

I am in the process of digging up Stefi's translations of Pfister and will send them to you. Here is part of the article:

From: Pfister, Hans Ulrich. "Zürich's Emigration to America in 1734/1735 - The Travelling Group around Minister Moritz Götschi" Zürcher Taschenbuch 1986. p.45-99. Synopsis into English by Stephanie Wehner [p.46-50 : all page numbers in headers from hereon refer to Hans Ulrich Pfister's chapter in the Zürcher Taschenbuch 1986]

Moritz Götschi was born in 1686 as the son of a well maker. He came from a simple city family from Zürich. He was the first in his family to take a clerical career. He entered the "Carolinum" (all following facts are from the state archives of Zürich). The waiting and hoping for a position typical for young ministers at the time followed his ordination. In fall 1712 Götschi's name appeared for the first time in connection with the "suggestion of eight" for the position of the rectory of Güttingen TG and Sternenbergr. On November 26th, 1712 he was chosen as the deacon of Berneck SG. It was a newly created position and was actually only a teaching position. The minister of Berneck continued to hold sermons and to do house visits, whereas Götschi's responsibilities were limited to teaching school and kindergarten in Widnau.

After seven years a long dispute about the benefice circumstances arose and Götschi got caught in the middle. Not only was he accused of untimeliness and lack of discharge of duties, but also of being a bad teacher (his students were lacking reading, writing, and mathematical skills).

Finally he was discharged on grounds of his "incorrectibility" and his "speeches with a great deal of upheaval and elevation of his scholarship, and by displaying an expensive pocket watch Götschi was accused of strutting in and playing the 'learned', to the disgust of all.

On October 19th, 1720 he was promoted to the Rheintal community Salez SG, which was not an attractive rectory. The community was very poor and the minister was paid very irregularly.

The minister had to go to the individual households to collect his income; households which should have been on charity.

Götschi had married Esther Werndli from Zürich in 1710. By 1721 the couple had seven children. Neither Götschi nor his wife had an inheritance to live from, and the sparse income was not enough to feed the family of nine. In a pleading letter to the mayor of Zürich Götschi listed cattle as one of his expenses which he was forced to keep in order to feed his family.

In Salez Götschi also ran into conflicts. One repeating theme was the fact that he only prepared concepts of his sermons and didn't formulize them, which led to very long sermons and

sometimes fiery speeches, which made the landlords uncomfortable. After one incident Zürich [church leaders] forced him to send his sermons to headquarters to finally force him to write them down. Only the size of his family and his desperate economical situation spared him from getting fired.

In November 1730 minister Salomon Brennwald from Stammheim, a former colleague of Götschi's, supported Götschi in applying for a position in Stammheim. He didn't get appointed. Two months later 42 year old Barbara Rüdüsühli, who had worked at Götschi's house in Salez, gave birth to an illegitimate child. Götschi confessed right away to be the father and was promptly removed from his minister function and stripped of his clerical office.

Götschi reacted to his removal in his typical effusive way, he "hollers and screams. he is damned, he is a dog and not a human being, they should decapitate him." A civilian now he had to stand court as an adulterer. He served his sentence in the "Wellenberg", the prison tower of Zürich.

After his release he had a very hard time finding employment. He fought his way through as a

private teacher but couldn't feed his now nine children. His wife had to beg the lords for support. Götschi's oldest two daughters had to start working in households. The three sons

Rudolf, Beat and Moritz found admission in the state foster home. The other four children were

to be supported with yearly 5 "Mütt" of grains and 30 pounds of money. The head of the alms office had to take care of clothing the children. Between 1731 and 1734 the accounting of the

alms office shows records for paying above mentioned amounts to the Götschi children.

The Project of an Emigration to Carolina (Pfister pp 50-52)

On July 22nd, 1734, the following advertisement appeared in the "Donnerstags-Nachrichten" (Thursday's News) of Zürich:

"The description of the Swiss person living in Carolina without any homesickness can be bought for 3 pounds. One can hope for more admirers of it since the country is even more blissful in regards to everything than the little booklet says; therefor whoever wants to travel there can apply with Captain Quinche in Welsch-Neuburg, who will explain all moves necessary to do the journey. The little tract of Bookbinder Däntzler about the island of Carolina on the Münsterhoff is also available for 3 pounds."

A week later the offer was repeated:

"The little tract about Carolina for only 3 pounds. A number of people call it the new Holy Land, because of its enormous fertility and its healthy air. And many Swiss have

settled there already and don't ever want to come back."

The advertised brochure served as propaganda for the settlement Purysburg in South Carolina, founded by Jean Pury of Neuenburg. It had been sold very successfully in Zürich and was declared forbidden by the town council on August 7th. The distribution of the brochure had been planned to be on a larger scale. After it had been forbidden, Heinrich Kambli alone had 300 of them which the government bought from him for 2 pounds a piece. Minister Götschi saw in Carolina a new field of activity and inquired with the council of Zürich about a letter of recommendation in August 1734. A couple of days later the council had to take notice of the fact that the brochure had had a great impact on the peasants living around Zürich as well. The country bailiff from Kyburg reported on August 18th that:

"the transplantation of several families to the American Carolina had caused quite a movement and strong impressions in many places and corners."

Residents of the country around Zürich applied with minister Götschi to take the journey to Carolina with him. The council had to ask itself whether they wanted to allow Zürich's subjects to emigrate or whether the travel permission should be only extended to minister Götschi.

In a previous case the answer had been a clear no. A goldsmith from Winterthur, Hans Ulrich Sulzer, had instigated people to follow him to Carolina. The authorities from Winterthur immediately received orders from Zürich to stop Sulzer's activities. But the official commission and the council of Zürich were not quite sure how to handle Götschi's demand.

On August 29th Götschi and his family finally received permission to leave the country. Two weeks later the permission was reversed. On September 6th 1734 the council considered a prohibition against the emigration to force Götschi to fulfill his patriotic duties and to warn the peasants of an ill-considered step. Five days later the planned prohibition was suspended.

On September 15th the council denied Götschi an assistant he had applied for. The decision whether he would be allowed to lead an entire group of people was still pending. On September 18th Götschi demanded a "General Passport" for himself and all the other emigrants. An interrogation was conducted to determine under what motivation he undertook the journey, and what was motivating the others in his group. Afterwards the council reacted quite positively towards his intentions and recommended him and his group to the Austrian imperial ministers and the French ambassador regarding the passport. The answers of both countries' ambassadors arrived on September 29. Austria issued the passport; France inquired about a list of all the emigrants first. The council

decided that both countries didn't have a fundamental problem letting the emigrants pass through their lands and decided to let the subjects go. The chancellery was ordered to issue passports.

Gathering in Zürich and Journey to Basel (Pfister pp 52-54)

The vague hope for a better economic future in the much-praised Carolina was obviously the main motive for the emigrants. They didn't get discouraged by the late season. After numerous warnings and reproaches by the council only 20 people changed their minds and stayed home. A few emigrants had arrived in Zürich already on October 1st.

The people of Zürich were very concerned about the emigrants. Ludwig Herder for example tried to educate the badly informed people about their destination with encyclopedias available to him. The emigrants received bread, scarves and caps from noble households. The alms office supplied them with bread, flour, socks and cloth.

The Donnerstags -Nachrichten #40 from October 1734 stated the following:

"Particularly the neighborhood around the shopping center felt pity, also the "Salzhaus" (lit.: salt house) they will hardly forget, for what they received in bodily refreshments, as many merchants did the same."

Many thousands of spectators came when Götschi spoke his departure prayer, in which he commended the journey to God's hands. He compared himself to Abraham, leading his people to Canaan Land, and his fellow travelers to the chosen people, led by him to the Holy Land - South Carolina.

On October 4th two ships with 174 passengers left for Basel. The next day a third ship with 96 people on board followed. The first part of the journey proceeded without problems, since Austria had granted passage in Rheinfelden. But in Basel the travelers had to stop since the French passports hadn't arrived yet. Several latecomers, who had made the trip on foot, joined the group in Basel.

The unexpected waiting period caused supply problems. At first the people of Basel supported them, but soon the needy guests, who started to beg in the streets, became a burden for

the

city. Finally Basel paid the 44 "Gulden" necessary for the French passports just to get rid of the unwanted guests. At the same time the mayor of Basel sent a letter to Zürich demanding that

he forbid any more emigrants to leave Zürich without French passports. In Basel questions about leadership and the best way to travel arose and the group started to split up. A small group of people continued the journey over land.

From Basel to Calais and to South Carolina (Pfister pp 58-59)

A Note: At this point in the trip the Aners decided to stay with the Götschi party. Had they left with these others the Orner family history would have been shaped by the influences of South Carolina.

Pfister continues: The emigrants, who had left the Götschi group first, got spared a lot of trouble and disappointments and probably had the most comfortable journey. When they still didn't know when the French passports and the ship to continue the journey would arrive in Basel after four days of waiting, they took initiative and looked for a way themselves. They arrived on American soil long before the others.

Johannes Huber von Lichtensteig SG, a tailor from Toggenburg, who spoke French and knew the way, offered his services as a leader. According to Ludwig Weber, this group contained 31 people, according to Jakob Gallman, one of the travelers in this group, it was only 28. They obtained passports from the commissioner of the fortress Hünningen and started walking across France. By not taking a ship they could spend the saved money on food and drink. After 24 days they reached Calais on the French coast where a sailor from the Lloyd company promised them to take them to England for one "Taler" per person. Following the loading of the wine cargo the crossing to London took place which took one and a half days. After eight days in London, they crossed over to America, again on a freight ship for five "Guineen" per person. The ones who couldn't pay the fare had to work as indentured servants upon arrival as well. The ship was used in the so-called "triangle trade". First it sailed to the Bahamas to drop off some soldiers. In "Braffädenz" (Providence) it took a load of Brazilian wood on board and continued after eight days to South Carolina. On February 7th, 1735, the emigrants arrived in Charleston while the Götschi group was still waiting in a Pub outside of Rotterdam for a merciful faith.

From Basel to Rotterdam (Pfister pp 54 -56)

Minister Götschi wanted to continue the journey by ship. But when the time came to pay the passenger fees for the segment to Mainz, 40 to 50 people couldn't afford it. These people had to walk this part of the trip. These travelers, who originated from Buschs, Aesch near Birmensdorf and Mettmensstetten, walked through Lothringen by way of Namur to Rotterdam. There they met the other travelers again who did ride down the Rhein and had reached Rotterdam only eight days earlier.

In mid October 194 people more left Basel by ship. The travelers lived cramped together in the following days on the two ships on which they could barely stand, let alone lay down. A simple roof protected them from the rain but not from the wet and cold. Many emigrants had inadequate clothing and froze horribly. At night the ships anchored on shore and the travelers had to camp outside. Since the war for the succession to the Polish throne was going on and contingents of troops were also staying in the Oberrhein area, great caution was necessary due to nearby troop camps. In Altbreisach imperial soldiers searched the ships while the French pointed their cannons on them. In Ketsch imperial hussars stopped the ships and hindered them from leaving until passports were obtained from Heidelberg.

Pfister continues: In Mainz a further group of 40 to 50 emigrants couldn't pay the passenger fees for the next part anymore and started to walk towards Rotterdam as well. About 150 people continued the journey on the water and had now remarkably better traveling conditions. Minister Götschi meanwhile was not equal to his duties as a pastor anymore. He became apathetic and retreated into himself. Because of space issues on the ship this caused several conflicts with the emigrants.

Like at home the ups and downs of life continued during the journey. Near Breisach a little one month old boy died. During a stop in Neuwied four couples got married. One of them was Anna Götschi, the oldest daughter of the minister, and Hans Konrad Wirz from Zurich, who had appointed himself as the commissioner of the traveling group. In Neuwied the opportunity to settle and discontinue the tiring journey presented itself. The local gentry there offered houses and goods to take care of, but the promises of Carolina continued to call.

A strong wind forced the group to a four day stay in Kuilenburg. The emigrants were able to stay in a barn. Minister Götschi conducted a sermon and the emigrants sang psalms for which they were paid money by the people of Kuilenburg. The Kuilenburger's also gave groceries like meat, cabbage, potatoes and beer to the emigrants. Minister Götschi received special treatment here and was a guest at a table in the village every day.

In Kuilenburg Götschi and his son in law sold two of the three ships which made it necessary for all to cram onto one ship and to pay yet another passenger fee. From Kuilenburg three men were sent ahead to keep the ship waiting in Rotterdam for them from leaving. This ship was supposed to take the travelers to England where they wanted to spend the winter. When the group arrived in Rotterdam the three sent ahead hadn't found a ship. Confronted with that fact Götschi simply replied he couldn't help and everybody had to look after themselves.

Minister Götschi was not able to justify the trust the emigrants set in him as a leader. He went to The Hague to take care of his own future. Meanwhile the emigrants took rooms in several pubs around town and begged since they had no money left. After six days the landlords of the pubs threw them out and they had to stay outside the city gates of Rotterdam where they joined another 160 people from Zurich.

A delegation of three traveled thereafter to The Hague to complain to Götschi and Wirz about their behavior. Götschi came immediately to a pub half an hour from Rotterdam, the meeting place of the emigrants. He had them line up and used all his powers of persuasion to leverage a good testimony about his character. He needed such to not jeopardize his chances for a position in America.

Sebastian Neeracher, resident of Rotterdam from Buchs, helped the emigrants with advice and support. Others gave them fabric and groceries. Some emigrants found temporary labor transporting peat.

Finally, minister Götschi received the promise of a rectory with the Netherland Reform Church in Pennsylvania. He informed his compatriots of the change of destination and asked them to renew their travels with him. The contract with the captain of the ship stated the passenger fee as 6 "Dublonen" for adults, half of that for children. In case a traveler died during the crossing the survivors had to pay the fee for him.

On the Way to a New Order [On the Rhine] (Pfister pp 60-62)

The noble lords of Zürich allowed their subjects to leave the country but withdrew their land rights. Therefore they weren't under the authority of the City State of Zürich anymore. They could have regulated their living structures themselves like the Puritans tried when they emigrated to New England [in a limited democratic fashion]. But Moritz Götschi, Hans Konrad Wirz and Heinrich Scheuchzer took over the leadership role as if natural. For a while the social structures known from Zürich stayed intact. The emigrants from the countryside [this might include the Aner family] probably never gave it a thought that they could have question the authorities. Three or four days south of Basel Götschi had the men line up and explained to them that it is necessary and proper to establish a good order among them. The family fathers stepped into the ring and Götschi chose four "Ehgaumer" (officials responsible for poor people, orphans, marriage questions and moral censorship) and eight judges. He hereby employed the same offices like at home, but he dictated the decision without a democratic vote.

The overbearing character of Götschi and his son-in-law Wirz, as well as the bad planning of the journey was grounds for several conflicts and dulled the relationship between the leaders and the emigrants from the Zürich country side. The heavy mental burdens [of the journey] required leaders with strong characters. Minister Götschi met this requirement only unsatisfactorily, so that he increasingly lost the respect of the emigrants.

The "Ehgaumer" represented the poorer emigrants before Götschi. When many couldn't afford the ship fees to continue the journey in Mainz anymore, the "Ehgaumer" asked Götschi for support. They were under the impression Götschi had received donations on several occasions on behalf of the entire group, a fact Götschi denied vehemently. The broke emigrants continued their journey after this on foot. Minister Götschi couldn't get over the accusations made against him and attacked the "Ehgaumer" four days later in one of his sermons. [This may be the point in the Hinke narrative which Gtchsi compares his critics as being like the men who criticized Moses for his lack of leadership skills].

The conflict deteriorated into an undignified form. Götschi and the "Ehgaumer", who were supposed to be his confidants, hit each other with sticks, quite soundly. Götschi could only secure the superficial approval of the people because of his presumption to be their leader and his pretended travel knowledge. Like his earlier behavior in Berneck and Salez he failed to provide for his travel companions. His pure egoism and his lack of responsibility came to the surface in Rotterdam when he just took care of his own future and left the emigrants on their own. The "Ehgaumer" took over the leadership.

The emigrants had to take a stand on moral questions as well like when people with a bad reputation wanted to join the group. Johannes Heid knew, since his marriage court order from June 22nd, 1734, that he was supposed to leave the city and the county of Zürich as a foreigner immediately after his marriage ceremony. In his case it was no question that he was allowed to join the group. In Basel, maid Margaretha Bader from Affoltern near Zürich, "took refuge with us, to get rid of a man [she was engaged to] after she had also promised herself to a soldier, a decision she regretted." She had had two other fiancées in the same year, but the marriage court had reversed both engagements after inquiries of the respective fiancées. A collection agent from Winterthur, who had been banned from his hometown for embezzlement, wanted to join the group as well. Margaretha Bader was accepted in the group, the collection agent was not. The group disagreed on the decisions of the two cases. Both cases instigated "quite a bit of noise". When Götschi died shortly after landing in Philadelphia, the plan to build a community of people from Zürich couldn't be realized. The plan had seemed already unrealistic after several groups of people left [the group] in Basel and Rotterdam. Since most of them had to work as an indentured servant upon arrival to cover the cost for the crossing, the people from Zürich couldn't stay together. The old, familiar order of living together known from Zürich wasn't applicable anymore and the emigrants were helpless in the face of the new, unfamiliar order of America.

#### The Miseries of Individual Emigrants (Pfister pp 62-64))

The hope for a wonderful future left before the journey little room for pessimistic thoughts.

"Since every published description of this land (Carolina) gives hope that every person, who goes there, can enjoy enough meat, wine and other pleasures in abundance, even get houses, land and cattle for free, makes everyone's mouth water for this delightful land and everybody wishes to be there, to enjoy such happiness." ("Chrisholds Gedanken" - Chrishold's Thoughts, p. 190.116, Central Library Zürich)

But from the description of Ludwig Weber we know several cases, where the father decided to emigrate without consulting his family and therefor forced them to join the group. In Basel the wife of Konrad Näf from Wallingen wanted to turn around but didn't have a passport to show in Augst and therefor had to join the group again. She made it, together with all her relatives, to Philadelphia.

In another case Jakop Brunner from Kloten, who was stationed with his garrison in Rheinfelden, saw his wife and three children travel by " " which made him wonder and he



tried to keep her from going, but he couldn't get anywhere with her, then he tried to take the children from her by force, which caused them to fight. Finally the woman became the master and traveled on with us and her children." (Weber) In several uncomfortable situations the thoughts wandered back home. South of Basel when the travelers made camp for the night and the wet and cold got to them, they had to show will to continue, "but the poor women sighed and wished a thousand times for their warm living rooms, even just for one hour." (Weber)

Götschi and the emigrants were under the impression that the journey was paid for from Basel on. And they waited for a commissioner with money. When they realized that their hopes were wrong many wanted to turn around. "The fact alone that there was war on both sides of the Rhein made them complain. And the men gave the women, the women the men, the Hans gave the Heini and the Heini gave Hans the blame, and everybody started fighting." (Weber) Even in the Götschi marriage was the hopelessness reason for a physical conflict. His wife fought with him and "screamed all sorts of bad names at him and in the morning she took his stick and beat him over the back, which made him want to run away, but the children screamed and begged him to stay." (Weber) In a letter from Pennsylvania Götschi's wife wrote to Zürich, how much she regrets, to have left the home land: "Father, I have sinned in heaven and before you and I am not worth anymore to be called your child. I want so much to suffer hunger and thirst in my father land and work until I am bloody, if I only could enjoy church and the holy sacraments one more time, and then I would like to die." (Schelbert/Rappolt, p.118, Central Library Zürich Ms. 11 16)

To return to Switzerland was only an option for those emigrants who still had financial means. Ludwig Weber from Wallisellen and his son were the only ones to return in Rotterdam. After his return, he was ordered to Zürich and questioned, and his report was published immediately. Weber had been tempted by the colorful descriptions of Carolina like all the others, but he took only one of his nine children with him, to have a look for himself first. In case all descriptions turned out to be true, he could always return and get the rest of the family. He started the journey only with reservations. Ludwig Weber was not the only one, who didn't cross over the ocean. Somewhere around late 1734 1735 Hans Heinrich Hauser from Albisrieden and some other men returned to Namur and became soldiers for Netherlands in the company of captain Werdmüller in the regiment Hirzel. On New Year's Day 1735 Hauser sent a letter with a short description of the journey home, which was published like Weber's report.

Rotterdam to England and to Georgia (From: Pfister pp 58-59)

According to the report of Ludwig Weber, who returned to Switzerland, 88 emigrants, who still had resources and were able to take the planning of the journey in their own hands, left the group in Rotterdam. They left the others after the embarrassing scene with Götschi outside the city walls. Two of the three men who had traveled to The Hague to confront Götschi joined the group. They hid during Götschi's reproaches and could not count on a good testimony about themselves from the minister anymore. These emigrants continued their journey to England and encountered similar problems as their compatriots

outside the city walls of Rotterdam. But obviously they were able to continue their journey soon since they arrived before May 10th at the port of Savannah (Georgia). Some of the emigrants traveled from there to Purysburg. [South Carolina, the original goal of the party]

The crossing of this group is the only part of the entire emigration movement, which is not documented in letters, or reports of one of the travelers. Only from letters of other Zürich people, who had reached Purysburg earlier, is it possible to reconstruct the story of this traveling group. Heinrich Näf from Hausen at the Albis wrote on August 18th, 1735 from Purysburg [South Carolina], "of the ship full of people who had left Zürich on October 4th, 1734" half died during the crossing. This statement must be in reference to this traveling group since he mentioned names of people who died and who had joined the group in Rotterdam according to Ludwig Weber. So some emigrants really did end up in Purysburg, advertised so magnificently in the brochure, but Purysburg turned out to be just a settlement of some very simple huts ("They have houses here like we have huts for the cows", from Schelbert/Rappolt, "Alles ist ganz anders hier" or "Everything is so different here," p.64).

From Rotterdam to Pennsylvania (From: Pfister pp 56-58)

On February 24th, 1735 the emigrants who decided to go with Götschi left the port of Rotterdam on a ship called "Mercury". They sailed to Cowes on the Isle of Wight on the southern coast of England where the captain and the passengers could load up on food one more time for the long journey overseas. The third day on the water brought the inexperienced mariners from landlocked Zurich their first strong storm. During the 12 week crossing the ship encountered several more storm fronts.

The provisions which was mostly "Galerebrod" [it is not quite clear where the term comes from, probably from "Gallere" (jellied meat") and not from "Galeere" (galley)] made many people sick. The drinking water was cloudy and full of worms. Captain William Wilson and his mate were rough guys who were not very merciful with the sick and suffering passengers.

One can understand the feeling of relief that must have run through the passengers when they saw land again after three months. Because of unfavorable winds they had to wait an additional three days before they could sail up the Delaware into Philadelphia. The church elders from the reform church came on board to greet Götschi. On the next day they came to get him and his wife but had to carry him on a chair to his future home, because he was very sick from the journey. He couldn't even discuss his new job with the church elders, asked for some rest and died when they carried him upstairs into the bedroom. Two days later he was buried in the Presbyterian English main church of the city.

Meanwhile the rest of the emigrants had left their ship and had sworn their subject oath to King George II of England on May 29th, 1735. Excluding minister Götschi 174 Swiss and 12 Germans arrived on the Mercury in Philadelphia. Men older than 16 had to give

their oath with their signature. Of the 61 eligible Swiss 27 were illiterate and gave their signature with a cross, a circle or their initials. [A photocopy of this page with Johann Hans Ulrich's mark is located at the end of this section] As usual, most emigrants were now required to work off the expenses of the crossing as an indentured servant for several years. Even the members of the Götschi family shared this fate.