

JUN 15 REC'D

WELS Historical Institute

# Journal

Volume 28, Number 1  
Spring 2010



WELS Historical Institute  
**Journal**

Volume 28, Number 1  
Spring 2010

- 3 Forward to Volume 28  
*John M. Brenner*
- 4 Looking Back
- 6 Review of *The Synodical Conference: Ecumenical Endeavor*, by Armin  
W. Schuetze  
*John M. Brenner*
- 8 1839 Old Lutheran Migration Funds and Expenses  
*Thomas Savlik*

Editor: John M. Brenner

The *WELS Historical Institute Journal* is the official publication of the WELS Historical Institute, 2929 N. Mayfair Road, Milwaukee, WI 53222. Copyright 2010 by WELS Historical Institute.

Cover: The seal of the WELS Historical Institute.

## Forward to Volume 28

by John M. Brenner

With this first issue of volume 28 you will notice some changes to the *WELS Historical Institute Journal*. We are adding some new features. In the *Looking Back* section we will be noting key events and developments from 25, 50, 75, 100, 125, and 150 years ago. The first issue of each volume will list events that affected Lutheranism in America in general and the Wisconsin Synod in particular. In the second issue of each volume the *Looking Back* section will highlight the anniversaries of milestones and key events in the broader history of Christianity in order to place the history of the Wisconsin Synod and Lutheranism in America into the larger historical context. In each issue we also hope to include reviews of books of interest.

We will continue to publish two newsletters each year. The newsletters will be restricted to information and announcements about activities and developments in our organization.

The purpose of the *Journal* remains to preserve the history of WELS and Lutheranism in America and to promote an understanding of that history. The feature article in this issue presents a detailed account of the costs and financial difficulties encountered by those who participated in the Prussian emigration to America. The information presented helps us understand the experience of many of our forbears whether they were part of an organized emigration or not. The Prussian immigrants initially settled in the area around Buffalo, New York, and Milwaukee. They founded the Buffalo Synod in 1845. Some of the laymen, congregations, and pastors of the Buffalo Synod eventually joined the Wisconsin Synod. Captain Heinrich von Rohr (1797-1874), one of the leaders of the Prussian emigration, had a son Philip (1843-1908) who joined the Wisconsin Synod in 1877 and succeeded John Bading as president in 1889.

Thomas Savlik, the author of the article, "1839 Old Lutheran Migration Funds and Expenses," has been researching his family roots for the past few decades. We appreciate his willingness to share the fruit of his research with our readers.

Please note one correction to the last issue. Dr. Lehmann's obituary listed Winfred as Dr. Lehmann's sister. Winfred was his brother.

## Looking Back

### 25 years ago – 1985

- ◆ WELS convention votes to do mission work in Brazil.
- ◆ Commitments to the synod-wide Reaching Out offering total \$23,709,656, of which \$16,740,311 has already been received.

### 50 years ago – 1960

- ◆ The Church of the Lutheran Confession (CLC) is founded by pastors, professors, teachers, and congregations who left the Wisconsin Synod and the ELS.
- ◆ The (new) American Lutheran Church (ALC) is formed by the merger of the ALC (1930 union of the Buffalo, Iowa, and Ohio Synods) with the UELC (Danish), and the ELC (Norwegian).
- ◆ Lutheran Pioneers is incorporated.
- ◆ Lutheran Association for Church Extension (LACE) is founded to provide low interest loans to congregations for building projects.
- ◆ The Conclave of Theologians meets in Thiensville (Mequon) in an attempt to resolve the Intersynodical Controversy in the Synodical Conference. Participants include theologians from the LCMS, WELS, ELS, Slovak Synod and representatives from Lutheran churches in Australia, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, England, Germany, India, the Philippines, Nigeria, Ghana, Rhodesia, and the Lutheran Black Churches in the US. The conclave discusses the doctrine of the church but fails to resolve the issues threatening the break up of the Synodical Conference.
- ◆ The Joint Union Committees of the Synodical Conference report that an impasse has been reached on the doctrine and practice of church fellowship. This impasse leads the Wisconsin Synod in 1961 to declare a break in fellowship with the Missouri Synod.

### 75 years ago – 1935

- ◆ On January 5 Pastor Immanuel Albrecht, president of the Wisconsin Synod's Minnesota District, Dr. Henry Nau, president of Immanuel Lutheran College in Greensboro, North Carolina, and Pastor O. Boecler of the Missouri Synod leave New York to explore the possibilities for mission work in Nigeria and the Cameroon. When the exploration team brings back a favorable report, the Wisconsin Synod in convention urges that mission work in Nigeria be taken up at once under the direction of the Synodical Conference Board for "Colored" Missions as a temporary arrangement until the Synodical Conference can meet in 1936. The synod also authorizes an expenditure of \$1,600 for the initial expense of the mission.

- ◆ The president of the Wisconsin Synod reports 32 pastoral candidates remain without a call. Three of those had been waiting since 1932.
- ◆ The budgetary debt of the Wisconsin Synod is \$455,403.50. The debt in the Church extension Fund is \$182,764.29. Total synodical indebtedness is \$638,667.79.
- ◆ The United Lutheran Church in America (ULCA) issues a call for a union of all Lutheran church bodies who subscribe to Scripture and the Lutheran confessions. The Wisconsin Synod officials decline the invitation because unity in doctrine and practice does not exist between Wisconsin and the ULCA. The synod in convention adopts the reply of their officials.

### 100 years ago – 1910

- ◆ The Michigan Synod and the Michigan District Synod reunite and the Michigan Synod is readmitted to the Joint Synod of Wisconsin. As a result a number of Michigan congregations join the Missouri Synod despite formal protests to the Missouri Synod.
- ◆ Michigan Lutheran Seminary reopens as a preparatory school with Otto J. R. Hoenecke as president. Five students are enrolled.
- ◆ The Wisconsin Synod resolves to publish an English hymnal.

### 125 years ago – 1885

- ◆ Michigan Lutheran Seminary is founded in Manchester, Michigan (moves to Saginaw in 1887). Pastor A. Lange of Remus, Michigan, is the first president. Six students are enrolled.
- ◆ Pastor Otto Hoyer is installed as professor and director of the Minnesota Synod's college in New Ulm which was founded in 1884. The theological department of the college opens.

### 150 years ago – 1860

- ◆ The Minnesota Synod is founded on July 6.
- ◆ The Michigan Synod is founded on December 10.
- ◆ John Bading is elected second president of the Wisconsin Synod marking a move toward greater confessionalism in the synod. German mission societies note this shift in Wisconsin and issue warnings. The Berlin Society tells Wisconsin to "guard against the dangers of a too strongly emphasized confessionalism, let alone exclusive Lutheranism." The Langenburg Society warns that "Lutheranism is being fostered too strongly" in the synod.
- ◆ John Muehlhaeuser, the retiring president of the Wisconsin Synod, is given the honorary title of "Senior."
- ◆ The proposal of Illinois State University that the Wisconsin Synod appoint a professor of theology to serve at the school is rejected by the synod in convention.

## *The Synodical Conference: Ecumenical Endeavor* by Armin W. Schuetze. Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 2000 478 pp, hc, \$31.99.

reviewed by John M. Brenner

Written at the request of the editors of Northwestern Publishing House, *The Synodical Conference: Ecumenical Endeavor* is the first and only complete history of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America. With this volume Professor emeritus Armin Schuetze has made a significant contribution to the understanding of the history of confessional Lutheranism in America. He displays a mastery of the subject based on extensive research—he has not been idle in retirement. Prof. Schuetze presents a compelling story in a style that is clear and eminently readable.

The Synodical Conference was an ecumenical endeavor in the best sense of the term. It promoted cooperation and fellowship based on agreement in doctrine and practice. For nearly ninety years the Synodical Conference was *the* voice of confessional Lutheranism in North American and, in many ways, the rest of the world as well. Since confessional Lutherans have historically placed an appropriate emphasis on the purity of doctrine, it is not surprising that an important part of every convention of the Synodical Conference was the presentation of theses or essays on key doctrines of Scripture or theological issues of the day. Prof. Schuetze provides a list of the titles of every convention essay or set of theses presented over the relatively short, but fruitful history of the Synodical Conference (pp. 210-213). It would be a worthy project to translate and publish a volume or two of the more important of these essays. Perhaps Northwestern Publishing House might be willing to take on this project, too. There are some theological gems among these essays, an untapped treasure of confessional Lutheran theological writing.

Prof. Schuetze provides the necessary historical background for understanding the reasons for the founding of the Synodical Conference in 1872. He gives a brief description of the General Synod, the General Synod-South, and the General Council and shows the need for another more confessional Lutheran federation. He also offers a brief description of the confessional and historical development of the constituent synods of the Synodical Conference.

The twenty chapters of *Synodical Conference: Ecumenical Endeavor* detail every major controversy, event, and activity of the Synodical Conference and many minor ones as well. Chapters are devoted to the election controversy which disrupted the unity of the Synodical Conference in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and to each of the two attempts to settle this controversy in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. One chapter describes the origin and development of the Synodical Conference "Negro" mission. After the conference resolved to begin this work in 1877, the "Negro" mission to African Americans in the Southern United States (and later the urban centers of the North) was a major item on the agenda of every convention. One chapter is devoted to the founding, growth, and development of

the Nigerian mission, a Synodical Conference project courageously begun in the mid 1930s during the Great Depression when austerity budgets were the rule of the day. Another chapter relates the blessings of fellowship expressed in a variety of cooperative efforts jointly undertaken by the member synods. Some of these were projects of the Synodical Conference (e.g., *The Lutheran Hymnal*). Others were local efforts by individuals and congregations that treasured their intersynodical fellowship (e.g., the Lutheran High School in Milwaukee).

One third of the book details the inter-synodical controversy that led to the dissolution of the Synodical Conference in the 1960s. As one who not only lived through the intersynodical controversy with Missouri but was also an active participant in many of the meetings and discussions of those last years of the Synodical Conference, Prof. Schuetze brings unique insight into the events and issues about which he writes. For instance, he draws on his own personal notes taken at one of the sessions of the Conclave of Theologians to illustrate what the gathering hoped to accomplish (p. 363). The Conclave of Theologians was a last attempt to preserve the unity of the Synodical Conference with the help of overseas brethren. Those who were on the opposite side in the intersynodical controversy might not like every historical judgment Prof. Schuetze makes and every conclusion he draws, but they will not be able to argue with the facts he presents.

Confessional Lutherans owe a debt of gratitude to Prof. Schuetze and Northwestern Publishing House for making this volume available. Every pastor and teacher in our synod will want to read it. Congregations will want to make it available for members who are interested in learning more about their confessional Lutheran heritage. We hope *The Synodical Conference: Ecumenical Endeavor* has a wide distribution.

This review originally appeared in the *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* and is reprinted by permission.

## 1839 Old Lutheran Migration Funds and Expenses

by Thomas Savlik

### Background

In 1839, about one thousand Prussian subjects decided they could no longer live in a country where they were not free to practice their Lutheran faith. King Friedrich Wilhelm III had merged the Lutheran church and the Reformed (Calvinist) church within his kingdom. The king presented a new Protestant church agenda<sup>1</sup> that combined elements of both religions. The new agenda was intended to allow both Lutheran and Reformed church members to continue their long held beliefs but they would now attend the same church where services would be held with the new rituals. Lutherans were not forced to become Reformed and Reformed were not forced to become Lutheran. The king went as far as banning the words 'Lutheran' and 'Reformed' and mandating that the new church be called the "Evangelical" church. The vast majority of the king's subjects accepted this new arrangement. However, some Lutherans rejected the new church. Their struggle against the Evangelical (Union) state church and their emigration is well documented. Previous authors have written, in detail, about these events.<sup>2</sup>

These authors present a fragmentary discussion of the cost to migrate to America and do not discuss the funds available to these families. A number of Prussian government documents from 1839 that shed some light on this topic have recently become available. During a 2007 visit to the Stettin Archive<sup>3</sup> in Poland, Jon Selle identified a number of communications and reports that provide insight into the financial situation of some of these emigrants. This article is an attempt to analyze these findings.

It is not possible to determine the exact expenses incurred by each emigrant. Based on the records that are currently available, the overall voyage is divided into specific segments and an approximate cost for each leg of the voyage is provided.

### Trip to Hamburg: First Leg of the Migration

The expense incurred by each family varied, depending upon the number of family members, the amount of belongings they took, the distance traveled, their method of transportation, the length of time it took to reach Hamburg, and the duration of time they resided in Hamburg before continuing on to America. In a meeting on February 15, 1839, representatives of the emigrant groups from Pommern, Saxon, Berlin, and Thüringen agreed that:

The cost of the trip to Hamburg or Bremen remains the responsibility of each local congregation, if means are not sufficient, the representatives should be informed of this ahead of time, since assistance can be provided from a small sum.<sup>4</sup>

The major expense during this leg was the cost to transport belongings to

Hamburg. A certain Schmidt family had 1,600 lbs.<sup>5</sup> of belongings; other families would have had more or less depending upon the size of the family and what they decided to take with them. In 1839, the distances traveled by these families were significant. The trip to Hamburg was likely the longest made by most of the emigrants up to this time.

Starting Place			Distance to Hamburg <sup>6</sup>	
(Village)	(Kreis)	(Province)	(km)	(miles)
Magdeburg	Magdeburg	Saxony	233	145
Berlin	Berlin	Brandenburg	282	175
Stettin	Stettin	Pommern	339	211
Erfurt	Erfurt	Saxony	349	217
Plathe	Regenwalde	Pommern	416	258
Cammin	Cammin	Pommern	420	261
Treptow	Greifenberg	Pommern	449	279
Gramenz	Neustettin	Pommern	506	314
Breslau	Breslau	Silesia	610	379

The method of transportation included travel by foot, cart, wagon, train, river/canal boats (barges), and ships from ports around Stettin to Hamburg. Some of the Pommern emigrants first traveled to the village of Plathe where they met up with other emigrants. They then continued to Stettin where they met up with still other emigrants. This part of the travel was by foot, cart, and wagon. In Stettin, they received their permits to emigrate, which cost 1.5 Thaler.<sup>7,8</sup> Many then traveled by ship via the Baltic Sea while others traveled by wagon and foot to Hamburg.<sup>9</sup>

It is reported that eight families from Silesia arrived in Hamburg in December 1838.<sup>10</sup> However, the majority of the emigrants arrived in Hamburg in May and June of 1839. We know from one account<sup>11</sup> that an emigrant from Pommern said farewell to his friends and family on the evening of May 17<sup>th</sup> and arrived in Hamburg fourteen days later. He then had to wait a full month for his fellow countrymen to arrive. He departed Hamburg for America on July 1<sup>st</sup>. This report shows that the emigrants needed to have sufficient funds not only to cover the transport of themselves and their belongings but also for food and lodging.

There are only a few accounts of the expenses incurred during this leg of the trip. Ernst Mayer, who traveled from Breslau, reported that it cost eleven

Thalers for the trip to Hamburg, excluding the cost of food.<sup>12</sup> The Mayer family consisted of himself, his wife, and his eleven year-old daughter. In 1843, a Prussian government bureaucrat in the Province of Brandenburg made inquiries into the exact costs of the journey and published his findings in a Berlin newspaper. He reported that the trip to Hamburg cost five Thalers.<sup>13</sup> The difference between these two numbers can be understood when one considers the distance traveled. The trip from Breslau is twice the distance of a trip from Berlin. The bureaucrat reported that it would cost another five Thalers for temporary housing, loss in changing money, and other small expenses.

The poorer emigrants probably traveled via the land route to Hamburg to limit their expenses. They would have camped along the way to limit incidental lodging costs. It can also be assumed that some families would have taken sufficient food with them for this leg of the migration. Based on these accounts, I estimated the cost for this leg of the trip as approximately five to ten Thalers (including the cost of the permit and any food expenses). Individuals might have paid less and large families more.

### Voyage to America: Second Leg of the Migration<sup>14</sup>

In 1838, Heinrich von Rohr was sent to Bremen and Hamburg to research ports of departure and the cost of the voyage to America. There are no reports of the cost from Bremen and since this port would have added another 116-km (72 m) to the first leg of the trip, we can assume this option was ruled out. In Hamburg, the best offer was obtained from an agent by the name of Sloman. He offered a price of forty Thalers per person, on average, for 1,000 passengers on a direct trip from Hamburg to New York.<sup>15</sup> It is not stated if this offer included any additional fees charged by Sloman or others, the freight cost for their belongings, or the cost of food. This offer worried the representatives as they had collected only thirty Thalers per person.

Later, two agents from Hamburg by the names Fräntzel and Bätke, came to Magdeburg to see von Rohr and presented a plan by which the emigrants would travel by steamship from Hamburg to Hull, England. They would then travel from Hull to Liverpool by train and canal boat and from there to New York for 29.50 Thalers per person.<sup>16</sup> Von Rohr would serve as the principle agent to save the one to two Thaler agent fee. Fräntzel and Bätke would settle for one Thaler per person plus expenses in anticipation of future business. It is not clear if the offer of 29.50 Thalers per person included the fee charged by Fräntzel and Bätke, the freight cost for their belongings, or the cost of food.

Representatives were sent back to Hamburg to make final preparations for the departure. In Hamburg, they consulted a local senator, a lawyer, a wine dealer, Sloman, and other trading firms. These consultations led to the conclusion of a contract with Fräntzel and Bätke to transport 1,000 emigrants to New York for 40,000 Thalers.<sup>17</sup> On May 29<sup>th</sup>, they concluded the final contract.<sup>18</sup> A copy of the actual contract was printed in Iwan's book,<sup>19</sup> but unfortunately, it does not state the total cost or the cost per person. It does say that infants shall travel free of charge and that the shipping company would pay the freight costs. It is not stated explicitly, but from accounts of the voyage, some food

must have been included in the cost. The contract does say that each company on board shall be permitted to take along four goats. The exact meaning of 'company' is not stated, but could mean ship, congregation, or family. It is not known if any goats were actually taken along; I am assuming if goats were taken, they were a source of fresh meat and/or milk for young children during the voyage.

The efforts put into obtaining less expensive transportation costs appear to have saved the emigrants at least five Thalers per person. We can see this by comparing the transportation cost paid by the group of Silesian emigrants who were forced to find their own transportation when Pastor Grabau refused to let them join the larger group of emigrants. Ernst Mayer reported it cost 132 Thalers<sup>20</sup> for his family to travel directly from Hamburg to New York. This comes to forty-four Thalers per person. However, food was not included in the cost of their voyage. The Silesians had to provide their own food, for which he states they brought bread and meat, but he does not say what this cost. We can also compare this to the 1843 published expenses provided by the Brandenburg bureaucrat, who stated that the passage from Hamburg to New York with an estimated ninety days of food cost forty-five Thalers per person.<sup>21</sup>

### Trip to Buffalo: Third Leg of the Migration

The newly arrived immigrants did not spend much time in the city of New York. It was expensive and many of these immigrants could not afford an extended stay there. It is likely that the immigrants spent a day or two living on the ship while waiting for their belongings to be unloaded. Heinrich von Rohr had arrived in America before the main body of emigrants and he negotiated a contract to transport 1,000 people to Buffalo. Unfortunately, we do not know the terms of the contract. The trip to Buffalo included two separate expenses. The first part of this leg of the journey was via steamboat from New York harbor to Albany, NY. The second part of this leg was from Albany, NY, to Buffalo, NY, via train and barge on the Erie Canal. The ship *Echo*, on which Pastor Grabau traveled, arrived in New York harbor on September 19<sup>th</sup> and he arrived in Buffalo on October 3<sup>rd</sup>. Thus, the trip to Buffalo took about fourteen days.

Ernst Mayer reports that the first portion of this trip cost 4.25 Thalers for his family.<sup>22</sup> The second part of this trip cost eighteen Thalers for his family and eleven Thalers for excess baggage. Ernst Mayer was traveling with the smaller group<sup>23</sup> of Silesian immigrants and it is not likely that they were able to negotiate a significantly discounted rate. The total cost for the Mayer family was 33.25 Thalers or eleven Thalers per person.

Schmidt, who traveled with the larger group of immigrants, reports that the whole trip to Buffalo cost him forty Thalers and twenty silver Groschen,<sup>24</sup> not including what they ate on the canal. The Schmidt family consisted of eight members,<sup>25</sup> so his cost was five Thalers per person.

We can also compare the 1843 published expenses provided by the Brandenburg bureaucrat. He stated that expenses in New York would amount to five Thalers and that the trip from New York to Albany and Buffalo would cost

fifteen Thalers.<sup>26</sup> It is not clear what expenses would have been incurred in New York City/harbor. The five Thaler expense may represent food purchased for this leg of the voyage. It does appear that on a per person basis, the bureaucrat overestimated the cost of this leg of the trip. For the purposes of this analysis, I will use a cost of five Thalers per person as the low estimate and a cost of ten Thalers per person as the high estimate.

### Trip to Wisconsin: Last Leg of the Migration

As with all forms of transportation, passage fares varied greatly over time and with the amount of competition. The first steamship to ply the Great Lakes was the *Walk-in-the-Water*, built in 1818. It was a paddle-wheel steamship. Initially this ship traveled from Black Rock, NY (near Buffalo) to six other ports, the furthest being Detroit. Passenger fares to Detroit, including meals, were \$18.00 for cabin and \$7.00 for steerage. Afterwards, these rates were reduced to \$15.00 and later to \$12.00 from Buffalo to Detroit.<sup>27</sup>

By 1838, the passenger fare for cabin passage from Buffalo to Chicago, Green Bay, or St. Joseph<sup>28</sup> was \$20.00.<sup>29</sup> In 1839 a regular line of eight steamers varying in size from 350 to 650 tons' capacity, was formed to run between Buffalo and Chicago, making the round trip in sixteen days. There were two forms of transportation across the Great Lakes in 1839: paddle-wheel steamers<sup>30</sup> and sailing vessels. Sailing vessels were quite slow on the westerly portion of the voyage as they were generally heading into the wind. Steamers that had mail delivery contracts also took more time as they made frequent stops along the way. Transportation rates on these slower vessels were likely less than on the faster vessels. Not all ships had both cabin and steerage accommodations. It is not known if the freight charges for baggage were included in the price, if the rates for children were reduced, or if infants traveled free. By 1843 there were additional steamship companies plying for the lucrative shipping business on the Great lakes. The rate of cabin passage between Buffalo and Chicago had fallen to \$15.00. Later, competition became so fierce that for a time the fare from Buffalo to Chicago was only \$5.00. In 1845, two competing firms were carrying passengers and merchandise for almost nothing, steamships carried 200,000 passengers across the lakes during this year.<sup>31</sup>

I did not find any accounts of the exact cost of this leg of the voyage in 1839. There is one account in September 1841 of a single, young, male immigrant who traveled from Buffalo to Milwaukee on a steamship via the Great Lakes. He was twenty-one years old, and as such, probably did not have many belongings. He reports the trip took nine days and cost him 20 Thalers (\$13.00).<sup>32</sup> I have identified two relatively detailed accounts, one from 1847 and the other from 1852. They are somewhat removed from 1839, but they are interesting to read.

1847 – One need not worry about the chance to travel from Buffalo to Milwaukee: steamers leave for there almost daily. We had the choice between two, of which, we chose the first, which tried to entice the immigrants by siren-like tones from a poor orchestra on deck. We paid 8 dol-

lars for cabin with board, the steerage passengers paid 2 dollars without board. All baggage was free. The prices have been squeezed down by the great competition. ... The body of the ship, which is very pointed in front, goes quite deep and is used for loading wares; besides this it contains the sleeping-quarters for the sailors and deck-passengers [steerage]. The latter are put on the deck of the ship. Usually a number of chests are piled up here and between them those passengers who could not get one of the few sleeping-quarters below deck sleep. These deck-passengers must take with them food for six to eight days, since one cannot be sure of the trip, usually four or five days, will not take longer. It is best to take bread and cooked meat for, as one can imagine, the only stove is usually too much in demand to be counted on.<sup>33</sup>

"1852 – At Buffalo, on Lake Erie, in the State of New York, we will take cabin or steerage passage – just as we feel able or inclined – both are comfortable, from the manner steamboats are now constructed and arranged; the price of the former is \$6 to \$8, and the latter \$2 to \$4, to any of the towns on Lake Michigan, in Wisconsin and Illinois.

However, if they desire, and wish to save one or two days' time, persons can take steamboat to Monroe, Toledo, or Detroit; then the railroad across the state of Michigan, to Michigan City, in Indiana, then steamboat again to Chicago, and other towns on the western shore of Lake Michigan. Though performed in quicker time, the fare is higher."<sup>34</sup>

The 1843 published expenses provided by the Brandenburg bureaucrat indicate the trip by steamer or mail ship across Lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan as far as Chicago was twenty-five Thalers.<sup>35</sup> It is likely that his estimate represents the expense in the very first couple of years 1839-1841. We see from the above examples that in later years the expense was significantly less. The exact cost depended upon the class of passage booked, cabin or steerage, the amount of freight charges, and the cost of food. In 1839, if passage was made in cabin class, the cost was likely \$20.00 (about thirty Thalers). Food was probably included in this class, and freight charges may or may not have been included. If passage was made in steerage class, we can estimate the cost at \$8.00 (about twelve Thalers), excluding freight (and most likely food). We know some families had significant amounts of baggage as they were transporting all of their belongings with them. As such, I estimate the cost for this leg of the migration to be between fifteen and twenty Thalers per person, assuming they traveled in steerage class. Travel in cabin class would have been thirty Thalers (plus freight).

### Converting Thalers to Dollars

If you have traveled to a different country and had to convert your money to another currency, you know how the exchange rates can change daily. You

may also be aware that the exchange rate and the fee charged may be different depending upon where you convert your money (at the airport before you depart, at the airport after you arrive, at a bank, and when you use a credit card). The emigrants faced similar challenges when they exchanged their monies.

Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any documented accounts of the exchange rates and fees charged to the immigrants in 1839. Historical records of exchange rates and fees are difficult to find for specific dates. The US Mint printed a publication titled "A manual of Gold and Silver Coins of all Nations." The 1842 manual tells us that the weight of the Prussian Thaler should be 343.76 grains Troy, and its value, at full standard, would be 69.4 cents; but as they are found in currency, the average scarcely exceeds 68.5<sup>36</sup> cents. This was not the exchange rate; just the value based on the silver content and the value of silver in 1842.

The *Milwaukee Sentinel* reported that in 1843 Congress passed a bill to fix the value of certain foreign monies. The value of the Prussia Thaler was fixed at 68.5 cents. The newspaper goes on to say: "The Thalers, therefore, of which we have so many in circulation, and about the value of which there has been so much difference of opinion, are hereafter to be considered worth sixty-eight and a half cents instead of sixty-five for which they are now generally received and paid out." It does not appear that this bill was signed into law as documented exchange rates remained below this stated exchange rate. The *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette* reports that in 1846 Congress passed a bill to fix the value of certain foreign moneys, including setting the value of the Prussia Thaler at 69 cents.<sup>37</sup> Again, it does not appear this bill was signed into law.

A letter, dated December 1843, from one of the 1839 Pommern Lutheran immigrants living in Milwaukee and sent to a certain Heidke residing in Pommern, states:

One more thing I would like to mention and that is, if you come, see to it that you exchange your money either in Hamburg, or Stettin, or New York. The Prussian dollar has very low value here in Milwaukee. It is worth only 65 cents and our local dollar is 100 cents. You could change it to French money, for instance, 5-franc or 20-franc pieces – one franc [I assume this means one 5-franc piece] is worth 94 cents and a 20-franc piece is worth \$3.84. Small Prussian change is worth nothing here. Be careful with your money exchange so that they don't cheat you.<sup>38</sup>

A Milwaukee newspaper reports that in 1847 the principal gold and silver coins in circulation in our city and territory, which are taken at the Land Office, include the Prussian ten Thaler gold coin and the silver Thaler coin. The government Land Office provided the lowest exchange rate that I was able to document at 62 cents per Thaler.



Prussian Thaler Coins	Exchange Rate					
	1843 <sup>39, 40</sup>	1847 <sup>41</sup>	1847 <sup>42</sup>	1848 <sup>43</sup>	1849 <sup>44</sup>	1858 <sup>45</sup>
Silver Thaler	\$0.65	\$0.65	\$0.62	\$0.66	-	\$0.71
Gold X Thaler	-	\$7.80	\$7.80	\$7.80	\$7.80	\$7.85
Gold V Thaler	-	\$3.90	-	\$3.90	-	-
Gold 2½ Thaler	-	\$1.95	-	\$1.95	-	-

### Total Cost of the Migration

Based on this analysis the emigrants would have needed a bare minimum of fifty Thalers per person for the migration from Prussia to Buffalo, NY. The migration to Wisconsin would have required a minimum of sixty-five Thalers per person.

Migration Leg	Low Estimate (Thaler)	Conversion at 65 cents per Thaler	High Estimate (Thaler)	Conversion at 65 cents per Thaler
Trip to Hamburg	5		10	
Voyage to America	40		40	
Trip to Buffalo	5		10	
<b>Total to Buffalo</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>\$28.00</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>\$39.00</b>
Trip to Wisconsin	15		20	
<b>Total to Wisconsin</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>\$42.25</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>\$52.00</b>

Obviously, additional funds were needed to provide living expenses in their final destination until one could obtain employment. If one was to begin farming immediately additional funds were needed to purchase land, to cover living expenses until the first crops could be harvested, and to purchase equipment and animals necessary for farming.

These amounts appear to be relatively inexpensive by our standards. It is interesting to examine what these amounts would be in today's dollars when adjusted for inflation. The answer to this question depends on how one calculates inflation. There are few statistics that track inflation in the US from 1839 to current. The official Consumer Price Index (CPI) only began in 1913, thus, if one utilizes this metric one has to use an average CPI value over a certain number of years. Other metrics use a composite of different measures of inflation. The following table represents the amounts in 2008 dollars.

1839 Cost (US Dollar)	Value in 2008 Dollars			
	The Inflation Calculator <sup>46</sup>	Tom's Inflation Calculator <sup>47</sup>	Measuring Worth Calculator <sup>48</sup>	Average
\$28.00	\$559	\$863	\$668/\$578	\$667
\$39.00	\$779	\$1,202	\$930/\$860	\$943
\$42.25	\$844	\$1,302	\$1,008/\$874	\$1007
\$52.00	\$1,039	\$1,603	\$1,241/\$1,075	\$1240
\$1.00/day (wages)	\$20	\$31	\$24/\$21	\$24

One can now understand just how significant the emigrant funds were in 1839 and why many of the emigrants only had sufficient funds to travel to Buffalo before they had to find employment.

### Cost to purchase Land

At this time, the economy of the United States and most of the world was based on agriculture. Many of these immigrants were farmers before they decided to leave and they hoped to pursue this occupation in America. One of the main reasons some of these newly arrived immigrants continued to Wisconsin is that land prices were much cheaper in the wilderness of the Wisconsin Territory as compared to the relatively settled state of New York. One can see from the following table that the funds needed to purchase land in Wisconsin were significantly less than the funds necessary to purchase land in the Buffalo, NY, area.

Amount of Land (acres)	Wisconsin Land		Buffalo Land <sup>49</sup>	
	Cost at \$1.25 an acre	Cost <sup>50</sup> (Thaler)	Cost at \$9.00 an acre	Cost (Thaler)
40	\$50.00	76.9	\$360.00	554
80	\$100.00	153.8	\$720.00	1108
160	\$200.00	307.7	\$1440.00	2215

### Funds Available to the Emigrants

We learn the financial situation of the following families from a copy of a letter that was obtained from the Stettin Archive in Poland. The letter was sent by the heads of the four families to a Prussian government official and is dated June 5, 1839.<sup>51</sup> For the purpose of this analysis, I am assuming that infants two years of age and under traveled free.

Family or Individual	Rela.	From	Distance <sup>52</sup> km (m)	Funds (Thaler)	Members	Infants	Funds/person (Thaler)	Ref. <sup>53</sup>	
Hildemann, G	Head	Gramenz (Gramenzer Buschkathen)	506 (314)	500	11	1	50	a	
--Klug, S	Wife								
Klug, WA	Head								
--Winter, CF	Wife								
Winter, M	Head								
--Straede, C	Wife								
Lemke, JH	Head								Raffenberg (by Gramenz)
--Göhrke, J	Wife								

Three of these families traveled only as far as Buffalo, NY, in 1839. The status of the Lemke family could not be determined. All three families had serious illnesses during the voyage or when they arrived in Buffalo. Each family lost one or more members during the voyage or in Buffalo. The Hildemann and Winter families did not have sufficient funds to continue to Wisconsin. It is believed that the Klug family had sufficient funds to travel to Wisconsin but remained with the Winter family (his wife is the daughter of M. Winter). All three families are found in Pastor Grabau's church records and resided in the city of Buffalo and in Portage from 1839 into 1842. Portage is a small village (and township) in Livingston County, NY. The community in Portage included those who found employment on the Genesee Canal. It is not known if employment continued on the Genesee Canal year round, or was just seasonal employment until winter set in. The Hildemann, Klug, and Winter families eventually moved to Wisconsin after they earned enough money working for a few years.

We learn the financial situation of the following families from a copy of a government report that was obtained from the Stettin Archive in Poland. The report was prepared by a government bureaucrat in Labes, Kreis Regenwalde, and is dated May 25, 1839.<sup>54</sup>

Family or Individual	Rela.	From	Distance <sup>55</sup> km (m)	Funds (Thaler)	Members	Infants	Funds/person (Thaler)	Ref. <sup>56</sup>
Radü, A	head	Plathe	416 (258)	1000	5	1	200	e
--Klug, E	wife							
Neumann, F	head							
--Groth, F	wife			-	6	1	-	f
Klug, CF	head	Muddelmow	425 (264)	1200	1	0	240	g
--Klug, G	brother	Plathe	416 (258)					
--Klug, G	father	Muddelmow	425 (264)					
--Schumacher, S	mother	Muddelmow						
--Klug, F	brother	Muddelmow						
Klug, WC	head	Muddelmow	425 (264)	1300	1	0	260	h
--Schumacher, E	wife							
--Klug, HFW	son							
--Klug, HGA	son							
--Klug, AC	son				1	0		
Lynse, W (called Hell)	head	Muddelmow	425 (264)	-	1	0	-	i
Knuth, CF	head	Zowen	422 (262)	400	5	2	133	j
--Hannemann, FC	wife							

Family or Individual	Rela.	From	Distance <sup>55</sup> km (m)	Funds (Thaler)	Mem- bers	Infants	Funds/ person (Thaler)	Ref. <sup>56</sup>
Strei, CP	head	Rübenhagen	430 (267)	50	3	1	25	k
-Lüdke, C	wife							
Schumacher, J	head							
-Seefeld, H (widow of Lüdke)	wife	Plathe	416 (258)	150	1	0	50	l
-Lüdke, F	step-dau.							
Wolf, FPC	head							
-Iwen, LD	wife	Muddelmow	425 (264)	700	1	0	114	m
-Wolf, AME (widow nee Ehlke)	mother							
-Wolf, SMC	sister							
-Wolf, SLF	sister	Plathe	416 (258)	100	1	0	114	m
-Wolf, HME	sister							
-Wolf, CFW	brother							
Klug, JFF	head	Wisbu	429 (267)	550	4	1	183	n
-Manthey, W	wife							
Petermann, JC	head							
-Koeller, CD	wife	Zimmer- hausen	425 (264)	700	8	1	250	o
Klug, CF (widow)	mother							
-Klug, CG	step-son							
-Klug, JFG	son				1	0		p

Of these twelve families, six continued to Wisconsin, arriving in Milwaukee on the 8<sup>th</sup> of October.<sup>57</sup> Five of these families purchased land on November 5, 1839, in what is now Freistadt, Ozaukee County, WI. The family of Christian Friedrich Knuth did not purchase land in 1839; he was a blacksmith by trade and may have had no interest in farming. At the time, there probably was insufficient work in the Freistadt area for a blacksmith. We also know Mr. Knuth lost his wife on November 28, 1839, and had two small children to care for. We do not know if Mr. Knuth resided with his brother, Johann Gottlieb Knuth, who purchased land in the Freistadt community in 1839 or in the village of Milwaukee. Later, Christian Friedrich Knuth purchased land in the Freistadt community (1843), where he established a blacksmith shop. I am not counting Charlotte Friederike Klug's stepson, Carl Gottlieb Klug (who had his own funds), as a separate family/individual because it is likely he helped his stepmother develop the land she purchased in 1839 for a few years before he set out on his own. He first purchased land in 1841.

Families that continued on to Wisconsin in 1839	Funds (Thaler)	Members (excluding infants)	Trip Expense (Thaler)	Land Purchase (Acres)	Land Cost (Thaler)	Total Expense (Thaler)
Ernst August Gottlieb Radü (plus ½ the travel expense for the Neumann family <sup>58</sup> )	1000	4	260-320	1/3 of 160	103	488-573
	-	5	125-150	-	-	
Carl Friedrich Klug	1200	5	325-400	1/3 of 160	103	428-503
Wilhelm Christoph Klug	1300	5	325-400	1/3 of 160	103	428-503
Johann Friedrich Ferdinand Klug	550	3	195-240	160	308	503-548
Christian Friedrich Knuth	400	3	195-240	-	-	195-240
Charlotte Friederike Klug	700	3	195-240	160	308	503-548
-Carl Gottlieb Klug	300	1	65-80	-	-	65-80

These families traveled to Wisconsin with other families from the 1839 migration. Between twenty-five and forty "Old Lutheran" families and individuals came to Wisconsin in the fall of 1839. We do not know the funds available to these other families. It is likely that documentation exists at the Stettin Archive that would provide details on the funds available to these other families and individuals. The other families and individuals also purchased land in Wisconsin in November 1839. The parcels they purchased ranged in size from 40 acres to 160 acres. It is difficult to draw any firm conclusions from this limited data. It appears the wealthiest settlers were conservative with their funds, committing about 450-550 Thalers to the expense of the voyage and the purchase of land. One can see that this was not always the case; Johann Friedrich Ferdinand Klug was left with almost nothing after he purchased his property. Conserving funds was wise as the settlers still had to build their homes, purchase farm equipment and animals, clear their land, and have sufficient funds to live on until they could harvest their first crops. It is reported that when Captain von Rohr moved into his log cabin he had only \$1.00 left of his money. Others were in the same predicament, but those that still had funds were quick to give loans to those who needed it.<sup>59</sup>

It is unknown if any of the initial settlers found employment on other existing farms or in the village of Milwaukee until their farms were self-supporting. I am aware of a number of settlers who came to Wisconsin in the following couple of years who purchased land but lived and worked in Milwaukee for a number of years before they moved onto their farms.<sup>60</sup>

We also know that the Radü family helped cover the travel expenses for the Neumann family, although the exact cost of this is unknown. It is possible some of the other wealthier emigrants also helped cover the travel expenses of poorer members. Whether this was done as an outright gift or as a loan I do not know. I am not aware of any sources that document the details of such actions.

The other six families remained in Buffalo, NY, in 1839. Their names are recorded in Pastor Grabau's church records as residing in Buffalo and/or Portage from 1839 into 1842. Records show the Neumann, Strei, and Schumacher

families settled in Buffalo. The Hell, Wolf, and Petermann families eventually continued on to Wisconsin.

Families and individuals that remained in Buffalo in 1839	Funds (Thaler)	Members (excluding infants)	Trip Expense (Thaler)	C <sup>61</sup>	B	M	D	Resided	to WI
Gottlieb Hildemann	500	10	500-600	X		X	X	B	1841/2
Wilhelm August Klug	500	4	200-240	X	X		X	B, P	1842/3
Michael Winter	500	8	400-480	X	X		X	B, P	1841
Johann Heinrich Lemke	500	2	100-120						
Johann Carl Friedr. Neumann	-	5	250-300	X	X		X	B	No
Johann Carl Wilhelm Hell	-	1	50-60	X		X		B, P	1841/2
Carl Friedrich Strei	50	2	100-120		X		X	B	No
Johann Schumacher	150	3	150-180	X		X		B	No
Friedr. Philipp Christian Wolf	800	2	100-120	X				B	1841/2
Anna Maria Elisabeth Wolf		5	250-300	X		X		B	1841/2
Johann Christoph Petermann	-	7	350-420	X	X		X	B, P	1842

The Labes report does not state the funds available for the Neumann family, only that "Radü will cover the passage costs for them and their four little children." Similarly, the report does not tell us the funds available to Wilhelm Hell, only that "his maternal inheritance is how this one will defray the traveling expense." Wilhelm Hell was a single 22 year old minor<sup>62</sup> who emigrated without permission. The report does not state the funds available to the Petermann family.

From this limited data, we see that the Hildemann and Schumacher families only had the bare minimum of 50 Thalers per person and that the Neumann and Strei families had less than the minimum necessary for the migration. We also see that the Wolf family, who had the funds to move to Wisconsin, decided to remain in the Buffalo area initially.

There may have been situations where extended families might have pooled their resources for the migration. One example is the Hildemann, Klug, and Winter families. In the 1830s, the Winter, Klug, and Hildemann families all attended churches in the Witznitz parish. The Winter family lived in Rottnow, the Klug family in Muddelmow, and the Hildemann family in Natelfitz; all of which are small villages within a few kilometers of each other (in Kreis

Greifenberg and Kreis Regenwalde). Michael Winter's daughter married Wilhelm August Klug and Gottlieb Hildemann's wife, Sophia Klug, is believed to be related to Wilhelm August Klug. About 1837, these three families moved to an area called Gramenzer Buschkathen<sup>63</sup> in Kreis Neustettin. Iwan tells us that some of the emigrants from 1839 had applied to the government for permission to emigrate one and a half years before they actually received permission to leave. It is likely that the Winter, Klug, and Hildemann families had applied for permission to emigrate, sold their possessions (or had very few possessions) and were living in temporary housing until they could emigrate. It is not known how or if the Lemke family (living in Raffenberg near Gramenz) fit into this extended family. In the June 1839 letter, they claim each of these four families has exactly 500 Thalers. These coincidences lead one to believe the families pooled their resources for the migration.

### Appendix A

The emigrants traveled to America aboard six ships. The ship names are known and the original passenger lists or copies thereof are available from the US National Archives.<sup>64</sup> The passenger lists have been microfilmed and can be obtained from a number of sources including the US National Archives, Ancestry.com, LDS-Family History Centers, most state libraries, and some large local libraries. Transcribed copies can also be found on the Immigrant Ship Transcribers Guild website (<http://www.immigrantships.net/>).

The ships are as follows:

**Brig Caroline** – This ship departed from Hamburg on July 1, 1839, and reached the quarantine station in New York harbor on the 24<sup>th</sup> of August 1839. The possessions were picked up on the 27<sup>th</sup>. The passenger list from the National Archives is dated 27 August 1839. The list shows 84 total passengers and at least 70 of these are known Silesian Lutheran emigrants. The other 14 passengers may also be Silesian Lutherans but the names could not be verified, as they do not appear to match names listed by Iwan. It is reported that some or all of the new arrivals may have lodged at Georg Schwarz's guesthouse on Washington Street. They next day they went to Albany via steamboat and, after a short trip by train, continued to Buffalo. There, they met up with Pastor Krause, their pastor in Silesia, who had come to America nine months earlier.

There was a dispute in Hamburg between the Silesian Lutheran emigrants and Pastor Grabau who was the spiritual leader of the Saxon and Pommern emigrants. The Silesian Lutherans had hoped to join the larger contingent of Pommern and Saxon Lutherans on the voyage to America, but the dispute made this impossible. As such, the Silesians were forced to make their own travel arrangements.

**Ship Alfred** – This ship departed from Liverpool, England, and arrived in New York harbor. The passenger list is dated 05 September 1839. The list shows 181 total passengers, many of the names appear to be Pommern. There

are two accounts of the voyage to America by passengers on this ship. The first account is from a letter written by Johann Carl Wilhelm Pritzlaff in 1842 to his family that remained in Pommern. This is an extraction of the events given in his letter.

17 May 1839	Journey began as he said farewell to family and friends in Trieglaff, Kreis Greifenberg.
31 May 1839	Arrived in Hamburg, 14 days after he left home.
30 June 1839	Waited a full month for fellow countrymen.
01 July 1839	Departed Hamburg for England via steamboat.
04 July 1839	After 3 ½ days landed in Newcastle, England, where he spent an additional three days.
07 July 1839	Road by train to Carlisle and from there by steamboat to Liverpool. From here, we boarded the large three-masted sailing ship, <i>Alfred</i> .
11 July 1839	Began the voyage across the sea.
06 Sep 1839	Arrived New York harbor.
Unknown	Departed for Albany, NY, via steamship.
Unknown	Arrived Albany, NY.
Unknown	Departed for Buffalo, NY, via train and canal boat.
Unknown	Arrived in Buffalo, NY.

The second account is from a biography for Martin Friedrich Winter and was published in 1894. It is assumed Martin gave his account from memory, the biography reads in part:

Our subject was a lad of sixteen when, in 1839, the family came to America, landing in New York on the 7<sup>th</sup> of September, after a very stormy voyage of nine weeks and three days. They sailed from Hamburg, by way of Hull and Liverpool, and on reaching New York went to Buffalo....<sup>65</sup>

The difference in dates given is likely due to the fact that there are numerous dates to account for. The date the ship actually arrived in New York harbor, the date the ship arrived at the quarantine station, the date possessions were unloaded, the date the passengers actually disembarked, and when the passenger list was dated. It should also be noted that although the second account implies the Ship *Alfred* traveled from Hamburg to America, this was not the case. The emigrants traveled from Hamburg to England on different ships, then by train and boat to Liverpool. It was there that they boarded the ship *Alfred*. Based on the second account of the voyage taking nine weeks and three days, and assuming the starting point of the overall voyage as Hamburg, the departure date is about July 3, 1839.

**Ship Britannia** – This ship departed from Liverpool, England, and arrived in New York harbor. The passenger list is dated 05 September 1839. The list shows 250 total passengers, many names appear to be from Saxony and Bran-

denburg, but there are also some Pommern names.

**Ship Republic** – This ship departed from Liverpool, England, and arrived in New York harbor. The passenger list is dated 05 September 1839. A statement on the list tells us the ship arrived in port on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of September. The list shows 237 total passengers. This list is very badly damaged. Many of the names are Pommern. Again, it is not clear, why there are two different dates on the passenger list.

**Ship Georgiana** – This ship departed from Liverpool, England, and arrived in New York harbor. The passenger list is dated 06 September 1839. The list shows 197 total passengers, about 120 of the names appear to be from Pommern, Saxony, and Brandenburg. The other 77 passengers appear to be Irish.

**Ship Echo** – This ship departed from Liverpool, England, and arrived in New York harbor. The passenger list is dated 19 September 1839. The list shows 218 total passengers, the names appear to be from Pommern, Saxony, and Brandenburg. Pastor Grabau traveled on this ship.

## Appendix B

- a) Gottlieb **Hildemann** born ca 1797 in Natelfitz. Married Sophie **Klug** (widow of Martin Ludwig Marquard) born ca 1796 – died 03 Oct 1839 in Buffalo, NY
- Ernestine Caroline Friederike Marquard born ca 1819 in Wisbu. Married Georg Christian Lüders 26 Jan 1840 in Buffalo by Pastor Grabau.
  - Wilhelm (18)
  - Henriette born ca 1823 – died 19 Jul 1839 on the ocean.
  - August born ca 1825 – died 06 Aug 1839 on the ocean.
  - Gottlieb (12)
  - Johanna (9)
  - Heinrich (7)
  - Franz (4)
  - Christiane (1 ½)
  - Unnamed child born and died 01 Nov 1837 in Gramenzer Busch.

Arrived aboard the ship *Alfred*. Lived in Buffalo for a few years. Came to Milwaukee in late 1841 or in 1842. Pastor Krause labeled a “Hildemann” and a “Lemke” as heretics on 09 Jan 1842. Married Helena Bindig in Milwaukee, moved to Watertown, WI, in 1848. Father and second wife are buried in St. Paul's Lutheran cemetery, just outside of Watertown, WI.

- Church record from Gramenz in Kreis Neustettin.
- Iwan, Wilhelm “Old Lutheran Emigration of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century” English translation, Freistadt Historical Society, 2002, Chapter XX, p 19.

- Ship's Master, "Ship Alfred – 5 Sep 1839 Passenger List," various sources.
- Pastor Grabau "Trinity Old Lutheran church records," Buffalo, NY. ELCA Archive film #866.
- Lebrecht Friedrich Ehregott Krause (translated and edited by Roy A. Suelflow) "The Chronicle of Rev. L.F.E. Krause," published by Trinity Lutheran church of Freistadt, WI, p 9.
- Correspondence with Eric (a Hildemann descendant) beginning in Jul 2007.

- b) Wilhelm August **Klug** born 17 Jul 1813[or 1812 or 1816] in Muddelmow – died 08 Aug 1844 in Kirchhayn, WI. Married 12 Sep 1834 in Rottnow to Caroline Friederike **Winter** born 24 Oct 1812 in Marquardsmühl [daughter of Michael Winter below]
- Wilhelm Friedrich August Winter born 08 Apr 1834 in Rottnow (illegitimate son).
  - Gottlieb Christoph born 24 Jul 1835 in Muddelmow.
  - Johann Ernst Heinrich born 24 Oct 1836 in Muddelmow – died 19 Aug 1839 on the ocean.
  - Carl Wilhelm Friedrich born 04 Jul 1838 in Gramenzer Busch – died 10 Oct 1839 in Buffalo, NY.
  - Friedrich Wilhelm born 20 Nov 1840 in Portage Township, Livingston County, NY.
  - Caroline Maria Wilhelmine born 08 Sep 1842 in Buffalo, NY.

Arrived aboard the ship Britannia. Lived in Buffalo and Portage for a few years. Came to Milwaukee in late 1842 or in 1843. Caroline Friederike Klug nee Winter married Christian Friedrich Sell in 1846 in Freistadt, moved to Sherman Township, Sheboygan County, WI (ca 1854). Caroline and her second husband are buried in St. Paul's Lutheran Cemetery, Sherman Township, Sheboygan County, WI.

- Church records from Woldenburg in Kreis Regenwalde, Gramenz in Kreis Neustettin, Trinity Lutheran Church in Freistadt, David's Star Lutheran Church in Kirchhayn, and St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Sherman Township, Sheboygan County, WI.
- Iwan, Wilhelm "Old Lutheran Emigration of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century" English translation, Freistadt Historical Society, 2002, Chapter XX, p 19.
- Ship's Master, "Ship Britannia – 5 Sep 1839 Passenger List," various sources.
- Pastor Grabau "Trinity Old Lutheran Church records," Buffalo, NY. ELCA Archive film #866.
- Freistadt Historical Society, "Freistadt and the Lutheran Immigration" Mequon, WI, 1998 Reprint, p 39, 88-89.
- US Census records
- Personal research

- c) Michael **Winter** born 29 Sep 1783 in Revenow. Married Christiane **Straede** born 02 Oct 1791
- Caroline Friederike born 24 Oct 1812 in Marquardsmühl. Married to Wilhelm August Klug in (b).
  - Maria Wilhelmine Friederike born 17 Apr 1817 in Kreis Cammin
  - Anna Sophia born 17 Sep 1818. She remained in Pommern in 1839. Married in 1844 to Carl Friedrich Julius Ströde. Their family emigrated in 1847.
  - Louise Friederike born ca 1820 – died 08 Oct 1839 in Buffalo, NY.
  - Johann Daniel Friedrich born 06 Apr 1821 in Kreis Cammin.
  - Martin Friedrich born 27 Feb 1823 in Revenow.
  - Michael Friedrich born 08 Aug 1825.
  - Johanne Charlotte Louise born 23 Oct 1829 in Rottnow.
  - Johann Philipp born 25 Jun 1831 in Rottnow – died 07 Jul 1831 in Rottnow.

Arrived aboard the ship Alfred. Lived in Buffalo and Portage for a few years. Filed Declaration of Intent on 15 Oct 1840 in Allegheny County, NY. Came to Milwaukee in 1841. Moved to Mequon Township, Ozaukee County, WI, (ca. 1848) then to Sherman Township, Sheboygan County, WI, ca 1853. Parents are buried in St. Paul's Lutheran Cemetery, Sherman Township, Sheboygan County, WI.

- Church records from Woldenburg in Kreis Regenwalde, Gramenz in Kreis Neustettin, Trinity Lutheran Church in Freistadt, Pastor Klügel's baptism records from church in Mequon, and St. Paul's Lutheran church in Sherman Township, Sheboygan County, WI.
  - Iwan, Wilhelm "Old Lutheran Emigration of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century" English translation, Freistadt Historical Society, 2002, Chapter XX, p 19.
  - Ship's Master, "Ship Alfred – 5 Sep 1839 Passenger List," various sources.
  - Pastor Grabau "Trinity Old Lutheran Church records," Buffalo, NY. ELCA Archive film #866.
  - Lebrecht Friedrich Ehregott Krause (translated and edited by Roy A. Suelflow) "The Chronicle of Rev. L.F.E. Krause," published by Trinity Lutheran Church of Freistadt, WI, p 8, 10, and 19.
  - Freistadt Historical Society, "Freistadt and the Lutheran Immigration" Mequon, WI, 1998 Reprint, p 91.
  - US Census records
  - Personal research
- d) Johann Heinrich **Lemke** (41). Married Johanna **Göhrke**.
- Christian Daniel Gottlieb (1)

I could not positively identify this family on any of the six ship's passenger lists and I was unable to identify the family residing in the Buffalo area or

in Wisconsin. There are a number of Lemke names listed in Pastor Grabau's church records. In 1840, Grabau records Lemke and Frau Lemke as receiving Communion in Portage. In 1840, a Franz Lemke is listed as a baptism sponsor for a Höckendorf child; Frau Charlotte Lemke is listed as a baptism sponsor for a Hinz child; and schoolteacher August Lemke is a baptism sponsor for a Mildebrath child. Pastor Krause labeled a "Hildemann" and a "Lemke" as heretics on 09 Jan 1842.

- Iwan, Wilhelm "Old Lutheran Emigration of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century" English translation, Freistadt Historical Society, 2002, Chapter XX, p 19.
- Pastor Grabau "Trinity Old Lutheran Church records," Buffalo, NY. ELCA Archive film #866.
- Lebrecht Friedrich Ehregott Krause (translated and edited by Roy A. Suelflow) "The Chronicle of Rev. L.F.E. Krause," published by Trinity Lutheran church of Freistadt, WI, p 9.

- e) Ernst August Gottlieb **Radü** born 21 Jul 1800. Married in 1824 to Ernestine Charlotte Caroline **Klug** born 21 Jul 1804 at Pinnow. Her parents are Adam Friedrich Klug and Sophia Louise Schumacher.
- Ernestine (7)
  - August (5)
  - Bertha (2)

Arrived aboard the ship Alfred. Came to Milwaukee in 1839. Purchased 1/3 of 160 acres of land in the Freistadt area on 05 Nov 1839. The other 2/3 of 160 acres were sold to relatives of his wife, see (g) and (h).

- Iwan, Wilhelm "Old Lutheran Emigration of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century" English translation, Freistadt Historical Society, 2002, Chapter XX, p 15.
- Ship's Master, "Ship Alfred – 5 Sep 1839 Passenger List," various sources.
- Lebrecht Friedrich Ehregott Krause (translated and edited by Roy A. Suelflow) "The Chronicle of Rev. L.F.E. Krause," published by Trinity Lutheran Church of Freistadt, WI, p 8.
- Freistadt Historical Society, "Freistadt and the Lutheran Immigration" Mequon, WI, 1998 Reprint, p 43-44.

- f) Johann Carl Friedrich **Neumann** (36). Married Friederike **Groth** (37).
- Bertha (9)
  - Johann (7)
  - Karl (3)
  - Gustav (1)
  - Ferdinand Ernst Friedrich born 06 Oct 1839 in Buffalo – died 08 Jul 1840 in Buffalo.
  - Johannes Christian Martin born 06 Sep 1841 in Buffalo.

Arrived aboard the ship Alfred. Remained in Buffalo, listed in the 1850, 1860, and 1870 censuses living in Buffalo, NY.

- Iwan, Wilhelm "Old Lutheran Emigration of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century" English translation, Freistadt Historical Society, 2002, Chapter XX, p 15.
- Ship's Master, "Ship Alfred – 5 Sep 1839 Passenger List," various sources.
- Pastor Grabau "Trinity Old Lutheran Church records," Buffalo, NY. ELCA Archive film #866.
- US Census records

- g) Carl Friedrich Wilhelm **Klug** born 01 May 1799. His parents are Adam Friedrich Klug and Sophia Louise Schumacher. He is brother to Ernestine Charlotte Caroline Radü nee Klug.
- Stepfather Adam Gottlieb Klug born 11 Jan 1775. Married in 1805 to his mother Sophia Louise Schumacher (widow of Adam Friedrich Klug) born ca 1778.
  - Johann Gotthilf born May 1810 and died Nov 1825 in Muddelmow.
  - Wilhelm August born 17 Jul 1813 in Muddelmow [husband to Caroline Friederike Winter in (b)].
  - Gottlieb Christoph born 15 Mar 1816 in Muddelmow.
  - Franz born 02 Jul 1823 in Muddelmow.

Arrived aboard the ship Alfred. Came to Milwaukee in 1839. Carl Friedrich Wilhelm purchased 1/3 of 160 acres of land in the Freistadt area on 05 Nov 1839 [purchased with or from Radü in (e)].

- Church records from Woldenburg in Kreis Regenwalde, Trinity in Freistadt.
- Iwan, Wilhelm "Old Lutheran Emigration of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century" English translation, Freistadt Historical Society, 2002, Chapter XX, p 15.
- Ship's Master, "Ship Alfred – 5 Sep 1839 Passenger List," various sources.
- Freistadt Historical Society, "Freistadt and the Lutheran Immigration" Mequon, WI, 1998 Reprint, p 38-39.
- US Census records.

- h) Wilhelm Christoph **Klug** born ca 1778. Married in 1809 to Ester Maria **Schumacher** born ca 1782.
- Heinrich Friedrich Wilhelm born 7 Jun 1817.
  - Heinrich Gottlieb August born 29 Mar 1820.
  - August Carl born 27 Dec 1823.

Arrived aboard the ship Alfred. Came to Milwaukee in 1839. Wilhelm Christoph purchased 1/3 of 160 acres of land in the Freistadt area on 05 Nov 1839 [purchased with or from Radü in (e)]. It is not clear how or if this family

is related to Ernestine Charlotte Caroline Radü nee Klug.

- Iwan, Wilhelm "Old Lutheran Emigration of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century" English translation, Freistadt Historical Society, 2002, Chapter XX, p 15.
- Ship's Master, "Ship Alfred – 5 Sep 1839 Passenger List," various sources.
- Freistadt Historical Society, "Freistadt and the Lutheran Immigration" Mequon, WI, 1998 Reprint, p 40-41.
- US Census records

i) Johann Carl Wilhelm **Hell** born 04 Apr 1817 at Walsleben, Kreis Naugard. He is the illegitimate child of Christina Dorothea Louise Lynse and the Gutspächter, Hell, from Heinrichsdorf. He emigrated without permission.

Believe he arrived aboard the ship Alfred. Lived in Buffalo and Portage for a few years. Married 26 Jan 1840 in Buffalo to Sophia Maria Caroline Wolf – performed by Pastor Grabau. Came to Milwaukee in late 1841 or in 1842. Purchased land in Freistadt in 1842 and 1843. Resided in Milwaukee until 1846 then moved to his farm in Freistadt.

- Iwan, Wilhelm "Old Lutheran Emigration of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century" English translation, Freistadt Historical Society, 2002, Chapter XX, p 15.
- Ship's Master, "Ship Alfred – 5 Sep 1839 Passenger List," various sources.
- Pastor Grabau "Trinity Old Lutheran Church records," Buffalo, NY. ELCA Archive film #866.
- Church records from St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Milwaukee and Trinity Lutheran Church in Freistadt.
- Freistadt Historical Society, "Freistadt and the Lutheran Immigration" Mequon, WI, 1998 Reprint, p 65-66
- US Census records

j) Christian Friedrich **Knuth** born 07 Jan 1805 at Treptow, Kreis Greifenberg. Married Friedericke Charlotte **Hannemann** born ca 1808 – died 28 Nov 1839 on the country road to Green Bay, Milwaukee or Washington County, Wisconsin Territory.

- Wilhelmine Auguste born 22 Dec 1835 – died 04 Jan 1840 on the country road to Green Bay in Milwaukee or Washington County, Wisconsin Territory.
- Johanne Louise Ernestine born 14 May 1837.
- Caroline Augustine born 18 Nov 1838 in Zowen, Kreis Regenwalde – died 04 Oct 1839 on the voyage over the Great Lakes to Milwaukee.

Arrived aboard the ship Alfred – there is an "Albertina" age 15 traveling with the Knuth family. With three children under the age of four, it is believed she is a servant/helper for the family and is the daughter of another family

aboard this ship. Came to Milwaukee in 1839. Was a blacksmith, did not purchase land until 1843.

- Iwan, Wilhelm "Old Lutheran Emigration of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century" English translation, Freistadt Historical Society, 2002, Chapter XX, p 15.
- Ship's Master, "Ship Alfred – 5 Sep 1839 Passenger List," various sources.
- Pastor Grabau "Trinity Old Lutheran church records," Buffalo, NY. ELCA Archive film #866.
- Freistadt Historical Society, "By the Grace of God," Mequon, WI, Volume Two, 1964, p 54.
- Freistadt Historical Society, "Freistadt and the Lutheran Immigration" Mequon, WI, 1998 Reprint, p 42.
- US Census records

k) Casper Friedrich **Strei** (42). Married Caroline **Lüdke** (25).

- Auguste Wilhelmine born ca 1837 – died 13 Nov 1839 in Buffalo.
- Christian Friedrich Wilhelm born 01 Sep 1841 in Buffalo.

Arrived aboard the ship Alfred. There are various spellings for this surname in the records; they include Strey, Strie, Streich, Struck, Streig, etc. Remained in Buffalo, listed in the 1850, 1860, and 1870 censuses living in Buffalo, NY.

- Iwan, Wilhelm "Old Lutheran Emigration of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century" English translation, Freistadt Historical Society, 2002, Chapter XX, p 15
- Ship's Master, "Ship Alfred – 5 Sep 1839 Passenger List," various sources
- Pastor Grabau "Trinity Old Lutheran Church records," Buffalo, NY. ELCA Archive film #866
- US Census records

l) Johann **Schumacher** (42). Married Henriette **Seefeld** (52), previously married to Michael Friedrich Lüdke (also spelled Lütke).

- Henriette Friederike Lüdke born Jan 1822 in Költkow, Kreis Greifenberg. Married 02 Feb 1841 in Buffalo to August Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger from Karnitz, Kreis Greifenberg – performed by Pastor Grabau. She died 13 Nov 1841 in Buffalo.

Arrived aboard the ship Alfred. Remained in Buffalo, Henriette is listed in the 1850 and 1860 censuses living in Buffalo, NY, with the Strey family. Johann is not listed in the census records; it is assumed he died prior to 1850.

- Iwan, Wilhelm "Old Lutheran Emigration of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century" English translation, Freistadt Historical Society, 2002, Chapter XX, p 15.
- Ship's Master, "Ship Alfred – 5 Sep 1839 Passenger List," various sources.



- Pastor Grabau "Trinity Old Lutheran Church records," Buffalo, NY. ELCA Archive film #866.
  - US Census records
- m) Friedrich Philipp Christian **Wolf** born 30 Jan 1812. Married 02 Oct 1838 to Louisa Dorothea **Iwen** born 11 Sep 1811 in Drewitz, Kreis Cammin.
- Mother Anna Maria Elisabeth Wolf nee Ehlke born ca. 1783. Widow of Johann Christian Wolf.
  - Sophie Luise Friederike born ca. 1815 in Stuchow, Kreis Cammin. Married 19 Jul 1840 in Buffalo to widower Andreas Christian Friedrich Mauer – performed by Pastor Grabau.
  - Sophia Maria Caroline born 06 Jul 1818 in Stuchow, Kreis Cammin. Married to Johann Carl Wilhelm Hell(i).
  - Carl Friedrich Wilhelm born 29 May 1821 in Stuchow, Kreis Cammin
  - Hanna Maria Elisabeth born ca 1825.

Arrived aboard the ship Alfred. Lived in Buffalo for a few years. Came to Milwaukee in late 1841 or in 1842. Purchased land in Freistadt on 15 Jan 1844. Lived in Milwaukee for a number of years before moving to farm in Freistadt. Friedrich Philipp Christian Wolf, his wife and children, eventually moved to Sherman Township, Sheboygan County, WI.

- Iwan, Wilhelm "Old Lutheran Emigration of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century" English translation, Freistadt Historical Society, 2002, Chapter XX, p 15.
- Ship's Master, "Ship Alfred – 5 Sep 1839 Passenger List," various sources
- Pastor Grabau "Trinity Old Lutheran church records," Buffalo, NY. ELCA Archive film #866.
- Church records from St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Milwaukee, Trinity Lutheran churches in Freistadt, and St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Sherman Township, Sheboygan County, WI.
- Freistadt Historical Society, "Freistadt and the Lutheran Immigration" Mequon, WI, 1998 Reprint, p 92, 98.
- US Census records

- n) Johann Friedrich Ferdinand **Klug** born 25 Dec 1802 in Kummerow, Kreis Regenwalde. Married to Maria Carolina Wilhelmina **Manthey** born 17 Dec 1808 in Repekow, Kreis Cöslin. Her name is also spelled Manthei, Mantey, and Mantei.
- Hanna born ca 1826.
  - Friederike born ca 1837.
  - Johann Friedrich Gotthilf born 31 Aug 1839 on the Atlantic Ocean.

Arrived aboard the ship Georgiana. Came to Milwaukee in 1839. Purchased 160 acres of land in the Freistadt area on 05 Nov 1839.

- Iwan, Wilhelm "Old Lutheran Emigration of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century" English translation, Freistadt Historical Society, 2002, Chapter XX, p 15.
  - Ship's Master, "Ship Georgiana – 6 Sep 1839 Passenger List," various sources.
  - Church records from St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Milwaukee and Trinity Lutheran churches in Freistadt.
  - Freistadt Historical Society, "Freistadt and the Lutheran Immigration" Mequon, WI, 1998 Reprint, p 40.
  - US Census records
- o) Johann Christoph **Petermann** (44). Married to Caroline Dorothea **Köller** (40).
- Heinrich Friedrich Franz born ca 1823 – died 15 Oct 1839 in Buffalo.
  - Wilhelm (14)
  - Wilhelmine (12)
  - August (10)
  - Friederike (4)
  - Bertha Caroline Henriette born ca 1838 – died 15 Dec 1839 in Buffalo.
  - Heinrich Franz Ferdinand born 9 Aug 1841 in Buffalo.

Arrived aboard the ship Georgiana. Lived in Buffalo for a few years. Came to Milwaukee in late 1842 - a Petermann researcher indicated the family came to Wisconsin over land via a covered wagon. Resided in Kirchhayn where a daughter was born in 1844, eventually moved to Minnesota.

- Iwan, Wilhelm "Old Lutheran Emigration of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century" English translation, Freistadt Historical Society, 2002, Chapter XX, p 15.
- Ship's Master, "Ship Georgiana – 6 Sep 1839 Passenger List," various sources.
- Pastor Grabau "Trinity Old Lutheran Church records," Buffalo, NY. ELCA Archive film #866.
- Freistadt Historical Society, "Freistadt and the Lutheran Immigration" Mequon, WI, 1998 Reprint, p 100.
- US Census records
- Correspondence with Pat M. (a Petermann descendant) beginning in Jul 2007

- p) Widow Charlotte Friederike **Klug** born ca 1799.
- Stepson Carl Gottlieb Klug, listed as Carl Gotthilf Ludwig in Wisconsin, born 08 Oct 1810 in Kummerow, Kreis Regenwalde. Father is listed as Jacob Klug.
  - Johann Friedrich Gotthilf Klug born 05 Jun 1821 in Justin
  - Friederike born ca 1824

Arrived aboard the ship Alfred. Came to Milwaukee in 1839. Charlotte

Friederike purchased 160 acres of land in the Freistadt area on 05 Nov 1839.

- Iwan, Wilhelm "Old Lutheran Emigration of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century" English translation, Freistadt Historical Society, 2002, Chapter XX, p 15.
- Ship's Master, "Ship Alfred – 5 Sep 1839 Passenger List," various sources.
- Freistadt Historical Society, "Freistadt and the Lutheran Immigration," Mequon, WI, 1998 Reprint, p 39-40.
- US Census records

### Endnotes

1. The word 'agenda' in this instance refers to the official books dealing with the forms and ceremonies of divine services. Divine services include, but are not limited to, celebration of the mass, morning and evening prayers, baptism service, marriage service, and service for the dead. These rituals developed over time and eventually became the customary form of worship. As various rituals became standard practice, they were published in books so that all clergy of that religion could follow the same form and ceremony. Such books of procedures are known by various names (i.e., manuals, obsequies, benedictions, rituals, agendas, etc.).
2. The reader is directed to the following sources for additional information on these events.
  - ◆ Wilhelm Iwan, *English Translation of Die Altlutherische Auswanderung um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* ["Old Lutheran" Emigration of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century], trans. Brian Lutz, (Freistadt Historical Society, 2002).
  - ◆ Lieselotte Clemens, *Old Lutheran Emigration from Pommern to the U.S.A. – History and Motivation 1839-1843*, trans. James Laming. (Kiel, Federal Republic of Germany: Pomeranian Foundation, 1976).
  - ◆ Trinity Lutheran Church, *Freistadt and the Lutheran Immigration* (Freistadt, WI: Freistadt Historical Society, 1998 Reprint).
  - ◆ Roy and August Suelflow, *1839-1954 – Volume One* (Freistadt, WI: Trinity Lutheran Church, 1954).
  - ◆ Trinity Lutheran Church, *By the Grace of God – Volume 2* (Freistadt, WI: Trinity Lutheran Church, 1964).
3. Stettin Archive: ul. Św. Wojciecha 13, 70-410 Szczecin, Poland.
4. Wilhelm Iwan, "Old Lutheran" Emigration of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century, trans. Brian Lutz, (Freistadt Historical Society, 2002), Volume I, p 139.
5. Ibid., p 175.
6. Distances calculated using the website: <http://www.de.map24.com/> – shortest distance by car was used, all Pommern villages via Stettin.
7. Wilhelm Iwan, "Old Lutheran" Emigration of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century, trans. Brian Lutz, (Freistadt Historical Society, 2002), Volume I, p 131. The entry reads "1 Thaler and 15 silver Groschen." At this time, there were 30 silver Groschen to a Thaler.
8. Silver Thalers coins have been minted since at least 1518 and were issued

by various European countries. The amount of silver in these coins varied over time and by country. In 1750, Prussia adopted the Reichsthaler (often called Thaler) containing 1/14 of a Cologne mark of silver. In 1857, Prussia adopted the Vereinsthaler, which were issued until 1871. Within the new German Empire, Vereinsthaler coins circulated as 3 Mark pieces until 1908 when they were withdrawn and demonetized. Gold Thaler coins of various denominations were also issued, but the common coin in everyday use was the silver Thaler. In 1839, the silver Thaler is estimated to be worth \$0.65 US.

9. Wilhelm Iwan, "Old Lutheran" Emigration of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century, trans. Brian Lutz, (Freistadt Historical Society, 2002), Volume I, p 135.
10. Ibid., p 156.
11. Trinity Lutheran Church, *Freistadt and the Lutheran Immigration* (Freistadt, WI: Freistadt Historical Society, 1998 Reprint), p 22-23.
12. Wilhelm Iwan, "Old Lutheran" Emigration of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century, trans. Brian Lutz, (Freistadt Historical Society, 2002), Volume I, p 167.
13. Ibid., p 218.
14. See Appendix A for the names of the actual ships and additional details on this leg of the voyage.
15. Wilhelm Iwan, "Old Lutheran" Emigration of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century, trans. Brian Lutz, (Freistadt Historical Society, 2002), Volume I, p 148.
16. Ibid., p 148.
17. Ibid., p 150.
18. Ibid., p 151.
19. Ibid., p 166.
20. Ibid., p 168.
21. Ibid., p 218.
22. Ibid., p 168.
23. Based on the ship *Caroline* passenger list, this group was between 70 and 84 people.
24. Wilhelm Iwan, "Old Lutheran" Emigration of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century, trans. Brian Lutz, (Freistadt Historical Society, 2002), Volume I, p 175. At this time, there are 30 silver groschen to a Thaler.
25. Ibid., Chapter XX, p 24. Husband, wife, six children, and mother - however, a son died on September 19 and is buried on Staten Island, NY.
26. Ibid., Volume I, p 218.
27. James Cooke Mills, *Our Inland Seas – Their Shipping & Commerce For Three Centuries* (A. C. McClurg and Company, 1910), p 89-99.
28. St. Joseph is a community in the state of Michigan located at the confines of the St. Joseph River and Lake Michigan, it is located near the Michigan/Indiana boarder. I am assuming this also includes passage to Milwaukee.
29. James Cooke Mills, *Our Inland Seas – Their Shipping & Commerce For Three Centuries* (A. C. McClurg and Company, 1910), p 117.
30. The first screw-propelled steamer on the Great Lakes was built in 1841. Ibid., p 128.

31. James Cooke Mills, *Our Inland Seas – Their Shipping & Commerce For Three Centuries* (A. C. McClurg and Company, 1910), p 116-123.
32. Walter D. Kamphoefner et. al., *News from the Land of Freedom, German Immigrants Write Home*, trans. Susan Carter Vogel (Cornell University Press, 1991) p 306.
33. Dr. Carl De Haas, *North America Wisconsin Hints for Emigrants*, trans. F. J. Rueping (personal report of his journey, dated 23 Oct 1847).
34. Daniel S. Curtiss, *Western Portraiture and Emigrants' Guide: A Description of Wisconsin, Illinois, and Iowa; with Remarks on Minnesota, and other Territories* (J. H. Colton, 1852) p 31.
35. Wilhelm Iwan, "Old Lutheran" *Emigration of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century*, trans. Brian Lutz, (Freistadt Historical Society, 2002), Volume I, p 218.
36. Jacob R. Eckfeldt and William E. Du Bois, *A Manual of Gold and Silver Coins of all Nations* (Office of the Mint, 1842), p 104.
37. *Daily Sentinel and Gazette*, Milwaukee, WI, June 9, 1846, p 2 column 4.
38. Trinity Lutheran Church, *Freistadt and the Lutheran Immigration* (Freistadt, WI: Freistadt Historical Society, 1998 Reprint), p 27 – letter by Johann Carl Wilhelm Pritzlaff.
39. *Milwaukee Sentinel*, April 12, 1843, p 2, column 3.
40. Trinity Lutheran Church, *Freistadt and the Lutheran Immigration* (Freistadt, WI: Freistadt Historical Society, 1998 Reprint), p 27.
41. Julius P. Bolivar MacCabe, *Milwaukee City Directory*, 1847, p 143.
42. *Daily Sentinel and Gazette*, Milwaukee, WI, November 23, 1847, p 2, column 5.
43. Rufus King, *Milwaukee City Directory*, 1848, p.24.
44. *Milwaukee Sentinel and Gazette*, September 5, 1849, p 2, column 6.
45. *The New York Times*, July 7, 1858, p 8, column 3.
46. <http://www.westegg.com/inflation/> – accessed May 2009
47. <http://www.halfhill.com/inflation.html> – accessed May 2009
48. <http://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/uscompare/index.php> – accessed May 2009
49. Wilhelm Iwan, "Old Lutheran" *Emigration of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century*, trans. Brian Lutz, (Freistadt Historical Society, 2002), Volume I, p 261. Buffalo land price is a conservative estimate of the cost of undeveloped land in the Buffalo area in 1839. The estimate is based on 1843 land prices in the Buffalo area as described in Iwan's book. Developed land was more expensive.
50. Conversion at \$0.65 per Thaler.
51. Stettin Archive: ul. Św. Wojciecha 13, 70-410 Szczecin, Poland. Archive number 65, Fond 92, Sygnatura 9747, p 33-34.
52. All distances calculated using current road maps, shortest distance, passing through Stettin to Hamburg. <http://www.de.map24.com/>
53. See Appendix B for details about family members.
54. Stettin Archive: ul. Św. Wojciecha 13, 70-410 Szczecin, Poland. Archive number 65, Fond 92, Sygnatura 9753, p 60-62.
55. All distances calculated using current road maps, shortest distance, passing

- through Stettin to Hamburg. <http://www.de.map24.com/>
56. See Appendix B for details about family members.
57. Various Pastors, *St. Paul's Lutheran Church Book*, Sherman Township, Sheboygan County, WI. Death entry from May 21, 1889, for Anna Christina Klug nee Knuth.
58. For the purpose of this analysis, I am assuming the Neumann family had some funds of their own and Radü only paid half of the cost of the migration to Buffalo.
59. Trinity Lutheran Church, "By the Grace of God – Volume 2" (Freistadt, WI: Trinity Lutheran Church, 1964), p 27.
60. Winter, Hell, Wolf families.
61. Pastor Grabau, *Trinity Old Lutheran Church Book*, Buffalo, NY. ELCA Archive film #866. C = Communion, B = Baptism, M = Marriage, D = Death. Resided: B = Buffalo, P = Portage.
62. Available documents for this period imply young adults were considered minors until the age of 25 at least as far as guardianship and inheritance laws were concerned. There is also evidence in Pommern church books from the 1800s that young adults (under 25 years of age) needed their parent's or guardian's approval to marry. I have not been able to discover the exact nature of Prussian law covering this subject.
63. The letter states the village name as Gramenzer Buschkathen, however, I have found no village by that name. The actual village/area name is Gramenzer Busch. A knowledgeable German colleague informed me that "katen, singular kate, older German spelling – kathen, are very small huts similar to a cottage. Not really used for year-round housing but for more seasonal use such as, tree cutting, fishing, etc. Some exceptions naturally are there in year-around living."

The WELS Historical Institute was given formal approval by the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (WELS) in convention in 1981 to organize for the purpose of collecting and preserving historical data and artifacts that are related to the various periods of Lutheranism in America, especially of the WELS. In recent years the synod took over the responsibility of maintaining the archives. The Institute maintains a museum and publishes a *JOURNAL* and *NEWSLETTER*. Membership is open. Fees are as follows, which include the subscription fees: Individual: \$20.00; Husband/Wife: \$25.00 (2 votes but only one publication issue); Congregation, School, Library, Corporation: \$40.00; and Student: \$15.00. Fees may be sent to the WELS Historical Institute, 2929 N. Mayfair Road, Milwaukee, WI 53222.

The board members are: Prof. Robert Bock, president; Prof. Alan Sigelkow, vice president; Naomi Plocher, secretary; Duane Kuehl, treasurer; Prof. Joel Pless, Steven Miller, Daniel Nommensen, and Rev. Raymond Schumacher. Advisory members are: Prof. John Hartwig, Dr. Arnold Lehmann, and Charlotte Sampe, curator.

**For membership information contact:**

Pastor Ray Schumacher  
(414) 615-5708 • [schumacherr@nps.wels.net](mailto:schumacherr@nps.wels.net)

**Correspondence may be sent to the editor:**

Professor John M. Brenner  
11844 N. Luther Lane • Mequon, WI 53092  
(414) 242 - 8138 • Email: [brennerj@wls.wels.net](mailto:brennerj@wls.wels.net)