the most part, original and from the field, a considerable variety of manuscripts has been used. These include diaries, letters, Bibles, note books, business accounts, maps, and the like. Likewise, many public documents have been used. These include Legislative reports, census reports, county court records and contemporary newspapers. Not less important, however, was information gained through personal interviews and questionaires. Most of these were directly related to points of fact concerning the early colonists and those giving such information were generally direct descendants of the early colonists or contemporaries. In some cases, those interviewed actually came with the first contingents of immigrants to Morgan County.

In view of the foregoing, an appendix has been included as a part of this thesis. This includes excerpts from sources, photographs, maps, and such material as would otherwise be conducive to a more complete account of the subject concerned.

As many of the manuscripts used for reference in this thesis were written in early German script forms, it was necessary to refer such papers to persons who were familiar with the same. To those who rendered such service in translating these manuscripts, as well as those who rendered other services necessary for this account, the writer is indeed grateful.

In conclusion, the writer recognizes that the record herein contained is not a complete account of the subject. It is, however, a record

of the subject as to fact contained and to the extent of material available. Unfortunately, the records of Mr. George F. Gerding, the promoter of the colony, were lost in the destruction of Columbia, South Carolina, near the close of the Civil War. They had been taken to this place for safe keeping by Lillie Gerding, a daughter of Mr. Geroge F. Gerding.[3)]

3) George F. Gerding to Jean Baptiste LeTorey, letter April 3, 1880. MacFerrin papers, Mr. Harvey J. Hannah, Oliver Springs, Tenn.

CONTENTS


| CHAPTER | | PAGE |
|---|---|---|
| I. | German Immigration between 1840-1860 | 1 |
| II. | Morgan County - The Site of Colonization | 7 |
| III. | The Tennessee Colonization Company | 14 |
| IV. | Colonizing in Morgan County | 20 |
| V. | Economic Aspects of the Colony | 45 |
| VI. | Religious and Educational Activities | 65 |
| VII. | Social and Civic Interest of the People | 85 |
| VIII. | Effects of Colonization | 93 |

APPENDIX

A. Documents and special notes.

B. Maps and Photographs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION: GERMAN IMMIGRATION BETWEEN 1840 AND 1860

Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, certain movements toward the centralization of all German States was taking place. These movements once begun were continued until this centralization became a fact in the establishment of the German Empire in 1871. This movement in its entirety covered the entire middle period of the nineteenth century. During this same period, and to some as a result of the centralization movement, another definite movement was taking place. This was the extensive emigration movement in central Europe, largely from the Germanies. This movement had, as its prime motive, the betterment of conditions in general by an egress from the continent of Europe and the entering of new and less developed foreign countries-principally the United States.

Aside from the centralization movement of the Germanies during this period, there were other more immediate causes which led to the extensive emigration during this period concerning which the following are of most importance.

In the first place, the democratic spirit inherent in the early Saxon tribes[4] still obtained in many German States and could not be reconciled to the new centralized, imperialistic form of government which was rapidly uniting all of the German-speaking people. This attitude was exemplified to a large degree in the southwestern portions of Germany. In the Democratic Revolution of 1848 such an attitude was expressed in the intense opposition in the Grand Duchy of Baden.[5] As a result of this general revolution there was extensive emigration of a high type

4) George Burton Adams, Civilization During the Middle Ages(Revised) pp. 89-96.

5) Carl Schurz, Reminiscences (1907), III, pp. 104, 114, 116, 124, 134.

from the various German States.

Secondly, an increased demand for military service and its domestic consequences caused much dissatisfaction. Accordingly, opposition to forced military service was wide-spread. Such a condition was paramount in Prussia and in Bavaria. Speaking of the domestic effects of military services one writer says,[6] "In Bavaria soldiers are not allowed to marry under thirty years." And again, "In Hesse-Darmstadt the law of 1852 was, for a man, the age of thirty."

Thirdly, the population in many German States, and in Switzerland, was increasing faster than the economic benefits of a limited supply of land would admit under existing conditions. The most thickly settled region was that of Saxony. This State had, in the years, 1855-1860, a population of 353 persons per square mile.[7] At the same time Wurtemburg had 210; Prussia 159; Bavaria 156; and Hanover 123. Due to the increasing population in these various regions individuals were encouraged to emigrate and so relieve the existing conditions.

In Switzerland the situation was even more acute. In fact, the over-population in Switzerland was probably the most outstanding cause of emigration during this period. Regarding emigration from Switzerland Luchsinger says,[8] "Its cause was the business depression which began in Germany about 1844, and over-population in an unfertile country. Land had been divided and subdivided as population increased. In the Canton of Glarus, the land was allotted in small portions to each individual for cultivation, and when one emigrates he receives the value of his allotment, as well as the value of his interest in the common property. This virtually puts a premium on emigration." He

6) "E.M." German Home Life, Frazier's Magazine, Dec. 1875, pp. 236.
7) U. S. Census Reports 1860, p. XLIX.
8) John Luchsinger, Swiss Colony of New Glarus, Wisconsin. Wisconsin History Coll., VIII, p. 441-449

further states that "At Glarus at this time (1844) the range in size of parcels is from 160 to 640 square yards for the head of each family according as the parish is rich or poor. The States owned the land and the income goes to pay expenses; taxation therefore is light. Eveny citizen is entitled to the use of one of these parcels of tillable land, which may be cultivated by himself or by proxy. These small parcels are mainly planted with potatoes, beans, or other annual crops. The authorities are so careful of the food supply that on these allotments no one is allowed to dig even his own potatoes until thay are fully ripe. As harvest approaches, watchmen are employed day and night to guard the crop, and a heavy fine is imposed on the luckless individual who may be detected in gratifying his relish for new potatoes before the law has pronounced them ripe."

Another important cause for emigration was the desire for land. That is, the ownership of land. In Europe, landed properties tended to remain in one family for generations under the system of primogeniture. Accordingly, those desiring to own land, and who had not done so before, were forced to go to countries where the land was not so intensely developed and where land was bought and sold at will.

The move toward centralization involved not only the political entity of the German States bu the religious as well. The centralization of religious affairs meant the restriction of religious freedom. The State Church was to be the Lutheran Church. There was, however, an evangelical element in the Lutheran Church which fought the attempted centralization of the Church. From this body, as well as from other bodies disapproving of centralized church functions connected with the government, a large number emigrated.

Finally, and in a more general sense, the fundamental cause for emigration was an economic cause and was prompted by the great business depression which began in the early forties. This depression was extant in most of the countries of Europe at this period. Resulting from this depression and the subsequent failure of crops in many sections of Germany, virtual famine occurred in many places. Such a condition existed in portions of southwestern Germany and in Lippe-Dietmold in 1847.[9]

Not alone were the conditions in Germany and Switzerland conducive to emigration during this period but, on the otherhand, there were contemporary conditions in the United States which were conducive to immigration and it was largely to the United States that dissatisfied Germans and Swiss looked as a place of settlement. In the first place, the democratic form of government in the United States was a natural inducement to those Germans who could not be reconciled to imperialism. This democratic government had been greatly augmented by the current spirit of the "Jacksonian Democracy" of the thirties. It was to such a spirit as this that such men as Carl Schurz and others responded.

Secondly, this was a period of great expansion in the United States. It was during this period that extensive internal improvements were taking place. Railroads were being built into the western regions and new lands were opened to settlement. These movements likewise created a demand for the trades and professions as well as an increaded agricultural population.

Thirdly, the United States was increasing in wealth. This was exemplified in the general expansion of the industries within her borders. Then too, in 1848 gold was discovered in California and this

9) Kate Ernest Levi, The Geographical Origin of German Immigration to Wisconsin, Wis. Hist. Coll., XII, pp. 243-290.

greatly augmented the reputed wealth of the United States. Even to this latter inducement Germans responded in large numbers.[10]

There were other encouraging interests in the United States which attracted also. These, however, of only a passing interest. The fact is, that under the prevailing conditions there was extensive immigration to the United States between the years 1840-1860. It is not surprising, therefore, to find numerous immigration companies, as well as colonization companies, being formed to care for this immigration. Many immigration companies were formed and extensive literature was printed and distributed throughout Germany and Switzerland.[11] This literature was distributed by both private and governmental agencies. In most cases it was distributed by capitalistic interests who sought commercial advantages in the immigration movement. Railroads and immigration companies had immigration agencies. Likewise some states have commissioners of immigration. As early as 1851 and only three years after becoming a State, Wisconsin had an immigration commission and a commissioner at the port of New York.[12]

Regarding the emigration tendencies in Europe in 1845 Mr. Frederic List, United States Consul at Leipsig, made various reports.[13] He states that "an American traveller in Dresden, in the Spring of 1845 estimated that preparations are being made at that place for the passage of 20,000 emigrants during that year," He also gives the following account of several companies forming at that time in Germany who intend colonizing the America:

.....

10) Some of settlers at Wartburg, Morgan County, Tenn., were on their way to California when they were turned to Tennessee by agents in New York. These include Carl Frederic Baron von Forstner.
11) Foust, German Element in the United States, (1909), Bibliography.
12) Kate Asaphine Ernest, How Wisconsin came of its Large German Element, Wisconsin History Coll., XIII, p. 303.
13) Quoted in Knoxville Register, February 15, 1845.

"First, a large company under the auspices of German princes and noblemen of Baden and Wurtemburg, most of whom engage emigrants to go to Texas and Florida, and to the southern country, but most of whom find their way into the United States, probably Missouri and Iowa.

"Second, those going to Virginia and Ohio, mostly farmers and mechanics, are engaged by Mr. Stack, the same gentleman who took such an active part in the Zoll Verin Treaty. There are mostly Bavarians and Saxons.

"A company at Antwerp is now forming who have purchased lands in Tennessee which they intend selling to German settlers [14].....".

As a result of these immigration tendencies it is not surprising to learn that the total number of German and Swiss Immigrants to the United States between the years 1846 and 1854 amounted to nearly 900,000.[15] The highest tide came in the years 1852-1854 during which time over 500,000 Germans entered the United States.[16] The valley of the Weser and the Moselle furnished the largest part of this immigration.[17]

The bulk of these immigrants settled in the North Central States. Of these States Wisconsin received the greatest portion. This was not accidental however, for there was a definite plan to establish in the Wisconsin territory a "German State in America." [18] Aside from Wisconsin, a large portion of German immigrants settled in Ohio, Missouri, Minnesota, and Texas. Some earlier attempts were made to settle German and Swiss immigrants in North and South Carolina, and Georgia. These, however, were not very extensive.

In the State of Tennessee the first attempt to establish a German colony on an extensive scale was inaugurated in 1844-1845.[19] It is with this attempt at colonization that this thesis deals.

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14) Reference is to the Theo. DeCock & Company.
15) U. S. Census Reports 1860, p.XXIX. Also quoted by Foust. p. 584.
16) Ibid. Foust,pp.584, 586.
17) U. S. Census Reports 1860, p. XXIV.
18) Ernest, p. 303
19) Germantown, W. Tenn. settled about the same time.

## CHAPTER II.

### MORGAN COUNTY - THE SITE OF COLONIZATION

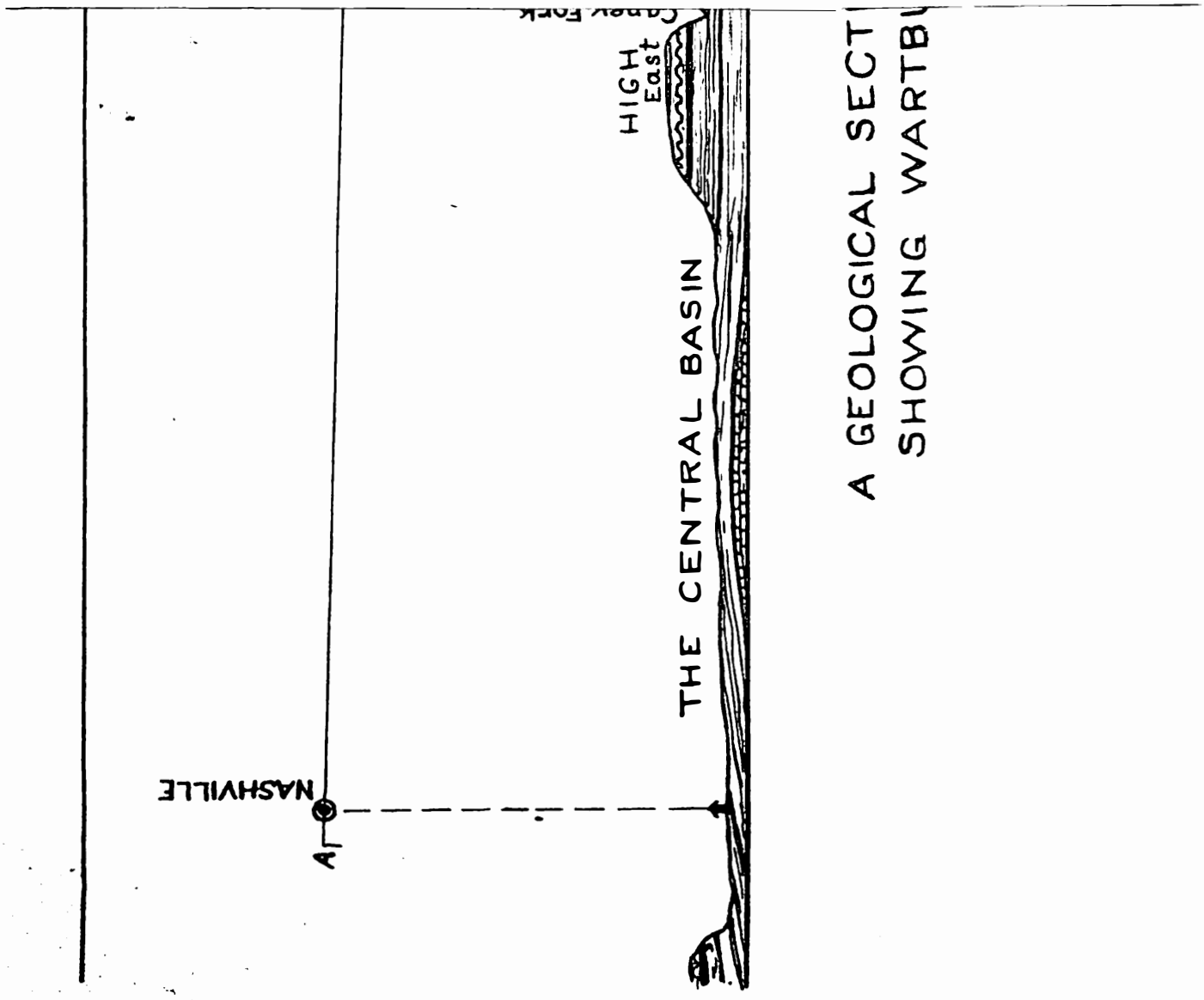
In order to understand the condition under which colonization took place in Morgan County, it is necessary that certain aspects of various conditions extant in the county prior be considered. Likewise, the physical environment, which had a great influence on the success of the colony, must necessarily be considered. Accordingly, a brief sketch of these factors is pertinent at this point.

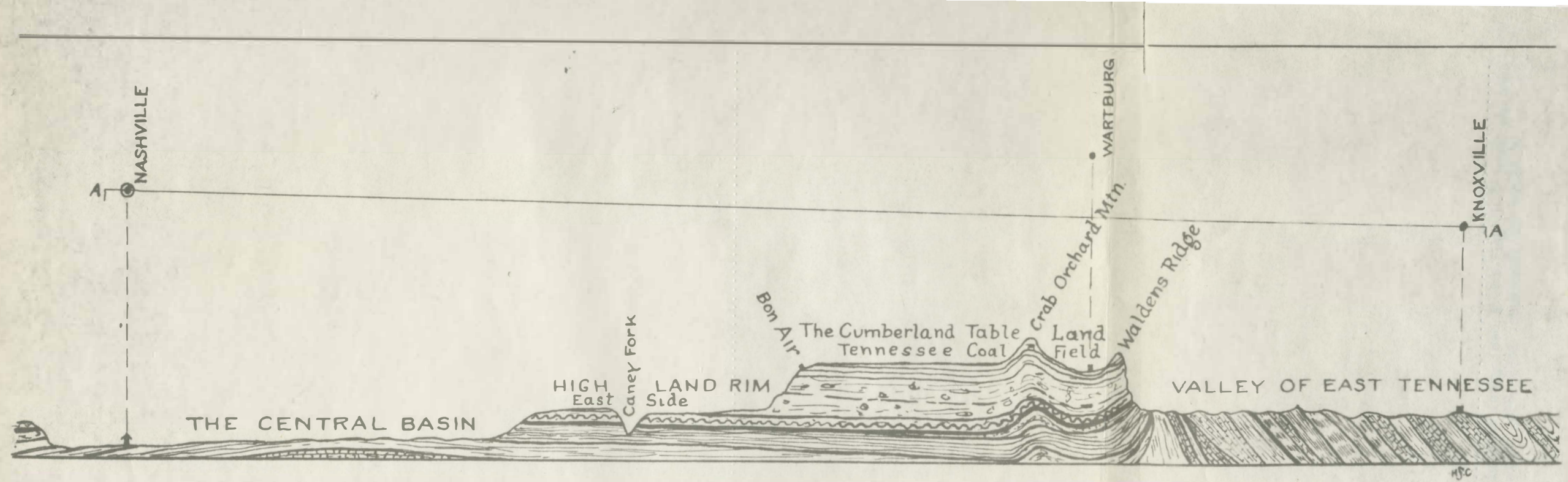
Morgan County is situated on the eastern edge of the Cumberland tableland and is distinctive in having some peculiar physical features - mountains, in fact upon a tableland.[1] The region is, for the most part, very rugged and is drained by many small streams. Dr. Safford describes it:[2] "The waters of the Emory and the New Rivers flow from a bed of mountains which rise massively above the surrounding country, and which are conspicuous objects to the hunter many miles to the west. When seen from the east they cannot be separated from the table-land. They blend and run down with it to the valley. It is here that the highest peaks of the Cumberland occur, and they are to be seen from all high points in the northern parts of the valley of East Tennessee."

Politically Morgan County forms a part of that grand division of the State known as East Tennessee. It is located on the western edge of this division however, and really forms the eastern boundary of the Cumberland Plateau region, or, the Middle Tennessee division. It is also in close proximity to the State of Kentucky - being separated from it only by Scott County. It is peculiar on account of its comparative isolation. Being very mountainous, there are few outlets to other

1) Note page following, also Appendix B, Map no. 6. (See copy no. 1 or 2 of Thesis)
2) Dr. J. M. Safford, A.Geological Reconoissance of Tennessee, Journal of the Senate of Tenn. 1855-56. Appendix Suppl. 0.60.

Adapted from: J.M. Safford, A Geological Reconoissance of Tennessee, in Journal of Senate of Tennessee, 1855-1856. (Frontpiece).






A GEOLOGICAL SECTION THROUGH NASHVILLE AND KNOXVILLE
SHOWING WARTBURG AND THE CUMBERLAND PLATEAU.

counties. In this respect railway and highway development have taken place only in a limited amount.

The geological formations of the county exhibit outcroppings of many minerals. Concerning certain aspects of mineral resources which come within the province of the subject concerned, Dr. Safford further remarks:[1] "On the mountain around Montgomery, there are several beautiful exposures of coal, and at least three are known. Aside from coal formations there are also beds of iron and other minerals in these formations."

Probably the most noticeable feature of the formations of this region is the predominating sandstone formations. These formations have left a residue of light, sandy soils are very characteristic of the region. It is noted:[2] "The agricultural features of the tableland present very little variety. The soils are generally deficient in calcareous matter, and are inclined to be sandy. They are, however, better than is generally supposed. Extensive tracts, covered with mellow loam, which at points yields, under proper culture, crops of corn, oats, etc., would satisfy a farmer in the limestone valley. These lands are well adapted to the cultivation of fruit, raising of stock, etc. Nowhere in the State is there so promising a field for the application of scientific principles in the improvement of land. The foundation for an excellent soil is furnished; it needs but skillful treatment and the addition of a few mineral manuers to make it yield bountifully."

Of the scientific analysis of the foregoing there is little concern. Merely as an opinion of the possibilities of the region as expressed by a contemporary scientist is it of particular interest. Suffice to state

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1) Safford,Geological Reconoissance of Tennessee, J. of S., 1855-56,App. Suppl., pp. 12-15, Note also Appendix B, Maps IV,V. (See thesis no. 1 or 2)
2) Ibid.

that wild grass, as a rule, grew in abundance in this plateau region and it was long the custom of cattle raisers of Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky to drive their herds into the Cumberland Plateau in the early spring to graze on the abundant pastures and drive them back in the fall.[3] At first, the range was free. Later, large tracts were leased to cattle raisers.

As a unit, Morgan County was organized by the an act of the legislature in 1817. At that time the county comprised portions of Scott, Fentress, and Cumberland Counties. At the time of its erection the area composing the county was a virtual wilderness. The residents of the county at the time of its erection, and for a considerable period thereafter, were those who had received grants from the State of North Carolina, or what are called "squatters." In some instances, (and these included squatters) the State of Tennessee made grants to settlers in this region. On the whole, however, the number of settlers was not very extensive and in 1830 the total population of the county was only 2852.[4]

Among the earliest settlers of this county were those generally considered to be of Scotch-Irish descent namely; McCartt, Duncan, Montgomery, Scott, Hall, Brient, Lyons, Underwood, Maxey, Lavender, Williams, Truitt, Davidson, Farrington, Wade, Wilson, and others.[5] The grants of land occupied by these various residents were occasionally contiguous, or relatively so, thus forming what might be termed a settlement. Two settlements, one on Flat Fork Creek called the McClung settlement, and the other on the Emory River, called the Hall settlement are reputed to have been the earliest settlements in the county.[6]

The first county seat was Montgomery; so named for Hugh Montgomery, the first surveyor of the county, who laid out the site in 1818. This

3) Cooper, Reminiscences. Also Journal of Senate of Tenn, 1854, p. 377.
4) United States Census Reports 1840, –
5) W. E. McElwee, Rockwood, Tennessee, Interview. Also, County Court Documents. Note Appendix B. Maps nos. IV,V. (See thesis no. 1 or 2)
6) Ibid.

county seat was located near Kingston Mill Creek, four and one-half miles west of the present town of Lansing. Later, in 1828, William Hall gave ten acres for a county seat one-half mile west of the present county seat. This site included the area on both sides of the turnpike road which at present is due eat of the bridge which spans the Emory River. The name of the county seat was retained.

The earliest route of travel through the county was by way of the Knoxville-Nashville Turnpike. This road ran diagonally across the county from Winter's gap,[7] northwesterly into Fentress County.[8] This turnpike road was supervised and controlled by Julian F. Scott, from whom it took the name of "Scott's Turnpike Road." Another road leading from Kingston connected with this turnpike at the "Indian Tavern" about four and one-half miles east of Montgomery. About six miles west of Montgomery another road leading from the south joined Scott's Turnpike Road. A short distance beyond this junction Officer's turnpike branched off and ran in a westerly direction south of Scott's Turnpike Road. On January 13, 1843, Julian F. Scott was authorized to open a road from Montgomery to the Kentucky line.[9] This was called "Brimstone Road". Aside from these main routes of travel there were only a few private roads leading through the wilderness to the homes of the settlers.

There were no railroads built in Morgan County prior 1878 and the only one of reasonable access was the road from Knoxville to Clinton. This was not constructed until 1867.[10] This was about thirty-two miles east of Montgomery. There was, however, transportation on the Tennessee River at this time. From Montgomery to Kingston, the closest point of access to this stream, the distance was twenty three miles. In 1850 steamboats made trips thrice weekly between Kingston and Chattanooga.[11]

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7) Now Oliver Springs.
8) Note Appendix B., Map I. (See copy 1 or 2 of thesis)
9) Acts of Tennessee 1844, p.93.
10) Cooper, Reminiscences.
11) Buttner, Prf. Dr., Hand und Reffbuch fur Auswanderer (Hambrug 1853) p.297.

Turnpike Roads, then, were the principal means of travel in Morgan County. These turnpike roads were incorporated and "toll" was charged at frequent intervals along these roads. Such tolls were intended to defray the expense of erection and upkeep of these roads. On Scott's Turnpike road there was a toll gate at Winter's Gap in Roane County; at Montgomery in Morgan County; and north of Jamestown in Fentress County. Toll was charged in passing from one county to another. Toll was not charged travellers within the county.[12] The mode of conveyance was either by stage coach or wagon. The wagons were generally covered wagons called "tar greasers."[13] They were drawn by either horses or oxen, Oxen were generally used for domestic purposes in Morgan County.

Under the conditions as outlined, the population of Morgan County during the first half of the nineteenth century could hardly be expected to make rapid increases. In fact, it did not increase very rapidly. In 1830 there were 2582 inhabitants in the county; the end of the next decade, or, 1840, showed an increase of only 78 persons - a total population of 2660. Of the total population in 1840 there were 922 white persons over twenty-one years of age. The total also included 126 colored persons 84 of whom were slaves.[14] The density of population of the county was only 5.03 per square mile in 1840. The census reports for 1850 show a greater increase. There was an increase of 770 or a total population of 3430 in 1850.[15] This increased the density to 6.48 persons per square mile - an increase of 1.45 persons.

That Morgan County was distinct in having a small and slowly increasing population is not a fact. This was a general condition in the Cumberland

12) Acts of Tenn., 1848, pp. 394-396.
13) Name given to wagons which were greased with tar. The friction caused by the wheel turning on the axle melted the tar and thus greased the axle.
14) U. S. Census 1840 (Compendium), p. 67.
15) U. S. Census 1850, p. 576.

region. Prior to 1830, and for some time thereafter, the State owned extensive lands in the Cumberland Plateau region which had not been entered. This area included what is now Campbell, Scott, Morgan, Fentress, Cumberland, Pickett and White Counties. By an act of the Legislature in 1829 these lands were opened to entry. Entries ~~were~~ not to exceed 5,000 acres could be made by an individual under this act. Such entries were to be special.[16] Between the years 1836-1838 a certain Thomas B. Eastland, of Davidson County, entered in his own name, and in the names of relatives and friends, extensive tracts in the counties mentioned. These entries were checkerboarded over the larger portion of this area and each entry, excluding all prior legal claims, included 5,000 acres. These entries were surveyed in oblong form.[17]

With the entering of the lands above mentioned a long period of speculation began in Morgan, as well as the other counties mentioned. This wholesale disposition of lands tended to increase the population to some extent by extending the opportunities for purchasing to other states. These lands were generally sold to New York capitalists. On September 1, 1839, the aforsaid Thomas B. Eastland sold 46,000 acres of land to Henry Wells, of New York. The consideration was $18,000. This land comprised certain grants from the State of Tennessee to the said Eastland.[18] Large areas of land were also sold to the following individuals: Wm. Coxe Dusenberry,[19] Thomas Deguide,[20] Edw. Saxton,[21] Nehemiah Brown,[22] George F. Gerding,[23] and others, of New York. These lands were later sold to other

16) L. D. Smith, Tennessee Land Laws-Entry, Tenn., Law Review, III, no. 1, p.46
17) Smith, Tenn., Land Laws, Tenn. Law Review, III no. 1, p. 46, Also R. D. Delius, one time Deputy Registrar of Morgan County. Note Appendix B., Map 1. (See copy no. 1 or 2 of thesis)
18) Deed Book E (original), Morgan Co. pp. 163-65. Also Book J, p. 233.
19) Deed Book J, pp. 72, 317.
20) Ibid p. 89
21) Ibid.
22) Book E. p. 199.
23) Note Appendix A. p. 1

speculators and prospective residents of Morgan County.[24]

Prior to 1850 the activities of the residents of Morgan County were those of a limited nature. That is, the pioneer conditions existed in this undeveloped region, and agricultural interests generally commanded the attention of the people. The census report for 1840 indicates the economic status of the county at the time that the attempt to establish a German-Swiss Colony in Morgan County was initiated. No attempt at comparison with later reports will be made but merely as an indication of existing condition the following facts are presented.[25]

Occupations represented:

| Agriculture | Mining | Commerce | Pensioners |
|---|---|---|---|
| 826 | 1 | 3 | 16 |

Education:

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of schools reported | 0 |
| Number of persons over 21 years of age who cannot read and write | 514 |

General produce, amount of:

| | |
|---|---|
| Bushels of wheat | 1,261 |
| Bushels of oats | 13,561 |
| Bushels of rye | 664 |
| Bushels of buckwheat | 10 |
| Bushels of corn | 53,254 |
| Bushels of potatoes | 4,896 |
| Pounds of wool | 2,385 |
| Pounds of wax | 300 |
| Tons of hay | 44 |

Value of live stock, poultry, and other produce:

| | |
|---|---|
| Horses and mules | $ 894.00 |
| Neat cattle (oxen) | 5,321.00 |
| Swine | 10,224.00 |
| Sheep | 1,585.00 |
| Poultry | 774.00 |
| Dairy products | 50.00 |
| Orchard produce | 156.00 |
| Home made family goods | 5,006.00 |

24) Discussed in chap. IV.
25) U. S. Census 1840 pp. 67, 235, 236, 237, 241, 242. (compendium).

Manufacturing:

Tanning-

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of tanneries | 2 |
| Sides tanned (sole) | 140 |
| Sides tanned (upper) | 800 |
| Value of product | $ 1,500 |

Distilling-

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of distilleries | 2 |
| Number of gallons produced | 1,300 |
| Number employed | 2 |
| Investment | $ 1,500 |

## CHAPTER III.

## THE TENNESSEE COLONIZATION COMPANY.[1]

German and Swiss colonization in Morgan County, Tennessee, in the forties and fifties of the nineteenth century was instituted and carried on by the Tennessee Colonization Company. This was a co-partnership enterprise entered into at Antwerp, Belgium in 1844, between several New York and European capitalists.[2] The purpose of this organization was the colonization of Morgan, Scott, Fentress, and Cumberland counties with German and Swiss immigrants. The Company was an outgrowth of a previously formed packet-ship company which organized at Antwerp and which operated between Antwerp and New York. This packet-ship company was operated under the name of "Theo. DeCock and Company," and operated four ships between New York and Antwerp. These ships were named as follows: Emanuel, Sarah-Sheaf, Provus, and Westphalia.[3] This packet-ship company, as well as the Colonization Company, was created, to a large extent, through the efforts of Mr. George F. Gerding of New York City.

The exact date of the organization of the Tennessee Colonization Company is indefinite. It was however, sometime in the early spring of 1844.[4] The first positive move toward the colonization scheme, aside from the organization of the Company, was the appointment of Frederic B. Guenther, an employee of George F. Gerding, as an active agent for the Company. This appointment was made August 26, 1844. The members of the Company at that time who made the appointment were Theo. DeCock, Francois Bisshop, James C. Kunkleman, Dr. George Frecker,[5] Harry Klein, Joseph Stacks, George F. Gerding, and Anthomy A. Melly. The appointment was made with full power

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1) Also called 'East Tennessee Colonization Company,' 'Theo. DeCock Co.' and 'DeCock and Bischop'
2) Note Appendix A. , p. 2.
3) Vannie Gerding Plumadore, Concord, Tenn., Interview. Also recorded interview of Frederic W. Gerding with Oscar E. Feucht, Wartburg, Tenn.
4) Note Appendix A, p. 14, no. 17.
5) Ibid p. 2. Strecker is probably the correct spelling.

to buy and sell land in the name of the Company, to lease, contract, build, or any other necessary functions in the interest of the said Company.

After his appointment, Mr. Guenther was then sent to Morgan County, Tennessee, as the representative of the Company. The time of his coming to Morgan County is not definitely known. It is certain, however, that he was in the county in November 1844 for during that month several land transactions occurred in which he was involved. One instance of his activity was that of the transfer of 3772 2/3 acres of land from Hohn White to Theo. DeCock, November 18, 1844.[6] In this case he and Constantine Brause witnessed the transfer. He was no doubt the agent for the transaction. Another instance was that of the transfer of 1000 acres of land from Jas. Willison to F. B. Guenther. This transaction took place November20, 1844.[7] The consideration involved in the first case was $2500; in the latter, $100 and other valuable considerations. The first transaction also involved 13 entries. Thereafter Mr. Guenther was actively engaged in buying land and arranging for the reception of the colonists.

Prior to the purchasing of land for the Company by Mr. Guenther, and what seems to have been the initial step toward the development of a company for the purpose of colonizing in this county, was the purchase of a tract of land by Mr, George F. Gerding in 1843.[8] Inasmuch as this transaction was made with Mr. Henry Wells through an attorney for Mr. Gerding, it is possible that arrangements were under way at that time for the organization of the Company and that Mr. Gerding was at that time in Europe directing its organization. It also appears that the land purchased at this time was the land that was sold to Henry Wells by Thomas B. Eastland September 1, 1839.[9] At any rate this purchase must have contributed to

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6) Deed Book F (original) p. 18.
7) Ibid. p. 25. Note Appendix A., P. 3, no. 4 for other transfers.
8) Note Appendix A. p. 1
9) Pre., p. 12.

the development of the Company.

After the appointment of an agent to act at the site of the colony, other agents became actively engaged in the interest of the Company. In most instances these agents were members of the Company. These agents operated in Germany and Switzerland as well as in the cities of New York and New Orleans. At these places they induced prospective immigrants to purchase land in Morgan County and settle there. Maps and various forms of literature were used in this work. One of the members of the Company, while United States Consul to Baden, acted as an agent for the securing of colonists.[10] He also directed the transportation of the immigrants from Europe to the United States. It was while acting in this capacity in Baden that Dr. Edward Goetz, Charles Haag, and others were encouraged to become members of the colony in Morgan County.[11]

Those who were located in American ports met immigrant ships and induced immigrants who were going elsewhere to go to Morgan County, Tennessee, instead. Among those so directed were Carl F. Baron von Forstner, C. A. Weigle, Gustav R. Knabe and Dr. Johannes Majorzsky.[12] These agents likewise arranged for the transportation of immigrants from these ports to Morgan County. In some cases the immigrants proceeded without such arrangements.

The scope of the Company's plans for colonization seem to have been rather extensive. Though, without data from the records of the Company itself, contemporary reports give an account of its activities. In the Nashville Whig dated May 3, 1845, is the following account of the plans and early activities of this Company:

"In conversation a few days ago with Mr. Guenther, the very intelligent agent of DeCock and Bischop, of Antwerp, for the establishment of a colony of Dutch immigrants in Morgan County, in this State, we obtained

10) 1845-1847, Congressional Directories 1845-1847, p. 66 (G.F. Gerding)
11) Charles Hagg, Wartburg, Tenn., and Dr. H.B. Goetz, Knoxville, Tenn. Interv.
12) Pauline Knabe, Knoxville, Tenn., C.A. Weigle, Knoxville, Tenn., Mrs. Rudolf Freytag (nee Forstner), Wartburg, Tenn., Interviews.

some interest-details in relation to the enterprise.

"About 200,000 acres of land have been purchased and two or three hundred immigrants are daily expected to arrive. Others will follow from time to time as fast as preparations can be made for their reception.

"Both manufactures and agriculture will engage the attention of the colony. For purposes connected with the former there is water in great abundance. The agricultural operations will have reference to the cultivation of the vine and fruit trees generally. Special attention will be given to the raising of sheep and the growing of wool. In view of the last mentioned object, the Company have already sent over a few of the finest Electoral Saxony Rams whose original cost was $500 apiece. They also recently purchased from Dr. John Shelby, of this vicinity his valuable flocks of Bakewells and Southdowns."

Aside from the foregoing account little is known of the scope of the preparations and the plans of the company in planting the colony in Morgan County. There were, however, developments which took place prior to the coming of the first contingent of immigrants, and even after the arrival of these and others, that were fostered by the Company and which would lead one to believe that an extensive colony was planned. In the first place, a town had been laid out, or platted, even before the immigrants reached the site in Morgan County. In fact, the agents used such a plat to interest prospective immigrants in Switzerland.[13] In the second place, certain steps were taken for the erection of buildings to house and care for the incoming immigrants. Though very roughly constructed, and even limited in extent, these first structures served the people until adequate buildings could be erected.

The first building to be erected by the company was the one used as

13) Clara Rothe, Harmon Kreis, Knoxville, Tenn., Interview.
John Bardill, Peter Henry, Wartburg, Tenn., Interview.

a store-house and office for the Agent of the Company. This building was located on the southwest corner of Antwerp and Ill Streets.[14] During the first few years of its existence it was operated by Mr. John White, a native of the county, who assisted Mr. Guenther in his work with the immigrants.[15] Soon after the erection of the store-house, another and more imposing structure was erected on the southeast corner of Spring and III Streets. This was the so-called "Blockhouse," or "Receiving House." The latter name was derived from the fact that the immigrants were "received" at this house when the first arrived on the site.

From the descriptions of this building as given by those who had seen it or lived in it, it was of extraordinary domensions. It was a two story log structure from seventy to ninety feet in length and with a width of about thirty five feet. Each floor had five large rooms, each of which had a door opening to a common porch extending the entire length of the building. Likewise each room had two windows; one opening to the porch; the other located in the opposite wall. The ceilings were low and log beams extended across the room overhead. The building was covered with "split shingles." There was no chimney to the house and when occasion demanded it, stoves were used and a pipe was extruded through the roof or through a hole between the logs.[17]

Other buildings were begun under the direction of the Agent of the Company during the following years. Aside from these preparations, however, another move was taken by the Company which was intended to give a great impetus to their colonization plan. This was the proposed removal of the county seat from Montgomery to Wartburg. Concerning this plan the Nashville Whig reported:[18]

14) Note Appendix B. Map no. II, (See copy 1 or 2 of thesis)
15) John Bardill, Peter Henry, John Kreis, Wartburg, Tenn., Interview.
16) Note Appendix B, Map no. II (See copy 1 or 2 of thesis)
17) Bardill, Henry, Kreis, Haag, Interview.
18) September 23, 1845.

"We learn but little of the progress of the enterprise of late, but what we do hear is of a character favorable to its success. We understand recently, that an eligible site has been selected, and a plan for a town to be called Wartburg, projected, and efforts are making for the removal of the County seat to the new town, from Montgomery, its present location. In case the change is effected, the enterprising German agent, Mr. Guenther, proposes on behalf of the Company he represents, to erect, without expense to the County, neat and commodious buildings for a Courthouse and Jail...." Thus it appears that the Company included in its plans the removal of the County seat from Montgomery to Wartburg, the town which was being created through its efforts.

Owing to the loss of the original records of the Company it is impossible to present the proposed plans of the Company further than has been suggested. The capitalization of the Company is not definite. However, it is known that the stock of the Company was divided into 250 shares. Of this amount Anthony A. Melly owned 54 shares. This interest was based on a contribution of 51,500 acres of land to the Company by the said Melly.[20] The first agent of the Company, Frederic B. Guenther, was later succeeded by George F. Gerding. The latter received a salary of $500 per annum for his services. In the performance of this function all of the property of the Company was transferred to him.[21]

The lands held for a colonization purposes consisted of about 200,000 acres.[22] These lands comprised large portions of Morgan, Cumberland, White, Fentress and Scott Counties. Owing to much dissatisfaction in the administration of the affairs of the Company, Theodore DeCock, the President of the Company, dissolved the same in the late fifties. This

20) Anthony A. Melly to Hon. Thos. A.R. Nelson, Letter, Feb. 2, 1866. Seldon Nelson Papers, McClung Collections, Lawson McGhee Library, Knox., Tenn.
21) Ibid.
22) Ibid. Melly says about 170,000. Note also p. 17 - quoting Guenther.

dissolution brought on much litigation between the agent of the Company and its other members.[23]

23) Ibid. Also, Bardill, Henry, Rudolf Freytag, John Kreis, Delius, Interviews.

## CHAPTER IV.

## COLONIZING IN MORGAN COUNTY

Through the activities of its agents operating in Europe, the Company secured its first contingent of immigrants in the spring of 1845. This consisted of about twenty families, for the most part natives of Switzerland.[1] In all there were about fifty individuals.[2] These immigrants were recruited from the eastern cantons of Switzerland, namely: Glarus, Graubunden, Tessin, and St. Gallen.[3] These immigrants were all tradesmen in their native cantons but occupied and cultivated the portions of land which were alloted to them by the government at this time. Owing to the depressed condition in Switzerland at this time, and with the th ught better prospects in the United States these Swiss people quickly responded to the bids of the agents representing the Tennessee Colonization Company. Some of them purchased land from these agents before emigrating.[4]

The time and place from which this first contingent of immigrants migrated is not definite. It is possible, however, that they followed the same route taken by most Swiss immigrants at this time, namely: By way of the Lith Canal (paralleling the Lith River), to Zurich. From Zurich the journey was made to Basle by canal also. At Basle immigrants boarded a steamboat which carried them to Rotterdam. From Rotterdam they went on board a coasting vessel which carried them to New Dieppe, the port of embarkation.[5] From this last named place, sea-going sailing vessels carried them to the United States. In view of the fact that the Company was also interested in transportation, and Antwerp being the port of

1) Bardill, Henry, Wartburg, Tenn., Interview.
2) Post p. 22.
3) Bardill, Henry, Interview. Also Richard Graf and Lizzie Wespe, Knoxville, Tenn. Interview. Also inscriptions on stones in Wartburg Cemetery.
4) Ibid. Also Clara Roth, Pasadena Calafornia, Interview.
5) Luchsinger, The planting of New Glarus, Wis. Hist. Coll. XII, pp.343-345.

embarkation for their vessels leaving Europe, it is probable that these particular immigrants left from the port of Antwerp. At any rate there were large numbers of Swiss immigrants leaving from this port between 1840-1850; especially prior to the opening of the railroad from the Thine to the Scheld.[6] The time taken in making the trip from Canton Glarus was usually fifteen days. A shorter route direct to Harve was sometimes taken. This was an eight day's journey.

The mode of travel at this time was not only a slow one but it was also conducive to many inconveniences which gave rise to much sickness. Death on board ship was a frequent occurence. It was because of such conditions that an investigation was made by the Congress of the United States between 1840-1850.[7] Reports made by those making the investigation indicate the condition under which immigrants came to America. Prior to embarking from the ports of Europe the immigrants had to furnish their own food, bedding, or other necessaries in making the journey to these ports. There were no beds or berths on the Rhine Steamers. Where obtainable, passengers generally supplied themselves with straw for beds. The crowded condition of the steamers however, often prohibited the possibility of having beds. Food was carried along ready for use. In some instances passengers cooked their food on the boat.[8]

Ocean travel was little better, for various conditions existed which caused extreme hardship, sickness, and a large number of deaths. Owing to increased immigration at this time many unseaworthy vessels were fitted up for carrying passengers to America. Recognizing this situation and its consequences, King Leopold of Belgium, issued orders charging the Maritime Commissioner "with the inspection of vessels engaged in transporting immigrants, reporting upon their sea condition and deciding whether they were worthy or not."[9]

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6) Dudley A. Mann (U. S. Consul at Antwerp) to Pres.Buchannan, Communication in reports and laws of the Commissioners of Immigration at N.Y., p. 47.
7) ~~p. 47~~ Ibid.
8) Luchsinger, the Planting of New Glarus, Wis.Hist.Coll., XII, pp.345-246.
9) Dudley A. Mann to Pres. Buchannan, op. cit.

These sea-going ships were generally crowded and poorly equipped. "On the upper deck of the ship were two small cook-rooms about five feet deep and four feet wide called steerage galley. Within is a gate corresponding with the width of the room, over which is fastened an iron bar, and on these are two hooks, to which the immigrant hangs his kettle (if he has one) when he wants to cook. These are the arrangements for preparing meals for several hundreds of passengers! The result is, that except when they are sick or have nothing to cook, (which is too often unfortunately the case), there is constant fighting for room near the caboose, and not one of the passengers can be sure of getting his food cooked."[10)]

Vessels coming from Bremen and Hamburg were little better than others though they represented the best. Says, Luchsinger, "In every case the ship was required to carry a certain amount of rations for the passengers aside from the rations furnished by the passengers themselves." The weekly ratios allowed on the vessel carrying the Swiss immigrants to New Glarus, Wisconsin in the spring of 1845 may be considered as typical of all vessels coming from Hamburg and Bremen, as well as the food ratios allowed the immigrants to Morgan County Tennessee, during the same year, and later. Thie ratio was as follows: "two and one-half pounds of salt pork; one-half pound of flour; two and one-half pounds of rice and as much 'ship biscuit' as could be used." During storms passengers were not allowed to do any cooking. Under restrictions passengers were required to go for days without any cooked food.[11)]

It was under these conditions that the first contingent of Swiss immigrants, as well as hundreds of others from both Switzerland and Germany, came to the wilderness in Morgan County, Tennessee.

10) Leopold Bierwerth, Communication to the U. S. Senate March 7, 1848, in Reports and Laws of the Commissioners of Immigration at N.Y., 1840-60,p.80.
11) Luchsinger, op. cit. p. 346,350.

The first record of this body of immigrants is that recorded in the Nashville Whig[12] and which was subsequent to their passage up the Mississippi and Cumberland Rivers to Nashville. The Whig states; "Fifty immigrants arrived at this place yesterday on their way to the German settlement in Morgan County. Others to the number of eight hundred or a thousand will follow as soon as the necessary preparations can be made for their reception. The immigrants are far superior to the general run of that description of persons. They have been selected with great care, and none but individuals with good character and habits will be permitted to join the colony. We learn from the intelligent agent of the colony, that it is intended to make the situation of these immigrants entirely comfortable. They are of a character, in fact, which entitles them to kind and respectful attention on the part of their employers."

It is not certain who was in charge of this body of immigrants before they reached Nashville, but from this place to the colony site in Morgan County they were directed by Mr. John White, a resident of Morgan County. The journey from Nashville to the site of the colony was by way of the Nashville-Knoxville Road over the Cumberland Plateau. Before their departure from Nashville, however, they were advised by friends at that place not to proceed to Morgan County but to let their lands go and remain in Nashville. This they were not willing to do but continued their journey against the advice of their friends. This trip was made in covered (tar greased) wagons which were drawn by oxen.[13]

Arriving at Wartburg, the immigrants found nothing but a wooded expanse with only two buildings erected.[14] One of these buildings, the "Reveiving House", was to be the home for several of these immigrant families until homes could be built for them. Others lived at Scott's Tavern.

12) Nashville Whig, July 3, 1843.
13) Clara Rothe, Pasadena Calf., John Bardill, Peter Henry, Wartburg, Tenn. and Lizzie Wespi, Knoxville, Tenn. Interviews.
14) Pre. p. 18.

at Montgomery. Among those comprising the first contingent were the following: Joseph G. Gschwend, Jacob Wespi, Christian Brei, Christian Schmidt, Simeon Schmidt, Anton Schmidt, Z. Fischer, Anton Fischer, Christian Wald, Peter Bardill, Bernhard Zobrist, Jacob Zobrist, Peter Heinrich, Andreas Kron, Richard Saup, Paulus Lendi, Franz Havier Hebrank, and Valentine Ulian. There were probably others represented in this first body of immigrants. These include C. G. Fuchs, Anton Volmar, C. G. Goldberg, A. F. Wieland, and a certain Frei. Others coming at this time, or shortly afterward, were Leonhard Santi, Anton Grier, a certain Steinwehr, C. Gul. Antenreich, and Frederic Liebhartt.[15]

The first interest of the people after their arrival at the site of Wartburg was the suitable location for a home. Those who had already made arrangements for their lands prior to coming to this place, set about to locate these lands and have them surveyed. In some instances this work had already been done by the agent of the Company and his assistants. Such was the case with the lands lying close to the town site. Those who had not already purchased land made arrangements to do so very soon. All became actively engaged in the clearing of these lands and in the erection of homes. This was a very arduous task and the settlers became very discouraged in these efforts.[16]

The town of Wartburg had already been platted when these immigrants arrived. In this plat there were six streets running north and south which were numbered I to VI consecutively. Running in the opposite direction, and forming town squares of 240 feet, were other streets. These were given the names of German cities. The main street, however, was given the name of the city in which the Colonization Company was organized.

15) Bardill, Henry Rothe, Wespe, Freytag, Kreis, Interviews. Also, Goodspeed, History of Tennessee (E. Tenn. Edition) P. 841.
16) Ibid. Also Morgan County Deed Books. See Appendix A. pp. 9-12.

These streets were Antwerp, Frankfort, Mainz, and Cologne. A fifth street, immediately south of Antwerp Street, was not named at this time. It was later called Spring Street. The squares formed by these streets included six city lots, each 80 x 120 feet. One exception to this was, however, that the area between, and bounded by, Antwerp, Cologne, II, and III Streets, was set aside in one block as the public square.[17] Here it was that the proposed courthouse was to be erected.[18]

One of the unique features of the first town plat was the specification of trees to be planted at regular intervals (40 feet) along Antwerp and Cologne Streets. Likewise trees were to be planted in the public square. All streets were sixty feet in width and, in length, were more or less indefinite. For the most part these plans were carried out. The trees were planted as planned, and, as a whole, the town remains today essentially as it was conceived at this time. Although specified streets are indicated in the plat, some were not cleared for use for many years after the founding of the town. In fact, they were covered with trees (with the exception of Antwerp Street, which was the turnpike road, and the street area around the public square) when the bulk of immigrants came in 1846-1848.[19]

After the year 1845 immigrants continued to come in large numbers. The year 1846 passed with the arrival of two large contingents. These included both Germans and Swiss. These settlers were likewise recruited in their native countries by the agents of the Company. A few, however, were secured after their arrival at the American ports. The personel comprising these two contingents, as well as others who came during the same year, is not fully determined. The dates of the departures of these two contingents were March 26, and May 9.[20] It was on May 9, 1846, that

17) Note Appendix B., Map no. II. - Original Plat of Wartburg. (See copy 1 or 2 of thesis)
18) Pre. p. 19.
19) Bardill, Haag, Weigle, Heinrich, Freytag, Interviews.
20) Johann Kreis Sr. (Deceased) Bible account, H.S. Cooper Collections, Knoxville, Tenn. Also Alice Norris, Letter to Oscar E. Feucht, Wartburg, Tennessee.

Rev. John Frederic Wilken left Germany. He reached Wartburg sometime in July of the same year. On May 9, 1846, Johann, Jacob, Christian, and Dietrick Kreis, left Europe. They arrived at Wartburg September 17th of the same year. Others accompanying these individuals may be said to have formed the two contingents coming to Wartburg in 1846.

The route taken by the immigrants in reaching Wartburg in 1846 and thereafter was not the route taken by the first arrivals at that place. Ships carrying immigrants destined for Wartburg were first directed to the port of New York and from that place to Charleston, South Carolina or to the latter place direct. From Charleston the journey was made through north Georgia to Chattanooga by rail, stage and wagon. From Chattannoga to Kingston the journey was made by boat. From the latter place to Wartburg the journey was completed by wagon, ox cart, or by foot.

One shipload of immigrants arriving at Wartburg in 1846 had the misfortune to be lost at sea. A storm arose and the ship was driven from its course. As a result, the voyage lasted nearly four months. For ninety days the ship was out of site of land. The first landing was made somewhere along the southern coast of Georgia. The voyage was then resumed, up the coast to Charleston.[21] Commenting on this unfortunate voyage, Mr. Richard Graf says, "There was much suffering on the ship. Food ran low and much sickness resulted. Dr. Goetz was on board. His medicine and supplied ran out. While at sea a mutiny arose and the ship's captain came very near being thrown overboard. After the first landing was made the captain of the ship promised not to get out of sight of land again for more than a day at a time. While passing up the coast the ship was out of sight of land for seven days. For fear of violence the captain locked himself up in the cabin for security.

Among the immigrants on this ill fated ship were the following: Robert Shimmel, Moses Shimmel, Dr. Gustav Brandau, Dr. Edward Goetz, C. A. Mosier, Richard Ritz, Dr. Charles F. Kramer, Joseph Falwinckl, F. Heydemann,

21) H.E. Goetz, Henry Brandau, Richard Graf, Knoxville, Tenn. Interview.

Charles G. Thuss, C. F. and H. Woltersdorf, F. A. Naumann, Carl and Christian Buehler, and Jacob Weisgerber.[22] This was probably the same ship that the Kreis family sailed on May 9, 1846.

During the years 1846-1850 large numbers of immigrants continued to come to Wartburg. One large contingent came in the year 1847 by way of New York, thence to Charleston; From Charleston the journey was continued overland by the same route as that taken by former immigrants of the Wartburg Colony. Many of the immigrants coming at this time had been directed to Wartburg by agents abroad. There were, however, many who came whose intention it was to go elsewhere. These individuals were met by the agents of the Company operating in New York who induced them to proceed to Wartburg. Some of these immigrants purchased land from the agents in New York prior to their arrival at Wartburg. Some of the immigrants coming at this time were Karl (Baron) von Forstner, Herman A. Kaiser, C. A. Weigle, W. Dyckhoff, Theodore and F. A. Sienknecht, George S. Potthoff, G. Thurmer, J. G. Neubert, Frederic Heidle, Theodore Neergaard, Louis F. Nitzschke, and A. Moyer.[23] It is also very probable that Christian F. Melhorn came with this same party.[24] That agents were also active at New Orleans at this time is evidenced by the fact that Gustav R. Knabe and Dr. Johannes Majorzsky purchased land from them at that place before going to Wartburg.[25]

Other immigrants continued to come in considerable numbers until about the year 1855, After that year there is little evidence of but very few families. Those known to have arrived about 1850, or thereafter, were Edward Braun, Rev. John T. Etter, Eugene Freiterinreicht, David Kuhn, Anton Mathis, Fr. Hedrick, Frederic and Johann Zumstein, Louis Martz, Lucas Graf,

22) Ibid. Also Fritz Weisgerber, Knox.,Tenn.,John Kreis, Wartburg, Tenn. Charles Haag, Wartburg, Tenn., Interviews.
23) Charlie Weigle, Fritz Weissgerber, Harmon Kreis, Pauline Knabe, Interviews. Knox., Tenn., John Bardill, Peter Henry, Mrs. Rudolf Freytag, Charlie Haag. Interviews. Wartburg, Tenn.
24. Pauline Knabe, Interviews. Also Charlie Weigle, Interview.
25) Ibid.

J. W. F., W. M., and Charles Lehmann, Frederic Leopper, Simeon Bargetze, and Daniel Bonifacius. About 1855 Johann Lichtenwanger arrived at Wartburg.[26] There were numerous others who came during this whole period but the approximate time of arrival is not definite. Various records indicate that there were a large number of immigrants in the colony by 1850.[27] Many of these were at that place before such records were made however.

The following list of names will serve to indicate the extent of the personel of the Wartburg Colony by the year 1855. Namely:[28]

Aurin, C. A.
Aurin, G. W.
Aurin, J. A.
Ahlhorn, C.*
Anhauser, Johann Philipp
Antenreith, C. Gul.*
Bassler, Johann
Bauer, C.
Barkhorn, J.*
Barkow, B. H.
Bargetze, Simeon
Baumgartner, R.
Bardill, Peter
Bennike, Fr.*
Berger, Charles H.
Becker, J.
Buehler, Carl
Buehler, Christian
Bunch, Edward
Bonifacius, Daniel
Bechtel, George
Brinkerhoff,
Brandstetter, J.
Barnhall, Edward
Buli,
Brandau, Dr. Gustav R.
Brei, Christian
Blume, Gr.
Bleidorn, Caroline
Bleidorn,
Chavannes, Arrian L.
Delius, David August
Clemenz,
Etter, Rev. Johann T.
Estes, Peter
Engert, Frederic
Estchmann, Rev. Edward
Eydam, William A.
Falwinckl, Joseph*
Fischer, Christian
Fischer, Frederic
Fischer, Zeperian
Freytag, Francis*
Fischer, Andreas
Fritz, J.
Forstner, Karl Frederic Baron von*
Fuher,
Fuchs, Charles G.
Freiterinreicht, Eugene*
Frei, A.
Fincher, Amsey
Fulz, C.
Fritsche, F.
Gaudin, J. W.
Geaslan, N. W.
Gerding, George F.#
Gerding, Frederic W.#
Goetz, Dr. Edward
Goldberg, C. G.
Goss, A. L.*)
Goss, Z. H.
Gohren, Adam Ludwig von
Gredig, Jeremiah
Graf, Lucas
Grier, Anton
Guenther, Frederic B.#

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26) John Lichenwanger, Lena Tauscher Heins (now deceased), Charles Lehmann, Knox., Tenn. Interviews. Also citation 23) above. Also John T. Etter, Diary, New Glarus, Wisconsin.
27) Morgan County Deed Books, Journals, etc.
28) Names taken from Deed Books, Wills, Letters, Bible accounts, and Diaries. Also from persons. Note Bibliography.
* Note Appendix A., p. 14, no. 18 for other spellings.
# Interested in promotion of Colony as agent or otherwise.

Dildne, Belinda
Dilbeck, D. J.
Dildne, Honorine
Debleux, Paul**
Duerheim, Frederic
Drunier, Henry
Durriel, A.
Dyckhoff, W.
Brause, Constantine#
Hersch, Christian
Heydemann, F.
Haecker, Frederic Edm.*
Headrick, Christian F.
Heidle, C. Frederic
Heinz, G.
Holder, J. M.
Hacknel, Gottlieb
Hildebrandt,
Hebenstreet, J.
Jacobin
Krutch, Emile
Kreis, Johann*
Kreis, Christian
Kreis, Dietrick
Kreis, Jacob
Kienbusch, Otto G. von#
Kaufmann, Johann S.
Kraemer, Dr. Charles F.*
Kaiser, H. A.
Knabe, Gustav R.
Knowblanch, Johannes*
Kuhn, David
Kron, Andreas
Kubly, G. J.
Kolter,
Ketcherseich,
Lendi, Paulus
Lendi,
Lehmann, Charles
Lehmann, J. W. F.
Lehmann, W. M.
Liebhartt, Frederic
Lichtenwanger, Johann
Leopper, Frederic*
LeTorey, Jean Baptiste**
LeTorey, Victor
Letorey, Amelius
Lineberg, Christian
Mathis, Anton
Mathis, Hardemann
Mathis, Christian
Fuget, L. N.
Burnz,

Gschwend, Joseph G.
Groeker, George
Gotthoulf, J.
Gotthoulf, J.
Heinrich, Peter*
Hebrank, Franz Havier
Haag, Charles, H.
Haag, Christian
Mosier, C. A. *
Mosier, Louis
Majorzsky, Dr. Johannes
Meyer, A.
Mersch, G. J.
Melhorn, Christian F.
Melhorn, J.
Meucke, Louis
Muller, Gn. Ls.* > Muller, Frisack
Muller, Ferdinand
Martz, Louis
Naumann, F. A.
Naumann, Gustavus F.
Neubert, Johann G.*
Neubert, H.
Nitzschke, Louis F.
Neider,
Nerregaard, Theodore
Pease, Anson
Pott, Sachariah
Potthoff, George S.
Pucklewartz, August
Raeder, Christian
Ruppe, Frederic
Rongger, Robert*
Rothe, Karl F.
Ritz, Richard
Ruse, Richard
Renfaul,
Ruffner, Christian
Roer, F. W.
Saup, Richard
Saffael, C. H. *
Sienknecht, Dr. F. A.
Sienknecht, Theodore
Sona, Joseph Lewis*
Sistare, Sebastian
Sieber,
Schacht, J.
Steinwehr, C.
Sturm,
Schlitzske, L.
Santi, Leonhard
Shimmel, Robert Adolf
Shimmel, Moses

*Note Appendix A., p. 14, no. 18. for other spellings
** French
# Interested in promotion of Colony as agent or otherwise.

Hacknell, Johann
Montague, L. **
Bekkadahl, George F.
Baumann,
Schliter,
Speich, Sebastian
Suchow, Edward von
Schlitz, Charles, F.*
Schenck, H. F.
Schular, G.
Thuss, Charles
Thurmer, George
Ulian, Valentine
Untirthin, William
Sterchi,
Staunger, L.
Sternbergh, G. L.
Vickery, A.
Van Winkle, Isaac
Vertries, Johann M.
Wespe, Jacob
Wald, Christian*
Wald, Simeon
Unger,/
Volmar, Anton

Muller, Frinsch
Schmidt, Christian
Schmidt, Anton
Schmidt, Simeon
Schneider, L.
Spitzer, Abram
Braum, Edward
Weidemann, Christian
Wilken, Rev. Johann Frederic
Wieland, A. F.
Weigle, Karl August*
Weissgerber, Jacob Sr.
Weissgerber, Jacob
Woltersdorf, C. E.
Woltersdorf, H.
Younker, Anton*
Zumstein, Frederic
Zumstein, Johann
Zimmermann,
Zobrist, Bernhard
Zobrist, Jacob
Younker, George F. Hermann*
Younker, Charles
Knaffl, Dr. Rudolf

From the foregoing list it will be observed that there are 221 names. This list is not to be considered as the total number of immigrants who came to Morgan County during the colonizing period. The names given represent, with two or three exceptions, merely the male members of families whose activities were such as to bear record. That is, these names were taken largely from the records of transactions relating to real estate. Others were of record elsewhere. While some were remembered by persons acquainted with the early residents in this vicinity. On the otherhand, there were scores of immigrants who came to Morgan County but did not stay.[29] Accordingly, there are no records from which to determine this number. Sufficient to state that many of these immigrants had large families when they came to the Colony and a conservative estimate of the total number of immigrants coming to this place would be from eight hundred to one thousand.[30]

*Note Appendix A., p. 14, no. 16, for other spellings.
/ Also spelled Unkart, Edward.

29) Rudolf Freytag, John Bardill, Peter Henry, Maria Zust Kreis, Interviews, Wartburg, Tenn. Also F. W. Gerding letters to Oscar E. Feucht, Wartburg, Tenn. Also, Vannie Plumadore, Interview, Concord, Tenn.

30) F. W. Gerding, said approximately 2000 immigrants came to Wartburg.

These immigrants represented a number of German States,[31] as well as Austria, Holland, France, and Switzerland. Those from the German States were by far the most numerous of the immigrants whose nativity was determined. In the list herein represented there were 97 Germans; 82 Swiss; 5 French; 4 Hollanders; and 3 Austrians. The remaining 29 though undetermined, are probably Austrians or Germans. At any rate a large number of Austrians are reported to have been at Wartburg. Those Austrians definitely determined are Dr. Rudolf Knaffl, Joseph Falwinckl, and Sebastian Sistare.

The census reports for the years 1850-1900, though not giving the total foreigners in Morgan County during intervening periods, present the trend of the foreign born residents for the decades mentioned. These foreign born residents may reasonably be considered as the German-Swiss Colony.

| YEAR[32] | FOREIGN BORN | GERMAN | SWISS | FRENCH | AUSTRIAN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1850 - | 317 | - | - | - | - |
| 1860 - | 244* | - | - | - | - |
| 1870 - | 120 | 57 | - | - | - |
| 1880 - | 90 | 51 | 37 | 2 | - |
| 1890 - | 88 | 63# | 24 | 1 | - |
| 1900 - | 75 | 55 | 19 | - | 1 |

From the foregoing it appears that after the year 1850 there was a gradual decline in foreign born residents in Morgan County. This is a fact. However, the German decrease was not rapid as the Swiss. The increase in German foreign born residents in 1890 was probably due to the small colony of Allardt in Fentress County.

With the continual arrival of immigrants in the year 1846, and subsequent years it was necessary for the Company, and others concerned, to make such arrangements as were necessary for these new-comers. Consequently, building operations were broadened and the immigrants who had already

31) Includes Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, Wurtemburg, Saxony, Hanover, Prussia, etc.
32) U. S. Census Reports for 1850, Compendium p. 309; 1860, p. 469; 1870, p.321. 1880, p.528; 1890, 667; 1900, 783.
* One or both parents foreign born 286; having foreign born father 280; having foreign born mother 248; having both parents foreign born 242.
\# Listed with other counties.

become adjusted to their new environment were employed in the construction of homes and other buildings. Aside from the "Receiving House" and the store which had been built prior to the arrival of the first immigrants,[33] the Company had, prior to 1847, begun other buildings. One of these buildings, the "Tavern" was erected in 1846-47. This was a two-story frame building located on the southeast corner of Main Street and Maiden-lane.[34] It was built by the direction of George F. Gerding, the manager of the Company, who, while United States Consul at Mannheim, had persuaded a certain Charles Haag to come to Wartburg and become proprietor of said tavern. Prior to this time Haag had been a dye maker. The building was under construction when Haag arrived at Wartburg in the fall of 1846.[35] Although this property was bought by Gustav Brandau in December 1848, it continued to be operated as a Tavern until the period of the Civil War. In the meanwhile Haag purchased the property.[36]

In the same year the first church was built under the direction of Mr. Guenther, the Agent of the Company. This was a small structure located on Main Street between Haag's Tavern and the store.[37] The erection of the church was of much concern for the religious life of the people was one of the first considerations of the Company. In July of this same year Rev. John F. Wilken arrived at Wartburg and organized the church and began public worship.[38]

Many other buildings were going up at this time, especially homes. Aside from this work, however, and the first consideration of the settlers, was that of selection and settlement of the lands. In some instances land had already been purchased, or contracted for. The surveying and

33) Pre., p. 23.
34) Note Appendix B, Map no. II. (See copy 1 or 2 of thesis)
35) Note Appendix A, P. 5, no. 8, Deed: Gerding to Brandau. Also Charlie Haag, Interview.
36) Left Wartburg during Civil War. Mortgage foreclosed by Brandau.(Haag,I)
37) Note Appendix A. Map no. II. (See copy 1 or 2 of thesis)
38) Discussed in Chapter VI.

preparation of the land for cultivation, or the clearing of the forests to make room for a house, were the next steps. Those who had not previously bought their land now proceeded to do so.

In order to care for the sale of lands as well as for the general operations of the Company's affairs several agents were appointed to assist Mr. Guenther. Those whose agency has been definitely determined were Otto G. von Kienbusch, Frederic B. Guenther, and Constantine Brause.[39] It was probably one or both of the former individuals who acted as agents in New York in 1847-1848. Others who were connected with land transactions involving the immigrants, and who were apparently employed in some capacity were Julian Scott, John Scott, John White, Craven Duncan, J. S. Duncan, Levi Summers, S. P. Vaughn, John Brient, and Joseph Bradshaw.[40] During this same period to some extent, and that outside of Morgan County, George F. Gerding acted in the capacity of an agent and sold land to immigrants. After coming to Morgan County about 1850, however, he also became very active in land transactions. In fact, he assumed the management of the affairs of the Company at that place.

Much of the land purchased by the Company had been surveyed and platted into tracts for specific purposes. First, the town was platted and lots were specified 80 feet by 120, six lots in each square. Just beyond the town were small tracts ranging in size, from two acres to thirty or more acres, depending upon their nearness to the town and upon the contour of the ground. The smaller tracts were along the "New Kingston Road" leading to the south. These were tracts of three, four, five and six acre tracts, or fractions thereof.[41] Most characteristic of the tracts of less than seventy five acres, and more than six acres, were those along the Turnpike Road east of the town. Some of those purchasing land along

39) Note Appendix A. p. 14, no. 17.
40) Extensive transfers of real estate. Also, Bardill, Kreis, Freytag, Interviews.
41) Note transfers to Kreis, A. Mathis, Staunger, Bennike, etc., Post p.36.
42) Bardill, Heins, Taucher, Henry, Interviews. Note Appendix A., p. 10.

this road were Barnhard Zobrist, Anton Volmar, David Kuhn, Joseph Gschwend, Christian Brei, Frederic W. Gerding, Frederic B. Guenther, Sebastian Sistare, Henry Tauscher, and Karl F. Rothe. Other small tracts were along the road west of the town.[42] Settlers along this road were H. & C. Mathis, George Bassler, Lendi, Edward Bunch, Anton Grier, and a certain Baumann. Owing to the nature of the land on the north side of town, there was no settlement there. Only one family settled on the north side. (That is joining the town). This was one of the Schmidt families; possibly Simeon.[43]

The larger tracts of land, that is, those exceeding 75 acres, were at greater distances from town. The largest settlement on these farms was made southeast of Wartburg, especially in what was known as the "Sona Settlement."[44] Aside from this settlement, other large farms directly south, and to the southwest of Wartburg were settled. In this area were the farms of Frederic Heidle, Karl F. von Forstner, and Francis Freytag. The last two farms exceed 1,000 acres.[45] Among those settling in the "Sona Settlement" were Richard Ritz, Joseph L. Sona, Sachariah Pott, Simeon Bargetze, Peter Bardill, Christian Schmidt, Christian Fischer, Valentine Ulian, H. Woltersdorf, Johann Lichtenwanger, Anton Yonker, and C. G. Goldberg.

Settlements were also made on the west side of the Emory. River. The largest settlement, the "Melhorn Settlement" was southwest of Wartburg at the ford of Crab Orchard Creek,[46] immediately west of the Emory River. This settlement was developed around a tract of 1356 acres of land purchased by C. F. Melhorn in March 1848.[47] Some of those comprising this settlement were Adolf R. Shimmel, David A. Delius, Dr. Rudolf Knaffl, Adam L. von Gohren, Frederic and Johann Zumstein, Fr. Headrick and Dr. Edward Goetz.

42) Bardill, Heins, Tauscher, Henry, Interviews. Note Appendix A., p. 10.
43) Op. cit. p. 34.
44) Note p. 40. Distribution of settlement. So-called for Joseph L. Sona.
45) Ibid.
46) Post p. 38. Also, Appendix reference.
47) Ibid.

Another settlement to the west and north of the "Melhorn Settlement" was the "Ruppe Settlement" this settlement was developed arounid the property of Mr. Ruppe.[48] Included in this settlement were Eugene Freiterinreicht, Frederic Duerheim and George Groeker.

Other farm settlements were made near the present site of Lansing both on the east and the west sides of the rivers. Carl Buehler and G. J. Kubly settled on the west side of the river. On the otherhand J. A. and G. W. Aurin, Dr. F. A. Sienknecht, and Edward Braun, purchased farms at some distance east of Wartburg. Some land was also purchased in the northern part of the county.[49] However, this was very limited. Sufficient to state that land was purchased in a relatively broad area; the greatest number of purchases being in the area southeast of Wartburg.

The method of purchasing land is not definite. It appears, however, that land was purchased on reasonable terms and covering a period of years. On the otherhand, much land was purchased for cash.[50] The prices for land varied very much. Town lots sold for $10.00-$30.00 apiece, according to their location in relation to the "Public Square." Small tracts lying near town sold for $3.00-$15.00 per acre. Lands lying at greater distances from town and of questionable value sold for various prices. In general the prices ranged from $.50-$4.00 per acre.[51]

When these lands were purchased by the settlers they were, for the most part, covered with a heavy growth of timber. Consequently, it was very difficult to locate some of the land. It was even more difficult to make accurate surveys of the land. On the otherhand, the trees had to be removed before houses could be erected or crops planted. In some instances, where large tracts of land were purchased, primitive log houses were already built.[52] These served a temporary need pending the erection of permanent homes.

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48) Note Appendix A., p. 10 cit. (24)
49) Weissgerber purchase. Note Appendix A., p. 12 cit. (52)
50) Deed Books, Morgan Co. Originals, E-N inc. Also Bardill, Plumadore, Kreis, Rothe, Weigle, Tauscher, Heins, Interviews.
51.) Note pages following 36-39.
52) Freytag, etc., Interviews.

Another necessary factor in the purchasing of land was that of the convenience of travel. When the immigrants arrived there were very few roads.[53] Accordingly, roads had to be cut through the forests before the lands could be properly entered or settled.

The total amount of land purchased, or otherwise occupied, by the German and Swiss settlers during the most intensive period of colonization has not been definitely determined. Material available, however, gives the following transfers of land during this same period, 1846-1855.[54]

PURCHASES OF TOWN LOTS

| | GRANTOR | GRANTEE | LOTS | PRICE | DATE* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | S. P. Vaughn | to A. Darriel | - 1 | - $ 175.00 | - 2/ 9/47 |
| | O.G. Kienbusch and G. F. Gerding | to Francis Freytag | - 1 | - 50.00 | - 4/17/48 |
| | " " " | to " " | - 1 | - 25.00 | - 7/ 4/48 |
| | " " " | to John F. Wilken | - 1 | - 35.00 | - 7/26/48 |
| (5) | G. F. Gerding | to Gustav R. Brandau | - 1 & house | 1000.00 | - 12/27/48 |
| | " | to John White | - 1 | - 30.00 | - 1/28/49 |
| | " | to Charles Kramer | - 1 | - 25.00 | - 5/13/49 |
| | " | to H. A. Kaiser | - 2 | - 50.00 | - 8/13/49 |
| | " | to John F. Wilken | - 1 | - 15.00 | - 9/15/49 |
| (10) | J " | to C. A. Mosier | - 2 | - - - | - 10/ 1/50 |
| | Joseph Robertson | to Ann Kramer | - 2 & 21 3/4 A. | - - - | - 3/17/52 |
| | J. & J. Gotthoulf | to F. Liebhartt | - 1 & 22 A. | 100.00 | - 10/20/52 |
| | F. Liebhartt and | Gottlieb and wife to Johann Hacknell | - 1 & 22 | - - - | - 12/12/52 |
| | John White and G. F. Gerding | to F. Heydemann | - 1 & house | -700.00 | - 1/18/53 |
| (15) | Eliza M. Gerding | to John F. Wilken | - 1 block | - 1.00 | - 9/29/53 |
| | C. F. & Ann Kramer | to Jos. Brient | - 2 & 12 1/2 A. | - - | - 10/10/53 |
| | G. F. Gerding | to George H. Seimon | - 1 | - - - | - 11/30/53 |
| | " | to C. A. Mosier | - 2 | - - - | - 12/10/53 |
| | " | to Jos. Falwinkle | - 2 | - 30.00 | - 2/17/54 |
| (20) | " | to Charles Thuss | - 2 | - 20.00 | - 2/7/54 |
| | " | to " " | - 2 | - 28.00 | - 3/27/54 |
| | " | to F. A. Naumann | - 2 | - 28.00 | - 3/28/54 |
| | " | to G. J. Potthoff | - 2 | - 30.00 | - 4/20/54 |
| | " | to Frederic Mueller | - 2 | - 50.00 | - 4/22/54 |
| (25) | O. G. Kienbusch and Gustav Brandau | to Eliza M. Gerding | - 2 | - [illegible].00 | - 5/ 1/54 |
| | G. F. Gerding | to F. A. Sienknecht | - 1 & house | - 541.00 | - 10/ 4/55 |
| | " | to F. Heydemann | - 4 | - 90.00 | - 4/ 3/56 |
| | " | to Jos. Falwindle | - 3 | - 30.00 | - - - |
| | Joseph Wilson | to G. W. Keith (for W) | -1 & house | 500.00 | - 3/19/48 |
| | A. L. von Gohren | to Gustav Brandau | - 1 | - 1.00 | - 9/9/50 |

53) Pre. p. 10

54) Deed Books (original), Morgan County, series F. to O. incl.
Note Appendix A., p. 9. for references and remarks for each transfer.

* Date of concluding complete transaction. In many instances, when property was sold on credit and a mortgage was held as security, no record could be secured. Only a note to that effect was found. Accordingly, some dates are preceded by an earlier transfer relationship. Possibly a land contract.

55)

PURCHASES OF SMALL TRACTS - LESS THAN SEVENTY-FIVE ACRES.

| | GRANTOR | | GRANTEE | AMOUNT | PRICE* | DATE** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | Patrick Brady | to | O. G. Kienbusch | - 51 A. | - $200.00 | - 8/30/47 |
| | S.P.Vaughn | to | Johann Rungger | - 16 1/2A. | - 20.00 | - 12/12/47 |
| | G.F.Gerding | to | Simeon Schmidt | - 50 A. | - 12.00 | - 12/14/47 |
| | John Brient | to | Dr. J.Majorzsky | - 33 1/3A. | - 130.00 | - 1/29/48 |
| (5) | Dr. Majorzsky | to | C. A. Weigle | -33 1/3 A. | - 130.00 | - 7/3/48 |
| | O.G. Kienbusch and G.F. Gerding | to | J. Zobrist | -26A. | - 18.00 | - 7/31/48 |
| | A.L.von Gohren | to | F.Z. Sienknecht | - 60 A. | - 130.00 | - 10/16/48 |
| | Joseph Holliday | to | Johann Rungger | - 3 A. | - 30.00 | - 12/13/48 |
| | F.B. Guenther | to | Christian Wald | - 50 A. | - 25.00 | - 11/20/49 |
| (10) | G.F. Gerding | to | Christian Kreis | - 53 A. | - 115.00 | - 10/ 3/49 |
| | " | to | J. Hebenstreet | - 75 A. | - 300.00 | - 5/24/50 |
| | " | to | Carl Buehler | - 50 A. | - 20.50 | - 3/15/51 |
| | " | to | Andreas Krohn | - 50 A. | - 25.00 | - 4/ 1/51 |
| | " | to | J. Kreis | - 63 1/4A. | - 41.81 | - 7/ 1/51 |
| (15) | " | to | A. Mathis | - 3 A. | - 30.00 | - 7/17/51 |
| | " | to | Fr. Bennike | - 3 A. | - 20.50 | - 5/21/51 |
| | " | to | Jos. G. Gashwend | - 20 A. | - 10.00 | - 11/15/50 |
| | " | to | Christian Brei | - 7 1/2A. | - 45.00 | - 9/12/50 |
| | " | to | Frederic Heidle | - 25 A. | - 1.00 | - 8/ 1/51 |
| (20) | Dr. Edward Goetz | to | Wm. Antenreith | - 50 A. | - 20.00 | - 1/13/52 |
| | C.F. Melhorn | to | E.Freiterinreicht | -20 A. | - 10.00 | - 3/ 2/53 |
| | G.F. Gerding | To | fr. Hedrick | - 50 A. | - - | - 4/ 9/53 |
| | " | to | Fr. Ruppe | - 62 A. | - - | - 6/ 1/53 |
| | Ann Kramer | to | J. D. Bennett | - 3 1/2A. | - - | - 6/20/53 |
| (25) | J.G.&H. Neubert | to | J.S. Duncan | - 54 A. | - - | - 7/14/53 |
| | Valentine Ulian | to | Anton Yonker | - 25 A. | - - | - 3/14/53 |
| | Johann Rungger | to | Craven Duncan | - 11 A. | - 50.00 | - 1/ 5/54 |
| | G.F. Gerding and Eliza M. Gerding | to | Stephen Cockran | - 64 A. | - - | - 4/22/54 |
| | " " " | to | Johann Kreis | - 5 7/8A. | - - | - 3/28/54 |
| (30) | C.H.Saffel | to | B. Zobrist | - 50 A. | - 600.00 | - 4/ 8/54 |
| | Sebastian Sistare | to | Jos. Falwinkle | - 1/2 int.in 3 tr. | | - 1/26/54 |
| | G. F. Gerding | to | Geo. H. Seimon | - 4 1/2 A. | - - | - 6/ 8/54 |
| | " | to | Jacob Zobrist | - 7 1/2A. | - 40.00 | - 6/ 8/54 |
| | Wm. Untirthin and Rev. Edm. Estchman | to | Geo.H.Seimon | - 30 A. | - - | - 6/17/54 |
| (35) | G.F. Gerding | to | D. Kreis | - 11 A. | - 70.00 | - 10/17/55 |
| | B. Zobrist | to | David Kuhn | - 76 A. | - 650.00 | - 4/3/54 |
| | Henry Drunier | to | Henry Tauscher | - 36 A. | - 180.00 | - 11/28/55 |
| | Eliza M. Gerding and G.F. Gerding | to | L. Staunger | - 4 A. | - 50.00 | - 7/10/56 |
| | G. F. Gerding | to | Anton Yonker | - 12 1/2A. | - 25.00 | - 3/27/58 |
| **(40)** | **Eliza M. Gerding and G. F. Gerding** | **to** | **J. Lichenwanger** | **- 10 A.** | **- 100.00** | **- 6/14/58** |

55) Deed Books (original), Morgan County, series F. to O. incl.
Note Appendix A., p. 10, for references and remarks for each transfer.

* Price in two instances includes improvements

** See foot-note p. 36.

## PURCHASES OF LARGE TRACTS - EXCEEDING SEVENTY-FIVE ACRES[56]

| | GRANTOR | | GRANTEE | AMOUNT | PRICE* | DATE** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | Johann P. Anhauser | to | F.B. Guenther | - Tr. Deed | -$ 418.21 | - 4/20/47 |
| | Vardemann Byrd | to | O.G. Kienbusch | - 150 A. - | 125.00 | - 9/ 1/47 |
| | G. F. Gerding | to | " | - 127 A. - | 68.00 | - 10/12/47 |
| | Robert Bush | to | " | - 100 A. - | 100.00 | - 11/15/47 |
| (5) | G. F. Gerding | to | Christian Schmidt | -150 A. - | 200.00 | - 12/14/47 |
| | John White | to | P. & G. Schlitt | - 218 3/4A - | 350.00 | - 11/ 1/47 |
| | Joseph Bradshaw | to | Gustav R. Knabe | - 100 A. - | 100.00 | - 2/ 7/48 |
| | Wm. Mitchell | to | Adolf R. Shimmel | - 150 A. - | 150.00 | - 2/ 7/48 |
| | G. F. Gerding | to | Christian Wald | - 100 A. - | 25.00 | - 2/ 6/48 |
| (10) | F. B. Guenther | to | G. F. Gerding | - 1331 A. - | 893.97 | - 3/16/48 |
| | " | to | Eliza M. Gerding | -200 A. - | 100.00 | - 3/16/48 |
| | Patrick Brady | to | " " | - 251 A. - | 200.00 | - 5/ 2/48 |
| | G. F. Gerding, atty. for E.M. Gerding | to | Ja. Weissgerber | - 200 A. - | 58.00 | - 6/ 6/48 |
| | O. G. Kienbusch and G. F. Gerding | to | C. A. Weigle | - 470 A. - | 1 1000.00 | - 7/ 3/48 |
| (15) | John White | to | J. A. Sienknecht | -340 A. - | 700.00 | - 7/ 8/48 |
| | P. Armstrong | to | Anton S. Grier | - 100 A. - | 11.00 | - 7/17/48 |
| | O. G. Kienbusch and G. F. Gerding | to | J. K. Knowblauch | - 500 A. - | 700.00 | - 7/26/48 |
| | Craven Duncan | to | Paulus Lendi | - 110 A. - | 136.00 | - 10/16/48 |
| | F. W. Gerding | to | Constantine Brause | - 3700A.- | Sundry | - 9/15/48 |
| (20) | John Gardner | to | Eliza M. Gerding | - 100 A. - | 30.00 | - 11/30/48 |
| | G. F. Gerding, Atty., for E.M. Gerding | to | Carl Buehler | - 490A. - | 900.00 | - 12/9/48 |
| | O. G. Kienbusch | to | Karl F. von Forstner | 1500 A. - | 3600.00 | - 12/10/48 |
| | John White | to | Adam. L. von Gohren | 174 A.- | 100.00 | - 1/ 3/49 |
| | O. G. Kienbusch and G. F. Gerding | to | Carl A. Weigle | - 125 A. - | 125.00 | - 1/15/49 |
| (25) | F. B. Guenther | to | Edw. Darnhall | - 150 A. - | 105.00 | - 2/15/49 |
| | O. G. Kienbusch and G. F. Gerding | to | Carl A. Weigle | - 125 A. - | 1.00 | - 1/13/49 |
| | G. F. Gerding | to | F. Heyedmann | - 200 A. - | 50.00 | - 7/18/49 |
| | " | to | A. Motzer | - 174 A. - | 600.00 | - 11/ 1/49 |
| | " | to | J. G. & H. Nibert | -132 A. - | 300.00 | - 1/ 1/50 |
| (30) | " | to | Simeon Barger | - 140 A. - | 44.00 | - 10/10/50 |
| | " | to | Anton Schmidt | - 100 A. - | 40.00 | - 9/27/50 |
| | Morris Baker | to | Z. H. Goss | - 200 A. - | - | - 1/31/50 |
| | G. F. Gerding | to | Franz H. Hebrank | - 113 7/8A. - | 230.00 | - 12/ 2/50 |
| | " | to | W. Fischer | - 132 - | 51.00 | - 2/10/51 |
| (35) | " | to | H. Woltersdorf | - 237 1/2 A. - | 300.00 | - 5/ 1/51 |
| | " | to | J. G. Nighbert | - 97 A. - | 1.00 | - 5/15/51 |
| | " | to | J. Brandstetter | - 86.00 - | 34.00 | - 9/10/51 |
| | Charles Schlitt, atty. for P. Schlitt | to | J.A. & G.W. Aurin | -218 3/4A.- | 375.00 | - 9/ 3/51 |
| | G. F. Gerding | to | C. Zimmermann | - 1200 A. - | - - | - 3/ 7/52 |
| (40) | " | to | Bernhard Zobrist | - 90 A. - | 50.00 | - 5/ 1/52 |

56) Deed Books (original), Morgan County, Series F. to O. incl.
Note Appendix A., p. 11 for references and remarks for each transfer.

* Prices are regular in most instances. Some, however, are indefinite, being as noted - $1.00, sundry, etc.

** See foot-note p. 36.

| | GRANTOR | GRANTEE | AMOUNT | PRICE* | DATE** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (41) | C. F. Melhorn | to George Grogger | - 147 A. | -$ 185.75 | - 8/29/52 |
| | Wm. Coxe Dusenberry | to Francis Greytag | - 270A. | 67.00 | - 11/30/52 |
| | Dr. Edward Goetz | to Nancy White | - 200 A. | - - | - 2/16/53 |
| | Levi Summers | to E. Freiterinreicht | - 355 A. | - - | - 3/ 2/53 |
| (45) | Constantine Brause | to Wm. Kerr | - 100 A. | - - | - 3/11/53 |
| | G. F. Gerding | to Valentine Ulian | - 105 A. | - - | - 3/12/53 |
| | Jos. Duncan | to Lewis Hague | - 300 A. | - - | - 4/ 5/53 |
| | Jno. L. Theullard and Gn. L. Mueller | to Jno. & F. Zumstein | - 125A. | --- | - 4/ 7/53 |
| | G. F. Gerding | to E. Freiterinreicht | - 100 A. | - - | - 5/17/53 |
| (50) | Gustav R. Knabe | to Levi Fairchild | - 100 A. | - --- | - 8/30/53 |
| | B. Zobrist | to J. Loper | - 90 A. | - - | - 9/ 8/53 |
| | Wm. Weissgerber | to Jos Duncan | - 640 A. | - 150.00 | - 9/ 5/53 |
| | S. & J. Kindrick | to Henry Kindrick | - 250 A. | - - | - 9/18/53 |
| | Franz H. Hebrank | to C. H. Saffel | - 113 7/8A | -600.00 | - 10/ 4/53 |
| (55) | F. H. Saffel | to S. Sistare | - 113 7/8A. | - | - 1/12/54 |
| | Christian Brei | to Joshua Mueller | - 80 A. | - (illegible) | - 1/ 6/54 |
| | George F. Gerding | to C. F. Melhorn | -1356 A. | - (quit Cl.) | - 3/30/54 |
| | " | to Isaac Van Winkle | - 200 A. | - 25.00 | - 3/24/54 |
| | " | to Geo. S. Potthoff | - 500 A. | - 350.00 | - 7/18/54 |
| (60) | " | to Fr. Hedrick | - 80 A. | - 75.00 | - 7/13/55 |
| | " | to ? Buli | - 100 A. | - 40.00 | - 10/10/55 |
| | Christian Ruffner and John White | to Jeremiah Gredig | - 137A. | - (title bond) | 5/26/53 |
| | E. M. Gerding and G. F. Gerding | to J. Zumstein | - 100 A. | - 100.00 | - 11/12/57 |
| | G. F. Gerding | to J. F. Wilken¥ | - 2100 A. | - 1.00 | - 6/ 2/56 |

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From the foretoing it will be observed that there was a relatively wide distribution of the sizes of tracts purchased by the settlers. One very noticeable fact is that there were ten individuals who owned in excess of 350 acres of land.[57] Of this number three, C. Zimmermann, Karl F. von Forstner, and Christian F. Melhorn, held in excess of 1000 acres. A fourth party, Francis Freytag, also held in excess of 1000 acres.[58] These lands are not to be construed as being farms, however, although a portion of each was, but, on the otherhand, much of this land was mountainous and heavily wooded.

Excepting those having a special interest in the company, as agent or otherwise, it may be conservatively said that German and Swiss immigrants

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* See foot-note p. 38.

** Ibid.

¥ Cannot be accounted for. This is Rev. J. F. Wilken.

57) Excluding F. W. and G. F. Gerding, J. F. Wilken, and Constantine Brause.

58) Rudolf Freytag gives following tracts under one title: 640A; 340A; 240A; 120A; 120A; and 62A. Supposed to have owned over 3000 acres.

purchased between 15,000 and 25,000 acres of land in Morgan County. This land was, for the most part, south and west of Bird Mountain, and extended to the head waters of Island and Crab Orchard Creeks.[59]

As a part of the settlement of land, the establishment and development of the town of Wartburg should not be overlooked. This town was located at the southwest end of Bird Mountain, and at the head of what might be termed a minor plateau of the Great Cumberland System. It is at this place that the Nashville-Knoxville Road began an abrupt desent to the Emory River. The town receive its name from the castle, Wartburg, in Thuringia, famed for its Lutheran traditions in the conception of a new religious era. The town of Wartburg, Morgan County, was also conceived as a place for the free expression of the evangelical doctrines of the Lutheran Church. The mountain setting was also a factor likening the town to the environs of Thuringia.[60] Thus it was that the founder of the colony, Mr. George F. Gerding, conceived the name "Wartburg" for the colony town.

The first mention of the town of Wartburg is that recorded in the summer of 1845, at which time the first attempt to move the county seat from Montgomery to that place was undertaken.[61] At that time the town was merely a platted area covered with trees, traversed by a turnpike road, and with two buildings erected on the site. Soon after, however, many buildings were erected by the settlers, and roads were opened. Some time after the year 1847 the town was changed to some extent from the original plat. In the first place, all the names of the Streets became, Rose Streets, Church Street, Maidenlane, Kingston Street, Cumberland Street, and Mill Street. From north to south they became, Eliza

59) Note Appendix B., Map no. VI. Also, page 40, previous.(See copy 1 or 2 of thesis)
60) Vannie Gerding Plumadore, Interview. Also F. W. Gerding, letter to and interview with O. E. Feucht, Wartburg, Tenn.
61) See p. 19.

Street, Court Street, Main Street, Spring Street, and Green Street.[62] It is interesting to note that in this change the first step was taken to eliminate foreign influences - changing the names of the streets from their original German names to distinctly English names with local applications.

In the second place, the width of certain streets was changed. Aside from these two changes little was done in replanning the town. After the arrival of Mr. Gerding in 1849-1850,[63] however, plans were soon under way for the incorporation of the town. This incorporation took place in 1851.[64] On February 6, 1853, the spring and all the streets were deeded to John White, chairman of the commissioners of the town of Wartburg. Heretofore these had been the property of Mr. George F. Gerding, the grantor of the said properties.[65] The other commissioners were Charles F. Kramer, Charles Haag, and William Jones.[66]

Along with the establishment of the Colony in the vicinity of Wartburg, under the auspices of the Tennessee Colonization Company, and the immediate direction of George F. Gerding, other attempts were made to establish German colonies in Morgan County. These attempts were the results of similar efforts made at Wartburg and may be said to have been promoted, to a degree, by the same interests. That is, George F. Gerding was the instrument in the sale of lands to these interests. The first of these attempts was that made by Gottfried E. Schulze, a German (Saxon), who purchased 10,000 acres of land from George F. Gerding on

62) Note Appendix A., p. 8. Origin of street names. Rose and Maidenlane, from residence and business streets of G. F. Gerding in New York, Eliza, from Eliza Gerding. Spring, from spring in street. Others local.
63) Deed Book G., p. 338, gives Gerding's residence as New York on Jan.3, 1849.
64) Goodspeed, History of Tennessee (E. Tenn. Ed) p. 841.
65) Note Appendix A. pp. 6-8.
66) Goodspeed, Cit. 64.

November 27, 1847. The purpose of this transfer as recorded at the time was that of colonization.[67] The land included in this deal was that of entries 1983 and 1984 on the waters of the Obed's River and Crab Orchard Creek.[68] There are no records to indicate even the slightest success of this venture; but, on the otherhand, on June 12, 1853, this same land was sold to Jean Baptiste Letorey, who later moved to Morgan County.

The second attempt to establish another colony was that by Johann Gottlieb Haecker of Chemnitz, Kingdom of Saxony, who contracted, (through his brother, Frederic Edmund Haecker of Morgan County), with George F. Gerding for 13 tracts of land comprising, in all, 50,000 acres for the sum of $35,000.[69] This contract included the following entries, all of which were west of the Big Emory River. Namely: Entries numbers 1947, 1948, 1955, 1956, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1973, 1974, 1982, 1983, 1984.

The extent to which this colony was projected is not very definite. In fact, however, it appears that it was in no sense successful and there is no evidence of an attempt to settle this territory as a colony. In 1853 the contract between Gerding and Haecker was cancelled and settled.[70] Regarding this plan for colonizing the following report was given.[71] "Auch aus der Kolonie, welche Her J. G. Hacker in Chemnitz in demselben Kanton unter dem Namen Neu-Chemnitz Grunden wollte, ware ebensoweing geworden...." (Also the Colony which Mr. Haecker attempted to establish in the same County, under the name New Chemnitz, will be equally as unsuccessful)."

With the exception of these two attempts there does not seem to have been any further attempt to extend the colonizing effort beyond the

67) Deed Book B. (transcribed), p. 110.
68) Note Appendix B., Map no. 1.
69) Deed Book B. (original), p. 338. Note also Appendix A., p. 2.
71) Buttner, Prf. Dr., Hand und Reifbuch fur Auswanderer, (Hamburg 1853) p. 297.
70) Deed Book H. (original), pp. 261, 262.

Colony of Wartburg. However, the settlement of Hebbertsburg seems to have been of German origin.[72]

Aside from the attempts to colonize in Morgan County, yet at the same time a part of the scheme to market the land lying in the county, was the sale of lands to individuals who held the land largely for speculation. Land sold for this purpose was very extensive. This land comprised, for the most part, the grants made to Thomas B. Eastland, and others, by the State of Tennessee.[73] The largest part of this land was held by New York speculators and much of it subsequently fell into the hands of persons who were in some way associated with the agents of the Tennessee Colonization Company. In fact, George F. Gerding acted as agent for a certain Wm. Coxe Dusenberry, a New York capitalist who was also a large land owner in Morgan County.[74]

TRANSFERS INDICATING LARGE LAND HOLDINGS[75]

| | GRANTOR | GRANTEE | AMOUNT | PRICE | DATE* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | Henry Wells atty. for Jacob A. Lane | to Nancy Sistare | - 22,454 A. | - $11,227.00 | -12/10/47 |
| | Henry Wells atty. for Jacob A. Lane | to J. H. & B. Sackman | - 5,000A. | - 1.00 | -12/10/47 |
| | Henry Wells, Atty. for Jacob A. Lane | to George H. Seimon | - 5,000A. | - 1.00 | -12/10/47 |
| | George H. Seimon | to George Frederic Herman Younker | -5,000A. | - - - | 4/17/48 |
| (5) | George F. Gerding | to Gottfried E. Schulze | -10,000A. | - 2,000.00 | -10/27/47 |
| | " " | to Johann G. Haecker | - 5,000 A. | - 2,500.00 | - 1/ 3/49** |
| | B. Tolivar Staples | to Caroline Bleidorn | - 3,225 A. | - - - | 5/17/53 |
| | Gottfried E. Schulze, by atty. Geo. Gerding | to J. Baptiste LeTorey | - 10,000A. | - 2,600.00 | - 6/12/53* |
| | George Gerding | to " " | - 7,500A. | - 2,000.000 | - 6/12/53 |
| (10) | Eliza M. Gerding | to A. Becker | - 5,000 A. | - 1.00 | - 1/ 7/54 |
| | George F. Gerding | to George Seimon and Gustav F. Naumann | - 875 A. | - - - | - 4/25/54 |
| | " " | to Edward Unkart | - 7,000 A. | - 1,400.00 | - 5/ 1/54 |
| | " " | to Adam Spies | - 3,500 A. | 945.00 | - 5/1/ 54 |
| | " " | to George H. Seimon | - 2,000 A. | -2,000.00 | - 6/30/54 |
| (15) | " " | to Julian F. Scott | - 145,000A. | (lease)1.00 | -3/25/54 |
| | Courtland Palmer | to Edward Sexton and Thomas Deguide | - 5,500 A. | - - - | -3/24/53 |
| | George F. Gerding | to C. Ahlborn | - 2,500 A. | 1700.00 | - 5/15/54 |

72) Note Appendix B. Map no. VI (See copy 1 or 2 of thesis)
73) Pre. pp. 12,13.
74) Note Appendix A., p. 14.
75) Note Appendix A., p. 13 for remarks and references for each transfer.
* Land conveyed to Schulze for colonization purposes referred on p. 42.
** Actual amount of land deeded to Haecker in the contract for 50,000 acres. The remaining amount in contract was cancelled and settled.

From the foregoing facts concerning colonization in Morgan County it will be observed that such colonization was limited, primarily, to the environs of Wartburg. Accordingly, further consideration will have to do with the more intimate domestic, economic, religious, civic, and social factors of colonization as it pertains to the Wartburg Colony.

## CHAPTER V.

## ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE COLONY

From its inception, the Colony at Wartburg was intended to be a complete economic unit, self-sufficing in every respect. With this end in view the agents of the Company made the utmost effort to secure the greatest possible variety of tradesmen and professionals for the colony.[1] It is to be noted, however, that industry and agriculture were to be the sustaining factors in this enterprise.[2] Accordingly, the success or failure of the Colony depended upon these two endeavors, the other interests being, in a sense, complementary, and of necessity, a part of the complete unit. These other interests may be classified as those engaged in merchandising and those engaged in the so-called professions. Each of these occupations was easily detected in the life of the Colony. This was doubtless due to the fact that the learning of a specific trade, or profession, was a part of both the economic structure and educational system of the countries represented by these individuals. Inasmuch as w these various occupations fall into specific groups, it is probably more appropriate to consider these interests under the following heads, Namely: (1) Industrial; (2) Agricultural; (3) Merchandising; and (4) professional.

### (1) INDUSTRIAL.

Among the first endeavors of the colonists at Wartburg, and one that seems appropriately classified as an industry, was that of building. This was indeed an industry with the Germans and Swiss who, unlike the American frontiersmen who built their own houses and did many kinds of necessary labors in order to sustain himself on the frontier, performed this function as a specific trade or industry. This industry was the first to be established in the colony. Toward the last of September 1846,

1) Vannie Plumadore, John Bardill, Harvey H. Hannah, Charles Haag, Interviews.
2) Pre. chap. III, p. 17.

a building company was in existence under the style of "Kreis and Company."[3] The individuals comprising this Company were Johann, Jacob, Christian, and Ditugen Kreis. These individuals were trained artisans and were natives of Canton Glarus, Switzerland. Others who assisted in this work and who were generally employed by John Kreis, the head of the building Company, were Andreas Kron, Anton Volmar, Christian Brei, and Christian Wald. These were likewise Swiss and were those, together with the Kreis Brothers, who did the first building at Wartburg.[4] Those who later allied themselves with the building trade were F. A. Naumann, C. F. Rothe, C. W. Wolterdorf, G. W. and F. A. Aukin, and C. Thuss. These were all German.

The first building to be erected at Wartburg by the immigrants was the church building. This building was located on Antwerp (Main) Street.[5] This was erected by Kreis and Company in the fall of 1846. During the next three years several other buildings were erected in the town. Among these was "Haag's Tavern" in 1847; the residences of Francis Freytag, Rev. John F. Wilken, H. A. Kaiser, and Dr. C. F. Kramer, in 1848 and 1849; and the store on the northwest corner of Antwerp and II Streets. This was erected about 1848.[6] During this same period homes were being erected on a few farms close to town.

During the years following building continued to some degree; at least to the extent of the demand by the colonists. About the year 1849 the store of Kienbusch and Brandau was erected at Montgomery.[7] Not until after 1850 does it appear that a great deal was done in building. This was likewise the case of many other activities. This was no doubt due to the arrival of Mr. Gerding in 1848-1849 for after the year 1850 the affairs

3) Johann Kreis Accounts, Mss. Acct. Books "Kreis & Co." 1846.(H.S.C. Colls)
4) Bardill, John Kreis, Rudolf Freytag, Henry, Maria Zust Kreis, Clara Rothe, Interviews. Also Johann Kreis, Mss. Acct. Books.
5) Note Appendix B., Map no. II. (See copy 1 or 2 of thesis)
6) Interviews. Cit. 4.
7) Post p. 49.

of the Colony were carried on with much more vigor than they had heretofore. The manner in which the affairs of the Colony were conducted was such as to gain for him the title of the "Little Dutch King." In the fall of 1854 an observer makes the following report:[8] "On a visit to the place last week we noticed there were some six or seven buildings going up; and we learned several others would shortly be commenced. Altogether we know of no village improving so handsomely and rapidly." Thus it appears that by the year 1855 the town of Wartburg was attracting some attention from the outside.

The first buildings erected were of frame construction and were of very simple style; the end in view apparantly being one of utility, not beauty,[9] Many of the residences were large two-story structures. Such houses were built of rough-cut lumber with wide clapboards for siding. The interiors were generally finished with hand dressed material. The outside walls of the houses were filled with a mixture of clay and straw. The chimneys were of stone. Other parts of the houses such as doors, windows, hardware, and the like, were generally made by hand. For this last mentioned act Kreis and Company was well equipped, having innumerable tools and devises for finishing lumber.

For a period of forty years Johann Kreis was the leading contractor and builder in the vicinity of Wartburg. In fact his services were demanded in Roan and Anderson Counties, as well as occasionally in Scott and Fentress Counties. Both before and after the Civil War many letters were sent to him with great inducements to go to New Glarus, Wisconsin, and establish himself as a builder.[10] This was, however, of no consequence to him.

Another industry, and that closely associated with the building industry, was that of milling. At the time of the arrival of the immigrants at Wartburg there was only one small mill in reasonable access of the settlement.

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8) Kingston Gazette, Nov. 4, 1854.
9) Note Appendix B. pp. 13-16.
10) Johann Kreis Papers, letters John T. Etter to Johann Kreis, July 25, 1860. Aug. 9, 1860; Apr. 24, 1864; Mar. 29, 1865; (H. S. Colls.)

This Mill was owned and operated by John White and was located about three miles south of Wartburg on Crooked Fork Creek. This mill was operated both as a grist mill and saw mill. Soon after the arrival of the immigrants at Wartburg however, steps were taken for the erection of another mill. This Mill was erected by Jacob Kreis and Julian Scott and was located on the Emory River, and only a short distance west of Wartburg.[11] This mill was operated by Jacob Kreis for many years and in 1854, in partnership with his brother Johann, purchased the mill together with a tract of land lying on the east side of the Emory River and including the said mill. There were 103 acres in this tract.[12] During the time of its operation the mill performed the function of a grist mill and a saw mill. This mill furnished most of the lumber for the buildings in and around Wartburg prior to the Civil War. It also furnished much buildings in and around Wartburg prior to the Civil War. It also furnished much building material after the war. Jacob Kreis, though at first connected with the builders in the Colony was, by trade, a millwright and mechanic. He was an expert in this capacity.

Several years after the erection of the "Kreis" Mill, on the Emory River, several other mills were erected along the streams in this vicinity. Of these the most important seems to have been what has been called Melhorn's "Whip Saw Mill."[13] This mill was located in the Melhorn Settlement about seven miles southwest of Wartburg. Another mill erected prior to the Civil War was the "Kuhn Mill." This mill was located about one-quarter mile east of Wartburg.[14] Lewis Nitzschke also erected a mill in the region now called the Seventh District. This mill was operated for many years after the Civil War.[15] Thus it was that this phase of the enterprise of Colonization was being carried out. These efforts have, to considerable extent,

11) Harmon Kreis, Rudolf Freytag, Hydn Jack, Johann Bardill, John Kreis, Interview.
12) Deed Book J.(original)pp.352,353, Mill mentioned by Buttner in "Hand und Reifbuch fur Auswanderer, etc.", (Hamburg 1853) p. 297.
13) By this method a scaffold was built and the rigging of the saw was verticle. The operation was up and down in a sort of 'whip' motion.
14) Post. p. 58
15) Morgan County Wills, Louis F. Nitzschke Will, May 22, 1873.

continued to the present day. Gustav Heidle, one of the descendants of the early immigrants, is now operating a saw mill about one mile south of Wartburg.

Other industries which were established in the years 1849-50 included tobacco and piano-forte manufacturing. The first industry was established by Otto G. Kienbusch and Gustav R. Brandau and was located one mile west of Wartburg in the town of Montgomery. The extent of this industry is indefinite. The markets for its products, however, were Knoxville, Cincinnati, and Nashville. There were several persons employed in this establishment which also included a bakery and genreal merchandise store. Among those employed was a certain Schlitz.[16] This was the first store established at Montgomery.

Probably the most novel attempt in the way of manufacturing was that of the establishment of a piano-forte factory at Wartburg. This factory was started by a certain Frederic(Fritz) Beneike, a native of Brunswick who immigrated to New York about 1844 and later was induced to settle at Wartburg and establish a piano factory. Mr. Beneike came to Wartburg about 1848-49 and by 1850 had established a small piano factory. This factory was located about one-quarter mile south of the public square, on the east side of Kingston Road. He also made his home at this place. His supplies were purchased from Bankroft-Beaver and Company, Philadelphia, through G. L. Gillespie and Company, Kingston, Tennessee.[17]

The factory did not long continue and there is little evidence to show that there were more than four pianos manufactured by the said Beneike. The manufacturer considered his products equal, if not better than those made in the north. On one occasion he states that he has "finished a fine

16) Henry Brandau, Knoxville, Tenn., Bardill, Kreis, Henry, Jack, Freytag, Interview. Also, Deed Book J., p. 19. Schlitz-Schlitts-Schlitzske. App. A., p. 14.

17) Fr. Beneike, Account Book(Ms) H.S.C.Colls.), pp. 75, 210, 214, 146, 147, 258, 58, 66, 67, 68, 69.

18) Ibid. p. 75

19) Ibid. p. 75.

instrument of seven octaves made of mahogany, every instrument guaranteed."[18] In fact these instruments were reputed to have been well constructed and to have given excellent service.[19]

Furniture manufacturing and cabinet-making were also attempted in the Colony. These industries, however, were not developed to any appreciable extent. Those who were furniture makers had only a limited amount of business on account of the numerous individuals of other trades, such as cabinet-making and carpentering, who also engaged in this occupation to some extent. Those who attempted to establish either cabinet-making or furniture making were Andreas Kron, Christian Brei, F. A. Naumann, C. F. Waltersdorf, J. A. and G. W. Aurin. With the exception of C. F. Waltersdorf, little was accomplished in this line. In this instance, however, a furniture shop was operated for several years. The other tradesmen generally occupied themselves in general building.[20] Another who did a considerable furniture business for a while was J. A. Aurin. Previous to coming to Wartburg he, together with his sons, had immigrated to America from Germany about 1845 and had established a furniture business in New York. Shortly after the return of Mr. Gerding from his duties in Baden, he met the Aurins in New York and persuaded them to establish their business at Wartburg. Accordingly, they purchased land in the vicinity of Wartburg and moved to that place.[21]

Another industry which was very characteristic of the people represented in the Colony was that of brewing and wine making. These interests were generally connected with agriculture and will, accordingly be discussed in connection with this subject.

There were many other trades represented in the Colony and in most cases those representing these trades endeavored to carry on the same in the

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18) Ibid. p. 75
19) Ibid. p. 75
20) Bardill, Freytag, Kreis, Henry, W. E. Aurin, Weissgerber, Rothe, Vannie Gerding, Plumadore, Mrs. C. A. Aurin, Charlie Weigle, Charlie Haag, Interv.
21) Mrs. C. A. Aurin, Knoxville, Tennessee.

colony. In some cases this was possible. In others, owing to a lack of demand for these trades except occasionally, it was necessary to turn to other occupations or leave the Colony and go elsewhere. The representatives of the various trades were as follows:

Butchers, Christian Fischer; bakers, Peter Bardill and Jacob Wespe; blacksmiths, Bernhard Zobrist and Frederic Engert; wagon maker, Joseph Gschwend; shoemakers, Hardemann, Christian and Anton Mathis, Paulus Lendi, and William Lehmann; weaver, Jacob Zobrist; millwright, Henry Tauscher; bookbinder, Robert A. Shimmel; tinner, Moses Shimmel; tanner, Sebastian Sistare; herb packer, Christian Haag; and, silversmith and watchmaker, H. A. Kaiser.[22] There were doubtless many other trades represented as many of the occupations of the immigrants could not be determined. These, however, suffice to indicate the division of interests.

Many of the individuals above mentioned were trained in more than one trade. In such cases they found it very necessary to function in these various capacities. For instance, Henry Tauscher was a baker, as well as a millwright. Not finding it advantageous to continue as a millwright at Wartburg, he moved to Rockwood and established a bakery.[23] Others also changed their occupations. Frederic Engert and Joseph Gschwend became butchers.[24] In most every instance it became necessary for these individuals to take up agriculture. In fact, most of them had purchased land with the intention of doing some agricultural work. This, however, became the principle source of livelihood for the people. By this means they were to sustain themselves.

22) Bardill, Jack, Kreis, Freytag, Haag, Plumadore, Lena Tauscher Heins, and Wilhemena Gschwend Tauscher, H. A. Kaiser and Will Lehmann, Knoxville, Tennessee. Interviews.
23) Lena Tauscher Heins.
24) Wilhemena Gschwend Tauscher, Frederic Engert, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Those who did not care to farm generally moved away. Many left soon after their arrival at Wartburg. Many left prior to the Civil War. Among those leaving during this period was H. A. Kaiser. In 1854 he had established a business at Kingston.[25] Note the following advertisement: "H. A. Kaiser, Watchmaker & Silversmith. Would respectfully inform citizens of Kingston and Roane,County, that he will attend to repairing watches, clocks, jewelry, etc., with promptness and dispatch. Orders left at the office of Dr. Edward Goetz will be well attended to."

Some of these individuals continued their trades in the vicinity of Wartburg. Probably the most interesting of the tradesmen was "Old Shimmel," the tinner. He resided in a small house on the south side of Main Street between Maidenlane and Church Street. He was very fond of flowers and cats. Being a bachelor his only company was his host of cats of which he is reputed to have kept from twenty to forty at a time.[26] He was always alluded to as "Old Shimmel, the tinner, who had so many cats."

(2) AGRICULTURAL.

Probably the most general occupation of the people composing the colony was that of agriculture. Associated with industry, this was the foremost factor in the establishment of the colony. It was certainly the primary motive for the Swiss immigrants and was a great inducement to a very large portion of the Germans who had previously been farmers in their native lands. All were to own a plot of ground and have at least a garden. Even those who had not previously farmed were willing to enter this endeavor. Some, through force of circumstances, were later forced to sustain themselves by farming.[27] Many purchased farms under the term "estate". This idea was intended to convey the relationship existing in Germany at the time by which large estates were held by individuals of rank.

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25) Kingston Gazette, Oct. 28, 1854.
26) R. D. Delius, Pauline C. Goldberg, Knoxville, Tenn. Bardill, Heins, Kreis, Weigle, Zeige, Zeige, Weissgerber, interviews.
27) Aurin, Freytag, Knabe, Weigle, Interviews.

The beginning of agricultural pursuits may be considered as when the first immigrants reached the site of Wartburg. After the location of their lands the settlers began to clear their lands and erect homes. This procedure was a novel one for the immigrants for they had been accustomed to a higher state of development than they found at this place. They were in a virtual wilderness. Their homes were of rough-hewn logs and without any conveniences of their native lands. The lands were new and untried. In fact, they were entering upon a period of pioneering the conditions of which necessitated much patience and many sacrifices.

There were, in general, two classes of farmers. First, those who purchased large farms and whose interests were directed to farming as a sole occupation. Most of these were Germans who had previously been farmers in their native lands and who were, more or less, destined to succeed. Among these were C. A. Weigle, C. F. Melhorn, C. Steinwehr, Theodore Neeregaard, John G. and H. Neubert, Jacob Weissgerber, William Weissgerber, Carl Buehler, John K. Knowhlauch, John and Frederic Zumstein, W. Fischer and Christian Schmidt. Others who purchased large farms but who had not previously been farmers were Karl F. von Forstner, Adam L. von Gohren, J. A. and G. W. Aurin and, possibly J. A. Sienknecht.[28] Francis Freytag had previously been an agricultural student at Berlin and had engaged in certain lines of agricultural activities, though not classed as a farmer.[29]

The second class of farmers was a class which held smaller tracts of land near the colony center. These were largely Swiss. Many of these had a trade aside from farming. The motive being to occupy themselves in the cultivation of these tracts when not engaged in their trade. Such was a custom in Switzerland at this time.[30] These small tracts were generally planted in gardens, vineyards, and orchards.

28) Freytag, Bardill, C. A. Weigle, Weissgerber, Delius, Knabe, Graf, Kreis, Aurin, and Rosalee A. Marquardt Bearden and Fritz Neubert, Knox-, Tenn. and Daisy Sienknecht Hayes, Oliver Springs, Tenn., Interviews.

29) Rosalee A. Marquardt Bearden, Rudolf Freytag. Also, Francis Freytag, Mss. friendship letters while at Berlin. (R. A. M. Bearden).

30) Prc. p. 2. Footnote Luchsinger.

There was one class of smaller agriculturalists, however, which was not directly interested in a trade outside of its own industry. These were the vintners who performed the functions of raising their grapes and manufacturing wine from them. These individuals generally had orchards, also, from the fruit of which they manufactured brandy. Of those who engaged in this occupation the following were the most prominent. Namely: Joseph Falwinckl, David Kuhn, Richard Ritz, G. J. Mersch, and Johann Lichtenwanger. After the Civil War Victor LeTorey also became interested in raising grapes.[31]

The successes of these varied agricultural interests were diverse. At first, however, it was with great difficulty that the settlers sustained themselves in this occupation. Added to the time and expense involved in the clearing and preparation of the land, the crops during the first two years were largely failures.[32] This was due largely to the soil and to the lack of proper application on the part of the settlers. The crops planted consisted largely of garden varieties such as potatoes, beans, cabbages and the like. Rye and barley were also attempted at this time. After a series of successes and failures many of the people turned to vineyards and orchards. These, however, did not begin to produce for several years. During this period many immigrants, through lack of funds to continue this effort were forced to leave their farms and find employment elsewhere.[33] Many went to the cities.[34]

Those who did not leave were more successful. At any rate they continued their efforts here. Many of those remaining had well kept farms, a large number of which had some very fertile soil. The farm of Francis Freytag was a large and well kept farm and included a large orchard. Several hands were employed on this farm. There were very few, however,

31) Kreis, Freytag, Bardill, Rothe, Heins, Weigle, Graf, Haag, John Lichtenwanger, Knoxville, Tenn., Interviews.
32) Ibid.
33) Ibid.
34) Nashville, Knoxville, and nearby towns, Kingston, Rockwood, Crossville, etc.

who increased their economic status. On the otnerhand, many were greatly reduced in wealth and social standing.[35]

The one thing in which there seems to have been a reasonable degree of success was that of raising grapes. These grapes were generally made into wine by their growers. Regarding such the following report was made:[36]

"We would further state that recent experiments have been made which well attests the fact that grapes grow finely and mature well in that region. Several enterprising Germans have planted thriving little vineyards; and during the past year they have had the pleasure of manufacturing one or two hundred gallons of wine which compare well with those manufactured in Europe." and again:[37] "On the east and south are nice farming districts which are kept in a fine state of cultivation. Many fine species of grapes are successfully grown, from which a splendid article of wine is manufactured, not such as is usually offered for sale, but as we read of."

Still another phase of agriculture attempted in the colony was that of live-stock raising. This seems to have been one of the main features in the plans of the Colonization Company.[38] The extent to which this was carried on, however, is vague. Those who are known to have attempted the livestock business were Carl A. Weigle, John G. Neubert, and Gustav R. Brandau. Soon after their arrival at Wartburg Weigle and Neubert formed somewhat of a partnership for this purpose. They probably secured their stock through the agents of the Company. This effort did not last long, however, and was considered a complete failure.[39] A few years prior to the Civil War Gustav R. Brandau purchased a large tract of land in the vicinity of Glenmary[40] for the purpose of raising stock on a large scale.

35) Pre. cit., above 31)
36) Kingston Gazetteer, March 30, 1854
37) Kingston Gazetteer, Nov. 4, 1854
38) Pre. Chap. III, p. 17
39) Charlie A. Weigle, Fritz, Neubert, Knoxville, Tenn., Freytag, Bardill, Interview.
40) About 15 miles N. of Wartburg. Now in Scott Co.

After a comparatively short period this effort was thwarted through varying circumstances which included, above all, the Civil War.[41] Aside from these two major attempts there seems to have been little effort made in stock raising outside of that for domestic purposes. After the Civil War, however, Joseph G. Gschwend raised cattle to some extent. These were marketed in Knoxville and Cincinnati.[42]

One unfortunate condition which affected those who were interested in agriculture was that of land titles. In many cases where prior claims to lands existed when lands were purchased by the Colonization Company, or by independent parties, and later sold to the immigrants, such lands were subject to much controversy and litigation and involved extensive costs on the part of the innocent victims. In many instances lands overlapped. As a result, the overlapping portions were often sacrificed at the expense of the immigrants.[43] Such conditions being of such an unfavorable nature on the part of these people, generally resulted in an egress from this vicinity, as well as a reduction of the economic status of those remaining. The prevalence of these conditions was generally ascribed to the promoters of the Colony. Though directly responsible to these immigrants in the specific cases, such conditions were more or less common in the State of Tennessee.[44] There seems to have been an exceptional degree of uncertainty in the Cumberland region in regard to land titles however. In many instances the grantees of land required title bonds of the grantors.[45] This very often proved very satisfactory. It was in this respect, therefore, that the agricultural element was, to a certain degree, handicapped economically.

(3) MERCHANDISING.

Of no less importance in the establishment of the Colony at Wartburg were the mediums for the purchase and exchange of commodities-the merchants.

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41) Henry Brandau, Hydn Jack, Fritz Weissgerber.
42) Wilhemena Gschwend Tauscher.
43) R. D. Delmus, Charles Weigle, Rudolf Freytag, Clara Rothe, P. Henry, Interviews.
44) L.D.Smith, Land Laws of Tennessee, Tenn. Law Review, III, pp.44-42.
45) Morgan Co.Deed Books. Note Kienbusch to Forstner, App.A,p.11,no.22.

As has previously been noted there was one store established at the site of Wartburg when the immigrants arrived at that place. This store was established under the auspices of the Company and was operated by John White.[46] This store continued to operate under the direction of John White until the arrival of George F. Gerding 1849-50, at which time the latter directed this as well as the other interests of the Company.[47] This store supplied the needs of the people until they could establish their own stores. The store carried a general line of merchandise commensurate with the demands of the people.

About the year 1849 another store was opened at Wartburg. This store was operated by F. Heydemann, and was the first store to be owned and operated by one of the immigrants.[48] This store was situated on the northwest corner of Maidenlane and Main Street.[49] During this same year, or the year following, the Brandau-Kienbusch Store was opened at Montgomery.[50] Others operating stores in Wartburg prior to the Civil War were Francis Freytag, Rosanna Kuhn, and Dr. F. Sienknecht.[51] Later, Albert Hurtt, and Charles Braun conducted a general merchandise business in the same town.[52] Constantine Brause also conducted a store at Montgomery prior to the Civil War.[53] He was probably the successor to Kienbusch and Brandau.

The various stores above mentioned served the general needs of a large part of Morgan County, as well as the Colony itself. Goods were bought and exchanged in Knoxville, Chattanooga, Kingston, and Nashville. In Knoxville and Kingston the firms with which the merchants at Wartburg did a large business were respectively, Cowan-Dickerson, and G. L. Gillespie,[54] (or Gillespie and McEwen). From these places goods were hauled overland

46) Pre., pp. 17, 18.
47) Vannie Plumadore, Bardill, Hannah, Kreis, Henry, Freytag, Interviews.
48) Bardill, Plumadore, Freytag, Delius, Haag, Interviews.
49) Note Appendix B, Map no. 11. (See copy 1 or 2 of thesis)
50) Pre. p. 46.
51) Cit. 48). Also, Hydn Jack, Harmon Kreis, Pauline Knabe, Interviews.
52) John Kreis Mss. Store accounts. Also Cits. 48), 51).
53) Goodspeed, Hist, of Tenn., (E. Tenn. Ed.) pp. 842, 843, Also Jack Freytag.
54) McEwen Papers. Also, Cits. 48) 51).

principally by ox cart, though frequently by "tar greasers." According to one of the principles, the haul from Nashville was generally too expensive to warrant a large amount of trade with that place.[55] The most extensive business relations existed with the merchants at Kingston.

Without a doubt the most popular merchant at Wartburg during the early history of the Colony was Rosanna Kuhn (Mrs. David Kuhn). The multiplicity of interests in which Mrs. Kuhn was involved is indeed worthy of note. The Kuhn residence was located about one-quarter mile east of Wartburg on the Turnpike Road. This property consisted of seventy five acres of land lying on both sides of the road.[56] A large portion of this land was in vineyards and orchards. On the north side of the road, by the side of a small stream, was "Kuhn's Mill". In connection with this mill was a brewery and a store. The mill itself was used for both grist-milling and saw-milling. The conduct of these varied enterprises was under the direct supervision of Rosanna Kuhn.[57] This involved the functions of buying, selling, operation, and general management of affairs. Many interesting accounts are related regarding the enterprising character of this individual. One account is as follows:[58] "Mrs. Kuhn used to make frequent visits to Knoxville to purchase supplies for her store and other interests at Wartburg. On these visits she usually stopped at my father's house. The trip was usually made with a team of oxen and someone always accompanied Mrs. Kuhn. I remember that on one of her visits to Knoxville, she purchased a large flock of geese and drove them all the way to Wartburg, letting someone else drive the wagon."

(4) PROFESSIONAL.

The Colony at Wartburg was well represented by those of the professional classes. It appears, however, that there was a relatively disapropor-

55) McEwen Papers, Letter-G.F.Gerding to G.L.Gillespie, Feb.6,1855(H.S.Colls.)
56) Note pre. p. 37,no.37.Also, Appendix reference for same.
57) Rudolf Freytag, John Kreis,John Bardill,W.R.Cooper,C.A.Weigle,Harmon Kreis, Charlie Haag. Interviews.
58) Richard Graf.

tionate number of the medical profession represented in this group. No reason can be ascribed to this except that they were all induced to come to Wartburg, with the prospects of becoming fully established in their profession. The number was, however, far more than could be sustained by the population at this time.

Those included among the so-called professions were as follows: Carl Rothe, architect, graduate of Leipsig University; Gustav R. Knabe, musician, graduate of Leipsig; Karl Frederic Baron von Forstner, officer (captain) on King's Staff, Kingdom of Wurtemburg; Rev. Johann Frederic Wilken, graduate of Goettiggen; Rev. Adrian L. Chavannes; Switzerland; Rev. Johann T. Etter, graduate of Basle, Switzerland; Adam Ludwig von Gohren; and Doctors Edward O. Goetz, graduate of Heidelberg; Gustav R. Brandau, graduate of Heidelberg; Frederic A. Sienknecht; Charles F. Kramer; and Rudolf Knaffl, graduate of Vienna.[59] There were possibly others who might have been represented in this group for there were many representative persons who came to Wartburg but soon went elsewhere without leaving definite records.[60] Inasmuchas those herein mentioned were, for the most part, the leaders in the general affairs of the colony, a sketch of the activities of each while at Wartburg, may be pertinent at this point.

Carl Rothe, architect; was one of the early arrivals at Wartburg and assisted materially in the construction work at that place during the period preceding the Civil War. Purchased a small tract of land east of Wartburg along the turnpike road but was not very successful in this enterprise. Was forced to leave Wartburg for lack of opportunities to apply his profession. He removed to Knoxville. Was a

59) Citations in order: Clara Rothe, Pauline Knabe, Annie Forstner Freytag and Pauline Knabe, Alice Wilken Norris (letter), John T. Etter (letter), Judge Edward T. Sanford, U. S. Supreme Court, (letter), as to Chavannes, Bardill and Delius, Dr. H. E. Goetz, Henry Brandau and R. Freytag, Daisy Sienknecht Hayes, Plumador and Bardill as to Kramer, Joseph Knaffl, Knoxville, Tenn. Interview.

60) Pre. p. 30 cit. 30)

native of Saxony[61]

Gustav R. Knabe, musician; a native of Saxony who came to Wartburg about 1846-47. Purchased tract of land in vicinity of Wartburg, from an agent at New Orleans. Was stricken with the fever at New Orleans but was treated and cured by a doctor who came to Wartburg with him.[62] While at Wartburg he made an effort to continue his profession but failed to do so. Accordingly, he soon left Wartburg and went to Maryville College, Maryville, Tennessee, where he taught music. He later went to Grant University at Athens, Tennessee. He married Matilda Forstner, daughter of Karl F. von Forstner, but did not reside at Wartburg after his first departure.[63]

Karl F. von Forstner, a native of the Kingdom of Wurtemberg and a captain on the King's Staff, came to America in 1848. His purpose in coming was to regain his health. It was his intention to go to Texas but after his arrival at New York he was persuaded to "take up an estate in Morgan County, Tennessee."[64] He, accordingly, proceeded to Wartburg where he had purchased a large tract of land.[65] After arriving at Wartburg he became very much discouraged with the prospects at that place. He proceeded to establish his home on his "estate" at this place but does not seem to have entered into the general interests of the colony aside from the activities of the Lutheran Church, of which he was one of the first Councilmen.[66] He died at Wartburg in 1860.

Dr. Edward Otto Goetz, a native of Baden, was one of the leading spirits in the revolution in Baden 1846-1848. As a result of his attitude during this crisis he received the reproach of the Prussian Government but was afterward pardoned. However, he was determined to leave Baden. Accordingly, he became acquainted with George F. Gerding, then

61) Clara Rothe, Interview.
62) Probably Dr. Majorsky.
63) Pauline Knabe, Interview.
64) Annie Forstner Freytag, Pauline Knabe, Interviews.
65) Ibid. Also, note pre. p. 38-Kienbusch to Forstner.
66) Acts of Tenn., 1850-51, p.403. Note Appendix A. p. 4, no. 5.

United States Consul to Baden, and also the promoter of the Colonization Company, and became interested in becoming a part of the colony. He made one trip to Wartburg in the early part of the year 1847 and then returned to Europe and accompanied a shipload of immigrants to America in the summer of that same year. Dr. Goetz seems to have had a particular interest in the Colony.[67]

At Wartburg the interests of Dr. Goetz were somewhat varied. He was a party to various land transactions involving considerable acerage.[68] His immediate interest, however, was that of the practice of his profession. He is reputed to have been the first person to perform a major surgical operation in the civinity of Wartburg. The occasion was as follows:[69]

"Mr. F. B. Guenther, the agent of the Company, had climbed a tall tree for the purpose of viewing the land to locate a site for a house. He accidently slipped and fell to the ground. In the fall he fractured a leg and several ribs. Dr. Goetz attended him on this occasion." He continued the practice of medicine in and around Wartburg until about 1854. He then moved to Kingston where he continued his practice until the Civil War. During his residence at Kingston he made another trip to Germany.[70]

During this period Dr. Goetz was also connected with the Lutheran Church at Wartburg. In fact, he was one of the members of the first council of the "Union" Church at that place. The services rendered to the people of the colony by Dr. Goetz is attested by those who knew him.[71] That he was very popular at Kingston may be noted as follows:[72] "And finally, my readers, if any one is sick, just come in to Kingston, and we'll give you a 'Doctor."

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67) H. E. Goetz, Dr., Letter and Interview.
68) Pre. pp. 37, 39. Also Appendix A., p.14, (5) Also Deed Book G., p.246.
69) H.E. Goetz, Interview. (Previously related to Goetz by F.W.Gerding)
70) In March 1856.Letter, Dr.E.Goetz to G. L. Gillespie, Mar. 4,1856(H.S.C.Col)
71) Kreis, Bardill, Weigle, Freytag, Henry.
72) Kingston Gazetter, Nov. 25, 1854.

The activities of Dr. Gustav R. Brandau were largely those of a commercial nature. After his arrival at Wartburg about 1846-47, he soon became interested in real estate transactions.[73] He was also one of the partners of the Brandau-Kienbusch Cigar Factory (and Store), at Montgomery.[74] He also attempted stock raising as has heretofore been noted.[75] There is little indication of an effort on the part of Dr. Brandau to establish a professional practice at Wartburg. On the contrary, his profession seems to have been a negligible quantity during his stay at Wartburg and vicinity. He left Morgan County during the Civil War.

Concerning the services of the other four doctors who were at Wartburg, there is, with the exception of Dr. F. A. Sienknecht, very little data. All that can be said of Dr. Johannes Majorsky is that he probably came to with Gustav R. Knave, and that he purchased 33 1/2 acres of land-later selling same to C. A. Weigle.[76]

De. Charles F. Kramer, resided on the corner of Main and Church Streets[77] and was one of the first Commissioners of the incorporated town of Wartburg.[78] De, Rudolf Knaffl, a physician of the Court of Austria, came to New York in the late forties. At the latter place he became established in his profession and was very successful in this work. Owing to ill health, he decided to leave New York, and, as there were agents of the Company in New York at that time, purchased land in Morgan County, and moved to that place. This property, on which he made his home, was located on the Crab Orchard Creek. During his residence at this place he practiced his profession to some extent. Just prior to the Civil War he removed to Nashville and became State Librarian during the period of the War. He afterward moved to Knoxville where he resumed the practice of medicine.[79]

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73) Deed Books. p. 19,276; G. 314; H. 341. Note pre., p. 36.
74) Pre. p. 49.
75) Pre. p.55
76) Pre. p. 37.
77) Pre. p. 36, no. 97), and reference. Also, Appendix B, map no. 11. (Copy 1 or 2)
78) Good speed, His. of Tenn., (E. Tenn. Ed) p. 841.
79) Rudolf Knaffl, Knoxville, Tenn. Interview.

From the standpoint of service in the Colony Dr. Sienknecht was the most outstanding. After his arrival at Wartburg about 1848 Dr. Sienknecht made his home on a small tract of land east of Wartburg. In 1855 he purchased the property at the southwest corner of Main and Kingston Streets,[80] and moved to that place. He thereafter remained at Wartburg where he conducted a store and practiced his profession. In the latter, he was considered very proficient and commanded the practice of adjoining counties.[81] He was not only profiecient in the practice of medicine but he also manufactured his own medicines to a considerable extent. He cultivated various herbs for this purpose. For a considerable period following the Civil War, and possibly, during the War, Dr. Sienknecht was the only doctor accessible to the Colony.[82] On the whole he may be called the colony "Doctor."

Aside from the foregoing professions there were the Christian Ministers. These individuals, however, will be considered in the following chapter.

Thus it has been observed that in the plan of the Colony the economic interests were well defined. The degree to which these interests functioned is a matter of conjecture. But the results of the colonization effort leads one to believe that various conditions existed which thwarted the general welfare of the interests of the people. On the otherhand, the frugality of the people seems to have been of the foremost importance. That is, they conducted their affairs in a most careful and precise manner; many keeping daily accounts of their business affairs to the minute detail.[83] It is, therefore, reasonably certain that the colony was composed of individuals of much industry and ability. But in spite of the ability of the people there conditions which had to be encountered which were only conducive to

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80) Pre. p. 36, no. 27. Also reference for same.
81) W. R. Cooper, Harmmn Kreis, V. Plumadore, J. Bardill, R. Freytag. 82)Ibid
83) John Kreis Papers and Accounts. (H.S.C. Collections)
84) P. [illegible] Interview by Pruett, also Bardill, Davis, Freytag, Gates, Hermann, Hodges, Johnson, Lowry, Mudd, Interviews.

a great deal of discouragement and retardation in the colony. Such conditions and circumstances acted as forces against the success of the Colony. of these conditions the following were the outstanding.

In the first place, the new environment in which the immigrants found themselves, was wholly undeveloped and did not lend itself to immediate returns to the various interests represented. Thus those industrially or professionally inclined could not find sufficient employment in their respective occupations. Many of these did not seem to desire to completely change their occupations in order to cope with the conditions which were presented. Therefore, many who came to Wartburg soon left.[84]

In the second place, those who did establish themselves at this place met with conditions which were unsurmountable at the time. Those who were farmers found that their land would not produce sufficiently well to afford the necessities of life. Added to this various complete failures of fruit crops occured as a result of late frosts. These conditions were likewise discouraging to the people.

Again, and probably the factor which finally determined the status of the colony, the Civil War greatly interrupted the development of the Colony. During the period of the War the soldiers of both Union and Confederacy foraged this region at the expense of the inhabitants. Food stuffs and other necessities were taken either by requisition or by appropriation.[85] Some of the inhabitants were forced to rely upon the Provost Marshal General of the Department of Tennessee for food.[86] Not only was there limited sustinence in the colony but most of the able bodied men were in the army of either Union or Confederacy. Many of those who returned after the War did not desire to remain at Wartburg but preferred to seek places of better advantage.

84) F. W. Gerding letters to Oscar E. Feucht, also, Bardill, Kreis, Freytag, Rothe, Neubert, Weigle, Weissgerber, Henry, Haag, Interviews.
85) Heins, Plumadore, Kreis, Weissgerber, Interviews.
86) Johann Kreis, Papers, Requistion for food granted to Mrs. Jacob Kreis. (H. S. C. Collections).

Many of these went to Knoxville and Nashville. Thereafter, those remaining sought the most advantageous farming sections and enterprises and many have remained in the vicinity of Wartburg to the date of this writing. Among those residing in this vicinity at present are Rudolf Freytag, Annie Forstner Freytag, Peter Heinrich,[87] Charles Haag, Johann Bardill, Maria Zust Kreis, Charles Zumstein, Johann Kreis,[88] Christian Melhorn, Gustav Heidle, Johann Bassler, Anne Puckelwartz, Frederic Leopper, Louis Headrick and Caroline Haag Bargetzie. Some of these were living in the vicinity of Wartburg prior to 1850. There are many descendants of other colonists who are also living in Morgan County at the present time. Of these the names Nitzschke, Grier, Bonifacius, Delius, Ruppe, Kreis, Wespe, Freytag, and Kaufmann are familiar.

87) Peter Henry.
88) Son of Johann Kreis, of Kreis and Company.

## CHAPTER VI.

## RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES.

### (1) RELIGIOUS.

The efforts of the Colonization Company to establish a colony in Morgan County were not confined wholly to a material aspect of the enterprise. On the otherhand, it was early recognized that the spiritual welfare of the people was of vital importance to the success of the colonizing effort. In fact, this was one condition leading to the founding of the Colony.[1] Not only was the religious factor considered but it was agreed that there would be church for the colony as a whole without restriction as to creed, and with freedom of worship for all.[2] Such an arrangement was made for the benefit of the Swiss element. Those promoting the Colony, and the Germans as a whole, were of the Lutheran faith.

It was with the view of establishing a church at Wartburg that the Company, in 1846, sent Rev. Johann Frederic Wilken to Wartburg. Revl Wilken was born near Hildesheim, Germany and after graduating from the University of Goettingen became a tutor at the King's Court. On March 26, 1846, he was ordained into the ministry at Hanover and in May sailed for America, reaching Wartburg July 29, 1846.[3] Here he began his labors as a missionary to the colonists.

With the arrival of Rev. Wilken immediate steps were taken in the organization of a church. During the same year a house of worship was erected.[4] The church as first organized consisted of both Swiss Reformed (Zwinglites) and German Lutherans. Those of other faiths were likewise at liberty to become members of this church. Accordingly, the people were gathered together for common worship under the leadership of Rev. Wilken.[5]

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1) Vannie Gerding Plumadore, Interviews.
2) Clara Rothe, John Bardill, Annie Forstner Freytag, Rudolf Freytag, P.Henry/
3) Alice Wilken Norris, Letters to Oscar E. Feudht, Wartburg, Tenn, 1922, and to H. S. Cooper 1924.
4) Pre., p. 46.
5) Cit.2) above.

The Union Church did not continue long however, because of a disagreement over the administration of the sacraments. That is, the pastor of the Church, as well as a majority of the members were of the Lutheran faith. Being strict adherents to this faith an attempt was made to exclude the Zwinglites from participation in the administration of these ordinances of the church. This created much consternation among the Swiss and a division arose.[6] It was then agreed that a division should continue and that each sect should be granted the use of the common house of worship but that each shouls hold separate services. This arrangement was likewaise unsatisfactory. The result was a complete separation about 1849-50 and much enmity had arisen between the two sects.[7] Thereafter the two bodies continued as separate organizations until after the Civil War. Many individuals never became reconciled however, and joined other religious bodies.

(a) THE GERMAN LUTHERAN CHURCH.

Under the leadership of Rev. Wilken the Lutheran Church continued to grow and by the year 1849 was a well organized body. The building which had previously been used as a house of worship by both sects continued to be used by the Lutherans. The accomodations for this church being inadequate Mr. George F. Gerding secured contributions from friends in New York for the purpose of building a new church. Through this appeal the sum of $200 was raised and later deposited in the bank at Kingston to the credit of the Lutheran Church.[8]

The exact date of the organization of this Church is indefinite. It is evident that it was an organized body in 1847 for during the summer of that year the following testimonial was written by the Chuch Council.[9]

"Mr. John F. Wilken, Pastor of the Lutheran Congregation at Wartburg, Morgan County, Tennessee, during his activity here has given some splendid

6) Bardill, Kreis, Freytag, Weigle, Henry, Interviews. Also F. W. Gerding, Interview with Oscar E. Feucht, 1922. Weigle says "The Swiss stormed the house of Rev. Wilken with pitchforks...."
7) Ibid.
8) Ibid.
9) Alice Wilken Norris, included in letter to O. E. Feucht 1922. In German, Dated Aug. 14, 1847. Translated b Feucht.

proofs of a truly Christian Character (gesinnung), so that in word and in deed he could serve the congregation as a pattern most worthy of emulation.

"In addition to his regular divine services he provided instruction in the school with diligence, admirable patience, and persistence, for which we owe him a special thanks."

Signed,

The Church Council,

Edward Goetz, Constantine Brause,

L. Goetz, Jacob Weissgerber, (?).

At this time the church was not incorporated. Accordingly, the house of worship was furnished by the Company and Rev. Wilken was employed and paid for his services by the said Company.[10] But as the church grew it became necessary to extend the functions of the church. In this regard on November 13, 1849, a bill was presented to the State Legislature for the purpose of incorporating the said Church.[11] This bill was passed on February 2, 1850, and by it the church was authorized to hold "any quantity of land not exceeding sixty acres for the use and benefit of the said Church, as a place for the residence of the pastor, as well as for the erection of a church and a burial ground for the said Church...."[12] In May of that same year the Church became the recipient of gifts of land from Eliza M. Gerding for the purpose herein mentioned.[13] The first gift was a tract of 50 acres lying southwest of town. This was followed by the donation of the cemetery tract on the hill north of Eliza Street and the north end of Mill Street.[14] In 1852 the tract of land on which the present church stands was presented to the church by Eliza M. Gerding.[15] These gifts comprised the total lands held by the church.

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10) F. W. Gerding, Interview with O. E. Feucht, 1922 recorded by Feucht. Also, Plumadore, Freytag, Kreis, Bardill, Weissgerber, Weigle, Haag, Interviews.
11) Journal of House of Reps. 1849-50. pp.270,280; J. of Senate, 1849-50,p.742.
12) Acts of Tenn., 1850-51, p. 403, note Appendix A., p. 4, no. 5
13) Deed Book 1, p. 71. Also, pre. Cit. 10) above.
14) Note Appendix B., Map no. 11. Also Appendix B., p. 15. (Photo)
15) Pre. Cit. 10) above. Note Appendix B., p.14 )Photo)

On November 26, 1851, the church adopted a new constitution in which the scope and organization of the church are defined.[16] In general, however, the constitution conformed to the general requirements of the Evangelical Lutheran Church; one of the principle features being that "the services of said Church shall be held in the German language, according to the rules of the Evangelical Church, and in union with the unaltered Augsburg Confession."[17] One especially interesting feature included in the constitution was the inclusion of specifications for the conduct of the cemetery. The care of the cemetery was in the hands of the church treasurer (Schatzmeister). Every member of the church was to assist in caring for the cemetery and in so doing was given a lot free of charge. Persons not belonging to the church, and persons under the age of twenty years and not confirmed by the said church were required to pay for their lots. In such instances adults were assessed $2.00 while children under the age of twelve years were charged $1.00. In all cases the cost to be paid the digger of the grave was, for an adult, $.50. For children under twelve years it was $.35. It was always necessary to secure permission to use the cemetery. This was obtained from the "Schatzmeister."[18]

There was, however, one minute feature of the constitution which was not common to general practice of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. This was the requirement of a fee of $2.00 from those who wish to become voting members of the church and who had not been confirmed in the church prior to their twenty-first birthday.[19]

The Church forthwith presented a bill to the Legislature amending the former charter. This bill was passed February 15, 1852[20] and so

16) Kirchen-Ordnung, der Deutchen Evangelisch Lutherischen Kirche in Wartburg, Morgan County, Tennessee, (1853)
17) Ibid, p. 12, sec. 4.
18) Ibid, p. 10, 11
19) Ibid, p. 7, sec. 5.
20) Acts of Tenn., 1851-52, p. 629. Note Appendix A.,p.4, no. 6.

became the authority for the future actions of the church. The name of the church thereby became the "German Evangelical Lutheran Church at Wartburg."

The following were members of the German Luther Church at the time of the adoption of the constitution in November 1851 and who likewise the same.[21] Namely:

The Church Council: Johann Fredrich Wilken, pastor; Charles Forstner,[22] president; George F. Gerding, secretary; Jacob Weisgerber; Carl August Weigle; Johann Gottfried Neubert; Carl Buhler.

Members: Francis Freitag, Edward Braun, Ludwig von Gohren, August Moyer, H. A. Kaiser, Constantine Brause, C. F. Wolterdorf, F. A. Sienknecht, Julius Forstner, F. W. Gerding, Ch. G. Guchs, C. G. Goldberg, Robert Shimmel, L. F. Kramer, G. W. Aurin, F. Melhorn, F. A. Aurin, Ch. Haag, G. F. Mersch, Paulus Lendi, A. F. Wieland, J. Robinson, H. Wolterstorf, J. L. Sona, Richard Ritz, Valentine Gugan,[23] Leonhard Santi, Charles Buhler, Theodore Sienknecht, J. Weissgerber, H. Neubert, C. F. Rothe, C. Thuss, Richard Saup.

This membership is apparently the voting membership at this time for it may be observed that only mature male members are herein included. In fact, in 1852 there were more than eighty members in the Lutheran Church.[24]

With a gradually increasing membership in the Church and a need for a larger building a contract for a new church was made with Johann Kreis in the summer of 1854. The date on which the erection of the church began is indefinite but it was completed during the winter 1854-55. Regarding this building the following is recorded:[25] "The Lutheran Church, particularly, which is now (Nov. 4, 1854) measurably constructed, will be a

21) Kirchen-Ordnung, p. 11.
22) Karl F. von Forstner.
23) Possibly Ulian, Valentine. No other mention of Gugan is found.
24) Plumadore, Kreis, Bardill, Weigle, Henry, Freytag, Interview.
25) Gingston Gazetter, Nov. 4, 1854.

beautiful and commodious building."[26] This building was erected on the lot donated by Eliza M. Gerding the same being located on the west side of Church Street between Spring and Green Streets. This building stands to-day and with the exception of a few alterations and repairs is the identical building built by Johann Kreis and his associates in 1854.

From the time of its organization until August 1866 the Lutheran Church was under the leadership of Rev. Wilken. Evidence is abundant that this man was a wise, intelligent, and capable leader. The work which he had undertaken was by no means a light task. Leaving a comparatively established state of affairs in Germany he entered upon a long period of service as a missionary in the Colony at Wartburg. Here he met with many obstacles and discouragements. However, his was a task of bringing the people together in common bonds of worship and religious concern. It is certain that he performed this task in a noble manner in spite of opposition and frequent dissentions.

Soon after the organization of the Lutheran Church many Swiss cast their lot with this church. These became faithful members in spite of the establishment of a Reformed Church a few years later.[27] This greatly augmented the Lutheran adherents.

In connection with the Parish at Wartburg Rev. Wilken extended his missionary efforts to many outlying posts. Among these were Paint Rock, Mill Creek, and the Emory district. He occasionally visited and preached to the Lutheran bodies at Kingston and Knoxville. At the latter place he attempted to establish a church even before the War. On his various missionary enterprises he officiated, as the needs demanded, in German, English, or French. In most instances the German language was used.[28]

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26) Note Appendix B., p. 14, The Church as it looked sooh after completion.
27) Plumadore, Kreis, Haag, Henry, Weigle, Freytag, Interviews. Note also list of names included in list of members of church p. 69. Namely: Fuchs, Ritz, Sona, Lendi, Santi, Buhler, and Ulian (Gugan).
28) Ibid., Interviews.

A After a period of fifteen years in which the church had experienced a substantial growth, a continued development was suddely thwarted by the Civil War. During the period of the War the affairs of the church were in a very unfortunate condition. Both poverty and dissension were the fruits of this period. It was with much patience and sacrifice that Rev. Wilken kept the church together during this period. Many of the supporters of the church had gone to War and some who had not were very bitter in their attitude. As a result of these trying conditions Rev. Wilken resigned as pastor of the church in August 1866. He than accepted a professorship at Gettysburg College, Pennsylvania, at which place he remained until his death in 1876.[29)]

It was doubtless during the decade following the Civil War that the most serious crisis in the history of the church occured. The church felt the loss of a substantial portion of its membership as well as the loss of a pastor. Then, for a period of seven years, the church was without a regular pastor. In consequence, factions arose in the church which tended to undermine the unity of the congregation. During this period Revs. Bachmann and Eggers, of Nashville, served the congregation at stated intervals. Public reading services were also held. These were led by Johann Kreis Sr., Francis Freytag, and Frederic Engert.[30)] To these men is due the credit for sustaining the organization and maintaining religious worship during this trying period.

The subsequent history of the Lutheran Church is one of nominal progress with intermitent periods of vacancies in leadership, and struggles for existence. During this period, however, various mission stations in outlying districts have been maintained to some extent and when there was no minister to preach to the people one of their number assumed this charge and conducted services.. Probably the most prominent leader in

29) Alice Wilken Norris, Letters to O. E. Feucht and H. S. Cooper. Freytag, Weissgerber, Haag, Zumstein, Delius, Bardill, Kreis, Plumadore, Interv.
30) Ibid. Interviews.

this capacity was "Grandfather Ruppe" who lived in the Mehlhorn Settlement who held services in the homes of the settlers as early as 1875.[31]

The ministers serving the Lutheran Congregation since the period of the Civil War are as follows:[32] Revs. Johann L. Hirschmann, April 1873 to September 1874; Revs. J. G. Schaid of Knoxville, and Johann L. Hirschmann of Chattanooga, supplied at Wartburg from September 1874 to July 1877; Rev. Carl A. Bruegmann, July 22, 1877 to May 1880; Revs. Johann L. Hirschmann, Pfantz, and Obermeier supplied from June 1880 to September 1884; Rev. Otto Carl Praetorious, September 28, 1884 to July 1889; Rev. Johann George Goehringer, September 28, 1899 to October 25, 1899; Rev. Johann P. Barkow, November 1899 to October 5, 1902; Rev. Henry Sauer, December 1902 to February 1904; the same October 1906 to July 1908; Rev. August W. Vogt, December 4, 1904 to September 16, 1906; Rev. Edward Nauss, September 1910 to December 22, 1913; Rev. Edwin Demetrio, August 23, 1914 to February 1920; Rev. Oscar E. Feucht, present incumbent.

During the respective services of these ministers the services of the Lutheran Church were carried on in the German language.[33] That is, until the year 1914 when a rapid transition from the German to the English took place. Thereafter, the use of English has predominated.[34]

(b) THE GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH:

The activities of the German Reformed church at Wartburg while not so extensive as those of the Lutheran Church are worthy of note. Although incorporated under the name "German" the constituency was distinctly Swiss and of the Zwingli persuasion. Immigrants representing this sect were probably the first to arrive at the site of the Colony.[35] Accordingly, though without definite evidence to this effect, the first religious

31) Ibid.
32) Letters, O. Pratorious, Jul. A. Frederich, O. Baepler, and L. Fuerbringer to H. S. Cooper, Sept. 1924. Also John Kreis Papers. (H.S.C. Colls) and Feucht, Freytag, Kreis, Plumadore, Henry, Bardill, C. A. Zumstein, R. D. Delius, Interviews.
33) Ibid. Especially, letter of Pretorious to H. S. Cooper, Sept. 1924.
34) C. E. Feucht, Ca. A. Zumstein, Johann Kreis.
35) Principally Swiss: Pre. pp. 23, 24. Sona and B. Zobrist-Reformed Trustees.

practice of the Colonists was influenced by the doctrines of Zwingli. This, however, was certainly not long lived for in the latter part of the year 1846 a church for all sects was organized.[36]

The division which resulted in the independent organization of the Lutheran Church, likewise created an independent organization of the Reformed sect. It does not appear that the Reformed body was as well organized as the Lutherans but worship was continued even before the arrival of a permanent pastor. It does not appear that there was a regular minister for the body prior to 1850 although a certain Rev. Adrian L. Chavannes, a native of Switzerland came to Wartburg with several of his former parishoners about 1847-1848. These were all French-speaking Swiss.[37] Rev. Chavannes did not stay at Wartburg and it is doubtful if he accepted the leadership of the Reformed organization at this place. During this same period, however, Johann Kreis conducted religious services of the Reformed organization. At first these services were held in the churchiin which the Lutheran services were held. Later, the services were conducted at the home of Johann Kreis.[38]

Following the division in the first church several of the Reformed adherents joined the Lutheran Church. This was doubtless due to the fact that the former were without a leader. Likewise, little consideration was given to the Reformed Church by the Colonization Company. Nor were the funds subscribed by individuals in New York used in the work of the Reformed Church.[39] On the otherhand, this Church was without means to promote its welfare. Later, a tract of land immediately south of the property of Johann Kreis was donated to this body for the purpose of erecting a house of worship and for a cemetery.[40]

36) Pre. 65, 66.
37) Edward T. Sanford (Justice of the United States Supreme Court), letter to H. S. Cooper October 1924. Harvey H. Hannah, Interview.
38) Bardill, Freytag, Henry, Kreis, Rothe, Interviews. Note Appendix B,p.13
39) Pre. cit. 6) p. 66. This was partial cause of action stated by Weigle.
40) Plumadore, Interview. Also, cit. 38) above.

The history of the Reformed Church after 1850 may be summed up in the account of Rev. Johann Theodore Etter, a native of Switzerland and a graduate of Basle, who, on account of impaired health came to the United States in the early spring to regain his health. He set out in the early spring with Samuel Weishaupt who had two sons residing in the vicinity of Fair Garden, Tennessee. The party consisted of Rev. Samuel Weishaupt, his son and daughter, Jacob Heim, Albert Schlaepfer, and Rev. Johann T. Etter. After a voyage of thirty days a landing was made at New York. The party left New York City for Tennessee by way of Philadelphia, Washington, and Richmond; thence through Virginia and Kentucky to Knoxville. This trip was made by rail as far as Lynchburg, Virginia; and thence to Knoxville by stage. The latter method of travel required three days and nights.[41] Regarding the occasion of Rev. Etter's connection with the colony at Wartburg, together with his own account of his work at that place, note as follows:[42]

"It had been the plan to remain at Fair Garden with Rev. Weishaupt before looking for a suitable field for church work. (Swiss Reformed denomination). Remained at Fair Garden about four weeks, but decided to return to Knoxville about 30 miles distante which trip was made on foot. My friend Heim found employment at a blacksmith's. Schlaepfer and myself also found temporary employment. In my investigation I found that at Wartburg, Morgan County, I might find a field for the establishment of a colony and a church. Investigation revealed that about 50 to 60 families of Swiss lived within a radius of 20 to 30 miles in Morgan County. Upon arrangements and actively taking up the proposed work I found the people heartily in favor of my proposed uniting the community

41) Johann T. Etter (deceased), Autobiographical account in manuscript (German). Translation by John T. Etter, New Glarus, Wisconsin. Included in letter to H. S. Cooper, January 1925.
42) Ibid.

into a colony.... Salary was arranged at 200 dollars per year and to include services in the education of the children. Most fortunately I was invited by Mr. Jacob Kreis, one of the foremost of the colonists and a gentleman with a family of the highest integrity, to remain with them. There was no charge for board and room. Jacob Kreis and his family will ever remain in my memory and it is needless to mention that a bond of closest friendship existed. Jacob Kreis' family consisted of five children. The children made rapid progress in their studies.

"Others that I want to mention of the early settlers at the Colony are Hardiman Mathis, a shoemaker; Mr. Bardill, a farmer; Bergatze, and Schmid. Also, Mr. Heydemann who conducted a store at Wartburg. These, as well as others, are the men who helped in the great work of the establishment of the Colony. These men, the pioneers, were honest but poor, and came with the highest ideals from their Fatherland and abiding faith in the religion of their forefathers.

"I must mention that it was difficult to obtain meat since the nearest butcher was located at Knoxville. However, we had plenty of good wholesome food- corn bread and potatoes as well as vegetables and milk. I may always remember the good corn bread that Mrs. Kreis baked.

"At this time there were also about 50 families of Germans within a radius of about ten or fifteen miles. This was a Lutheran Congregation and the pastor, Mr. Wilken, was a congenial friend to all.

"In the fall of 1854 I made plans to return to Switzerland in the interests of the Colony as well as to visit my father who was pastor of a congregation at Bueler. This was quite an undertaking, but I felt certain that I might interest some of the Swiss people in the Wartburg Colony. The object was first to secure funds to erect a church. Mr. Heintz,[43] however, warned me of the danger of travel at this time owing to the

43) Heins = Heinz = Heintz.

prevalence of Cholera. This dread disease was raging in Philadelphia, Washington, and New York, as well as in most of the country. However, my mind was made up and the long trip was made by way of Charleston to New York. In regard to the warning, of Mr. Heintz, I found him only too correct as I contracted the disease on my journey to New York. This was the month of August and I had been witness of many tragic deaths enroute. This circumstance left me battling my sickness for over seven weeks in New York.

"My physician finally gave consent that I might undertake to sail on the Hermann, and on the second of September 1854 I left for Liverpool and London. While on board of the Hermann in Mid-ocean, we collided with the ship Lady Ogden and had to witness the sinking of that ship. However, all the passengers were taken on board the Hermann. Reached Liverpool on the twenty-fifth of September....Remained here six weeks that I might regain my health.

"While in London I was fortunate to meet Professor Lechler a Missionary from India and in his company we visited Scotland and Ireland. Professor Lechler wanted me to return with him to India as the field for work was unlimited in that far away part of the world. This, however, I declined as I had promised my Swiss friends to return to them. I must not fail my friends at Wartburg.

"Arriving at Basel I was fortunate to enlist Rev. Le Grand, De Wetge, Burkhardt, Prevent, Waelti Schwab Eckert, Brect, and Benim with some contributions for Wartburg. My other visits followed to Berne, Thun, Thurgau, St. Gall, and Basel. All the donors I thankfully shall ever remember in my prayers.

"Having some letters from Mr. Zumstein, in Tennessee, whose wife was a daughter of Rev. Gerber's, I stopped at Berne. Rev. Gerber was greatly pleased with my visit.

"Arrived at Buehler about the middle of October and the reunion with my dear parents shall ever live in my memory. Father at once interested himself in the affairs at Wartburg and contributed a goodly sum to the collections for Wartburg.

"Next step in my visit, and one of the factors for great joy, was to meet my betrothed, Miss Elizabeth Zaehner, of Heiden. Our wedding took place on February 26, 1856. As per plans made we were to take passage for the United States on March 15, of the same year. Took passage on the steamer at Harve, arriving in New York twenty-eight days later. While in the city of New York I found in the firm of Zollikoffer Brothers a willing friend to contribute to Wartburg. Others I want to mention were Schafer and Koradi, of Philadelphia, who added something to the Wartburg fund.

"Upon arrival at Washington had great pleasure to meet Swiss Consul Hitz. Counsul Hitz made our visit one long to remember and took great pains to entertain us, as well as to contribute to the Wartburg fund.

"Left Washington on the last lap of our journey by way of Richmond and Lynchburg, to Wartburg to meet the dear friends who so anxiously awaited our coming. Part of this trip was made by stage coach and it is needless to say that such a trip of necessity had its drawbacks and some hardships for us. Our intention was first to pay a visit to the farm of Benziger about five miles from Knoxville and in our eagerness to arrive there we undertook to walk but lost our way, and thus a very tired couple, had to retrace our steps to Knoxville during a rainy night. Houses being far apart, and most of the people being unwilling to take in any strangers, we preferred to get back to Knoxville and the next day procure a wagon and driver to take us to Benziger's. After a week's visit with the kindly Benzigers we made our destination Wartburg. We judge that the distance is about 50 miles from Knoxville. It can scarcely be possbile for us to

describe our mutual joy to arrive at Wartburg, and to have my wife meet the friends of the Colony.

"With the funds collected the planning for a church and a cemetery lot was taken up forthwith. Our first-born child, John Huldreich, it so happened was the first to be laid away in the little plot at Wartburg cemetery.

"As per additional plans essential I left my wife at Christian Kreis' home during my absence at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania where I had gone for the purpose of completing my English studies. Mrs. Etter, so very competent to take up the work of instruction for the children of the Colony, remained and the Kreis families made a home for her.

"Upon my completion of the stay, and graduation from Chambersburg, the erection of the building was completed and a room provided for our occupancy. Our wants were few and our food consisted of bread and vegetables. Other things we were able to purchase from the village store of Mr. Heydemann who conducted a small business.

"Sunday forenoons preached a sermon and in the afternoons gave the children religious instruction.

"The Colony prospered and the people ever showed appreciation for the worthy cause.

"I shall ever regret that owing to a circumstance of religious indifference encountered with a former intriguer Jesuit, I felt my stay at Wartburg unsafe. This unfortunate occurence prompted me to leave Wartburg; yet satisfied that the work has had its start and would be carried on successfully. No harder blow could have been inflicted, since the friends were many and true. Mr. Gerding, a friend, had information relative to the Jesuit movements and as the time could not bring a change of sentiment I found it prudent to leave the field...." 44)

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44) Left about 1858. Went to Bowling Green, Ind. From this place to Sauk City, Wis. Arrived in New Glarus, Wis., in 1869 and became pastor of Reformed Church at that place. Note Appendix B., p. 10.

The membership of the Reformed Church at this time is indefinite. Those who are known to have been a part of this organization at some time between 1850 and 1860 note as follows:[45] Johann, Jacob, Christian, and Dedrick[46] Kreis, Simeon Bergatze, Peter Bardill, Johann Bardill, Daniel Bonifacius, David Kuhn, Anton, Hardimann, and Christian, Zeperian, and F. Fischer, Christian, Anton, and Simeon Schmidt, Robert Rongger, Christain Wald, S. Wald, Charles F. Zumstein, J. Zumstein and Joseph L. Sona. The last named individual, and probably others who had joined the Lutheran Church after the division,[47] left the Lutheran Church and rejoined the Reformed Church.

The result of Rev. Etter's leadership at Wartburg was that of the organization and establishment of the Reformed Church. This seems to have been well performed for after his departure from Wartburg the Church continued and on February 28, 1860, the Church was incorporated by the State Legislature under the name of the "German Reformed Church of the Zwingli persuasion at Wartburg."[48] The trustees at this time were Joseph Lewis Sona, Bernhard Zobrist, and Daniel Bonifacius.[49] According to the Charter granted at this time it was specified that this Church "shall have the same privileges, and be governed by the same rules and regulations as the German Lutheran Church..."

Although the foundation for the Reformed Church was well laid unfortunate conditions arose which thwarted its continued progress and, in fact, brought an end to its existence as a church. These conditions resulted from the Civil War. Many of the ardent supporters of the Church were involved in the prosecution of the War.[50] After the War many left

45) J. Kreis, H. Kreis, Bardill, Heinrich, Freytag, Rothe, Ben Schneider, Knoxville, Tenn. C. F. Zumstein, Wartburg, Tenn. Interviews. Footnote p. 74.
46) Dedrick = Deadrick = Dietrick = Ditugen.
47) Pre. p. 65,66
48) Acts of Tenn., 1859-60, p. 318. Note Appendix A. p. 5, no. 7.
49) See Appendix A., p. 5 foot-note 11)
50) John Kreis, Papers, Mathis, and Sona Letters to Johann Kreis (H.S.C. C611.)

Wartburg and went elsewhere. Accordingly, with the membership greatly diminished, the organization was disbanded. Some of the members remaining joined the Lutheran Church; others later became members of the Presbyterian Church at Wartburg.[51]

(c) THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Aside from the Lutheran and Reformed Churches there was an attempt to establish a Catholic Church at Wartburg. The sponsor of this move was a certain Amelius LeTorey. In 1879 a lot was purchased and a building erected. This Church was located on Court Street between Maidenlane and Kingston St.[52] It does not appear that the effort to establish a Catholic Church was very successful for soon after the erection of a church building it was destroyed through some unknown cause.[53] Those known to have been of the Catholic faith are as follows: Victor LeTorey, Amelius LeTorey, Amelius Letcrey, Amelia Debleux, Julia Therese Debleux, Louis Martz, Ralph D'Ary, Rosanna Kuhn, Sebastian Sistare, Nancy Sistare, John Redman, Anton Grier, and Joseph G. Gschwend.[54]

(2) EDUCATION.

Another factor which the Colonization Company considered in the plans for the Colony was that of education. This was not in the least a novel factor for these immigrants for practically all of them an exceptionally good education.[55] In their native lands this was secured in the gymnasium, trade school, or university. Therefore, it was natural that the immigrants should have a school for their children.

Not only did the Colonization Company include the school as a necessary factor in the life of the colony, but the Lutheran Church likewise included the parochial school as a part of its general function.

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51) Goodspeed, Hist. of Tenn. (E. Tenn. Ed.) p. 841. Cit. 50) above.
52) Zumstein, Delius, Freytag, Kreis, Bardill, Jack, Interviews.
53) Ibid. Supposed to have been enemies of the Catholics.
54) Ibid.
55) Interviews. Also conclusions from Johann Kreis Papers (letters, documents, etc.) Francis Freytag Papers, Nashville Whig. 5/3/45/ 7/3/45.

Accordingly, when Rev. Wilken was selected as the spiritual leader of the Colony, he was likewise charged with the instruction of the children in the school. At first the school was conducted in the building in which the church services were conducted. This school was begun soon after the arrival of Rev. Wilken[57] and, with a few interruptions continued to be conducted by Rev. Wilken until his departure from Wartburg in 1866. After the erection of thenew Church in 1854 the old church building was used solely for school purposes.

The courses of instruction in this school were similar to those of schools of that time. These consisted of spelling, reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography, and some elementary history. The language in this school however, consisted of two branches. Namely, German and English. German continued to be taught in the school during the full period of its existence. Some of the immigrant children never did learn to read and write English well. On the otherhand, German being the common language used in family gatherings , or in meetings of various kinds in which the immigrants took part, it was quite natural that German usage among the youth should predominate.[58]

The school work of Rev . Wilken not only involved the Church and parish school at Wartburg but was extended to a small school at Montgomery, and to other German and Swiss communities near Wartburg; especially was this work carried on in the "Mehlhorn Settlement."[59]

During the absence of Rev. Wilken, as well as the ministers who followed him in the leadership of the Church and school, various individuals endeavored to carry the work of instruction on. Among those who performed this service were Mrs. Edward Braun, Mrs. Francis Freytag, and Mrs. Forstner.

57) Pre. p. 67
58) Kreis, Freytag, Knabe, Weissgerber, Weigle, Henry, Bardill, Interviews.
59) Ibid.

Instruction was also carried on in the homes to some extent. Especially was this true in the case of the study of German.[60]

Although this parish school was conducted for the most part by the Lutheran Church some of the Swiss children attended it. There were not many of these, however, for many preferred their own school. The latter school was not begun until the arrival of Rev. Etter, however, and meanwhile many of these children had very little instruction in the school. Some instruction of a private nature was given them by their parents. During the period of his service at Wartburg Rev. Etter and his wife conducted a school in connection with the Reformed Church.[61] The work carried on in this school was similar to that in the Lutheran School.

Aside from the schools instituted in connection with the Colony there were other schools in Morgan County in 1850 which were more or less accessible to the immigrant children. In 1850 there were seventeen children who were foreign born attending these schools.[62] The work done in these schools was very meagre, however, and prior to the Civil War, only two or three months of school each year was possible.[63] Following the War the conditions of the schools in the vicinity of Wartburg were little better than before and not until the latter part of the nineties was there even a reasonable advantage to be gained in the attendance of schools in this vicinity.[64]

Probably the most valuable part of the education of the youth of the Colony was obtained in the school conducted by the various ministers of the Lutheran Church. In fact, the education obtained in this school was all that many of the children secured. The school attracted several attendants from Knoxville and elsewhere. These were principally children

60) Ibid.
61) Pre. pp. 74, 78. Also Johann Kreis, Harmon Kreis, John Bardill, Interviews.
62) U. S. Census 1850, p. 583.
63) Cit 61) above- Interviews. Also, Jack, Freytag, Henry, Interviews.
64) Ibid.

of German or Swiss parentage who desired to have instruction in the German language.[65]

That the educational influence of the parish schools and of the immigrants themselves, was virtually the limit of the educational possibilities of the children of the colony seems to be indicated by the conditions extant in Morgan County prior to the colonizing effort. While there might have been schools in the County there is no report of any. That if there were any, the same were of little consequence for out of 972 persons over twenty-one years of age in 1840, there were 519 who could not read and write.[66] This condition did not obtain in 1850, however, as the census report shows only an aggregate of 267 over twenty-one years of age who could not read and write.[67] Of this number the report indicates that there were six foreign born who could not read and write.[68] This increase in literacy, or decrease in illiteracy cannot be directly accounted for but it is certain that the colonizing effort had some influence on these conditions. This is further evidenced by an increased number of schools in the County in 1850.[69]

On the whole it may be stated that the educational advantages of the immigrants children were by no means comparable to the advantages of the immigrants themselves. Not only were the schools incclose proximity to Wartburg incomparable to the schools of Germany and Switzerland at this time but the financial status of the immigrants was not such as would permit their children to be educated elsewhere. In very few instances were children of the colonists given educational advantages outside of Wartburg[70] - except in cases where the entire family moved away from the colony.

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65) Ibid. Also Vannie Gerding Plumadore. Interviews.
66) U. S. Census 1840, pl 67. Compendium.
67) U. S. Census 1850, p. 583.
68) Ibid. Unaccounted for. Probably referring to writing English, etc.
69) Ibid. Total schools-27. Aggregate attendance 660.
70) Vannie Gerding, Plumadore, Bardill, Kreis, Weissgerber, Interviews. G. E. Gerding sent his children away to school. Possibly children of Dr. Sienknecht.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the religious and educational influence of the colony in Morgan County did extend itself into adjoining counties and even into more distant parts of the State. The Lutheran Churches at Knoxville and Chattanooga were both consequents of the Colony at Wartburg.[71] The former church was organized on October 12, 1869, with twenty-two members. Ten of these, Dr. Edward Goetz, John A. Aurin, Ferdinand Aurin, Carl Aurin, Julius Aurin, T. E. Aurin, George Fuchs, Johann Lichtenwanger, Ferdinand Mueller, and Christian Sturm,[72] are known to have previously resided at Wartburg. Likewise, three of the five individuals who incorporated the church were among those previously residing at Wartburg. These were Dr. Edward Goetz, John A. Aurin, and Ferdinand Aurin. These, together with Peter Kern and Carl Baum, formed the Church Council.[73]

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71) Julius A. Frederich, (one time pastor of both churches) letter to H. S. Cooper, 1924.
72) Manual of First Evangelical Lutheran Church, Knoxville, Tenn.
73) Acts of Tenn., 1867-68, p. 146, sec. 2. Incorporated March 3, 1868.

## CHAPTER VII.

## SOCIAL AND CIVIC INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE.

### (1) SOCIAL LIFE.

The personel of the Wartburg Colony consisted of individuals of various stations in life and, consequently, subjected the colony to a variety of social interests. There were those of the society of the king's court as wellas those of the servant classes.[1] Likewise, the customs of the Swiss were mingled with the customs of the German Rhein Provinces and of Prussia.[2] In some instances these customs were very similar; distinction being made only with reference to customs of a particular province. There were, however, certain ties which bound the colonists together and which served to prolong the identity of the colony.

In the first place, practically all of the colonists were of German extraction and spoke the German language. Foust says, "Over 70 per cent of the population of Switzerland is of German Blood.[3]" Also, "Austria, in the census report is equivalent to the German provinces of Austria, whose population is completely German." And, "The population of Holland is a pure German (Low German) stock as that of any part of the German Empire.[4]" In this respect, therefore, the social contact was mutual. German was used in the home as well as in the church and school. Above all the children of the colonists were required to speak the German language. at the table. Business transactions were long carried on in the native tongue. Some of the older individuals never became familiar with the English language. Likewise, some of the youths, who were denied the privilege of thorough training in the schools did not learn to read and write English to any practical advantage.[6] Then too, correspondence

1) From the court society; Forstner, Gerding, Goetz, von Gohren, Knaffl.
2) Prussians, Freytag, Delius, Shimmel, Rhenish provinces, Braun, Weigle, Heidle, Kaiser, Thuss, Haag, Mehlhorn, Knabe, Rothe, etc.
3) Foust, German Element in U. S., II, p. 9. (From Henoch, Handbuch des Deutcherns)
4) Ibid. p. 11.
5) Mrs. Deaderic Kreis.
6) Peter Heinrich. (Henry)

with friends in Germany and Switzerland served to prolong this bond of mutual advantage.[7]

In another respect were the colonists bound together. This was the commong purpose of settlement in a new land. All had left their native lands with the prospect of establishing themselves in a new land of opportunity and freedom. Some had come to escape the militaristic policies of Germany.[8] Others, to extend their economic interests.[9] In all cases, the colonists hoped to better their condition by coming to the colony. Thus by mutual assistance and their various endeavors a distinct social consciousness was developed.

The expression of the social life of the Colony was found to a large degree in the activities of the Church. In fact, the church was the social center of the colony. This fact, however, was not peculiar to the colony for the social institutions of the towns and villages of Germany and Switzerland had their origin, to a large degree, in the village churches. These were carried with the immigrants to the colony. One of these social activities was the annual Christmas festival which lasted for more than a week. The first five days were given to religious matters and the remainder of the time was occupied by dancing and feasting.[10] Another occasion for social gatherings was the occasion of the anniversary of the Church. This has continued to the present day.

One of the most important occasions of merriment among the German settlers was that attending the wedding ceremonies. This festival usually lasted a week. It was introduced by a special ceremony on the evening before the wedding, This was called "Polterabend." On this occasion a great feast was held. Gifts were also brought on this occasion. On the

7) Johann Kreis Papers, Letters, etc.
8) Weissgerber, Braun, Knabe, Goetz, Delius, Neuber, Aurin, Interviews.
9) Kreis, Kron, Weigle, Neubert, Wespe, Bardill, Heinrich, Zumstein, Interv.
10) Wilhemena Gschwend Tauscher, Lena Tauscher Heins, Rosalee A. M. Bearden. Harmon Kreis, R. Freytag, Henry, Bardill. Interviews.

whole, the occasion was an informal one and there was much dancing and drinking.[11] Speaking of the occasion of one of these marriage ceremonies Mr. Harmon Kreis says,[12] "I shall never forget that wedding for I drank so much 'Dutch Punch' (hot whisky) that I was sick for one week. I never have touched any more 'Dutch Punch'."

Aside from the Church festivals there were other social affairs in which the settlers took part. To the feminine sex probably the 'Kaffee' was the most predominant. This was an afternoon entertainment which engaged the attention of the women. On this accasion coffee (or tea), and an abundance of dainty cakes were served. For the men, shooting matches was a favorite past time. The centers of the main social functions were the homes of Francis Freytag and of George F. Gerding. The former individual spent much time in hunting, riding, and shooting.[13]

Other favorite past time occupations of the Germans were here turned into new forms of entertainments. Their inherent love for music, and their favorite pastime, picnicing, were combined in log rollings, quiltings and harvest parties.[14] These were quite characteristic of frontier life in America.

In many of the aforementioned activities many natives participated. Especially was this true of the families of John White, Julian Scott, and Levi Summers. Probably the ablest person in bringing about a more congenial social contact between the natives and the immigrants was John White. This individual not only acted in an advisory capacity for the immigrants but also entered into their affairs with much interest and zeal.[15]

During the early period of colonizing the immigrants were, by the very nature of the enterprise, very closely bound together. As they

11) Ibid. Also Frazier's Magazine 1875, p. 625
12) Marriage of Lucas Graf and Katharine Ritz, 1858,
13) Bearden, Freytag, Kreis, Heins, Tauscher, Plumadore, Bardill, Interviews.
14) Ibid.
15) Ibid. Also Rothe, Weigle, Weissgerber. Interviews.

became settled and adjusted themselves, however, a broader contact with the natives resulted. This was brought about, above all, by business relations. As the years passed Wartburg attracted many besides foreign immigrants. Consequently, the town itself soon contained more natives than foreigners. In this manner a gradual assimilation of the natives and the immigrants took place.

Another way in which the two elements were assimilated was that of marriage. During the first two decades of their residence in Morgan County there is little indication that the immigrants intermarried with the natives. After the Civl War, however, and especially after 1875, intermarriages were very common. For instance, between 1875 -1890 there were fifty five marriages out of a total of eighty one, in which immigrants of descendants of immigrants took place, in which one party was a native.[16] Thus making the ratio at this time slightly more than two to one for assimilation. This same tendency has, to a large degree, continued to the present time. Probably the most potent factors retarding assimilation were the social contacts of the Church and the continued use of the German tongue among the immigrants.

(2) CIVIC INTERESTS.

The civic, or political, interests of the immigrants are vague during the first two decades of their residence in Morgan County. There seems to have been a great deal of dependence placed on the few leaders in the Colony regarding such matters. These leaders were generally natives, among whom the most important was John White. George F. Gerding was, likewise, an advisor in such matters.[17] On the whole, civic matters with respect to the immigrants may be included as a part of their

16) Wills and marriages, Morgan County Records 1870-1890.
17) Delius, Freytag, Kreis, Bardill, Plumadore, Henry, Weissgerber, Interv.

social institutions. In fact, very little interest was manifested in public matters during the first few years of residence in the Colony. There were, however, some who were particularly interested in civic matters. One of these, Dr. Edward Goetz, had been active in the revolution in Baden and was therefore greatly interested in public affairs in that place. He continued this interest in the Colony as well as subsequent places of residence.[18]

The center of civic interest in the Colony was developed around the town of Wartburg - the Colony center.

The first important act of a political nature which was brought about as a result of the establishment of the Colony and the town of Wartburg was the attempt to remove the county seat from Montgomery to Wartburg in 1845.[19] This effort was made by those interested in the development of the Colony and many inducements were made to the inhabitants of the county for effecting this removal.[20] However, this effort failed. The next move toward civic development was the incorporation of the town of Wartburg in 1851.[21] This was effected by Mr. Gerding, the manager of the Colony who still hoped to effect the removal of the county seat of Morgan to Wartburg.

In 1860 another bill was presented to the legislature with the view of again taking a vote for the removal of the county seat to Wartburg.[22] The result of this vote, if it were taken at all, is indefinite. However, the county seat remained at Montgomery until 1870, when another vote, taken under authority of the legislatures of 1870,[23] suceeded in removing the county seat to Wartburg.[24] During that same year a courthouse

18) Kreis, Freytag, H.E., Goetz, Knoxville, Tenn. Interviews.
19) Acts of Tenn., 1845, p. 223-225.
20) Pre. p. 18, 19 (Nashville Whig, Sept. 23, 1845)
21) Pre. p. 42
22) Acts of Tenn., 1869, p. 534, (March 22, 1860)
23) Acts of Tenn. 1869, p. 204 Amended, Acts 1870, p. 80
24) Acts of Tenn., 1871, p. 127, 128.

was erected at Wartburg by Johann Kreis and Company[25] at a cost of $3,132.36.[26] However, court continued to be held at Montgomery until October of that year and by special act of the legislature that "acts and doings" of the court in session at Montgomery between March and October of that year were ratified.[27] Thereafter court was held regularly at Wartburg.

Probably the most outstanding occasion for the expression of civic interest was that of the Civil War. Many of the colonists had left Germany on account of the militaristic tendencies and had hoped to be free from the pangs of war. Such, however, was not the case. Accordingly, when the occasion arose for the prosecution of the War the Colony was not free from its consequences. The Colony itself was, to a certain extent, divided on the questions involved. Though greatly influenced by the Union sentiment in Morgan and other counties in East Tennessee, there were some supporters of the Confederacy. That is, they were determined to "go with the State."[28] That the Union influence in the Cumberland region was extensive and that this influence had its effect on the Colony is evidenced by the vote taken on secession, noted as follows:[29]

| Secession | Morgan County | Scott County |
|---|---|---|
| For - | 38 - | 19 |
| Against - | 630 - | 621 |

That German elements in Tennessee at the time of the Civil War were influenced greatly by local conditions is also borne out by the company of men (possibly more than an enlisted company - being 700 men), of German nativity or extraction who "went with the State" in Nashville in 1861. Their reason was that their lands were in the State and,

25) Freytag, Kreis, Jack, Henry, Zumstein, Delius, Interviews.
26) Goodspeed, Hist. of Tenn. (E. Tenn. ed.) p. 843. Vote For-195, Against 149.
27) Acts of Tenn. 1871, pl 127, 128
28) Plumadore, Hannah, Kreis, Freytag, Interviews, Jos. L. Sona, Letters. See note 30)
29) Putnam, History of Tennessee.

accordingly, their interest was a State interest.[30] Some of these persons were former residents of the colony in Morgan County.[31] On the other-hand, some of the Germans desired to remain non-committed on the question of secession.[32] Many of these later joined either the Union or the Confederate Armies.[33] In one instance it is certain that little discretion was used and that the person concerned recognized that he would necessarily have to join one of the Armies so he joined the one nearest him at the time.[34]

Those who are known to have "gone with the State" were George F. Gerding, his sons, Frederic, John, and Edward;[35] Theodore and Christian Sienkecht, Charles Aurin; Rudolf Braun; and Rudolf Freytag.[36] With the exception of the first named person, all were in the Confederate Army. It may be of interest to note in this connection that a Confederate flag was raised in Wartburg by Eva (Vannie) Gerding. She, like her father was a strong Southern sympathizer. She continually defied the instructions of Union officers who later commanded this territory.[37]

Although the leader of the Colony was a Secessionist, the majority of the colonists were supporters of the Union. Among those who joined the Union Army were the following: Dr. Edward Goetz, a Lt. Col., stationed at Knoxville;[38] Dr. Gustav Brandau, Major-army surgeon;[39] Harmon Kreis, Martin and John Bardill;[40] Jacob and Peter Henry;[41] Louis L. Nitzschke; Louis Tauscher; Morris Tauscher; Leonhard Kreis; Charles H. Delius and Johann Mathis.[42] Another who was a very strong Union sympathizer was

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30) Kreis, Papers, (H. S. C. COLLS.) J. L. Sona to Johann Kreis, May 25, 1861. Translated by G.C.L. Schuchard, Instr. German Univ. of Wis.
31) Ibid.
32) Ibid.
33) Kreis, Freytag, Bardill, Henry, Interviews. Kreis Papers, Letters, of J. L. Sona.
34) Mrs. Rudolf A. Brown, Speaking of Rudolf A. Brown (Braun) Interview.
35) Plumadore, Interview.
36) Interview (self) Not technically listed. ( a "hanger on")
37) Inter, (self) also, Annie Forstner Freytag, Hannah, Interview.
38) H. E. Goetz. Interview and letter to H. S. C.
39) Henry L. Brandau, Kreis, Bardill, Freytag, Haag, Interviews.
40) Interview (self) Under Capt. Langley. Joseph A. Cooper, col. 1st. Tenn. Inf.
41) Inter. (self) Under Johnson & Brownlow, 1st. Tenn. Cavalry.
42) Heins, Delius, Jack, Kreis, Freytag, Inter. Sona letter to Kreis, 5/25/61

Dr. F. Z. Sienknecht. In this respect it will be noted that there was a division in this family for the two sons, Theodore and Christian, were in the Confederate Army.[43]

The effect of the Civil War on the civic welfare of the Colony was largely combined with an economic effect which was very unfavorable to the colony. The direct Civic effect was that of petty factions and strife which was carried even to the Churches.[44] Consequently, many more individuals left Wartburg and went elsewhere.

Participation in public affairs, insofar as relates to office holdings, seems to have been very limited prior to the Civil War. In 1850 Constantine Brause became Trustee of Morgan County.[45] The next member of the Colony to hold public office appears to have been L. H. Mosier who became County Register in 1860.[46] During suceeding years the names of those who have already become familiar as colonists appear on the list of office holders. Most of these held the office of Magistrate (Justice of the peace). Note as follows: Joseph L. Sona; Lewis R. Mosier, August 1876 to 1889; Fred Benegar (Beneike),[47] September 1879 to September 1882; G. J. Kubly, 1879 to 1883; Charles H. Delius, October 1871 to October 1881; and John D. Kreis, 1880 to 1186.[48] The last named individual held the office of County Trustee. He also served one term after this.[49]

Probably the most outstanding individual of the above mentioned was Charles H. Delius, during the period of colonization. Although only a youth at the time he left Wartburg and went to New York where by his industry he educated himself and later returned to Wartburg. After participation in the War he became interested in public affairs in Morgan County

43) Daisey Sienknecht Hayes, suggests that access to New York newspapers was an influence affecting Dr. F. A. Sienknecht.
44) Alice Wilken Norris, letter to H. S. C. 1924. [illegible]
45) Magistrates Bonds, Morgan County, 1850-1890.
46) Ibid.
47) Son of Fritz Beneike the piano maker.
48) Magistrates Bonds, Morgan County, 1870-1890.
49) R. D. Delius (Son of C.H.Delius) John, Kreis, Harmon Kreis, Freytag, Cooper, Interviews.

and became leader in public matters. Aside from holding the office of Magistrate for several terms, during the larger part of which he was the Chairman of the Court, he was also superintendant of schools of the County, United States Commissioner, and County Judge.[49] In all of these services he exhibited superior ability and judgement of public administration.[50]

After the removal of the Courthouse to Wartburg the civic interest of the people was somewhat elevated and thereafter participation inppublic lic affairs was indeed a matter of pride to the colonists. Many individuals have served the County and State in other capacities but it is enough to state that by the year 1875 these who were once considered immigrants in a new land were now fully adjusted to their new situation and were participating in all of the affairs of the County and State.

49) R. D. Delius (Son of C. H. Delius), John Kreis, Harmon Kreis, Freytag, Cooper. Interviews.
50) Ibid.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### EFFECTS OF COLONIZATION

In relating the incidents involved in the effort to colonize in Morgan County, consideration heretofore has had to do with the varying factors concerned with the colony itself. Aside from this, however, there are numerous points of interest resulting from the colonization which took place aswellas certain contributions which many of the colonists or their descendants have made. These may appropriately be summed up in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

Although the reason for the selection of the site for the colony at Wartburg is indefinite, it is unquestionably the best site in Morgan County for the establishment of a colony. That is, recognizing the apparent impotent nature of Morgan County as a whole for any attempt at colonization, especially at the time of the establishment of the colony at Wartburg in 1845, the region southeast and southwest of Arms Mountains is certainly the region best suited to any attempt at organized colonization in Morgan County. In this regard it is only necessary to consider the contour of the County as a whole and observe the ruggedness of the areas in other parts of the County.[1] Thus it may be noted that not only is the contour most favorable but the most advantageous approaches to this region are found in the vicinity of Wartburg. Likewise, access to the benefits of the Emory River and its many small tributaries is an added asset to the site. The area is, in fact, very similar to the regions in Switzerland from which many of the colonists came.

In consequence of the selection of this particular site for the colony it is interesting to note the resulting influences of its selection. In the first place, prior to the establishment of the town of Wartburg there was little centralized settlement in Morgan County. Settlement had not

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1) Note Appendix B., Map no. 6. (See Copy 1 or 2 of thesis)

taken place in an organized plan and was widely scattered over the County. When the town of Wartburg was established there was a definite tendency toward increased settlement in the vicinity of Wartburg. This took place even in the town itself. Though the town was first established for the immigrants, many of the natives of the County soon moved in and became an integral part of the community.[2)]

In the second place, the influence of the establishment of Wartburg included in its scope a factor political in its nature. This was attempt to remove the county seat to Wartburg in 1845 which later, in 1870, became a fact. Thereafter, Wartburg was the center of political activities in the County.

Not alone as the first centralized community of a planned nature as well as an important political entity in the County, Wartburg also became the trading center of the County. Several stores were erected at this place and the number has remained to the present practically unchanged.

Aside from the site influence of the colony there were many other contributions which the immigrants themselves made to the public welfare. As has previously been noted many new industries were established. Likewise, the establishment of religious institutions in the County and even in Knoxville and Chattanooga must be credited to the influences of Wartburg. With these religous institutions educational advantages were offered.

Probably the most lasting result, and certainly one of the most important was the addition of a high type of foreign population to the County as well as to the State. Although it does not appear that the addition to the population in Morgan County was at any given time in excess of one-tenth of the total population; yet there were many who permanently resided in the State after leaving Wartburg. On the whole, the constituency

2) The following family names appear at Wartburg by 1855. Namely: White, Scott, Byrd, Williams, Summers, Morris, Human, Hall, Brient, and Davis.

of the Colony was of an exceptionally high type. Most of those who did not remain at Wartburg were those who had previously lived in urban vicinities and their occupations required the patronage of urban communities.

Aside from the beneficial results of the colonizing efforts there were other conditions which tended to prove of great disadvantage to both the immigrants and natives. One instance was that of extensive speculation in land which resulted in abnormal prices for land as well as certain instances of fraud.[3] The conception of the colony of Wartburg itself appears to have been in the sale of Morgan County lands by speculators in New York. Yet, at the same time, many private transactions transpired within the County itself which do not appear to have been on a highly speculative basis. However, in 1850 the German Relief Society was organized in Nashville for the protection of immigrants from fraud and other misfortunes.[4]

The immediate results in land speculation occured soon after the establishment of Wartburg, at which time extensive lands were sold to prospective colonization companies and the individuals.[5] It is interesting to note the English Colony of Rugby, Morgan County, was established on land sold to the Board of Aid to Land Ownership, by Mr. George F. Gerding in 1879.[6]

The concern as to the success or failure of the attempt to colonize in Morgan County is largely a relative matter. Considered from the point of view of the Colonization Company, however, it appears that the attempt to establish a permanent and self-sufficing colony of German and Swiss Immigrants in Morgan County, on a large scale, was a failure. In fact the colony as established by the foreign immigrants could not be considered as fulfilling the desires of the Colonization Company.

3) Johann Kreis Accounts, Mss. Acct. Books "Kreis & Co." 1846. (H.S.C.Colls.)
4) Bardill, John Kreis, Rudolf Freytag, Henry, Maria Zust Kreis, Clara Rothe, Interviews. Also Johann Kreis, Mss. Acct. Books.
5) Note Appendix B., Map no.II.
6) Interviews. Cit. 4)

On the otherhand, the establishment of a permanent settlement at Wartburg was accomplished though it was not made permanent by foreign settlers. The permanency seems to have resulted from the efforts of the natives.

That the environs of Wartburg were not conducive to extensive settlement at the time of the establishment of the colony at Wartburg, and that the area could not sustain the colonies which were expected to become established in Morgan County, is not alone a conclusion of the writer but may be confirmed by a recognition of a writer of the period of colonization[7] to be noted as follows:

"Die Ausiedelung will nicht gedeihen, und wird als Kolonie ausgegeben werden mussen. Das Land ist zu mager, die Wege sind zu schlecht, und die Reise dorthin zu kostspielig und beschwerlich im Verhaltnitz zu dem, was man findet..."

Aside from the general results of the colonization effort which have been noted, it is also of interest to note certain activities which have engaged the attention of some of the colonists, or their descendands, aswellas certain contributions which they have made to the public welfare. Some of those whose influence has been such as to be of record are as follows:

Gustav R. Knabe, whose connection with Wartburg has heretofore been mentioned, left Wartburg about 1850 and went to Maryville College, Maryville, Tennessee, where he accepted a position as professor. Later, he accepted a similar position at Grant University, Athens, Tennessee, at which place he remained for several years. After the Civil War he moved to Knoxville where he continued his musical profession. Subsequently, he accepted an appointment at the University of Tennessee which institution he served until his death in 1907. Professor Knabe's influence and reputation as a musician was

7) Prof. Dr. Buttner, Hand und eifebuch fur Auswanderer und Reifende, Bamberg (1853). Translation: The colony did not prosper and hopes were given up for the establishment of a colony. The ground was too poor and the roads were too bad and the trip is too expensive and too dangerous in comparison to the benefits one would derive..."

wide-spread. He was both an excellent teacher and a composer. One of his compositions was that of his own funeral march.[8]

Dr. Edward Goetz left Kingston prior to the Civil War and became a resident of Knoxville. At Knoxville he continued the practice of medicine until his death in 1876. Aside from his professional services he was active in civic affairs. He was one of the organizers of the German Lutheran Church at Knoxville. His son, Dr. H. E. Goetz, is at present a prominent physician in Knoxville. He, also, is a civic leader of ability. His services in the Tennessee National Guard covered a period of twenty-one years. During this period he served as Captain during the period of the Spanish American War. He retired from this service with the rank of Colonel.[9]

Johann T. Etter, first pastor of the Reformed Church at Wartburg, became pastor of the Reformed Church at New Glarus, Wisconsin. He served as pastor of this congregation from 1859 to 1896, after which he retired. During this period of thirty six years he was the outstanding leader in his community in all civic affairs. His son, John T. Etter, is at present of Monroe, Wisconsin. He is a prominent banker and business man at that place.[10]

Charles Schlitz, part owner of a tract of 213 3/4 acres of land near Wartburg in 1847, sold this land to J. A. and G. W. Aurin in 1851.[11] He later removed to Milwaukee, Wisconsin where, in 1867, he established the firm of Charles Schlitz and Company, Importers and Dealers in Wines and Liquors. This firm enjoyed a rapid development and wide reputation for its goods.[12] The firm was later operated under the management of Victor Schlitz who now resides in Milwaukee.[13]

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8) Pauline Knabe, W. R. Cooper, Interviews.
9) H. E. Goetz, Interv. and letters. Acts of Tenn. 1867-68. p. 146.
10) Johann T. Ette , Rev. Golden Jubelbrant, New Glarus, (Monroe, Wis. 1897)
John T. Etter. Letter to H. S. Cooper. Jan. 5, 1925
11) Deed Books (Originals), Morgan County, Tenn. G. P. 86 J. p.352.
12) History of Milwaukee (1881) p. 1467. (Andreas Pub. Co.) Wis. Hist. Lib.
13) Victor Schlitz seems to have owned property at Frankfort, Moggan Co. in 1897. During that year, paid taxes on 16 lots at that place. (Tax Receipt)

George Wilken, adopted son of Rev. John F. Wilken, was long a prominent business man in New York. He now resides in New York.

Harmon Kreis, son of Jacob Kreis who erected and operated the first mill in the Wartburg Colony, left Wartburg soon after his return from service in the Civil War. With very limited means went to Nashville seeking employment but was forced to leave that place on account of the cholera epidemic in Nashville at that time. He then went to Knoxville where he has since resided. Through the application of his trade as a carpenter together with his intense resourcefulness, he has accumulated extensive wealthein the form of farm lands and marble lands. In late years he has added to this extensive land in Texas and Florida.[14] Although extremely enterprising during his active days, he was always more or less reserved in public matters. Due to his positive moral character and his aggressive nature he was virtually drafted as sheriff of Knox County in 1902 in order to "restore civic order--especially at the ballot box." He was also twice called into service for the public as a representative in the State Legislature.[15] At present he has retired from active business and is a resident of Knoxville. As an indication of his prosperity he states that he started each of his six sons in business with $40,000. The business interests of this family are very extensive and the Kreis Construction Company has long enjoyed a wide reputation in highway and railroad construction.

William G. Thuss, son of Charles Thuss, together with Joseph Knaffl and Rudolpf Knaffl, were apprenticed photographers under Gustav Schlier a prominent photographer of Knoxville immediately following the Civil War. These individuals have long enjoyed the reputation of being the leading photographers in their respective cities Nashville, and Knoxville. These men, with the exception of Rudolf Knaffl, deceased, are at present residents of Nashville and Knoxville. Charles Thuss, brother of William G. Thuss,

14) Harmon Kreis, Interviews.
15) W. R. Cooper, Interviews.

is now a cigar merchant in Nashville.[16]

Harvey H. Hannah, grandson of George F. Gerding, has long been interested in legal and governmental affairs in the State of Tennessee. He has filled many responsible offices of the State of Tennessee. He has filled many responsible offices of the State and was an officer in the Spanish American War. His civic interests are extensive. At present he is serving his third term with the Railroad and Public Service Commission. He is chairman of this commission. His residence is at Oliver Springs, Tennessee.

Edward T. Sanford, Associate Justice, United States Supreme Count, grandson of Adrian L. Chavannes, has long been prominent in the legal profession. He is a graduate of the University of Tennessee and of Harvard University. He has also studied abroad. After an extended practice in his chosen profession he received the appointment of the Federal Judgeship of East Tennessee. In 1922 he received his present appointment as Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Aside from his prominence in his professional field, Mr. Sanford has long held in high esteem in various organizations and in private life. In public life he has served many educational and social institutions as advisor and otherwise. At present his contributions are international in scope.

It is of interest to note that the contributions of the colonists has extended to the field of music and of the opera. Edward Delius, grandson of David August Delius, was long a leading figure in the famous M. Abbott Opera Conpany.[17]

Aside from the foregoing individuals there are many of the descendants who have been successful in their endeavors and who are at present engaged in active business in Knoxville and elsewhere.

In Knoxville, the following names are prominent in business and

16) Joseph Knaffl, William G. Thuss, Charles,Thuss. Interv. Own knowledge.
17) Joseph Knaffl, Robert D. Delius, Interviews.

civic affairs, namely:

Richard Graf, Architect; W. J. Heins, Jeweler; Walter E. Aurin, Real Estate; Sterchi Brothers, Furniture; A. E. Gerdig, Architect; Engert, Plumbing Company; Krutch, Inventor, Artist; Kaiser Brothers, Wholesale Fruits and Seeds; Sonner, Drug Store; Weigle, Gardeners; Neubert, Gardeners; R. D. Delius, Groceries; Kron; Tauscher; Mathis; Goldberg; Lichtenwanger; Weissgerber; Mathis; and Knabe.

Likewise many individuals of a similar interest are found in other parts of the State; In Nashville the additional are to be found. Namely: Kuhn, Kuhn - Cooper Co.; Schmidt; Ulian; Mathis; and Brei.

Many of the descendants still r main in Morgan and adjoinging Counties. These are to be found in Oakdale, Rockwood, Oliver Springs, Wartburg, Deermont, Kingston, and other small towns and villages. Many are on farms.

In concluding this thesis it seems appropriate that the names of those who came to Wartburg as immigrants and who are now living be recorded. These are as follows:

Maria Zust (Kaufmann) Kreis; John Bardill; Annie Forstner Freytag; George Wilken; and Eva E. (Vannie) Gerding Plumadore. With the exception of George Wilken, the writer has interviewed all of these individuals.

Others who were born at Wartburg prior to 1850 and who have been interviewed by the writer are Peter Henry (Heinrich); Harmon Kreis, John Kreis, Ernistine Weigle Zeige (deceased); Charles Weigle; Fritz Weissgerber; and Eliza Gerding (Hannah) McFerrin.

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# APPENDIX A.

CONTRACT: GEORGE F GERDING AND HENRY WELLS
(See copy 1 or copy 5)

APPENDIX A.

1.- THE TENNESSEE COLONIZATION COMPANY

1.- August 23, 1844

Power of Attorney from Theo. DeCock & Co.
Viz:

| | |
|---|---|
| Theo. Decock | Antwerp. |
| Francois Bisshop | " |
| Dr. George Frecker | Mayence. |
| Harry Klein | Bingen. |
| Joseph Stacks | Krenznack. |
| George F. Gerding | New York City. |
| James Kunkleman | " " " |
| Anthony A. Melly | " " " |

To:
F. B. Guenther ..... New.York City.
Certified by:
John A. Stemler, for all August 23, 1844; for Melly and Kunkleman August 26, 1844.
Samule Haight, U. S. Consul at Antwerp, September 20, 1844 for DeCock, Gerding, and Bisshop.
George F. Gerding, September 1, 1844, for Klein, Stacks, and Frecker.[1]
In the presence of Thomas Burns as to Melly and Kunkleman.
In the presence of Henry Ackerman as to Strecker.
In the presence of P. C. Moyer as to Stacks.

Consulate at Antwerp
Consulate at Mannheim

Registered at Wartburg, April 3, 1846[2] at 5 p. m.

.....

2.- CONTRACT: GEORGE F. GERDING AND JOHANN GOTTLIEB HAECKER[1]

(Contract in Duplicate)[3]

January 3, 1849

George F. Gerding with Hohann Gottlieb Haecker of Chemnitz, Kingdom of Saxony.....50,000 acres .....for $ 37,500.00

George F. Gerding of New York and Johann Gottlieb Haecker of Chemnitz, Kingdom of Saxony.....

Entries numbers 1947, 1948, 1955, 1956, 1964, 1965, 1973, 1974, 1982, 1983, 1966, 1975, 1984.... Under certain specified conditions, payments to be made as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| December 31, 1849- | $2500.00 | December 31, 1854- | $3800.00 |
| " " 1850- | $2800.00 | " " 1855- | 4200.00 |
| " " 1851- | 3000.00 | " " 1856- | 4500.00 |
| " " 1852- | 3300.00 | " " 1857- | 4800.00 |
| " " 1853- | 3600.00 | " " 1858- | 5000.00 |

Witnesses: Ch. Haag
Dr. G. Brandau

(For purposes of colonization)

.....

1) Post 2.
2) Morgan County Deed Book (transcribed) p. 198-F.
3) Deed Book G. (Original), p. 338. Contract cancelled, Deed Book M. pp. 261, 162.

3.- DEED, J. F. SCOTT TO THE . DECOCK.[4]

"Scott, J. F. to Theo DeCock by deed dated January 2, 1845, conveys the following tracts to wit:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Entry | 1779 | ---Grant | 22335 | ---3,000 | acres | |
| " | 1703 | --- " | 22336 | ---1,000 | " | |
| " | 1735 | --- " | 22333 | --- 500 | " | |
| " | 1716 | --- " | 22394 | --- 300 | " | |
| " | 1836 | --- " | 22332 | --- 150 | " | |
| " | 1439 | --- " | " | --- 200 | " | Rock Creek. |
| " | 1768 | --- | - | --- - | | |
| " | 1567 | --- | - | --- 250 | " | |
| " | 89 | --- " | 10858 | --- 50 | " | |
| " | 1751 | --- " | 22151 | --- 40 | " | |

"The 200 acres of Entry 1439 is the Huff improvement on Rock Creek & belongs to Widow Hall. The 1,000 acres is the tract known as the G. F. Gerding 1,000 acres on Rock Creek and includes the property where Underwood now lives.

I think 1779 was entered by J. S. Scott, 2nd Nov. 1835 and lies on Big Clear Creek, and includes both sides of said Creek, high up and near Elmore's place (now partly in Cumberland).

"1735 lies on Rock Creek. I am not able to locate the tract from the entry. 1716 lies on Kimmins Cr.[5] and near the Kunse place in line with Fentress and Morgan.

"1717 - 250 acres, lies on Daddy's Creek - or Cane Branch, W. water of Daddy's Creek.

**"The 200 acre tract on Rock Creek I think lied inside of 1793. If there are any tracts mentioned in the deed that you want more definite description than is given in the said deed, let me know and I will do the best I can to locate it. You will see from the deed that the description is vague in many tracts...."**

.....

4.- **SOME LANDS PURCHASED BY F. B. GUENTHER PRIOR TO 1846**[6]

John White to Theo DeCock, of Antwerp, 3772 2/3 A. for $2500; in the presence of F. B. Guenther and Constantine Brause-Nov. 18, 1844. Deed Book F.- p. 18.
John White to F. B. Guenther, TITLE BOND, $1000 on 13 entries, or grants, amounting to 3300 A. of land, Nov. 18, 1844. Deed Book F., p. 18, 7)
Jas. Williamson to F. B. Guenther, 1000 A. for $ 100 & other valuable considerations, Nov. 29, 1844- Deed Book F. p. 12.
John White to F. B. Guenther, 331 A. for $ 500 - Deed Book F. p. 25
Julian F. Scott to F. B. Guenther, TITLE BOND, for 450 A. $200,-1/2/45 Deed Book F. p. 42
Wiley Robinson to F. B. Guenther, 100 A. for $50. Mar. 4, 1845, Deed Book F. 77
Jesse Summers to F. B. Guenther, 100 A. for $200 etc. 12/4/44, Deed Book F. 93
John White to F. B. Guenther, 3944-5/6 A. for $2760, 2/27/46, Deed Book F. p.194

.....

4) MacFerrin Papers, Mr. Harvey Hannah, Oliver Springs, Tennessee.
5) Word is not distinct on manuscript.
6) Guenther as agent.
7) Title Bond was frequently used in conveyances.

5.- AN ACT TO AUTHORIZE THE GERMAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH OF THE COUNTY OF MORGAN TO HOLD LAND AND FOR CHURCH PURPOSES.[8]

"Be it enacted, ..., that it shall be lawful for any person to convey to Frederic von Forstner, Carl Buckler, G. F. Gerding, J. G. Newberd, C. A. Weigle, Jacob Weisgerber, Church Wardens and trustees for the protestant Evangelical Church of the German settlement in the county of Morgan, any quantity of land not exceeding sixty acres for the use and benefit of said Church, as a place for the residence of the pastor, as well as for the erection of a church and a burial ground for the said church, which said land thus conveyed, shall be held by said church Wardens and Trustees, and their successors to be appointed by the said church in case of death, resignation, or refusal to act, exclusively as a place for the residence for their pastor, and for the erection thereon of a church and burial ground as aforesaid.

Landon C. Haynes,
Speaker of the House of Reps.
Passed February 1, 1850.
John F. Henry,
Speaker of the Senate.

.....

6.- AN ACT TO AMEND THE CHARTER OF THE GERMAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH AT WARTBURG.[9]

SECTION 1.- Be it enacted..., That the German Evangelical Lutheran Church at Wartburg is hereby created a body politic, under the name and style of the "German Evangelical Lutheran Church at Wartburg" to continue forever and have the privilege of other bodies corporate to sue and be sued, to hold land and houses, and all kinds of property of which they may now be possessed or which they may hereafter lawfully acquire, by purchase, donation, gift, or testament or otherwise. Provided the annual income from such property does not exceed the sum of twelve hundred dollars.
SECTION 2- Be it enacted, that the Church council shall consist of seven persons; the respective minister, who is and always shall be a member of the council, and six church wardens, appointed by free election of all full members of the church, and elected out of the members of the said church. The time of office shall be for two years, and in the following order to wit: The time of office for three members shall end with the first year and three members shall be elected in the next year in their places, for the completing of the council, and so on; and this number may be increased as the affairs of the church seem to require; the church wardens appointed in the last charter granted by the last General Assembly shall remain in the office for twelve months from the passage of this act.
SECTION 3.- Be it enacted..., That no person shall be elected a minister of said church who is not a regularly ordained member of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and a member of the Evangelical Synod of the United States.
SECTION 4.- Be it further enacted.,., That the service of said church shall be held according to the rules of the Evangelical Church, and in Unionwith the unaltered Augsburg Confession.

.....

8) Acts of Tenn. 1850-51 p. 403
9) Acts of Tenn. 1850-51 p. 629.

SECTION 3. - Be it..., That the church wardens shall have power to make such by-laws, rules and regulations as may seem to them necessary for the better conducting of the affairs of the said corporation. Provieded, They are not inconsistent with the Constitution or the laws of the State of Tennessee or of the United States.

Jordon Stokes,
Speaker of the House of Rep.
M. R. Hill
Speaker of the Senate.

Passed February 15, 1852.

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7.- INCORPORATION OF THE GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH.[10]

SECTION 3.- Be it enacted, That Joseph Lewis, Sona Banhard Zobust, Daniel Bencecclyn,[11] Anton Mathis and their associates and successors in office, be, and they are hereby constituted a body politic under the name and style of the Trustees of the German Reformed Church of the Twingly[11] persuasion, at Westberg,[11] in Morgan County, and shall have the same powers and privileges, and be governed by the same rules and regulations as the German Lutheran Church at Westberg, in Morgan County, incorporated by a former act of the Legislature.

W. C. Whitthene,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
B. L. Stovall,
Speaker of the Senate.

Passed February 28, 1860.

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8.- DEED: GEORGE F. GERDING TO GUSTAV BRANDAU - HAAG "TAVERN."[12]

This indenture made the 27th day of December 1848 between George F. Gerding of the first part and Gustav Brandau of the second part Witnesseth: That said party of the first part for and in consideration of the sum of one thousand dollars lawful money of the United States to me paid in hand by the party of the second part at or before the delivery of these presents, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, and the said party of the second part, his heirs, executors and administrators forever released and discharged from the same by these presents does grant, bargain, sell, alien, remise, release, convey and confirm unto the party of the second part and his heirs and assigns forever all that certain property consisting of a two story frame house on Main Street, Wartburg, and the lot on which it is built and which contains 80 ft. front on Main Street, and 120 ft. deep, now occupied by Chas, Haag as a tavern, together with all and singular tenaments, hereditaments, and appurtenances thereunto belonging.....

.....

10) Acts of Tennessee 1859-60, p. 318.
11) Names are mispelled. They should be spelled as follows: Joseph Lewis Sona, Bernhard Zobrist, Daniel Bonifacius, Zwinglie or Zwingly, and Wartburg.
12) Deed Book G. (Original) p. 314.

9.- DEED: GEORGE F. GERDING TO JOHN WHITE - COMMISSIONER OF THE TOWN OF WARTBURG.[13]

This indenture made the 6th day of February 1853 between George F. Gerding of the County of Morgan, State of Tennessee, of the first part and John White as Chairman of the Commissioners of the town of Wartburg, Morgan County, State of Tennessee, and his successors in office of the other part. Witnesseth, that for and in consideration of the town of Wartburg being incorporated and for the better regulation of the said town, the party of the first part hath made over and by these presents does make over and confirm, grants and conveys unto said John White, as Chairman of the Commissioners of the town of Wartburg, and to his successors in office forever all the streets and spring in the town of Wartburg as laid down on a map of the said town which is to be recorded immediately; also the public square as laid down in the said map, to be used, however, solely for public buildings...Together with all and singular the privilege and appurtenances thereunto belonging, conditionally however, that the streets of the said town shall not be altered without the consent of the party of the first part.

And the said party of the first part his assigns the above described premesis and every part thereof unto the party of the second part and his successors in office will warrant and defend against the lawful claims of anyone. I

In witness whereof the party of the first part has set his hand and seal the day and date above written.

George F. Gerding seal

Witness:
F. Heydemann
Carl Kriss

STATE OF TENNESSEE
MORGAN COUNTY

Personally appeared before me G. W. Keith, clerk of the County Court of the County aforesaid, George F. Gerding, the bargainer named in the within deed, with whom I am acquainted and acknowledged the execution of the same to be his act and deed for the purpose therein contained.

Witness my hand at the office in Montgomery the 11th day of February 1853.

G. W. Keith, Clerk

The foregoing deed was filed in my office and noted in Note Book A page 49 on the 17th day of February 1853 at 7 o'clock P.M. and was registered the 29th day of April 1853.

J. D. Bennett, Register,
Morgan County, Tennessee.

.....

13) Deed Book (Original) J. pp. 63, 64.

10. MAP OF WARTBURG - EXTRACTS[14]

Main Street, Kingston Street, Maidenlaine, as 80 feet wide. All others 60 feet. Each lot contains 80 feet by 120 feet. The square contains 240 feet each way.

A true copy of the original map to be filed.

George F. Gerding.

Witness:
F. Heydemann
Carl Kriss

STATE OF TENNESSEE Personally appeared before me G. W. Keith, Clerk of the County Court of the aforesaid, George F. Gerding, with whom I am personally acquainted, and recognized and acknowledged the within to be the plan of the town of Wartburg by him adopted.

Witness my hand at office in Montgomery the 11th day of February 1853.

G. W. Keith, Clerk.

The foregoing plan of the town of Wartburg was filed in my office and noted in Note Book A page 47 on the 17th day of February 1853 at 7 o'clock P.M., and was duly registered on the 29th day of April 1853.

J. D. Bennett, Register for
Morgan County, Tennessee.

.....

11.- AN ACT CONSTRUING THE CHANGING OF THE COUNTY SEAT.[15]

An act to construe and make efficient and Act entitled, 'An Act to authorize the citizens of Morgan County to vote upon the Removal of their Court-house, and for other purposes,' passed the 4th of December 1869, and their Amended Act thereto passed the 11th of February 1870.

WHEREAS, By virtue of the Act and Amendment thereto, and referred to in the caption of this act, the citizens of Morgan County did, on the fourth Saturday of March 1870, by ballot, remove the County site of Morgan County to Wartburg, and have erected at Wartburg a new Court-house, and have sold and conveyed away all the public property in the County in Montgomery: and, WHEREAS, The County Court of said county continued to hold its courts at Montgomery till October 1870: and,

Whereas, One term of the Circuit Court for said County was held at Montgomery after the removal of the County site to Wartburg: therefore,

SECTION 1.- Be it enacted.....That all the Acts and doings of said court are hereby ratified and made legal and binding to all intents and purposes, as though they had been held at the proper site.

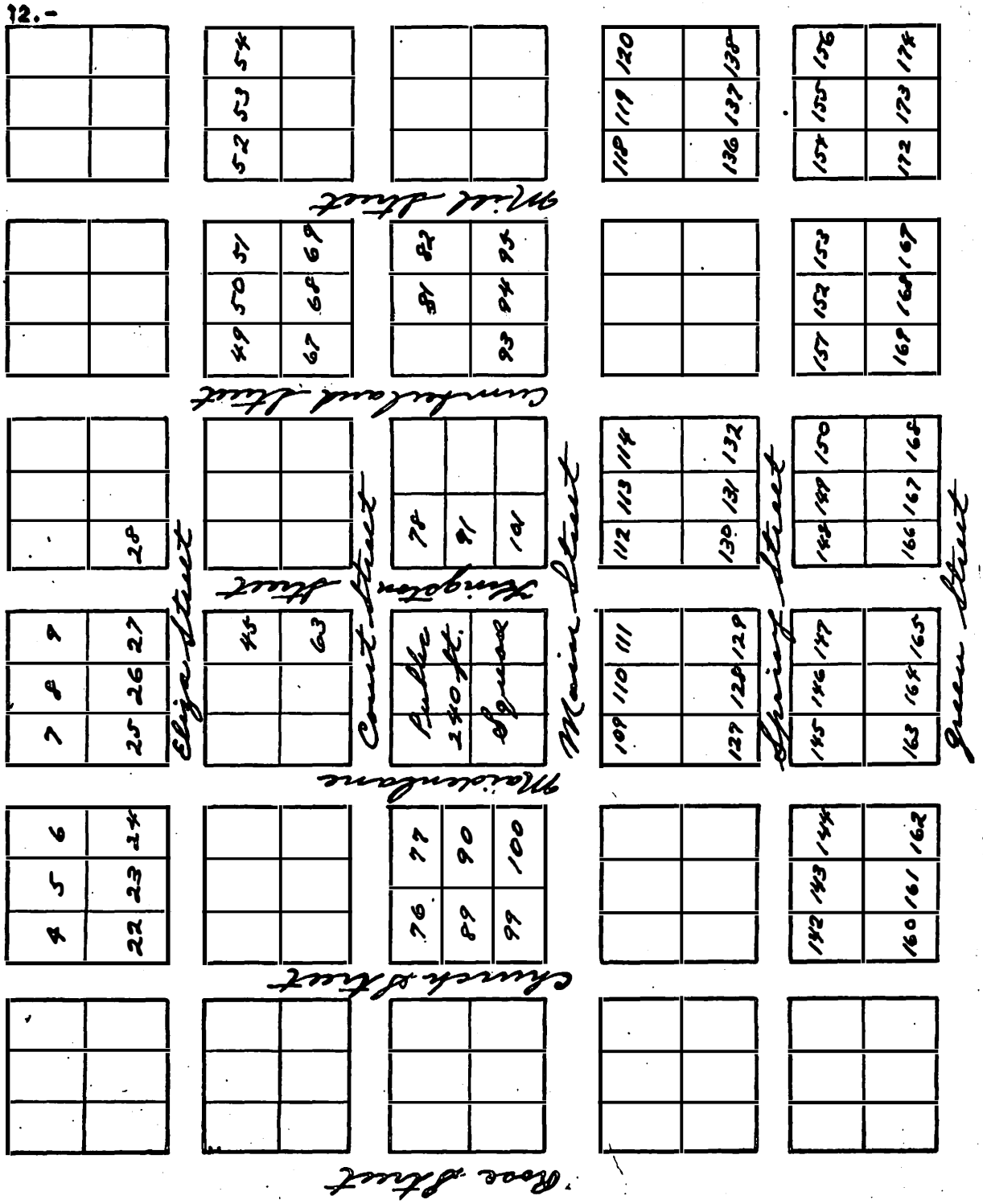
SECTION 2.- Be it further enacted, That this take effect from and after the date of its passage, the public welfare requireing it.

Passed February 2, 1871.

.....

14) Ibid. p. 64.
15) Acts of Tenn., 1870-71, pp. 127, 128.

12.-




MAP OF WARTBURG, MORGAN COUNTY.[16]

16) Deed Book(Original) J., p. 64. Traced from MSS. as recorded.

13.- NOTES AND REFERENCES: PURCHASES OF TOWN LOTS

(1) Book G, pp. 25, 86.
Book G, p. 139. Lot corner of Main and Mill Streets.
Book G, p. 367.
Book G, p. 206. Lot no. 106. Corner Main and Church Streets.
(5) Book G, p. 314. House and lot occupied as Haag's Tavern.
Book G, p. 315.
Book H, p. 69. Lot no. 105 corner Main and Church Streets.
Book H, p. 144. Lots nos. 107 and 108. Note map Appendix A. p. 8.
Book I, p. 101. Lot no. 124 corner Spring and Church Streets.
(10) Book J, p. 337. "Lots next to Francis Freytag's."
Book J, p. 225. Beginning at White's corner thence N. 85 W. 30 poles to a hickory the corner of the former church ground standing near the road to Bird's. South of turnpike. Also lot next to Charles Kramer, No. 27 as laid out.
Book I, p.331.
Book J, p. 193. Lot no. 98, corner Main and Church Streets. "Sold to me by George F. Gerding and recorded Feb. 9, 1850, in Book H, p. 230.
Book I, p. 341. Lot no. 100 including houses, corner Maidenlane and Main Streets.
(15) Book J, p. 11. The block lying S. W. from the corner of Green and Church Streets. Presumably for Lutheran Church.
Book J, p. 210 Lots nos. 105 and 123 and 12 1/2 a. west of same.
Book J, p. 168. Lot in Greenwood Cemetery.
Book J, p. 323. Lots nos. 114 and 132.
Book J, p. 340. Lots nos. 117 and 135.
(20) Book J, p. 218. Lots nos. 130 and 131.
Book K, p. 37. Apparantly lots nos. 130 and 131.
Book J, p. 324. Lots nos. 118 and 136.
Book J, p. 305. Lots nos. 142 and 160.
Book J, p. 312. Lots nos. 120 and 138.
(25) Book J, p. 276, Same as that bought by Francis Freytag from G. F. Gerding.
Book K, p. 239. Lots nos. 111 and 129, and house on no. 111. Same property as that contracted to Wm. Eydam by G. F. Gerding May 1, 1854 and recorded in Deed Book J, p. 291.
Book L, p. 42.
Book N, p. 185.
Book G, p. 151. For John White G. W. Keith is trustee.
(30) Book H, p. 341.

14.- NOTES AND REFERENCES: PURCHASES OF SMALL TRACTS OF LAND - LESS THAN SEVENTY-FIVE ACRES.

(1) Book G, p. 60 Two tracts - 1 a. and 50 a.
Book G, p. 243. Part of Grant no. 10857. On Rock Creek.
Book G, p. 116. On north side of town.
Book G, p. 136. On Emory River one mile above Montgomery.
(5) Book G, p. 181. Ibid.
Book G. p. 208.
Book G, p. 285. East of Wartburg. Beginning at Schlitts' corner.
Book J, p. 74.
Book H, p. 399.
(10) Book H, p. 158.
Book H, p. 332.
Book I, p. 71.
Book I, p. 84.
Book I, p. 72. West of Wartburg on Emory River.
(15) Book I, p. 214. South of Wartburg on Kingston Road.
Book I, p. 59. Ibid.
Book H, p. 392. East of Wartburg on Turnpike.
Book H, p. 402. Ibid.
Book I, p. 87. South of Wartburg.
(20) Book J, p..266, On Kingston Mill Creek. By Grant No. 25962, Oct. 19, 1847.
Book J, p. 39. Southwest of Wartburg in Melhorn settlement.
Book J, p. 49. Ibid.
Book J, p. 169. Southwest of Wartburg and west of Mehhorn settlement.
Book J, p. 326. On Scott's Turnpike Road.
(25) Book J, p. 184. Originally in Morgan County. Now in Scott County.
Book J, p. 28. Part of Ulian's tract. Joins Ch. Schmidt. (His X mark).
Book J, p. 192. Deeded to Rungger by Vaughn, Dec. 12, 1848.
Book J, p. 278. On Clear Creek.
Book J, p. 338. South of Wartburg on Kingston Road.
(30) Book J, p. 274. On Turnpike Road between Wartburg and Montgomery and extending to Emory River. Includes house and improvments where Welch now lives. (1854)
Book J, p. 209. On north side of town. Now (1854) occupied by Fischers.
Book J, p. 309. At Jacob Zobrist's southwest corner on new Mill Road.
Book K, p. 10. On new Mill Road.
Book J, p. 331. On west side Mill Street. With Buildings and improvements. Same as purchased from Gustav R. Brandau Nov. 4, 1849. Recorded in Book H, pp.203,204.
(35) Book L, p. 14. South of Wartburg on East side of Kingston Road.
Book J. p. 259. East of Wartburg and joining same, lying on both sides of Turnpike Road.
Book K, p. 431. South of Wartburg on Kingston Road.
Book M, p. 410. Southeast of Wartburg.
Book M, p. 328. Ibid.
(40) Book N, p. 80. Ibid.

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15.- NOTES AND REFERENCES: PURCHASES OF LARGE TRACTS OF LAND - MORE THAN SEVENTY-FIVE ACRES

(1) Book G,
Book G, p. 60.
Book G, p. 66.
Book G, p. 101.
(5) Book G, p. 358. Southeast of Wartburg.
Book G, p. 86. East of Wartburg. Portion of Grant no. 12795, of July 6, 1826 and of Entry no. 216, also a portion of Grant no. 19790 of Jan. 18, 1826, Entry no. 599. The same property later deeded to J. A. and G.W.Aurin.
Book G, p. 286,
Book G, p. 137. Near Melhorn settlement.
Book G, p. 356.
(10) Book G, p. 146.
Book G, p. 163.
Book G, p. 161. Three tracts. Respectively 200 a., 50 a., and 1 ac.
Book G, p. 182.
Book G, p. 179.
Book G, p. 190. East of Wartburg.
Book G, p. 197.
Book G, p. 207.
Book G, p. 260. Two tracts. Respectively, 60 a., and 50 a.
Book G, p. 246. Brause as agent of G. F. Gerding. Includes various tracts.
(20) Book G, p. 246.
Book G, p. 323.
Book G, p. 129. Title bond. Presupposes a similar purchase of land.
Book G, p. 293.
Book G, p. 326.
(25) Book G, p. 336.
Book G, p. 293.
Book H, p. 101.
Book H, p. 168.
Book H, p. 181.
(30) Book H, p. 368.
Book H, p. 410.
Book J, p. 113. Deed is drawn in very lax manner.
Book H, p. 406. Northeast side of Wartburg. Formerly owned by Steinwehr.
Book H, p. 465.
(35) Book I, p. 216.
Book I, p. 88.
Book I, p. 149;
Book J, p. 352. Reference deed, White to J. and P. Schlitt.
Book J, p. 261.
(40) Book I, p. 215.
Book J, p. 141. On South side of Mill Creek at ford of Crab Orchard.
Book J, p. 20. Dusenberry a large landowner in Morgan County.
Book J, p. 16.
Book J, p. 38. Melhorn settlement. Next to Wm. Morris.
(45) Book J, p. 26.

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15. Continued

(46) Book J, p. 28. Next to Smith's corner.
Book J, p. 140. On line of Scott and Morgan Counties. Hagme = Haag.
Book J, p. 57. Fork of Crab Orchard. Where Alley once lived.
Book J, p. 62. Joins land sold to Durheim.
(50) Book J, p. 295. Reference deed, Bradshaw to Knabe. Knabe of Blount Co.
Book J, p. 127. "Same land that Heinrich lived on."
Book J, p. 131. On Emory River and Brimstone Creek. On Emory side of the Mountain. Webb Entry no. 1672 in 1836.
Book J, p. 182. On Crab Orchard and south side of Mill Road.
Book J, p. 137. 13 7/8 a. on Mill Road and Main Street. Reference deed G. F. Gerding to Hebrank, In Fulmer's line.
(55) Book J, p. 200. Ibid.
Book J, p. 206. East of Wartburg. At Wesby's corner.
Book J, p. 258.
Book J, p. 326. Quit claim refers to deed for same property from G. F. Gerding to C. F. Melhorn dated June 1848. Recorded in Book G, p. 181, 182.
Book K, p. 11.
(60) Book K, p. 210. In Melhorn settlement.
Book K, p. 354. Name Buli is vague on record.
Book J, p. 205. Ibid.
Book M, p. 420. In Melhorn settlement.
Book K, p. 377. Rev. J. F. Wilken.

16- NOTES AND REFERENCES: SPECULATIVE PURCHASES.

(1) Book G, p. 106. Included Entry no. 1968 and others.
Book G, p. 109. J. and B. Sackmann of New York.
Book G, p. 112. Entry no. 1165. Crossing Nashville Turnpike.
Book J, p. 165. Entry no. 2113, Grant no. 22480. Younker of New York.
(5) Book G. p. 110. Entry no. 1986, Grant 21874, 5000a. by Hunter 1838.
Book Entry no. 1987, Grant no. 21907, 5000a. by Curtain 1838. All southeast of Wartburg. Note Deed, Schulze to Letorey.
Book G, p. 338. Contract later cancelled. Note full amt. App. A., p. 2.
Book J, p. 77. Entries nos. 1977 and 1978. East of Wartburg.
Book J, p. 84. Deeded to Schulze by Gerding for colonization in 1847.
Book J, p. 84. LeTorey of the County of Ascension, La. Entries nos. 1985, grant no. 21837 by Arms June 28, 1837, 5000a;1968 grant no. ? by Lowry June 30, 1837- 2500 a; Power of attorney given to O. G. Kienbusch by LeTorey to purchase land from Gerding May 8, 1854.
(10) Book K, p. 16. Becker of New York.
Book J, p. 289. Both parties of New York. Truitt Entry no. 1812, Grant no. 21587, in 1853.
Book J, p. 307. Unkart of New York. Entries nos. 1973, grant no. 21894, and 1982, grant no. 21891. On Obed River and Big Clear Creek.
Book J, p. 310. Adam Spies of New York. Northeast corner of Entry no. 1983. On Obed River. Consideration is 27¢ per acre.
Book G, p. 293. Seimon of New York. Entry no. 1965. Crosses Nashville (Scott's) Turnpike west of Wartburg.
(15) Book J, p. 320. Lease of 145,000 acres of land consisting of numerous entries. For the use of the land and for other purposes for the period of one year. Terms $1.00 Rent, Gerding reserves the right to sell any part of all of the said land during the life of the lease. A. Montigue and B. T. Staples witnesses.
Book J, p. 89. Entry no. 1926 of grant no. 22340. Also Entry no. 1643 of grant no. 22334.
Book L, p. 481.

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17.- POWER OF ATTORNEY GRANTED.

(1). Anthony A. Kelly, of N.Y.City, to F.B.Guenther, of N.Y.City, for a period of two years. To buy, sell, lease, and rent real estate, etc. Sept. 22,1844. (Subscribed to by Stummler, Comr. of State of Tenn., in and for the State of N.Y., No.7. Wall St.). Deed Book F., p.28.

(2). Eliza M. Gerding to Frederic W. Gerding, Feb. 15,1847. Book B. (tr.) p. 46.

(3). George F. Gerding to Otto von Kienbusch and Frederic W. Gerding (jointly), February 2, 1847. Book B. (transcribed), p.145. Witnesses: Chistian G. Eckel, no. 11 Wall St., and R.P.D'Ary,N.Y.

(4). Eliza M. Gerding to Otto G. Kienbusch, Dec. 10,1847. Book B. (tr.) p. 119. Witness: Jacob Weissgerber.

(5). F.B.Guenther to Constantine Brause, Sept. 16,1848. Book B. (tr.) p.241. Witnesses: Dr. Edw. Goetz and Emile Netrutzsoki (Nerutzsoki).

(6). Dusenberry, Wm. Coxe, of N.Y. to John White granted March 1851, revoked May 20,1853. Book J. (original), pp. 72, 73.(Dusenberry, No. 52 Wall Street N.Y.)

(7). Dusenberry, Wm. Coxe, to George F. Gerding, May 20,1853.Book J,p.73.

(8). Edw. Saxton and Thomas Deguide, of N.Y. to George F. Gerding, May 30, 1853. Deed Book J., p. 89. (To dispossess Squatters.)

(9). Dusenberry, Wm. Coxe, to George F. Gerding, revoked (at request of Gerding) June 5, 1854.

(10). Thomas B. Eastland to George F. Gerding May 28, 1854. Book J. p. 303. ("I authorize herewith George F. Gerding or his lawyer to sue in my name and lay any demise in said name provided I am not put to any expense thereby.")

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NAMES SPELLED IN DIFFERENT WAYS.

18.-

Ahlborn = Ahlborn
Braun = Brown
Antenreich = Antenrith.
Freytag = Freitag = Friday
Falwinckl = Faulwinkle = Fawlwinckl
Forstner = Forster
Streckor = Stecker = Freckor = Strict
Goss = Goff
Grogger = Groeker
Haecker = Hacker
Knowblanch = Knowblaugh
Ketcherseich = Ketcherside
Kreis = Kriss
Benike = Benniger
Kraemer = Kramer
Leopper = Leeper = Loper
Mueller = Muller = Miller
Neubert = Newberd = Nighbert
Rongger = Rungger = Runger
Sona = Somner
Sistare = Sittare = Zittare
Ulian = Ulien
Volmar = Fulmer
Schlitts = Schlitz = Schittil
Saffeel = Saffel
Wald = Walt
Yonker = Younker
Weigle = Weigel = Weizel

Freiteinreicht--changed to Falconet.(Maiden name of mother)[17]
Krutch, possibly from Krutistz,Netrutzsoki, Nerertzsoki,Emile.[18]

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17) McEwen Letters, letter E.Falconet to B.F.Duerheim Apr.11, 1854.(H.S.C.Colls)
18) Deed Book J. (original) pp. 24, 246. Also note above (5)

QUESTIONAIRE*

1. Name of family; place of birth; residence in foreign country; names of those coming to America; why come to America? Why come to Wartburg?
2. Date of leaving foreign country; others coming with family; date of arrival; date of arrival at Wartburg; route travelled to Wartburg; mode of travel.
3. Education; occupation; general standing in community before coming to America.
4. Where did family settle (with reference to Wartburg)? Farm or Town? Size of farm? From whom purchased? When? General occupation at Wartburg; Dates?
5. Names of leaders in colony. Leaders in what?
6. Party (political) affiliations? participation in Civil War; Union or Confederacy? Was colony divided on question?
7. Did any of the colonists own slaves?
8. What trades, professions, or other occupations were carried on in the colony? How long? By whom? When?
9. What kind of manufacturing was done? By whom? When? Can you describe any early process of such manufacturing? What kinds of industries did the colonists bring in? Tell of the early piano factory.
10. Tell what you know of the church (or churches) that were established. When? How? By whom? Did colonists attend church very much?
11. Give same information about the school.
12. Tell of social life in the colony. How long did foreign customs continue? Describe certain festivities.
13. Tell about and describe the old "blockhouse" or "receiving-house".
14. Did family leave Wartburg? When? Where go? Why? Present occupation of family?
15. When and why did most of the colonists leave Wartburg? Where go?
16. Give any anecdotes, stories, or any other points of interest that relate to the colony. Give names of persons, places, and approximate time.
17. Have you any old notes, diaries, letters, or other written accounts from which some sort of information could be obtained? Bible records? May access be had to them?
18. Tell of business conducted within the colony. With the outside. Where were markets for the products? Kind of transportation?
19. Give own name, age, residence, and relation to question number 1.

.....

NOTE: Kindly give source on which you base your answer; for example-

From diary of _____ July 4, 1849
From letter written by _____ to _____ Oct. 1, 1850
From my own knowledge.
Told to me by _____.
An old story (tradition), etc., etc.

Reply to:
H. S. Cooper

.....

* Exact duplicate of the questionaire used in securing data related to Colonization in Morgan County. Such questionaires, together with personal letters, were mailed to individuals who were suspected of having knowledge of the colonization effort. The same questions were used in personal interviews.

# APPENDIX B.

APPENDIX B. PAGE 1.

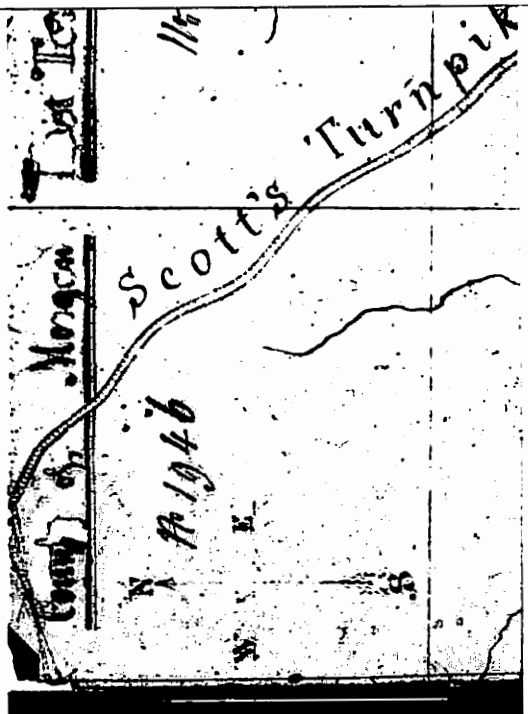
MAP NO. I.

REMARKS.-Map shows a portion of Morgan County in Standard Section Form as it was prior to the establishment of WARTBURG.

(Printed from the Original Tracing.)

.....

From Johann Kreis Papers, (H.S.C. Collections)



County of Morgan  1st Township

N
W E
S

№ 1946
№ 1947
№ 1948.
№ 1949
№ 1950.
№ 1951
№ 1952.
№ 1954.
№ 1955
№ 1956
a. 5000
№ 1957
№ 1958
№ 1959
№ 2314.
№ 2313.
№ 1963.
№ 1964
a 2000.
№ 1965.
a 2000.
№ 1966
a 1500.
№ 1967.
№ 1968
№ 1969
№ 1972.
a 2500.
№ 1973
a 2500.
№ 1974.
a 4500.
№ 1975
№ 1976.
a 2500.
№ 1977.
№ 1978.
№ 1981.
a 5000.
№ 1982
a 5000.
№ 1983
a 5000.
№ 1984
a 5000.
№ 1985.
a 5000.
№ 1986
№ 1987

Scotts Turnpike Road
Little Officers Turnpike R
Clear Creek
Big Emery Creek
Brimstone Road
Montgomery
Obeys River
Obeys River
Little Creek
Crab Orchard Creek
Scotts Turnpike Road
Road to Kingston

MAP NO. II.

REMARKS.-Plat of the Original lay-out of the town of WARTBURG, Morgan County, Tennessee.

(Printed from tracing made from Original Drawing by Hobart S. Cooper.)

.....

From Johann Kreis Papers, (H.S.C. Collections)

~ Wartburg, Morgan Co., E. Tenn ~

~~Frankfort~~ Street

~~Maine~~ St

I. Street

II. St

III. St

IV. St

V. St

VI St

~~Cologne~~ St

Lathrop

O'Haag

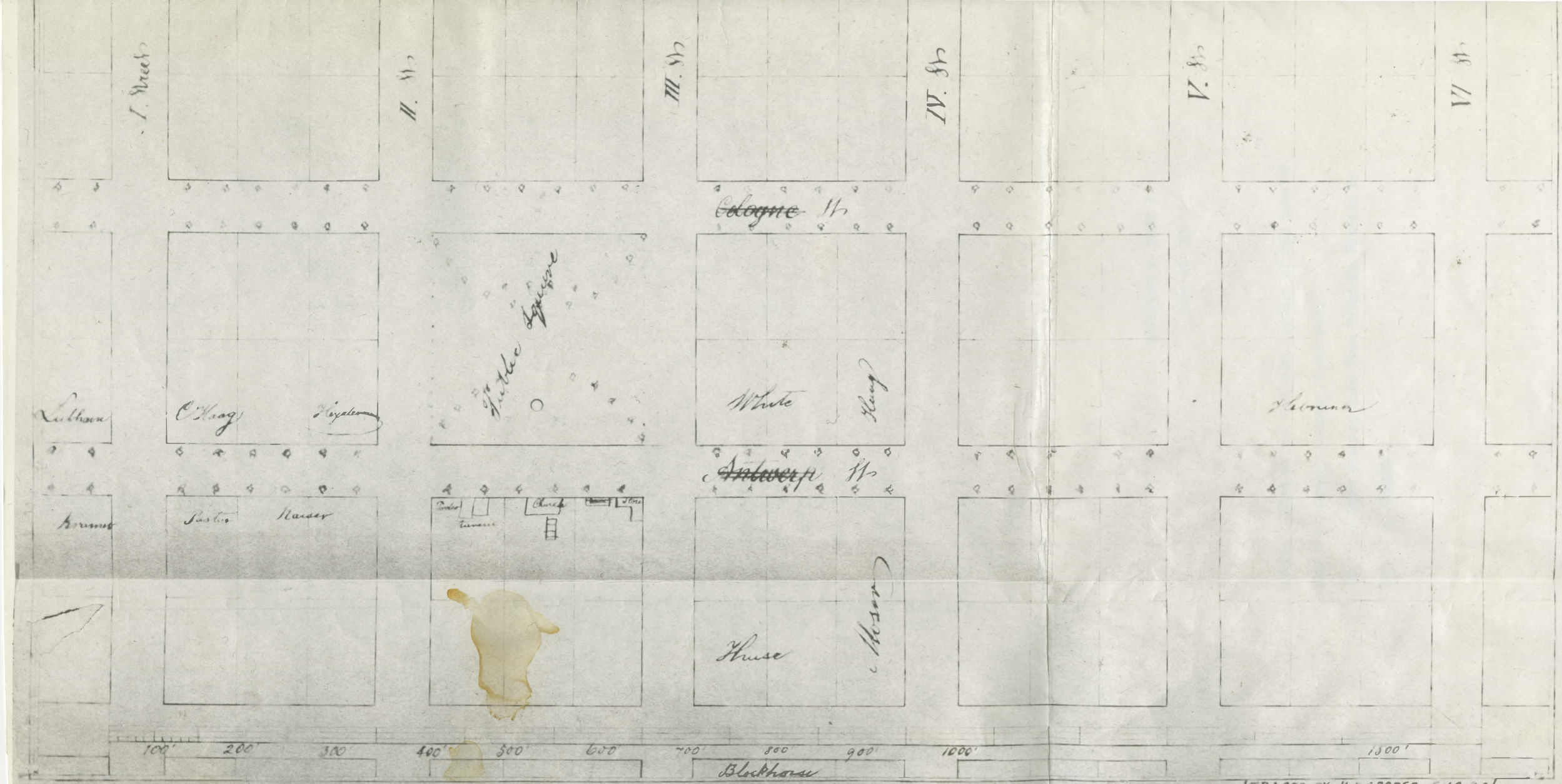
Heydenreich

Fiddle Square

White

Haag

Hammer




[TRACED BY H.S.COOPER - 6/14/24]

Certified and checked from original by W. H. Woodrich 6-6-24.

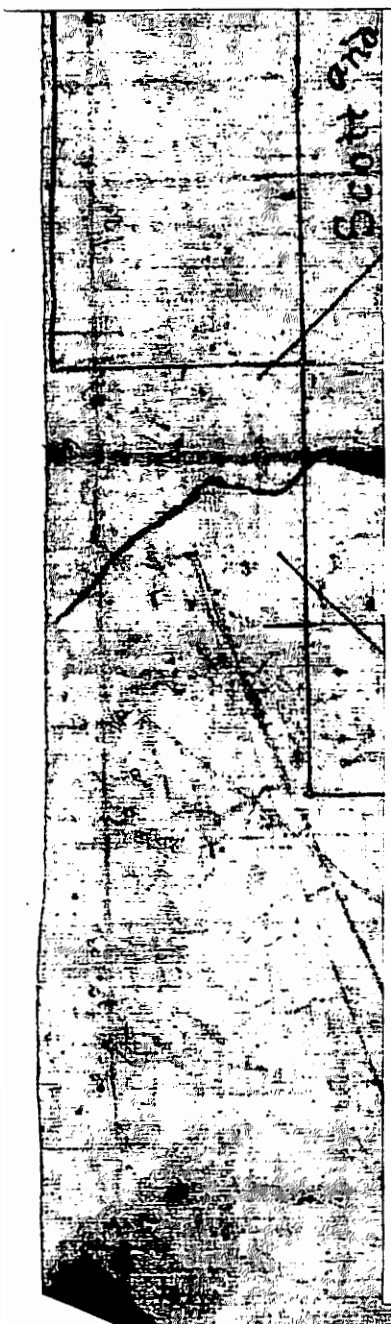
MAP NO. III.

REMARKS.-Map shows various Entries under Grant of land and their apparent overlapping. Names mentioned herein are some of the early enterers in Morgan County.

(Printed from Original Tracing covering this survey.)

.....

MacFerrin Papers, Harvey H. Hannah, Oliver Springs, Tenn



Scott and Staples Purchase

CAMP

BONE

JOHN WILLIAMS 100 A&

JOS DAVIDSON

NASHVILLE AND

HUNTSVILLE

137

E. 1607
300 As by
Wm L. Davison

1941
W J Scott Purchase.
E. 1776 by J.F. Scott.

E. MAXEY

JAMESTOWN MAIL ROUTE

E. 1232
1000 As by
Carrell Hall.

COAL CREEK

Lyons Heirs

E 1912
200 As by
S. Brown

E 905
100 A by
E & Friels

E 530
150 As by
Willis Ord

G. Underwoods Purchase





MAP NO. IV.

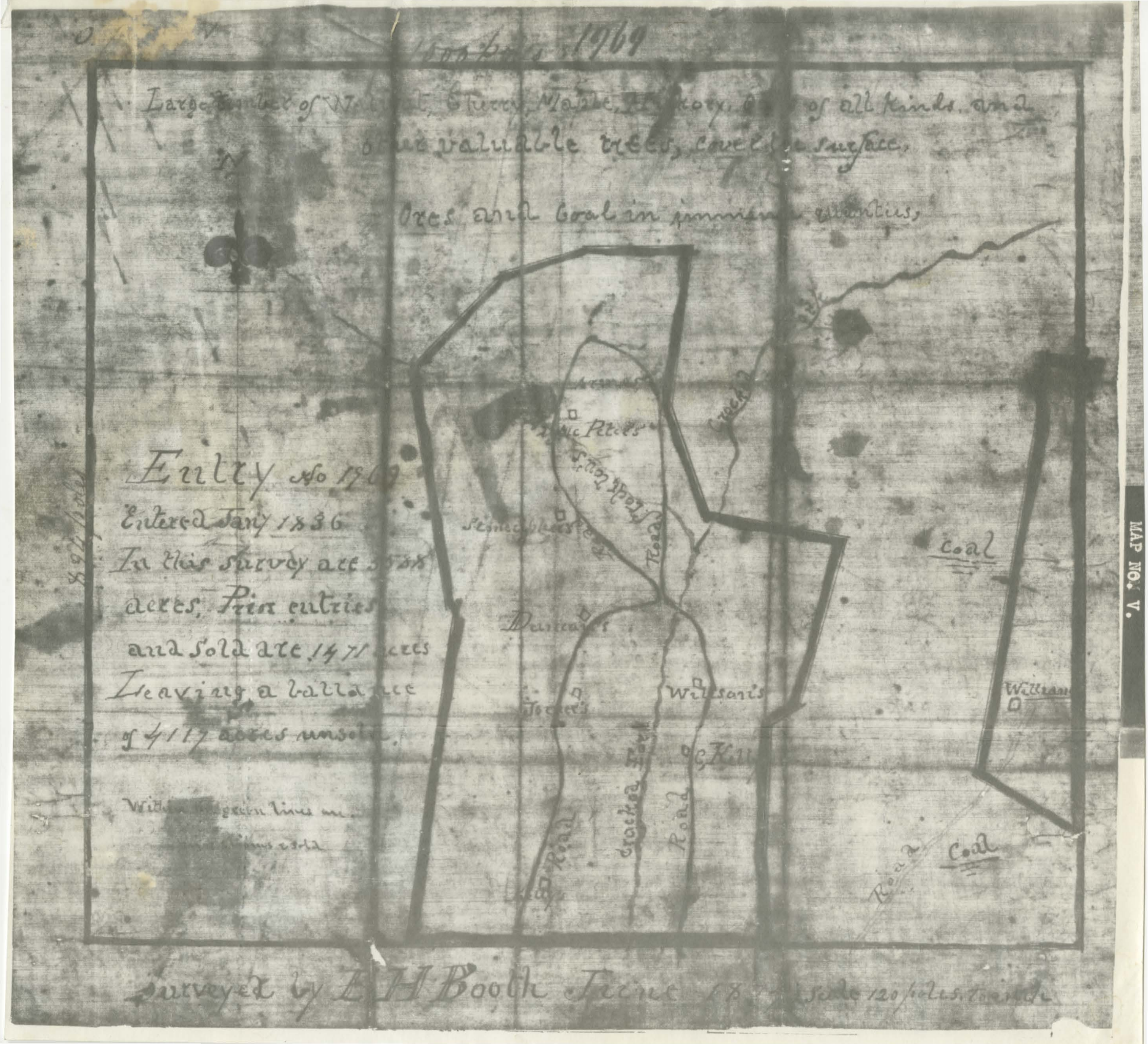
REMARKS.-Map shows Entry No. 1969 as surveyed by E.H. Booth in 1874. Natural Resources are noted on the drawing.

(Printed from Original.)

.....

MacFerrin Papers, (H.H.H., Oliver Spgs., Tenn.)

MAP NO. V.


Large number of
and valuable trees, cover
Ores and Coal in
Entry No 1769
Entered Jany 1836
In this survey are
acres, Prior entries
and sold are
Leaving a balance
of
Coal
Coal
Road
Road
Road
Road
Surveyed by E H Booth
Scale 120 poles to inch



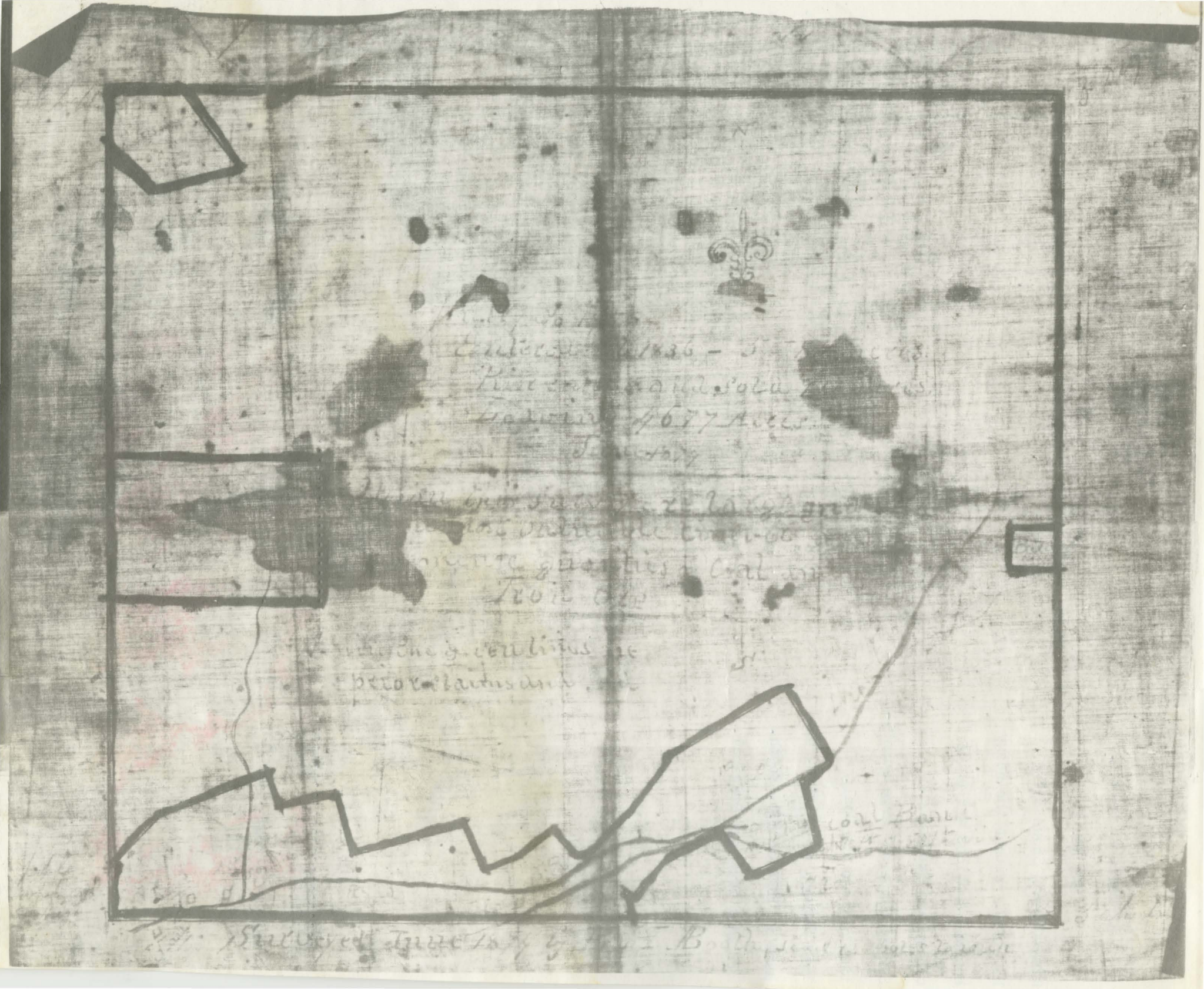


MAP NO. V.

REMARKS.-Map Shows Entry No. 1959. Within the heavy bounded sections are prior claims and land sold. Survey contains large quantities of Iron and Coal. This Survey, as printed, was made in 1874 by E.H. Booth. (Printed from the Original.)

.....

MacFerrin Papers, (H.H.H., Oliver Springs, Tenn.)






(Kingston)

(Briceville)

(Loudon)

ENGRAVED MAY 1895 BY U.S.G.S.

Henry Gannett, Chief Topographer.
Gilbert Thompson, Chief Geographer in charge.
Triangulation by U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey.
Topography by A.E. Murlin.
Surveyed in 1893.

Scale 1/125000

1 ½ 0 1 2 3 4 5 Miles

1 ½ 0 1 2 3 4 5 Kilometers

Contour interval 100 feet

*Datum is mean sea level*

Edition of Mar. 1896 reprinted Sept 1912.

WARTBURG

NOTE: Geologic Folio No. 40, price 25 cents, treats of the geology and of the coal, oil, iron, lime, and clay resources of this area. Adjoining folios—Briceville, Loudon, Pikeville, and Sandingstone—are also available at same price.

REMARKS.-COAT-OF-ARMS representing the union of the families of FORSTNER and IRMTROUT, both of the Kingdom of Wurtemburg and residing in Stuttgart. Karl F. Baron von Forstner herein represented had long been a Captain on the King's Staff prior to coming to America. Mr. Forstner came to America in 1848 and purchased land at WARTBURG from agents in New York. He and his family thereafter lived in the vicinity of WARTBURG. Mr. Gustav R. Knabe, mentioned heretofore in the body of this account, was a son-in-law of Karl F. Baron von Forstner.

(Traced from the Original, in color, by Hobart S. Cooper.)

.....

Pauline Knabe, Knoxville, Tenn.




Forstner
"impaling"
Ermtraut



GEORGE FREDERIC GERDING*
Born, Hanover, Germany,
July 1800.
Died, Oliver Springs,
Tennessee, August 1884.

George Frederic Gerding was a son of William Gerding, a Christian minister, of Osnabruik, Hanover, Germany. He became an orphan at an early age and was subsequently educated by his maternal uncle, Baron von Russing, of Lage Castle. Owing to an abhorrence to imperial tendencies in Germany at this time, as well as for minor reasons, Gerding left Germany at an early age and went to New York. At this place he became connected with a large merchantile establishment. After a long period of service with the establishment, he severed his connections and himself, opened a merchantile business in which he specialized in imported cut-glass and china-ware.

During the first period of his employment in New York he married Elizabeth Lowe, a niece of Judge Ulsifer, of New York. There were fourteen children by this marriage.

About 1844 Mr. Gerding was interested in the packet-ship business and was instrumental in the development of a packet-ship line between Antwerp

* Interview, Vannie Gerding Plumadore, Harvey H. Hannah. Biography of George F. Gerding by Gertrude Taylor Hannah.

and New York. During the year previous he purchased extensive lands in Tennessee and the same year became one of several capitalists in the formation of the Tennessee Colonization Company, the end in view being the colonization of extensive portions of land in East Tennessee.

In 1845 he became United States Consul to the Grand Duchy of Baden and served in this capacity during the succeeding two years. During this service in Baden Mr. Gerding was also engaged in securing immigrants for the Tennessee Colonization Company. After the expiration of his service as Consul to Baden he returned to New York and closed, or sold, his business at that place, with the view of taking up his abode in the colony at Wartburg, Tennessee. He moved to the latter place about 1849-1850.

During the period of his residence at Wartburg, Mr. Gerding assumed the management of the affairs of the colony. In fact, it was through his efforts that the colony had been established, and he was the one who directed its affairs. He continued his residence at Wartburg until adverse conditions resulting from the Civil War forced his removal from that place. He then went to Louisville, Kentucky, and remained at that place until the close of the War. He then returned to Tennessee and resided in the vicinity of Oliver Springs until his death in 1884.

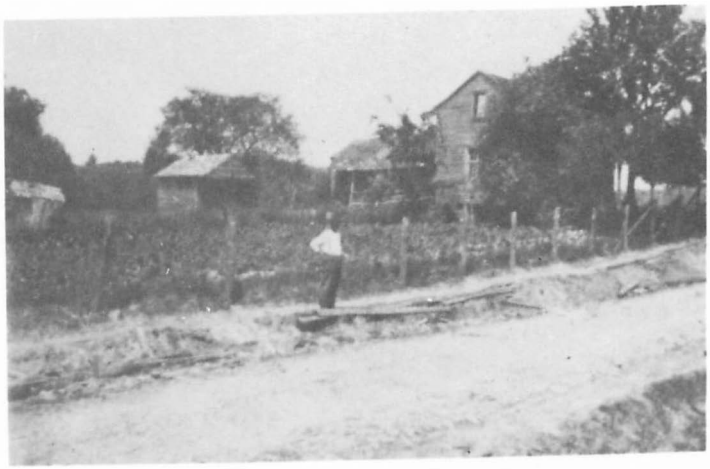
The life of Mr. Gerding was fraught with various large enterprises which involved extensive financing and management. The whole culminated in the colonization scheme in Morgan, Scott, Fentress, Cumberland, and White Counties, Tennessee, and conseqent land transactions. On the whole he was a man of great initiative though his policies were at times questionable.

In politics and civic interests he was a strong democrat and, during the Civil War, went with the Confederacy. He was of the Lutheran faith and was instrumental in the establishment of the Lutheran Church at Wartburg.



4.

Rev. Johann Theodore Etter
Pastor of German Reformed
Church at Wartburg from
1850-1857.



5.

Early residence of Johann Kreis, Wartburg. Services of German Reformed Church were held in the front room from 1850-1856.



Edward Otto Goetz, M.D.
B. Baden, Baden, May 2, 1818.
D. Knoxville, Tennessee,
June 13, 1876.

Class of 1846, University of Heidleberg.

Direct descendant of Graf (duke) von Goetz 1699. Also, direct descendant of Sir Knight Joahn von Goetz, leader of the Crusaders in 1096. (Godfrey of Bouillon).

Coat of Arms granted to
Sir Knight Joahn von Goetz.

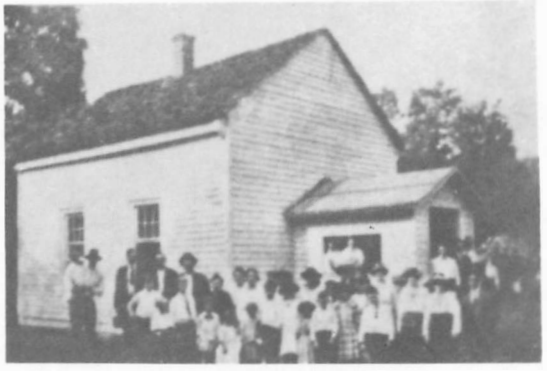




1. German Evangelical Lutheran Church at Wartburg as it appeared about 1855.



2. St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church at Wartburg as it appeared in 1923.



3. German Lutheran Church at Deermont (formerly Mehlhorn Station) as it appeared in 1923.



6. The first building erected on the site of Wartburg. At first it was used as an office and store-house for the Colonization Company. In 1855 it was purchased by Dr. F.A. Sienknecht after which it became his resinence and office. The first church building was erected on the lot to the right of this building.

7. Residence of Dr. Charles F. Kraemer situated on the corner of Main and Church Streets. Erected about 1848-1849. Later it became residence of Joseph Falwinckl.

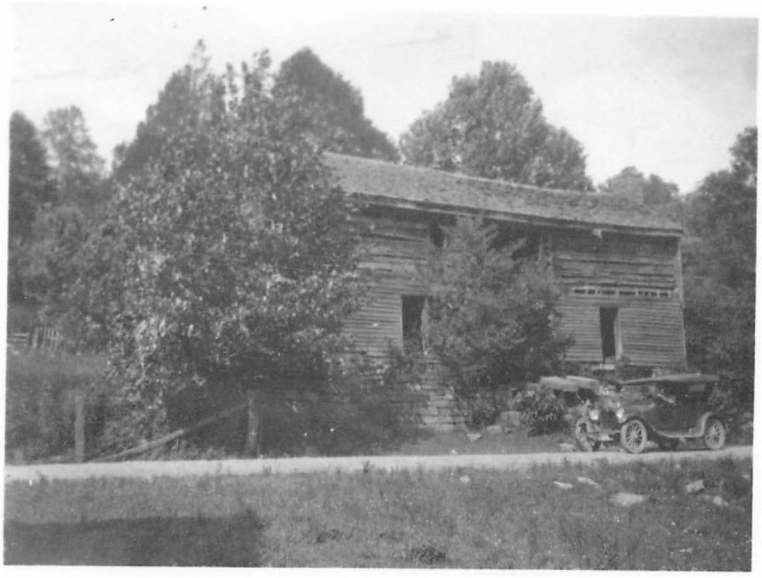




8. Haag's Tavern. Erected 1847 and first occupied by Charles Haag as a Tavern. Owned by Gerding at the time. Sold to Gustav R. Brandau in December 1848. Later purchased by Charles Haag but reverted to Brandau by default. Continues as a residence.

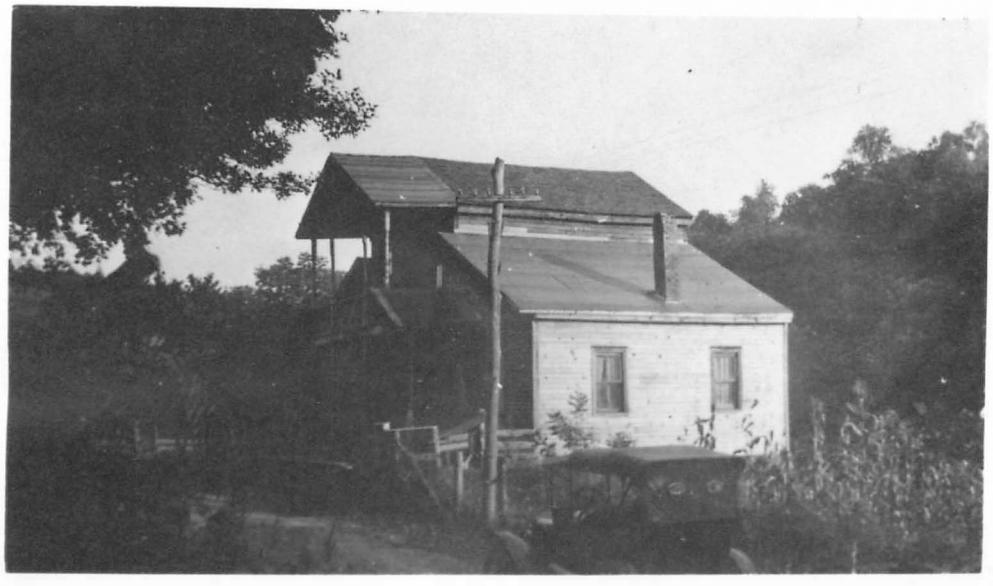
9. First permanent residence of Christian Kreis. Erected about 1850 by Kreis and Company. Is located about 1/4 mile south of Wartburg on east side of Kingston Road. Clay-straw was used between walls of first floor.





10. Scott's Tavern at Montgomery. Located on the north side of Scott's Turnpike Road about three hundred feet east of Emory River. Served travellers in the early forties of the nineteenth century and afterward. Many of the immigrants to Wartburg stopped at this tavern.

11. Brandau-Kienbusch Cigar Factory and Store. Located on the south side of Scott's Turnpike Road about four hundred feet east of Scott's Tavern. Main part of structure erected in 1849-1850.





12. Residence of Peter Henry (Heinrich) situated 1 1/4 miles southwest of Wartburg. Tract of land consists of 30 acres and was formerly owned by Christian Mathis. Peter Henry has lived here 42 years. View is northeast with Arms Mountain in the distance. Road leads to Nemo.

13. Remains of dwelling of Daniel Bonifactus. Situation is about 1 1/4 miles southwest of Wartburg on the south side of road to Nemo. This was a log structure erected about 1855.





14. Public Square and Morgan County Courthouse, Wartburg, Tennessee, as it was in 1924. View is from northwest corner of Court Street and Maidenlane.

15. View of environs east of Wartburg in 1924. Taken from point about four hundred yards east of Kingston Street, Wartburg. The tree in right foreground is approximate location of property once occupied by Frederic B. Guenther. At pole on left foreground, that occupied by Anton Volmar. Kuhn's Mill was located beside large tree in the distance at left.



Rev. John F. Wilken
1845-1866



Rev. Otto C. Praetorious
1884-1889





Rev. John G. Goehringer
1893--1899



Rev. John P. Barkow
1899-1902

Pastors of German Lutheran Church



Johann Bardill
Native of
Switzerland
Son of Peter Bardill



Rudolf Freytag
Native of
Prussia. Son of
Francis Freytag



Maria Zust (Kaufmann) Kreis
Native of Switzerland
Widow of Dietrick Kreis



Annie Forstner Freytag
Native of Stuttgart, Germany
Daughter of Karl Frederic Baron
von Forstner. Wife of
Rudolf Freytag

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Thomas Hughes, Rugby, Tennessee.

PERSONS:-

Maria Zust Kreis (nee Maria Zust - also Kaufmann), age 91, Wartburg, Tenn.

Eva E. Gerding Plumadore (nee Eva E. Gerding), age 85, Concord, Tenn.

George Wilken, age 84, New York City.*

Annie Forstner Freytag (nee Annie Forstner), age 84, Wartburg, Tenn.

John Bardill, Age 82, Wartburg, Tennessee.

Eliza Gerding MacFerrin (nee Eliza Gerding) Deceased 1924, age 80.

Rudolf Freytag, age 79, Wartburg, Tennessee.

Peter Heinrich, age 79, Wartburg, Tennessee

Harmon Kreis, age 78, Knoxville, Tennessee

William R. Cooper, age 78, Knoxville, Tennessee.

William E. McElwee, age 87, Rockwood, Tennessee

John Kreis, age 77, Wartburg, Tennessee.

Ernistine Zeige, Knoxville, Tenn. (Nee Ernistine Weigle), Deceased 1923.

Frederic (Fritz) Weissgerber, age 77, Knoxville, Tenn.

Elizabeth Hart Aurin (Mrs. Charles A. Aurin, Nee Elizabeth Hart). Deceased, Knoxville, Tennessee, 1924.

Alice Wilken Norris (nee Alice Wilken) age 74, Chicago, Ill.*

Hydn Jack, Age 73, R. D. Lancing, Tennessee.

Lena Tauscher Heins (nee Lena Tauscher) Knoxville, Tenn. Deceased 1924, Age 71.

Gustav Kaiser, Knoxville, Tennessee

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* Correspondence. Those not so noted were interviews; many of these were supplemented with letters and questionaires.

Payline Knabe, age 69, Knoxville, Tenn.

Clara Rothe, age 68, Knoxville, Tenn.

John Theodore Etter, Monroe, Wisconsin.

Henry Brandau, age 64, Knoxville, Tenn.

Joseph Knaffl, Knoxville, Tenn.

Charles Haag, R. D., Wartburg, Tenn.

Charles Thuss, Nashville, Tenn.

W. G. Thuss, Nashville, Tenn.

Rev. Otto Praetorious, Louisville, Ky.*

Rev. Julius L. Frederich, Creighton, Mo.*

Charles F. Zumstein, Wartburg, Tenn.

Mrs. C. F. Zumstein (nee Hedrick), Wartburg, Tenn.

Lena Kaufmann Gooch (nee Lena Kaufmann), Wartburg, Tenn.

Richard Graf, age 64, Knoxville, Tenn.

Edward T. Sanford, Justice, U. S. Supreme Court, Washington, D. C.*

Lizzie Wespe, Knoxville, Tenn.

Mrs. Rudolf Brown, Knoxville, Tenn., Deceased 1923.

Harvey H. Hannah, Oliver Springs, Tenn.

Robert D. Delius, Knoxville, Tenn.

Walter E. Aurin, Knoxville, Tenn.

Dr. H. E. Goetz, age 50, Knoxville, Tenn.

John Lichtenwanger, Knoxville, Tenn.

Rauline C. Goldberg, Knoxville, Tenn.

Rosalee A. M. Bearden (nee Rosalee Antonie Marquardt), Knoxville, Tenn.

Wilhemena Gschwend Tauscher (nee Wilhemena Gschwend), Knoxville, Tenn.

Willian Lehmann, Knoxville, Tenn.

Gordon Bonifacius, R. S., Wartburg, Tenn.

.....

* Correspondence.

Daisy Sienknecht Hayes (nee Daisy Sienknecht), Oliver Springs, Tenn.

Samuel Scott, Wartburg, Tenn.

Mrs. Gustav Heidle, (nee Unger) R. D., Wartburg, Tenn.

John Hall, R. D. Lansing, Tenn;

Samuel Leith, Knoxville, Tenn.

Rev. Oscar E. Feucht, Wartburg, Tenn.

Emma Heins Schmidt (nee Emma Heins) Knoxville, Tenn.

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