# Jost Herbach-Harbaugh from the Gersweilerhof and his Descendants in the U.S.A.\*

William Henry Harbaugh

#### Background and Settlement

Jost Herbach (Yost Harbaugh) of the Gersweilerhof next to the city of Kaiserslautern and his descendants are representative of those thousands of Palatines who began to pour into Philadelphia in the 1960's soon cleared the rich lands of Southeastern Pennsylvania, and eventually settled the upland regions of West Central Maryland and portions of the beautiful Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Sturdy in physique, dominant in temperament, and moralistic in outlook, the Harbaughs were also extraordinarily industrious. In the manner of most immigrants before and since, they tended to marry their own kind and to perpetuate their own culture, including language, for several generations, and even today subtle distinctions of manner set many of them apart from their English and Scotch-Iris counterparts.

Like the generality of Palatines, the Harbaughs were slow to abandon agriculture in the New World. They brought to America a feeling for good land and the skill to make it productive, and they had neither the desire nor the need to engage in non-agricultural pursuits so long as virgin land remained available. For several generations, accordingly, they constituted a true American manny — one prosperous enough to build substantial farmhouses and to live comfortably, if provincially, by the standards of their time and place 1.

From the second generation, to be sure, numbers of Harbaugh youths left the family farms. In the early years they tended to become carpenters, but in time they entered most other trades as well. They also became owners or operators of inns, hotels, forges, mills, general stores, printing presses, and, in the twentieth century, gasoline stations. Some conducted small real estate and insurance agencies, others served as factory foremen, plant superintendents, and building contractors. A few became publishers of country newspapers, and at least two headed important trade associations. Yet no Harbaugh ever achieved national eminence in politics or business, nor did any member of the family accumulate even a modest fortune. Without exception, those who earned more than local distinction did so in the professions or arts<sup>2</sup>.

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2 Leonard Harbaugh (1749 — 1822)



1 Jost Herbag/Herbach (1741 — 1830)



4 Ephraim Frederik Harbaugh (1831 — 1916)



3 Henry Harbaugh (1817 — 1867)

Hardly any members of the family became professional soldiers, presumably because they shared the aversion of most Palatinates for militarism. Unlike the Mennonites and Amish, however, the Harbaughs were not pacifists. They participated in all America's wars from the French and Indian War (Seven Years War) to the recent action in Vietnam. More than one hundred fought in the Civil War, almost all on the Union side, and at least seven died in that epoch conflict. A couple of handfuls were commissioned as officers, one or more attaining the rank of colonel. But the vast majority served as sergeants, corporals, and privates. Not until World War II, by which time most Harbaughs lived in towns or cities and many were college-educated, did they become officers in substantial numbers<sup>3</sup>.

Actually, not all the several thousand Americans who now bear the name Harbaugh are related. Some six individuals or families named Herbach or a variation thereof came to North America in the eighteenth century, and four more entered the United States in the nineteenth century. All apparently were Germans, though some of the early ones were long thought, erroneously, to be Swiss. The precise origins of most are obscure and clouded by legend. Thus the grandson of the second immigrant, a Herbach whose Christian name is unknown, reported as follows:

My grandfather Harbaugh held some high offices in the government in the old country, but I am unable to state the government. I heard my uncles say that they had all kinds of Mills, and they had a Castle. They talked of the Danube, Hamburg, and so forth. On account of a revolution in the government, my grandfather left and came to Philadelphia. . . . He never intended to settle in this country, but calculated to return whenever the government became settled. He always carried a sword, and other badges of office 4.

Whatever the truth of that account — this writer regards it as a romantic exaggeration — it is with Yost Harbaugh of the Gersweilerhof and his direct descendants that we are here concerned. So prolific were he and those who followed him that it is fair to conclude that his line was and remains the dominant one. Three of Yost's sons settled Harbaugh Valley in Maryland. Another made a minor reputation as a builder-architect in Baltimore and Washington. A great-grandson became one of the German Reformed Church's most noted clergymen and best known of the German-dialect poets. And four of the five other Harbaughs listed in Who's Who In America at one time or another were directly descended from him.

Although Jost Herbach emigrated to America from the Gersweilerhof, a court midway between the city of Kaiserslautern and the small city of Otterberg (four miles north of the city of Kaiserslautern). This court, on the place of the formerly village of Gersweiler — first historical mention of which is 1216 —, was attached to the political community of Erlenbach, and is now, with Erlenbach, part of Kaiserslautern. Jost's father Peter Herbach, probably born in the Netherlands in 1674, died in 1753 on the Gersweilerhof, where

he owned a farm. Neither Jost's place or date of birth is known. It is likely, however, that he was born between 1695 and 1705. The church books of the German Reformed congregation at Otterberg list his marriage and the births of his children but say nothing of his own birth<sup>5</sup>.

The presumption that the Herbachs came from the Netherlands is based on the following: The church book of the Protestant congregation of Waldfischbach, originally titled "Protestantisches Kirchenbuch der sechs Holzlandgemeinden von 1684 bis 1721", states that Braun Herbach, "auß Niderlandt" (from the Netherlands), had his daughter baptized in the church of Heltersberg in 1693. At that time he lived on the Aschbacherhof no more than two miles south of Kaiserslautern. The same record indicates that Braun Herbach was a Mennonite. Another church book, this one of the Reformed congregation at Otterberg, reports that the Mennonite Wilhelm Herbach became a member of that church in 1710. Since the family name Herbach was unknown in the Palatinate until the latter part of the seventeenth century, it is reasonable to assume that the few Herbachs in the Kaiserslautern area at that time were all of one stock. If so, it may also be assumed that they migrated from the Netherlands as Mennonites.

In any event, Peter Herbach's son Jost was married in the Reformed Church of Otterberg in 1725. His bride, Maria Margaretha Klein, was the daughter of Jacob Klein, master tailor and grocer at Ulmet, a small village fifteen miles northwest of Kaiserslautern. Jost's departure from Otterberg in 1737 is established by the protocols of the council of Kaiserslautern for 1744. These state that Jost Herbach, son of the "Hofmann" (farmer) of the Gersweilerhof, left for the New Land seven years earlier. Meanwhile another Herbach named Peter\*, left for America from Jeckenbach. He arrived at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1741 on the ship "Snow Molly" out of Rotterdam. This Peter, who was then thirtyone years old, may well have been a close relative to Jost Herbach<sup>7</sup>.

Jost surely had a little property or money in the Old World, for he was able to purchase land and equip himself for farming on his arrival in Pennsylvania. Yet why this illiterate farmer's son, already in his late thirties and possibly his early forties, uprooted himself, his wife, and four young sons is unclear. No

The apparent kinship of Peter and Jost, together with the fact that many people of Herbach lineage, including a former mayor of Erlenbach, live in the Kaiserslautern region today, make a further comment appropriate: Sometime between 1780 and 1785 Peter Harbaugh, son of the immigrant Peter Herbach, stopped in Bedford County, Pennsylvania, while en route to new land further west. Apparently his two youngest children were ill, so he left them, temporarily as he thought, with Thomas Griffith of Fishertown. Peter, his wife, and a third child never returned; nor was any trace of them ever found. Presumably they were killed by Indians. Mr. Griffith raised the two youngsters, who retained the name Harbaugh. The boy, John, became a miller and married a woman of English stock. Three of their grandsons died in the Civil War. See Cora Bell Cooprider and J. L. Cooprider, Harbaugh History (Evansville, Indiana, 1947), 220, entry 1162.

account of religious persecution or economic discrimination such as prompted the Amish, Mennonites, and Dunkards to emigrate has come down through the family, even by word of mouth; as a member of the German Reformed Church, moreover, he would not have been subjected to disabilities of that sort. In all likelihood he left the homeland for one or more of the same reasons the great majority of immigrants from Europe and the British Isles came to America from the seventeenth century to the twentieth: the desire for lager economic opportunity, more personal freedom, and a touch of adventure.

As historians have recently come to conclude, most immigrants were people of energy, initiative, and enterprise, no matter their social and economic backgrounds; otherwise they would not have undertaken the hazardous ocean crossing and could not have cleared a continent following their arrival. Jost, a much larger man than the average Palatine or Englishman, seems to have had all these characteristics in exaggeration. He was, so one of the family historians writes, "of stout physical frame, energetic spirit, and great courage; just such a man as would enter upon new settlements, and brave the dangers, and endure the hardships of border life".

In 1739, accoderding to the Record of the Land Office at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, Joost Harbogh owned one hundred acres of land in Maxatawny Township, a valley midway between Reading and Allentown. A few years later, the deeds now listing his name as Yost Harbaugh, he became one of the first permanent settlers west of the majestic Susquehanna River. In a lovely York County valley populated almost entirely by Germans, he built in 1743 or thereabouts a log house forty feet square and helped found a German Reformed Church in the new settlement on Kreutz Creek. He also sired two more sons by the wife he had brought from the Palatinate and three daughters and a son by a second wife, also German-born. On his death in 1762 his estate was valued at more than one thousand pounds, a relatively large sum for the time. His will provided that it be "Devided amoung all my Children both my first and Last wifs Children and Equaly devided Share and Shear alike to the ouldest no more than to the youngist or any of the Rest" 10.

A decade or more earlier, while Yost's younger children were learning their letters in the schoolhouse that had been built shortly after the church, his three oldest sons had begun to move westward in the classic pioneer manner. They were spearheaded by George, the first born. Sometime in 1760 or 1761, after stays of varying duration elsewhere, he settled in a fertile but largely uncleared valley in the northwest corner of Frederick County, Maryland, just below the Mason and Dixon Line. He was soon joined by two of his brothers, Ludwig and Jacob. George took up land at the extreme upper, or southern, end of the valley; Ludwig in the central portion near the village of Zollinger, later Sabillasville; and Jacob in the lower, or northern, end. In time

the area became known as Harbaugh Valley, and is today so designated on the United States Geological Survey map 11.

Harbaugh Valley is nestled in the Blue Ridge Mountains at an elevation of about 1,000 feet. The valley floor, like those in the Palatinate, rises and falls gently throughout, and almost everywhere the vistas are expansive and picturesque. To the west several hills about 1,600 feet high form the eastern part of the South Mountain range, site of an important Civil War battle. To the east rises Wertenbaker Hill, named for another Palatinate family; it is also about 1,600 feet high. To the immediate south, one or two hundred feet higher at the peaks, lie the main range of the Catoctin Mountains. It was in these mountains during World War II that President Franklin D. Roosevelt established his retreat, Shangri-la, renamed Camp David by President Dwight D. Eisenhower 12.

From Harbaugh Valley's narrow northern gap on the Pennsylvania side of the Mason and Dixon Line to its southern extremity the distance is perhaps three and one-half miles. The width at several points is nearly a mile. Besides the northern gap, which leads to the hamlet of Fountain Dale and the east west highway that connects Emmitsburg and Waynesboro, there are several other gaps or ravines. One begins at Sabillasville, now a pleasant village of about forty houses situated on a slight rise on the western slope of the center of the Valley. The road through this gap goes to Blue Ridge Summit, which became a summer resort, largely for Baltimorians, in the nineteenth century. At the southern end of the Valley two other gaps open on separate roads to Hagerstown and Thurmont (formerly Mechanisburg), and thence to Frederick, the county seat. In the northeast yet another gap points the way to a tortuous road through the mountains to Eyeler Valley. Smaller, somewhat higher, and much less conducive to large-scale farming than Harbaugh Valley, Eyeler Valley seems also to have been settled by Palatines. Members of the Eyeler family now spell the name Eyler 13.

Little is known of George Harbaugh's characteristics except that he was called "Big George" because of his remarkably large proportions; he was, so it is said, almost a giant. Some time after settling in the Valley he became a convert to the Moravian Church, apparently because a group of Moravians lived near his farm. George died by accidental drowning in 1791 at the age of seventy. Ludwig, of whom even a physical description is lacking, also became a Moravian. He died in 1809, his eighty-second year. Fortunately, the person and habits of Jacob, the youngest of the three brothers and the one whose farm was to remain in the family the longest, have been graphically set forth by his grandson Henry, author of *Annals of the Harbaugh Family:* 

Grandfather was an industrious man. He was tall, and rather stout in his person, though somewhat on the straight, slim order of make. . . . He could

read, write, and keep is own accounts; and he knew well how to do his own business in money affairs... He was a very strict disciplinarian. He ruled with perfectly undisputed authority in his house and family... When the children were noisy, in the kitchen, he needed only to come to the door, with an uplified cane, and a look of reproof, and all was quiet... On the Sabbath, all was perfect order about the house... Service was of course held only every four to eight weeks; but all who were large enough had to go 14.

As the years passed, the three brothers erected substantial houses on their separate farms. At first Jacob lived in a log house which came with the land. Later, by one report, he built a small house at the bottom of a slope. Then, about 1766, his half-brother Leonard came down from York County to dssign and help construct a two and one-half story building of eight rooms and two side chimneys. The walls of hewn logs formed a thirty-foot square,

This is the house built by Jacob Jr. Ca. 1788.

It became Ephraim's in 1856.

and two side chimneys. The walls of hewli logs formed a thirty-foot square, and they were set over an inlet and a trough through which passed eight inches of water for cooling milk. To this main house, which was weatherboarded in 1814, there was eventually added a story and onehalf stone extension of two rooms for cooking and eating. A large fireplace included two bake ovens. Most of the furniture was hand-made of oak, chestnut, and cherry cut and split on the place. Across the road in front of the house Jacob and some of his nine sons put up a large barn in 1744. The most interesting structure architecturally in the entire Valley, it was not maintained after the farm passed out of the family early in the twentieth century and was taken down in the 1950's or 1960's. The homestead, now modernized, still stands, as do several of the out-buildings. Regrettably, the modernization deprived the house of much of its original character 15.

All three of the first settlers were too old and too preoccupied by farming to participate in the Revolutionary War. Indeed, Ludwig, who had served briefly in a company of Maryland militia in the French and Indian War two decades earlier, was fined for failing to enroll in, or associate with, the Revolutionary forces, though he was fortynine at the time. Back in York County, however, two of their younger brothers became quite involved 16.

John, or Johann, the fourth of Yost's German-born sons, was by then a prominent mill-owner outside the town of York. He was reputed to be a man of high intelligence, and in 1777 he was commissioned as a magistrate. Meanwhile he served on the York County Committee of Sympathy, Support, and Safety, an organization of pro-Revolution men of property. Like most Pennsylvania-Germans, he was a Jeffersonian in politics, and in 1796 he was elected to the County Convention of the Anti-Federalist Party, as the incipient Jeffersonian organization was then known 17.

Yost, Jr., the sixth of Yost's sons and the second born in America, was considerably more active in both war and politics. As a youth of fourteen he

s. p. 292 Fig. 1 had served as a teamster in Brigadier General Edward Braddock's ill-fated expedition against Fort Duquesne. Commissioned a captain of militia some twenty years later, he commanded a company in General George Washington's campaigns in New Jersey and outside Philadelphia. Subsequently, in 1798, he was elected to the state legislature of Pennsylvania. An extremely tall man, Yost lived to be eighty-nine. He was characterized in his obituary as "perfectly temperate and sober, free of all passion, and excessive indulgence of every kind." He was also reported to have possessed "a native vigor of intellect, and a large share of common sense, which gave him a conspicuous, as well as a useful standing in society" 18.

### Leonard Harbaugh (1749-1822) Engineer, Architect, Builder

Yost, Jr.'s half-brother Leonard performed on a somewhat larger stage. A self-educated builder, engineer, and architect, he gravitated to Baltimore as a young man where he served for a time as a city commissioner. In 1784 he attracted considerable notice for conceiving and implementing a plan to excavate under the courthouse and support the building with masonry arches so that a thoroughfare could be carried through beneath. This project, writes one of the city's historians, was "a curious monument of the ingenuity of Mr. Leonard Harbaugh, the architect." Some years later Leonard invented a horse-powered dredge to deepen Baltimore Harbor. He also designed one of the first apartment houses in the city 19.

In the early 1790's Leonard transferred his base to Washington, soon to become the new nation's capital city. Although the great French designer L'Enfant had already been dismissed when Leonard arrived, the city's commissioners remained committed to much of his central plan. Accordingly, Leonard was awarded the contract for L'Enfant's proposed bridge across Rock Creek at K Street. A close student of Leonard's career describes his conception:

In its main lines the bridge is a worthy forerunner of the great arched structures which have in later years been thrown across Rock Creek at Connecticut Avenue and at Q Street. His plans for the adjoining development reveal an enlightened sense for public improvements; a causeway and quay were porposed with a public landing place.

The city commissioners reacted enthusiastically to both the proposal and Leonard himself. As they wrote Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, who was taking an active interest in the project, "Mr. Harbaugh, from Baltimore,

an artist of whose ingenuity you must be acquainted from his patents, exhibited to us the enclosed one which has our approbation. . . . From our short acquaintance with Mr. Harbaugh, we are impressed with the most favorable opinion of him, and, besides flattering ourselves that he will be found generally useful, think he will be the most proper person we can engage, when it is necessary to undertake the Canal." To their disappointment and Leonard's chagrin, the center arch proved defective on construction and had to be replaced by a wooden draw bridge 20.

Neither the fault in the arch nor a concurrent setback to L'Enfant's plan to link the Tiber and James Creeks with a grand canal destroyed the com missioner's appreciation of Leonard's "ingenious" qualities, as they put it in another letter to Jefferson. He was shortly appointed superintendent of construction of locks for the Potomac (Canal) Company. Aided by a hoisting machine of his own design, he performed in this capacity his monumental work — the cutting through tons of solid rock at Great Falls to form locks a hundred feet long and fourteen feet wide which are still intact a hundred and seventy-five years later <sup>21</sup>.

Meanwhile Leonard built the original War and Treasury Department buildings. He also constructed two more bridges of note: a three hundred feet long wooden structure across Rock Creek; and a four-arch span, the Jug Bridge, over the Monocacy River on the Old National Pike in Frederick County. In unbridled admiration, an observer described the latter in 1939:

That the bridge is a magnificent achievement is universally agreed. The marvel of its construction, to be fully appreciated, must be viewed from the edge of the road, or from the river bank or from a boat drifting beneath its stone arches. Built of stone . . ., it has carried for over a century and a quarter a continual stream of life. Rickety wagons, lumbering stage coaches, slow moving carriages and dashing automobiles have passed its way 22.

By 1815, his sixty-fourth year, Leonard's creative energy had begun to decline. From then to his death in 1822 he served as foreman of carpenters on the rebuilding of the Capitol, which had been burned by the British during the War of 1812. His reputation for integrity in his business dealings is said to have been extremely high; and though he participated in the great speculation in Washington building lots which sent Robert Morris to debtor's prison, he himself emerged untainted. He also emerged without much profit despite his ownership at one time of 170 lots ranging from \$ 300 to \$ 800 in value<sup>23</sup>.

A humble and deeply religious man, Leonard occasionally preached in the Baltimore church of Philip Otterbein, organizer of the United Brethren Church in the United States. In 1822 Leonard contracted gangrene in a foot but refused to permit his surgeons to amputate; he was prepared to die, he said, whenever it pleased God to call him<sup>24</sup>.

Leonard's marriage to Rebecca Rineback, also a Pennsylvania-German, produced a daughter and thirteen sons, one of whom constructed the court-house, as designed by Benjamin Latrobe, in Hagerstown, Maryland. Leonard's descendants are too numerous to trace, but they seem to have moved in considerable numbers into the business and professional classes. One, Thomas Chalmers Harbaugh, gained some recognition in the late nineteenth century as a prolific writer of dime novels, boy's books, and popular verse. Another, Jane Worth Harbaugh, became a historian and is presently Dean of the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga<sup>25</sup>.

#### s. p. 292 Fig. 3 The Reverend Dr. Henry Harbaugh (1817-1867)

Two generations after Leonard's death his grandnewphew Henry demonstrated comparable industry, practicality, and artistry in entirely different fields — religion, history, and poetry. Henry's father George was the ninth of Jacob's fifteen children and the first of that patriarch's line to leave Harbaugh Valley. In 1805 he and his Mennonite bride took up farmland just over the Maryland border in what is now Midvale, Pennsylvania. There, in a large fieldstone house of clean lines and solid functionalism, Henry was born in 1817, the fifth son and tenth child<sup>26</sup>.

Young Henry was never close to his father, whom he described as industrious, severe, pious, temperate, and charitable in material but not personal or spiritual matters. "He was averse," Henry recalled, "to all excitement in politics, all wild speculation in business, and all fanaticism in religion." One of his favorite maxims was "Was übertrieben wird, ist nicht gut." The father had no sympathy with his son's desire to attend college and become a reformed minister, though he himself enjoyed the company of clergymen and was a lay leader of the church; Henry, he insisted, should become a carpenter or farmer 27.

Rather than submit, Henry left for Ohio at the age of eighteen. For five years he worked as a carpenter, taught school and singing classes, and attended an academy sporadically. He also began to compose crude, yet moving, verses in the Pennsylvania-German dialect. A form of German dialect brought over from the Palatinate, this was still the language of his home and people. During these years, too, Henry began to show signs of political awareness. "I am afraid that Van [President Martin Van Buren] will be re-elected", he wrote in 1839:

I assure you that a man who says that "the farther the power of suffrage (or voting) is removed from the people the better" will not get my vote; and he also said that any person who was not worth \$ 250 should not have a vote, and at that rate I myself would hardly have a vote. . . . I don't want

s. Fig. p. 290 you to understand from this, however, that I belong to the Whig party. I am opposed to parties. I am a Republican, a Democrat and a friend of equal rights, but not a Van Buren man. I am a genuine Conservative!!!"<sup>28</sup>

Finally, on a November morning in 1840, Henry presented himself to John Williamson Nevin, Professor of Didactic Theology in the German Reformed Seminary at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania and of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy at Marshall College. Suave in manner and distinguished in appearance, Dr. Nevin was a graduate of Princeton Seminary and the author of a monograph on Biblical antiquities. He looked up, writes Henry's biographer Elizabeth Kieffer, "to find before him a heavy-set, red-haired, roughly clad young Dutchman, 23 years old, awkward of manner, thick of tongue, utterly alien to the cultured man whom he approached. There was in his bearing the diffidence of the child of the lonely mountain farm, the crude vulgarity of the journeyman carpenter of the raw frontier, the sentimental romanticism of the untutored disciple of Byron and Burns; and yet there must have been, too, a certain self-assurance, born of his utter faith in his 'call,' and of his experience of the possibilities of self-support and self-advancement. ... Nevin gave the young man a stiff oral examination, and was astonished at the results which personal application had produced." He admitted Henry to the preparatory division 29.

Dr. Nevin became Henry's principal mentor, but he was also influenced profoundly by Marshall College's president and founder, Frederick Augustus Rauch, a liberal-minded Prussian exile. Formerly Professor Extraordinary at Giessen University, Dr. Rauch was a theologian and psychologist of international reputation. He desired, among other things, to awaken pride of ancestry in his Pennsylvania-German students, and at his instance Marshall College became the first institution in the United States to use Goethe's Faust as a text-book 30.

Young Henry was still more at ease with "Deitsch" than with English, and he spent many hours mastering the nuances of the latter. He also studied High German, partly because many Reformed churches required their pastors to give at least one sermon a week in that language. Although he found classical German prose pompous and overly comprehensive, he was enamored of the lofty quality of the poetry, especially that of Goethe and Schiller. "Ideas can be expressed with beauty," he observed, "that if they were brought into English would be flat"<sup>31</sup>.

Three years of intense study in the college and seminary honed Henry's mind, gave him a measure of polish, and prepared him for the ministry. They also reinforced his Germanness. "Dr. Harbaugh," recalled a close friend, "was a German... an American German, from head to foot. The blood of a Pennsylvania farmer flowed in his veins, and with his mother's milk he drank in das tiefe gemüthliche Wesen of the German farming population. In all his

moral and religious instincts he was one of themselves. He understood their prejudices, lived in their modes of thought, shared their feelings, and sympathized with them in all their religious and educational needs. He loved their language, their peculiar homely dialect, and rescued it, as Burns did the Gaelic dialect, from death and oblivion by the baptism of his genius" 32.

At Lewisburg, Henry's first pastorate, and again at Lancaster and Lebanon, where he served until accepting the chair of theology at Mercersburg in 1863, the gifts that made him a great preacher were abundantly evident. He possessed a clear, musical voice which he modulated at will, earnestness leavened often inveighed, especially against slavery, alcohol, cock-fighting and cardby a ready wit and frequent smile, and a warmth that evoked affection. He playing (he was outraged at being offered a glass of wine by James Buchanan shortly before Buchanan's election to the presidency). Yet he was so humorous, sympathetic, and spontaneous that he alienated his listeners only rarely. Like all master teachers, he thought on his feet; and though he was an omniverous reader, he was more active than receptive, more creative than derivative. "He meditated between the deepest philosophy and the practical sense of the common people. Freely using sources of learning, he used them as a tree uses the earth and air, by reproducing and assimilating their substance. His sermons were aglow with life. You felt the warm blood coursing through every sentence." A half century after his death the eyes of old men and women would light up with inspiration as they spoke of hearing him in their youth 33.

In theology and liturgy, Henry was a pronounced traditionalist. He subscribed to the "Mercersburg Theology," the doctrinal system expounded by his teachers Nevins and Rauch and by the latter's successor, the Germaneducated Swiss, Dr. Philip Schaff. The Rev. Dr. E. V. Gerhart, Henry's own successor in the chair at Mercersburg, summed up the theology as Henry taught it after years of study in the sources of church history:

"His theology became catholic as well as Scriptural, Protestant no less than catholic, and Reformed as well as Protestant; and it stood opposed alike to infidelity and to false Biblicism, to Romanism and Gnosticism, to one-sided metaphysical Calvinism and humanitarian Arminianism, to lifeless orthodoxy and arrogant nationalism, to a false unionism and narrow bigotry, to cold formalism and self-inflated fanaticism.

The theology of Dr. Harbaugh was therefore primarily catholic, then Protestant, and finally Reformed. The Heidelberg Catechism he subordinated, as it subordinates itself, to the Apostles' Creed, and the Apostles' Creed to Holy Scripture, Scripture being held to be the ultimate critical standard and the only norm of faith"<sup>34</sup>.

Actually, the Mercersburg Theology emerged as a kind of counter-attack on the revivalism, later known as the Second Great Awakening, then sweeping the country. Henry's forthright defense and elaboration of its main tenets drew heavy fire from a faction of Reformed Church members who erroneously construed the theology as pro-Romanist and unreceptive to all religious conversions. This group also regarded its emphasis on a strict, historical liturgy as inhibiting of free worship<sup>35</sup>.

Henry himself did not deny the doctrine of individual conversion. But he was too logical, too devout, and too steeped in church history to condone the orgiastic emotionalism of the Methodists and Baptists or their imitators within his own church. "That in him which invariably led him to love the great master-pieces of poetry and prose", writes Kieffer, "revolted at the tawdry cheapness of revivalist preaching." Nothing in his background prepared him to endure "the shouting of the 'redeemed', the groans of the 'mourners', the grotesque posturings . . . and the hot stench of sweaty, hysteria-driven bodies, which where all characteristics of this form of religiosity" 36.

Neither did the generality of Pennsylvania-Germans take to revivalism in its extreme form. For all their apparent stolidity, they were less inhibited emotionally than the English and Scotch-Irish. Furthermore, they had the outlet of one of the homeland's greatest gifts to civilization — sublime church music. As Kieffer also remarks, "He who has sung the 'Alleluia Chorus' has given full vent to any desire to writhe and scream 'Alleluia' from the anxious bench." In any rate, the doctrines of the Mercersburg theologians, as exposited by Henry, their foremost interpreter, withstood the irrational forces unleashed by the Second Great Awakening <sup>37</sup>.

At the time of Henry's premature death in 1867, his fiftieth year, he was working on a complete commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism. By then he had published a biography of Michael Schlatter, organizer of the German Reformed Church in America, as well as three volumes, The Lives of the Fathers, on the early European leaders of the church. In addition, he had published three volumes of semi-popular theology on the nature of Heaven. The least successful intellectually of his major writings, these volumes went through numerous editions and enabled him to live in moderate comfort. He also wrote a family history, put together a pioneering work, Birds of the Bible, and founded a church magazine, The Guardian, which he edited for sixteen years. Besides all this, he composed a number of hymns, several of which, including "Jesus, I live to Thee," were widely adopted outside the Reformed Church. Most important of all, he wrote hundreds of dialect poems 38.

More, even, than Henry's preaching and historical writings, his poems constitute his claim on posterity. Critics differ over whether they are true poetry or inspired verse. He himself regarded them as pleasant experiments in the genre of Hebel, and he published them in *The Guardian* with great diffidence, offten anonymously. From the outset, however, his friends sensed their unusual quality, and in time many were reprinted in Germany. After

Henry's death the best were assembled and edited by his friend Benjamin Bausman under the title *Harbaugh's Harfe*. The appeal to the common people of the poems' homely themes was so great, it is said, that for a generation or more the *Harfe*, the Bible, and the Almanac were the only books in the homes of many Pennsylvania-German farmers <sup>39</sup>.

Although Henry had thought that he was singing the dialect's swan song, he had in fact immortalized it. He was not the first to compose in "Deitsch," but by all accounts he was the most famous and best loved; and just as he was influenced by Hebel, so were those who followed him influenced by his work. Among them were two other descendants of the immigrant Yost Harbaugh: Henry Lee Fisher and Rachel Bahn. In language itself poetic, the Rev. Dr. Gerhard fixed Henry's place in the cultural history of the Pennsylvania-Germans: "Of all the sons of the German farmers of Pennsylvania, who have sought the halls of learning and entered the sphere of the liberal professions, he is the first one, that, seeing the capabilities of a dialect, before only neglected and despised, and laying hold of it with new-creating energy, wrought it into the genuine forms of living poetry and breathed into these forms the genial spirt of their own social life, thus at once ennobling the dialect by consecrating it to the spiritual ends of fine art, and clothing it with honor and immortality. To him belongs the honor of being, as he has been called, the poet of the American German people. He is their true representative man, the representative of their genius on the elevated plane of religion, science, and art 40.

## Jacob's Farm and the Valley Harbaughs

While Leonard and then Henry were achieving a measure of distinction in the outer world, the life rhythms in Harbaugh Valley were changing but slowly. On Jacob's farm, where the writer's father was raised, the daily regimen seems to have been even more simple and the values more puritanical or Calvinistic than in New England. "There was so stern a guard against the introduction of all luxuries," wrote Henry in his Annals,"... and it was kept up so long after other families had fallen in with more modern customs, that the plain, primitive restraints were the occasion of some slight impatience." The family ate at a long plain table with Jacob at one end, his wife at the other, and the older children standing at the sides. It was forbidden to ask for more food, though the mother usually replenished the plates voluntarily. Long after Jacob could afford luxuries like coffee, they were served only on Sunday. Even conversation was subdued. "In the evening of winter, when [Jacob]... sat at the table and read, there was not a whisper heard among the larger or smaller subjects of that family realm" 41.

Jacob's frugality, coupled with a shrewd eye for land, enabled him to flourish materially. He accumulated more than 2,000 acres, paying one thousand pounds for a tract at one point, and he lived to see all twelve of his fifteen children who survived settled comfortably. (Characteristically, he had sold his son George the land on which Henry was born at a profit.) Unable to give up the habits of a lifetime, he spent the years before his death in 1818 at the age of eighty-eight mending roads and making small clearings. Although he mellowed a little near the end, he never yielded his undisputed authority. By example and by direct influence, he inculcated in his sons attitudes toward thrift, order, and patriarchal authority which were passed on from one generation to the next. So strong was his heritage, in fact, that his farm was called Jacobs Farm for upwards of a hundred years 42.

Like most rural familes, the Harbaughs maintained strong religious ties into modern times. Despite the example of Henry, Jacob's direct line produced relatively few clergymen — no more than one or two every second or third generation — but in the tradition of Yost they continued to build churches. In 1823 Jacob, Jr., a tall stout man and the inheritor of the original farm and buildings, erected a simple fieldstone church at the lower end of the Valley just across the Mason and Dixon Line. Similar in design to a Quaker meeting house, it was at first German Reformed, then Evangelical Reformed, and is now United Church of Christ. For more than a century after Jacob's death it was quaintly, yet formally, known as St. Jacob's Church 43.

Some years before the second Jacob died in 1842 a small frame building, the Otterbein United Brethren Church, was built near the Jacobs Farm Cemetary. Situated on the other side of a rise a half mile by road from the main house, it was easier to reach than Jacob's Church. More important, one may surmise, the simpler services of the Brethren had greater appeal to country folk than the sophisticated Reformed theology and liturgy that Henry was defending in the Pennsylvania market towns at that very time. For two generations more or less the Otterbein Church served as a kind of family chapel. Although Henry seems never to have preached in this remote structure, his presence was felt elsewhere in the area. He conducted services periodically in the Harbaugh Reformed Church in Midvale, which was erected in 1846 across the road from his birthplace on land given by his father; and a decade later he participated extensively at the consecration services of St. John's Reformed Church in Sabillasville, some of the founders of which were also Harbaughs<sup>44</sup>.

At the time Henry consecrated the new church in Sabillasville perhaps a majority of farms in the Valley were still owned by Harbaughs. Untilled land was beginning to run out, however, and the size of the Harbaugh families was already making it necessary to sell off homesteads to settle estates. Thus Ludwig's son Christian, to cite the most extreme example, had one hundred and thirty children and grandchildren on his death in 1836 at the

age of eighty-three. As a result, George's farm passed out of his direct line in the second generation, Ludwig's in the third or fourth, and Jacob's in the fifth. Yet as late as the 1880's some twenty-five Harbaughs still owned and operated farms in the Valley. They were interspersed among numbers of other Germans, many with Harbaugh blood, some Scotch-Irish, one Catholic family, and one Negro handyman 45.

Many of the sons and grandsons in the second and later generations became millers, blacksmiths, tanners, wagonmakers, and, especially, carpenters or cabinet makers in Sabillasville and nearby towns. One operated the hotel in Sabillasville, another the tavern, a third the general story. Many others moved west or south in search of land. Long before 1860 numerous progeny of George, Ludwig, and Jacob were living in Ohio, Indiana, Illionis, Virginia and Kentucky, often mingling with the descendants of Conrad and Peter, the reputed brother of the first Yost, and with later Herbach immigrants. More frequently than the Valley Harbaughs, apparently, the midwestern members of the family participated in the Civil War. In July 1860, one of Ludwig's great-grandsons, the publisher of a newspaper in Lexington, Missouri, was run out of town by pro-slavery elements for endorsing the presidential candidacy of Abraham Lincoln. Another of his great-grandsons served as a captain of infantry in the Union army. Numerous descendants of George and Jacob also served 46.

For two or three generations the Harbaughs who remained in the Valley tended to marry locally. George and a son of Ludwig married into the family of another immigrant from Otterberg, Peter (Villiard) Williard, and one of Jacob's daughters married a Shriver. The latter family, which came from Alsenborn not far from Kaiserslautern, was to produce a Civil War general and, in 1972, a vice presidential candidate. A number of Harbaughs also found spouses in Eyeler Valley, and today virtually all Harbaughs and Eylers in the Sabillasville area are related. Inhibitions against marrying close cousins soon dried up that and other wells, however, and the men and women alike were forced to go elsewhere for partners, usually to the Germanspeaking communities of Southern Pennsylvania. No doubt the intellectual and physical vigor which had distinguished Yost and his sons was diminished by some of these unions. Yet the family records abound in references to the intelligence and industriousness of the women the Harbaugh men married. Except for a gradual diminution in physical stature, the original qualities seem to have been renewed or perpetuated in many instances 47.

It is impossible to generalize about the lives and personal characteristics of Yost's many descendants who spread in time from New York to California. The last family genealogy was published almost thirty ago, and most of its individual biographies are incomplete. On the basis of family papers, oral tradition, and personal observation, however, the writer can speak with some authority about the last generation raised on Jacob Farm, and of their

children, some of their grandchildren, and a few of their greatgrandchildren 48.

The property underwent its last division some years before the death of Jacob's grandson, Benjamin, in 1862. Ephraim Frederick, the oldest son, received the house, outbuildings, and ninety acres of mainly cultivated land; his brother Sanford was given one hundred acres or so of largely virgin land. Because his inheritance was so disproportionate, Ephraim was required to take care of his parents until their death and also to remunerate Sanford and a sister financially. The latter obligation took fifty years to discharge 40.

Although Jacobs Farm never produced a large flow of cash, the family was prosperous enough to employ a kitchen helper regularly and farm workers on occasion. Fertilization and crop rotation continued to enrich the soil, and the coming of the Western & Maryland Railroad to Sabillasville shortly before the Civil War opened the Valley to the Baltimore markets. By the 1880's, when the writer's father William Kiracofe was a youth, Ephraim was even paying an itinerant German music teacher to instruct his children on the family organ. Some years later, when the boys still on the farm reached full growth, he was able to buy each one a tailored suit for twentyfive dollars. To this was eventually added an extra pair of trousers, patent leather shoes, and a derby. Yet never, assuredly, was there a real surplus of cash; those few of Ephraim's nine sons who attended college did so at their own expense 50. Meanwhile the introduction of labor-saving machinery eased the burden of work somewhat. A reaper replaced the hand cradle in the 1880's and a binder was added in the 1890's. No longer, furthermore, did the forbidding Calvinism of the first Jacob stifle the expression of ordinary emotions. Ephraim was a pleasant, agreeable man, though his word on farm matters was fiat and he possessed a strain of obstinacy. His wife Harriett, an Eyler, was quickwitted, humorous, and of an unusually happy nature. She ruled the household firmly yet congenially, and at times the social life was almost joyous. Ephraim loved to have young people about, and often during the long winter months as many as fifteen or twenty neighboring youths, most of them first cousins, would have songfests around the organ 51.

Nevertheless, the chores remained arduous and consuming. In the tradition of the Palatinates, Ephraim was very strict about tillage and the appearance of borders, fences, and buildings; his farm was reportedly the best maintained in the Valley. In the 1880's, when hay was still cut by a scythe, Ephraim and his sons often labored from dawn to dusk. "Many a time when the day's work was ended," writes William K., "I... would lie for hours on the hay and sometimes sleep until the middle of the night." Corn husking in October was no easier; on moonlit nights father and sons would return to the fields after supper, husking on their knees until nine or ten o'clock. The one real pleasure during the growing season was driving a four-horse team to market in Waynesboro or elsewhere 52.

s. p. 292 Fig. 4 Between 1855 and 1877 Harriett Eyler bore Ephraim ten sons and five daughters, all but one of whom attained maturity. Their names reflected the family's continued provincialism. Three of the boys were named for United Brethren clergymen, two for Civil War generals, and one or two for local physicians. One of the boys and one of the girls were given Spanish names on the suggestion of an aunt who had visited Mexico. The youngest son was named Corless to humor the two oldest boys who talked constantly of the giant Corless Engine which they had seen on a trip to the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876 53.

In all likelihood some of the sons would have left the Valley even if there had been sufficient land left to stake them, for they came of age during an era of extraordinary economic expansion and population movement. But in any event, the gradual reduction of the first Jacob's patrimony of two thousand acres to one ninetyacre farm gave them no choice. The oldest boys went west while the youngest ones were still infants, and eventually five of them settled in Missouri and Kansas. All nine grown sons were apparently roughly equal in intellect, but they varied considerably in personality and temperament. Some were reticent, others open and outgoing; several were stern and Calvinistic in the tradition of the first Jacob. Four or five were strong, dominant types, though quiet in manner; the others were more easy-going and passive. All were hardworking, though not equally aggressive or ambitious. Two who went to college became businessmen of modest means. Another became a selfeducated engineer and the superintendent of a gas works in Florida. Still another attended the Hagerstown Business College and the Philadelphia Conservatory, served as a part-time organist, soloist, and choirmaster, and spent out his life as a bookkeeper in New Jersey. Of the five who went west, two seem to have done so only because their more enterprising brothers had prepared the way. Two of the least aggressive remained in the Sabillasville area, one to become a carpenter and the other a house painter. One, a postal superintendent in Kansas City and the author of a homiletic column in the postal worker's national magazine, was twice divorced<sup>54</sup>.

Three or four of the women were dominant personalities, as their mother had also been, and all were outgoing. Prohibited by convention from going off on their own, they remained on the farm until they found local suitors. About half the men and one of the women married non-Germans, mainly English or Scotch-Irish. The men and women alike were long-lived, several reaching eighty or more and one dying in his ninetieth year. As city-dwellers, they had no need to produce children to help with chores, and the size of their families consequently dropped markedly. The eleven who married had a total of twenty-three children 55.

The next generation — the first not born and raised on the farm since the birth of the second Jacob in 1763 — witnessed the partial emancipation of the Harbaugh women and the full formal education of many of the sons.

One of Ephraim's granddaughters became an actress in New York, another took a nursing degree at The Johns Hopkins University Hospital Two or three others also attended college, one to become a professor of home economics in Florida. Of the eight males in this generation, three or four were graduated from college. Marion Dwight, son of Ephraim's oldest son, taught geology at the University of Wisconsin for several years and eventually became president of an iron ore trade association. Another became a corporation executive, his brother a gas station operator. The writer became a professor of history. Three others, all the sons of the carpenter who remained in Maryland, became a shoe clerk, a barber, and a bottling plant manager respectively <sup>56</sup>.

Without exception, apparently, all the women in the succeeding generation — the great-grandchildren of Ephraim — attended college, as did most of the men. One of the former became a part-time folk singer, and three or four engaged in social work of one form or another. Two married clergymen, one a Peruvian aristocrat, and two or three attorneys. Several of the married ones have had separate careers as teachers, librarians, et cetera. A number are divorced. Of the males, one went into medicine and another the ministry. Marion Diwght's oldest son, a geologist like his father, earned an international reputation and is currently chairman of the department of geology at Stanford University. Another of Dwight's sons owns and operates a printing shop. Several of the men in this and the preceding generation served in World War II, and one was killed in action. So far as is known, only one of Ephraim's descendants is still engaged in agriculture, and he is a rancher in Arizona 57.

All this, of course, is far removed from the life the first five generations lived in Harbaugh Valley. Jacobs Farm was sold out of the family after Ephraim and his wife retired in 1907 to Waynesboro, where they lived to be eighty-four. Today only a handful of properties in the Valley are owned by people named Harbaugh, though many of the present owners have some Harbaugh lineage. As for the values brought over from the Palatinate in the 1730's and both perpetuated and modified by the Valley culture through a century and three-quarters, there is no measure of their enduring impact. All that can be said is that vestiges of them persist and that they continue to influence, if only indirectly, many members of the generation now more than seventy-five years removed from the farm.

#### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> Henry Harbaugh, Annals of the Harbaugh Family in America From 1736 to 1856 (Chambersburg, Pa., 1856); Cora Bell Cooprider and J. L. Cooprider, Harbaugh History: A Directory, Genealogy and Source Book of Family Records (Evansville, Ind., 1947). Ri-

chard H. Shryock, "British Versus German Traditions in Colonial Agriculture", Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXVI (June 1939), 39 - 54, contends that the Germans were superior agriculturists. James T. Lemon, The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania (Baltimore, 1972), argues rather convincingly that their skills were not more advanced than those of other immigrants and that they did not invariably settle on the

2 Generalization based on a statistical analysis of biographical information in Cooperider, Harbaugh History.

3 Ibid.

4 Daniel Harbaugh to Henry Harbaugh, quoted in Harbaugh, Annals, 112 - 117. Henry added: "There is not much doubt in my mind, but that this was a brother of Yost Harbaugh (see fn. 5) ... though I am not able positively to trace the connection. The age of his children corresponds with the age of Yost's children." Ibid., 113.

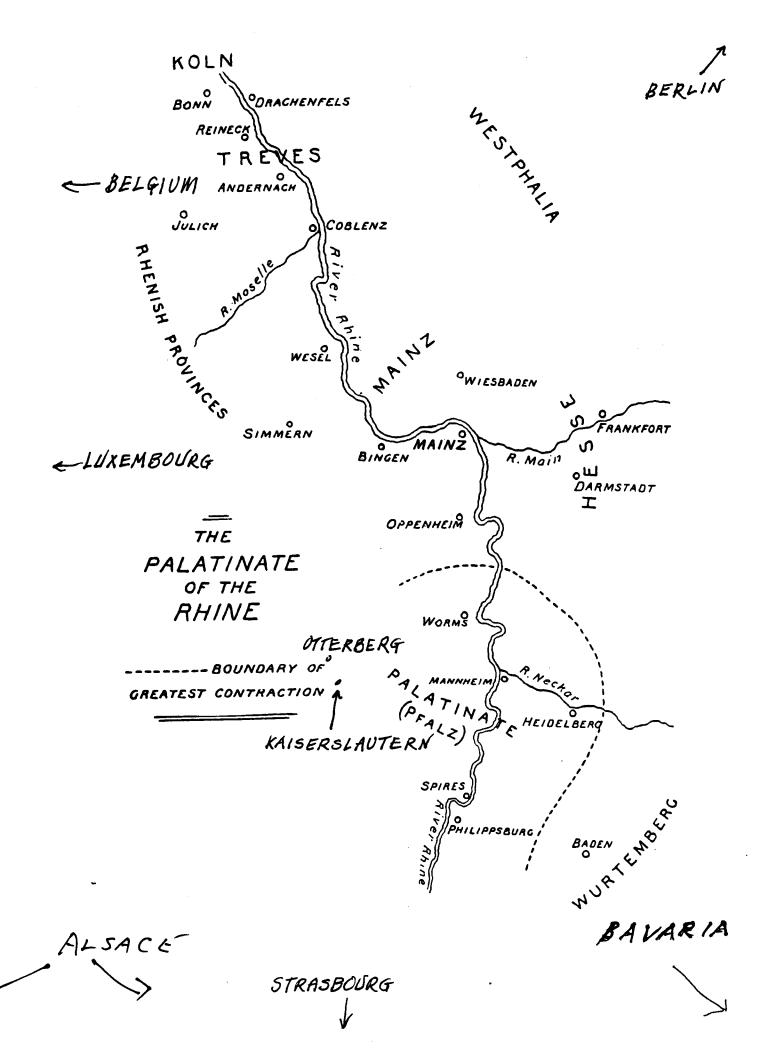
5 Both Cooprider, Harbaugh History, 7 - 8, and Harbaugh, Annals, 23, attribute, without concrete evidence, the family's origin to Switzerland, though Cooprider speculates that it might have been German or Danish. More recently, Dr. Fritz Braun has established irrefutably that Yost came from the Gersweilerhof. Fritz Braun to author, January 22, February 15, 1974, and May 9, 16, 1975.

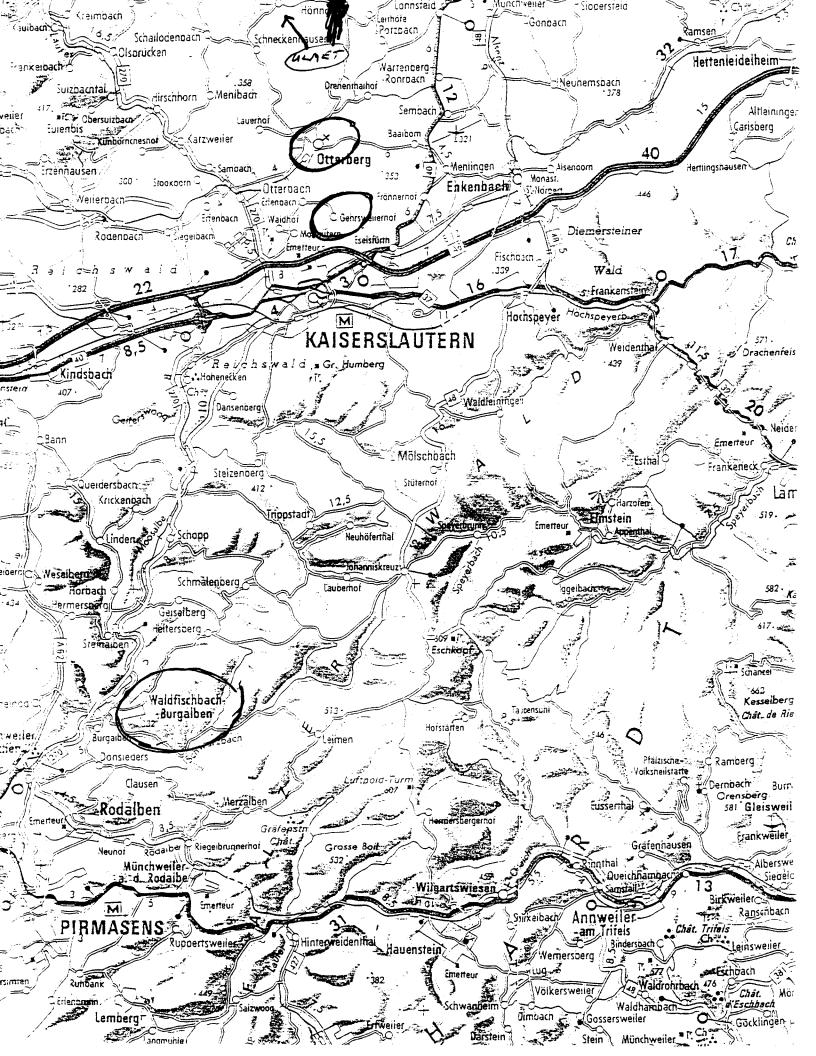
6 Fritz Braun to author, May 16, 1975. Dr. Braun further reports, in support of the Netherlands-origins thesis, that he could not find the name Herbach in Switzerland; neither

could Cooprider.

- 7 Fritz Braun to author, May 9, 16, 1975. I conclude that Jost and Peter were not brothers because there is no mention of a brother in any of the family accounts of Jost (Yost) in America. For the same reason I discount Henry Harbaugh's speculation that Conrad was a brother of Yost.
- 8 For a broad treatment of immigration, see Marcus Lee Hansen, The Atlantic Migration (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), and Carl Wittke, We Who Built America (New York, 1939). For the Germans in particular see A. B. Faust, The German Element in the United States (New York, 1909), W. A. Knittle, Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration (Philadelphia, 1937), and the Publications and Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society. A fine, brief summary statement is the chapter, "The Colonial Germans", in Wittke, op. cit.
- 9 Harbaugh, Annals, 24.
- 11 Ibid., 29 41; U.S. Department of the Interior Geological Survey, Blue Ridge Summit, Md. — Pa., NW/4 Emmitsburg 15' Quadrangle, N 3937.5 — W 7722.5/7.5 (1953, Photorevised 1971).
- 12 D. C. Weller, "A Sketch of Harbaugh's Valley And Its People", The Record Herald (Waynesboro, Pa.), May 1, 2, 3, 4, 1934. Although the area is commonly called Harbaugh's Valley, the correct name, as given on the Geological Survey and road signs, is Harbaugh Valley.
- 13 Geological Survey, Weller, op. cit., and the unpublished manuscript, in the form of a memoir, by William Kiracofe Harbaugh, written about 1950. Original in the possession of the author.
- 14 Harbaugh, Annals, 29 55.
- 15 Harbaugh, Annals, 51; "Consecration Services: St. John's Church School, Sabillasville," (pamphlet, 1964); George W. Delauter to author (telephone conversation), May 23, 1975.
- 16 Cooprider, Harbaugh History, 274, entry 1486.
- 17 Ibid., 217, entry 1153.
- 18 Ibid., 402, entry 2316; York Republican, August 16, 1831, quoted Harbaugh, Annals,
- 19 Marjorie Harbaugh Bear, "Leonard Harbaugh," unpublished manuscript (circa, 1950), copy in the author's possession. There is also a briefer, and less informative, sketch of Leonard in Harbaugh, Annals, 98 - 103.
- 20 Bear, "Leonard Harbaugh."
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 1bid.
- 24 Harbaughs, Annals, 102.

- 25 Generalization based on information gleaned from Cooprider, Harbaugh History. New York Times, October 29, 1924, for obituary of Thomas Chalmers Harbaugh. Who's Who in America, vol. 36, for Jane Worth Harbaugh.
- 26 Henry's life has been recorded in full detail by his son in Linn Harbaugh, Life of Henry Harbaugh (Philadelphia, 1900) and by Elizabeth Clarke Kieffer, Henry Harbaugh: Pennsylvania Dutchman, 1817 - 1867 (Norristown, Pa., 1945), published as Vol. LI, Proceedings of The Pennsylvania German Society. Kieffer's book has an Appendix which includes many of Harbaugh's poems, as originally published in The Guardian, a church publication edited by him. The originals differ somewhat from the edited volume, Harbaugh's Harfe, published by Benjamin Bausman in 1870. For a brief, but informative, summary of Harbaugh's life see Fritz Braun, Henry Harbaugh, in "Pfälzische Biographie", Beilage zur Zeitschr. "Pfälzische Familien- und Wappenkunde," 1954, Bd. 1, Folge 7, 25 **—** 28.
- 27 Harbaugh, Annals, 73.
- 28 Quoted in Linn Harbaugh, op. cit., 124.
- 29 Kieffer, op. cit., 56.
- 30 Ibid., 63.
- 31 Ibid., 63.
- 32 E. V. Gerhart in Linn Harbaugh, Life of Henry Harbaugh, 34 35.
- 33 Kieffer, op. cit., 189 91.
- 34 E. V. Gerhard, op. cit., 44 45.
- 35 Kieffer, op. cit., 175, ff.
- 36 Ibid., 107.
- 37 Ibid., 218, ff.
- 38 See the bibliography in ibid, 274 75.
- 39 For summary evaluations of the quality of the poetry and Henry's place in the cultural history of the Pennsylvania-Germans, see ibid., 255 - 56; Oscar Kuhns, The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania (New York, 1900), 124 - 26; Ralph Wood (ed.), The Pennsylvania Germans (Princeton, 1942); and Fritz Braun, Henry Harbaugh, in "Pfälzische Biographie," Beilage zur Zeitschr. "Pfälzische Familien- und Wappenkunde," 1954, Bd. 1, Folge 7, 25 - 28.
- 40 Wood, op. cit., 173 80; Preston A. Barba, "Rachel Bahn, Pennsylvania German Poetess," Vol. III, Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society, 54 - 90; E. V. Gerhard, in Linn Harbaugh, Life of Henry Harbaugh, 35.
- 41 Harbaugh, Annals, 49 50.
- 42 Ibid., 68 69. Actually, Jacob paid 1,000 pounds in 1787 for the two hundred acre tract on which Henry was later born. Jacob sold it to his son George, Henry's father, for 1,200 pounds in 1804.
- 43 Generalizations based on analysis of Cooprider, Harbaugh History. Jacob, Jr. seems to have spent most of his life on another farm at the upper end of the Valley near Jacob's Church. Apparently, however, he inherited or purchased the original farm at some point, for it came into the ownership of his son Benjamin (1794 - 1862).
- 44 Cooprider attributes the Otterbein Church to Ludwig's son Yost (1771 1839). Jacobs Farm Cemetary was established during the first Jacob's lifetime on a part of the original farm subsequently inherited by his son Elias (1782 - 1854). His son, Leonard Courtney, deeded the Jacob Farm Cemetary to St. John's Church in Sabillasville. See "Consecration Services: St. John's Church School."
- 45 Harbaugh, Annals, 36. Other statements based on my father's unpublished memoir, hereinaster cited as W. K. Harbaugh, Memoir.
- 46 Cooprider, Harbaugh History, numerous entries.
- 47 Fritz Braun to author, February 15, 1974, for Williard and Shriver connections; W. K. Harbaugh, Memoir; Cooprider, Harbaugh History, includes among other informative things, a listing of the names of all Harbaugh marriage partners as well as a Geographic Index.
- 48 Perhaps one one-tenth of the 2,761 entries in Cooprider's Harbaugh History contain occupational and other information. In addition to my father's memoir, I have drawn on my recollections of conversations as a youth with various aunts, uncles, and first cousins who had lived on the farm.
- 49 W. K. Harbaugh, Memoir.





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Sources of Interphantion  (488,742) 1631-1732. DEUTSCI: REFORM EMMENTINESTER OTTERCINE  (488,743) 1733-1790 SAME IS ACOUE  ODER TO Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints, Inc.  ODER TO COLUMN OF The Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints, Inc.  ODER TO COLUMN OF The Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints, Inc.  ODER TO COLUMN OF The Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints, Inc.  ESHELMAN  ESHELMAN		24 AUG 1736 25 AUG 1736 36 AUG 1736 37 AUG 1736 38 AFALTIZ 38 AFALTIZ 38 AFALTIZ 39 AUG 1738 303 AUG 1738 304 AUG 1738 305 AUG 1738 305 AUG 1738 307 AUG 1738 307 AUG 1738 308 AUG 1738 309	PIECE  PI	PILCO OTTERGORG PEALE, RAVARILA (488,742) EXAMINANTS  PILCO HELICATI TWY YOUR CO, POCALISYLVANIA (37,360) SIANO OF MISSION MISSION MISSION MISSION (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. GER S. 1775 M. I. LARENTELEASE (2) COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WIDON) B. COPPENHOFFER PILCO (WI	SBAND JOHANN JOST HERBACH (LIVES GEHRSCHWE-ERMOF Husband JOHAN 1685-1705 Price MARLE
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