

The Exile Herald

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Society of the Descendants of the Schwenkfeldian Exiles*

The Exile Herald

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The basis of membership is descent from one of the exiles. The dues are \$3 a year. This includes payment of subscription to the EXILE HERALD, a quarterly publication.

Schwenkfelder News

This Issue

Not for two years has the list of members of the Society been printed. Study the names as given at the end of the book. If any of the initials or addresses are incorrect, the secretary will deem it a favor if you will send him the information. Perhaps you know men or women who are eligible to membership and yet do not appear upon the roll. Ask them to join.

Henry S. Kriebel

The EXILE HERALD is called upon to announce the death of another member of the Board of Governors of the Society in the passing of Henry S. Kriebel. He was always faithful in attendance upon the meetings of the Board. He and his wife hospitably entertained the Society several years ago at the spring meeting at their home in North Wales, and the Society had a standing invitation to meet there again. Mr. Kriebel renewed his invitation a year ago, when it was decided to meet at Valley Forge because of the historical associations and addresses planned for that meeting.

Mr. Kriebel will be missed in many places. He was 76 years old and is survived by the widow and four children. He was a member of the Reformed Church of North Wales.

Dr. Anders Honored

Few citizens of Philadelphia have been honored as was our own Dr. Anders, president of the Society, when on November 29, hundreds of men high in the professional life of the city gave him a banquet at the Bellevue-Stratford. University and college presidents, writers, physicians and professors were present. The event marked the end of fifty years Dr. Anders has spent in the practice of medicine and brought forth a series of tributes seldom equaled anywhere. A bust of Dr. Anders was unveiled during the evening, and a poem in his honor read by the author, Mrs. G. Oram Ring. Dr. Anders has had 150 printed contributions to the science of medicine, and one of his books has had fourteen editions.

Miss Mary Wagener Schott

At the age of 82 Miss Mary Wagener Schott died at her home in Philadelphia, February 14. She was a member of the Society and was descended from Capt. Schott who was on the

staff of Washington. She left an estate of \$160,000 and appointed Judge Porter, vice-president of our Society, as executor. Numerous bequests were made to Holy Trinity Church which she served as a Bible teacher for fifty years, and to many hospitals and similar institutions in the city and elsewhere.

Mrs. Emma Goettelmann

Mrs. Emma Goettelmann, mother of Dr. Getelman, treasurer of the Society, was struck by an automobile and so badly injured that she died a few days later, December 16. She was hit while returning from Sunday services at the Masonic Home.

Brief Items

Mrs. John L. Farrell, a member of the Board of Governors who is doing some research work on the landing place of the vessels carrying our ancestors to Philadelphia is historian of the Norwood Century Club. She has a series of six books showing the growth of the Club.

Local newspapers have been interviewing Owen Roberts on a number of subjects lately. The "Ledger" quoted him to the effect that practices of modern corporations are on a higher ethical plane than those of a generation ago.

The Strife for Individuality

By JUDGE JOSEPH BUFFINGTON

President Judge of the U. S. Circuit Court, Philadelphia

At Meeting of the Society November 19, 1926

IT is a wonderful thing that there has been more discussion and more written about the memorial of the One Man in human history whom no one has ever criticized, and yet he never wrote a word. Thank God that Christ never wrote anything. The discussion of the simple memorial that Christ gave us of a body broken in service and of blood unselfishly shed, has been the subject of discussion and dispute and has wrecked kingdoms and families and brought men to the stake. One of the weaknesses of humanity is that it had lost sight of the fact that Christ's greatness consisted in what he was, in the character of the man, and after two thousand years it is all summed up in one thing—He went about doing good. I was struck with that thing this past summer, of how the Old World had treated these things. I am not finding fault with them. It was the outgrowth of the ages—how the Old World had treated these great mysteries of the Divine, the broken body and the shed blood, and how fierce had been the human conflicts over that broken body and shed blood, causing it to be broken anew and anew.

I went into the unchanging face of Rome and there I saw that the man who had wiped out the Huguenots is canonized and revered, without a word of apology for that. Unchanging and unchanged spirit of Rome!

I went over to Florence. I wanted to see Savonarola, that man who has done so much for liberty and government, and after I had seen the place where they had burned him, I went up and hunted the place where Savonarola had worked. I saw the desk where he penned his great thoughts. I looked out of the windows where he had looked out and where his soul had gone out in idealism and aspiration. Then I came back to where he had died at the stake. I went over to Geneva and hunted up the place where Calvin had burned Cervetus at another stake and where the descendants of Calvin had erected monuments begging posterity to bear in mind the times and not be so hard in their judgment of Calvin.

I then came over to the quiet little English churchyard with the great elms above it and the great silence of the dead around it, and found only one little modest stone there—the grave of William Penn at Jordan's Meeting House—and I thanked God that William Penn had gone into the very heart of Europe, up where the Schwenkfeldians came from, and had told the perse-

cuted of every land of his colony over here and repeated what the Master had said: "Come unto me and I will give you rest."

That was the great mission of Penn. And Schwenkfeld in his way was interesting to me because he had responded to that great call. And from his response to it in coming over here to America, it seems to me that we draw one or two lessons. Whatever his beliefs were, right or wrong, God knows, I don't; whatever his aspirations were, whatever his traditions—the one thing of which I am sure is that consciously or unconsciously these aspirations were two-fold. They were based on that great principle that is at the bottom of freedom of government, freedom of thought, and freedom of religion—that is, the individuality of the individual man. The right that every man has to seek God in his own way and to have nothing come between the aspiration of the soul to which God has given life and the Light from which that life has come. The individuality of man is the bed rock of religious and civil freedom, and the individuality of man is that which says that he, individually, is linked to government and that government is linked to him individually, and that he possesses that one inalienable thing—his own individuality—which enables him to render unto God the things that are God's and unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's.

In his own country, the Schwenkfeldian found himself being ground on one side by the oppression of Rome, and on the other by the oppression of Luther and Zwingli and his own government, and that there was then but one place in the world for him to assert that individuality of choice in his relation to God, and under the guidance of his God he came here to Penn's freedom, the first real religious freedom that ever existed, here in America, because while others sought freedom for themselves and denied it to others, Penn sought freedom for all and denied it to none.

Now this individuality of man has thriven, and has grown. It exists today, and yet our red light is out to save this great gift. This great gift of individualism in religious aspirations, in government, is after all the pendulum that may swing beyond its orb, and when a clock's controller swings beyond its orb, then the times grow out of joint. We are in danger today, and we want to guard ourselves in the assertion of this individuality against the grave dangers that confront the citizenship, the nation, the church, which are based on individualism. The individualist is on dangerous ground when he loses sight of the fact that the power of the individual is only great when the individualist fulfills his whole duty towards his neighbor.

One of the great dangers that confronts us today in our spirit of individualism, of unbridled liberty, is what has become of our respect for law and order? Are we the highest nation in

the world in that respect? I can cross over the borders to the North of us and I will find more respect for law and order among our Canadian brothers in a square mile than I will in a whole county in Pennsylvania. Where has our self-centered and self-visioned individualism taken us in our division into blocks and sections and narrow intersects? We have lost sight of the rich freedom of individualism by the selfish individualism which blinds our eyes to the common good.

What are we seeking in our congressional halls? There is a bloc consecrated to labor, there is a bloc consecrated to farming interests, there is a bloc consecrated to capitalism, there is a bloc consecrated to the women's side of the question. Are we losing sight, in our own narrowing bloc system, of the wider range of our duty toward the community and toward the nation as a whole?

Where has it led us? Self-centered individualism in blatant arrogance says, "No one represents me but myself." What has it come to? We set aside our whole system of party government, after all the most representative form of representative government, because we felt that each one of us rose above the wisdom of a party and that our individual wisdom far exceeded the combined wisdom of ourselves and our neighbors associated in a party. And so we swing the pendulum into a direct primary which time has proved has all of the faults of the old system and none of the good of the old system under which the country grew great. There are dangers ahead of us. We have self-government here in this country. We pride ourselves that we have done away with hereditary rulers, with kings, with potentates, with sovereigns, and that each of us is a sovereign himself. My friends, don't let us forget that the worth of self-government is when each man governs himself. You cannot have a single right unless ten thousand men and women do a common duty to guarantee that right to you. You can have no rights unless I and everyone here and thousands of your fellowmen make that right certain to you, and you ought not to enjoy that right yourself unless you join with the nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine men in giving each one of them the right which they can only have by the united action of their neighbors. Let us take this into our lives. What does it mean translated in the everyday work of the nineteenth century? It means what Mr. Alexander has alluded to here tonight—that symbol which he discussed, the body and blood of Christ. While men were discussing what that body was, they so often lost sight of the thought that it was a broken body, broken in service, broken in unselfishness, broken in losing sight of self in consecration to others; that that shed blood was the blood of unselfishness, imparting life to others for their good, not for His own. There is no mysticism about this feature of the Christ sacrifice. Its virtue and its efficacy was what it has, is and will be because that

body was broken in service and that blood was poured out in the unselfishness of love.

After tonight we go to our tasks of the morrow. Let us bear in mind that this stewardship of our own individual right must be merged into the right of others. We may thank God for all these great men in the past, and for all these great principles for which they have stood and suffered. Maybe truth would have perished from the earth if they had not lived. I congratulate you, men and women, that two hundred years and more after that great spirit that inspired your people and brought them from over seas, still survives; that you preserve that heritage, those deep convictions, that loyalty to these high ideals, because life does not consist merely in business and commercial enterprises, for, as Pierpont Morgan testified in Congress, the great underlying thing of business and credit is character—individual manhood, individual womanhood, consecrated by the spirit of high principles, and because you have those ideals, it is your due and duty not to hold them selfishly, but to pour them out readily for the State, the Nation, the Community and Neighborhood, for those who come around you in business during the day, and around the home fires, where, after all, the highest types of manhood and womanhood flourish and perpetuate themselves.

At Valley Forge

*Meeting of the Society in the Chapel at Valley Forge,
June 4, 1927*

By DR. J. M. ANDERS

I NEED not remind you of the fact that the ground on which we are meeting today has an historic significance which cannot be over-stated. Doubtless all of my hearers feel as I do that this is one of the most privileged, if not the most privileged, moment or hour in the annals of our organization. Doubtless, too, all of you share my feeling of gratitude and indebtedness to the Reverend Doctor Burk for his very cordial invitation to meet here in Washington Memorial Chapel, of which he is the honored President.

It is interesting to note, at the outset, that not a few of the original Schwenkfeldian Exiles and many of their children witnessed the Revolutionary War, which settled for all time, let us hope, the question of the independence of these United States. They who were here or elsewhere nearby appreciated, to a degree that is not possible with us in the liberty of June, 1927, the hardships, struggles and the suffering endured here by Washington and his valiant men; but you will agree with me when I say that the men who fought here, and those who made the supreme sacrifice here, are not dead. I feel sure that they are still exerting, and will continue to exert, a potent, living force forever. The atmosphere which they created here will remain, to thrill and to stimulate the loyalty and patriotism of all who shall visit this hallowed shrine in the future.

Our ancestors, the Schwenkfeldian Exiles, and their descendants were champions of peace, and yet when it became necessary to accept the gauge of battle so that the liberty of this and other countries might be preserved they showed true heroism. Now, on occasions like this, we naturally hark back to the original Schwenkfeldian Exiles, and while the material sacrifices they made would be refused by us at the present day, let us take every possible opportunity to dwell upon the gratitude, and the loyalty, and the respect which we can show them, and which you will agree with me, we owe them, thus showing ourselves to be real men and women. Forgetfulness, my friends, and lack of appreciation of the heritage which our ancestors bequeathed to posterity, aye to us, would be showing a lack of humanity, would be acting as does the beast, and would be, I think, entirely un-Schwenkfeldian.

I have been warned repeatedly in the past not to make my opening remarks too lengthy; I have been reminded that the premise of the presiding officer is to introduce the speakers and not to make a speech, and, in order that I may live up to my reputation as an obedient servant, I will close here—and yet I cannot do so without throwing out at least one further suggestion.

It seems to me that we as a Society should be in such a feeling of brotherhood as not only to exchange helpful thoughts with one another, but also to aim to interchange helpful thoughts with other Societies having similar aims and objects. It has been well said that "when souls meet one another what truths they can exchange; they may be uttered in absolute silence, but they are certain to reach their goal." If that be true of individuals, why not of Societies? I leave the thought with you without comment.

By DR. W. HERBERT BURK

Dr. Anders, in introducing Dr. Burk, said:

"My friends, there is one whose name has long been inseparably connected with Valley Forge and all that it represents; one whose untiring and well directed efforts have done so much for Valley Forge—in truth, has made it what it is—one of the most attractive, beautiful, and important historic shrines of America.

"I refer to the Reverend Doctor W. Herbert Burk, who has very kindly consented to address you today."

I COUNT it an honor to come before you. I am greatly pleased today to have you all here at Valley Forge because you represent something great in the history of our nation, and, in fact, in the history of the world. You represent one of those great Old World movements out of which America has come.

If one stops to think of Europe in the past—that great seething mass of humanity, the conflict and strife between people and people, between people of one thought and people of another thought—if one studies that conflict of the peoples one realizes that in it lies something that is more than conflict, it is more than struggle, it is more than the demand upon the soul to withstand the attacks. It is something which has in it one of those great purposes which we find manifested again and again in the world.

Here at Valley Forge, where we stand upon the ground that represents the gathering together of the thirteen colonies, we realize that out of which our forefathers came was the necessary, although cruel and hard-to-be-borne, conflict—the necessary conflict through which a new world was to be made, and out of which was to come a new peace, a new prosperity, and new ideals. We fail to realize the meaning of that turmoil in Europe, we fail to understand the bitterness and the strife and the suffering of those days, unless we see it as the seed from which was to come the mighty movement for the populating of the western world.

Give men peace, quiet—let them have enough to eat and a place to sleep and the signal comforts of life, and they sit down there and make no progress—and God intends that progress shall be made in the world. So it is that out of the conflict and

the strife come the great movements through which new places are populated, new lands are found, and you are representing here today that great old movement of which your forefathers were a part. I think it is most fitting for you to come to Valley Forge, because here again you come to the scene of conflict. I often try to picture to myself, as I look out over the plains and hills in their perfect peace and quiet, the conflict between the colonies and England, the jealousy between the officials of one colony and the other. The bitterness and strife were not all left in European territory; they were brought across the Atlantic, and we find that the army which came here to Valley Forge 150 years ago this December was not one concrete mass, with one object and one purpose. It was thirteen armies, in thirteen divisions, under thirteen leaders, and you know not the story of Valley Forge unless you understand that it was here, out of conflict and strife, out of that bitterness of feeling that is gendered when men are jealous of each other, the great army of America which crossed the Delaware on the 19th of January, 1778, cemented together by a common suffering, united now by a common purpose, under one great common leader, arose in its strength and became the army which was to win for America her place among the nations.

The more you ponder the history of your nation the more you will realize that after all Valley Forge was not only a place of suffering; it was a place of conquest, it was a place of victory. People often say to me—"Why do you have at one side of the altar the flags of the army and navy of America, and at the other the royal flags of France?" It is simply this: that here at Valley Forge America celebrated the greatest transition in her life. The men who marched down yonder Gulph Road were rebels, rebelling against court authority, rebelling against king and country; but when, that fifth of May, 1778, Washington announced to the troops here that France had acknowledged the independence of America, had made her welcome to the family of nations in Europe, had given to her a standing before the world, the men ceased to be rebels, they became the leaders in a great national revolution—and when you and I can catch that vision we are going to understand some of the significance of Valley Forge. The bitterness and the jealousy passed away, the cabal against Washington died, and in the place of it all one figure stood supreme before America, one leader ordained by God led the people to prosperity and to peace.

No one can come to Valley Forge with the knowledge of what was enacted upon these hills and the consciousness of the object that their forefathers here won, without realizing that here is the great meeting place of the people of America. There comes, in this holy place, the inspiration and the hope, the up-drawing of the ideals, and may God give to us, to you and to me, the challenge to be worthy of all the past with all its suffering and sacrifice. You and I are called upon, as was pointed out by

the last speaker, to think for ourselves, to act for ourselves, and when we have interpreted those words entirely, I think we will understand that they fit in exactly with the spirit of Valley Forge, which is the supreme spirit of service through sacrifice. That was the spirit of your forefathers—may it be your spirit, and the spirit of your children and your children's children, until America can stand before the world as the greatest example of the supreme spirit—the spirit which makes for brotherhood.

By JUDGE WILLIAM H. KIRKPATRICK

Judge Kirkpatrick is a graduate of Lafayette College and of the law department of the University of Pennsylvania; was practitioner of the law at Easton, Penna., for a number of years. During the war he rose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the Judge Advocate General's Department at Washington. He was a member of the Sixty-seventh Congress, representing the Twenty-seventh District of Pennsylvania, and was recently appointed by President Coolidge a judge in the United States Federal Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

I HAVE listened to the opening remarks of Dr. Anders, your President, with a great deal of interest. I appreciate what a very interesting setting we have here; but it has occurred to me that really the most interesting part of this occasion is the audience—that the audience that is gathered here today is one the like of which we would not be apt to find anywhere in the country. I do not believe that there is existing, anywhere, an organization composed of the descendants of a small immigrant group which came to this country, at approximately the same time, moved by a common purpose and sustained by a common faith. It seems to me that the work which this Society does in preserving the records of that group, not only of the original immigrants but of their descendants, is work of great usefulness and great interest.

The student of American social and theological science would find in these records, so far as available to him, data that would delight his soul. Here we have the answer to the problem of what America will make of its immigrants, worked out by two centuries of living and joining in the life and affairs of this country. This is a thing that should be preserved and kept alive, and you are doing that. In this age of standardization, when everything is made uniform as far as possible, it is a fine thing to be able to preserve some degree of individuality. That a group like this should be able to do it is very much worthwhile. Without being in any sense a peculiar people, without having any isolation, and even permitting yourselves to be absorbed in the current of American life, you have preserved your identity.

As I said before, everyone today seems to feel that standardization is desirable. The success of our huge business enter-

prises, the turning out of thousands of articles exactly alike by our great factories, the miracle of mass production, has somehow gotten hold of our thoughts and we try to apply it to everything in our lives—to our social standards, governmental standards, and to our laws. It is because of just that sort of movement that it seems to me the preservation of our own identity, and the ability to look back and say, "These are my own ancestors," is something that is very worthwhile.

Every immigrant group that came into this country, be it large or small, brought its own particular virtues. Your ancestors brought integrity, courage, the desire to make religion a part of their daily lives, a profound respect for the law, and a passionate respect for the truth above all things. My good ancestors probably brought something else; somebody said that they, in particular, brought pugnacity, voracity and tenacity. So every group brought some particular virtues of its own, and the fine thing about this kind of Society is that it enables you to retain your own particular virtues and make them a part of the life of this country.

We so easily tend to give up our individuality, we so easily tend to permit other people to do our thinking for us, other people to govern us, other people to make our laws for us. I have no patience with those who deplore the fact that the country is ruled by organized minorities. Of course, it is ruled by organized minorities. Every great movement of history, every great accomplishment was brought about by an organized minority. Take the American Revolution: that was not a great popular uprising, as our histories have sometimes led us to believe; it was not an uprising of a united people. It is doubtful whether the number of people in the Colonies in favor of independence ever equalled those who were opposed to it. Although the Colonies had a population of over two million, Washington's army was composed of only two thousand men, and it was with great difficulty that it was kept at that figure and did not disintegrate entirely. That shows that the men who accomplished the American Revolution were really a minority.

The same is true of the abolition of slavery. You all know what a small handful of people in the north believed in the abolition of slavery. After the Emancipation Proclamation was issued, the fall elections almost swept Lincoln's party out of office.

This is a fact, and it goes back and is based upon the fact that ten men who know definitely what they want, and are willing to work and organize to accomplish it, are worth a thousand men who do not know what they want, or are too indifferent to work to accomplish it. It is the old story, and it is the thing that will happen as long as time lasts.

So, this complaint of organized minorities ruling things is merely an academic one. It reminds me that people who simply

deplore that fact, without taking any steps to accomplish what they want themselves, deserve exactly what they get.

I read a story of Disraeli, who was so many times Premier of England, and who had a very poor memory for faces, which embarrassed him very much. He spent a great deal of time and thought in finding a way to overcome this, and he finally hit upon something that worked perfectly every time. When he met a man he did not remember he said: "Well, how's the old complaint?"—and found it perfectly successful.

That is exactly the attitude of the people who complain of the rule of organized minorities in this country. The answer to it is—let's do our own thinking; let's make our own mistakes, if they have to be made—let's not let somebody else make them for us. That is the only way that an intelligent, vigorous public opinion can ever be formed, and without a vigorous and intelligent public opinion there is no health in our government or in our institutions, and there never can be, because all our laws and government go right down to their roots to public opinion. These things that we complain of are being done, on the most part, without any of us lifting a hand.

One of the tendencies to be deplored is the tendency toward multiplication of the laws that we have. I have the most profound respect for anyone who can say that he is "learned in the laws." To my mind, he must be of superhuman intelligence. Every State Legislature is continually grinding out laws, and at Washington all the bureaus and governmental agencies are working, and the regulations that are made in these various bodies are more complicated than the laws themselves, and all have new employees, new offices and new officials to enforce them.

I read a most striking example of one thing that is being accomplished by these people who know what they want. In 1860, about one person in every thousand was on the state and national payroll. In 1890, it was one in one hundred; and last year, one in thirteen. So great has been the increase in the functions of our government that one in every thirteen is now in the employ of that government. We are really supporting this, and yet we are not aroused, because while we are being touched we do not realize it.

I am only touching on this thought. It all seems, however, to go directly back to the need for preservation of our own individualities, in this growing tendency toward standardization of everything.

It seems to me that the lesson to be learned from an organization of this kind is to preserve your individuality, keep alive the memories of your ancestors. You are the custodians of these traditions and memories; do not let them die—preserve them, and you have the right to be proud, you and your children and your children's children, to look back upon the achievements and accomplishments of the Schwenkfeldian Exiles.

The Schwenkfelders and Frederick the Great

By HON. CHESTER N. FARR, ESQ.
of the Philadelphia Bar

WHEN I had the honor to be asked to speak to this gathering I was embarrassed by my painful ignorance of the historical background of the Society of the Schwenkfelder Exiles. But as I examined your Society's title, and the fact that you were the descendants of an exiled people was emphasized, it occurred to me that something might be said concerning the curious part of the history of that exile, a bit of history probably unparalleled in the history of any exiled sect, to wit, that they were invited back to the Fatherland, and that, not because of a religious revolution which re-established their faith, but for motives quite the converse of these and eminently flattering to the sect itself.

To do this will involve a little study of the mind of the Great Frederick but as his mind is one of the remarkable minds of history, the study may be amusing.

Before we pass to this let us take the liberty of recalling to your minds facts with which you are all more or less familiar for the purpose of assisting you to picture the situation as it stood on March 8th, 1742, when Frederick issued his remarkable invitation to the exiles to return.

At the close of 1719 two Jesuit priests appeared at Breslau in Silesia. They were the bearers of a document issued in the name of and by the command of his Majesty Charles VI, Emperor of Austria. His Imperial Majesty having "graciously" signified his appointment of a mission for the "conversion"—admirable word—of the Schwenkfelders. Moreover the said priests were provided with letters patent that they might not be "impeded in their beneficial undertaking"—how charming the phraseology—and magistrates were commanded to give assistance to this worthy effort of proselytism. The propagation of religion by forcible feeding has never yet been attended with much success, and in the year of grace 1719 even a Jesuit was barred the use of fire and faggot and the thumbscrew. Still the two priests—they were sweetly termed "the bearers of a mission" in the royal edict—started with an extremely mild form of proceeding, and one which is highly popular today—to wit, the questionnaire. They asked the Schwenkfelders to answer certain questions in regard to their beliefs, and they received answers, says one of your historians, Judge Heydrick, "fortified by abundant citations of Scripture and from the Church Fathers." Now there is nothing more irritating than an obstinate and stiff-necked refusal on the part of anyone to accept con-

viction as to the beliefs which we cherish. We cherish them, therefore they must be right, and certainly only minds strangely contumacious can reject them when the reasoning which supports them is so simple as to be obvious to the most immature intellect. But, when on top of this, the stiff-necked heretics had the effrontery to quote the Scriptures and the Church Fathers to serve their purpose, then the temperature of the two worthy Jesuits went up several degrees.

They had naturally expected as soon as they had presented the undeniable propositions of the Church of Rome that each Schwenkfelder would have submitted himself to be baptized into the one and only infallible church. Instead of that the Jesuits were assailed with reams of quotation and controversy—and I have no doubt that some of it was in the best German style and consequently extremely dull. This would probably only infuriate the Jesuits the more, so they proceeded to more cogent arguments and procured an edict directing that all Schwenkfelder children must be instructed in the Catholic religion. This was striking at the source with a vengeance. When the parent Schwenkfelders disobeyed this edict, they were punished with the stocks, imprisonment, fines and other penalties.

There was even an embargo placed upon the Schwenkfelders which forbade them to leave the country, and this was not because they were valued so highly as citizens, but because the fury of religious zeal required that by one means or another, terror, distress, poverty, it mattered not what, these people were to be forced to become communicants of the Romish Church. And then in 1725 the Schwenkfelders appealed to the Emperor. But the result was like that of the frogs who asked for another king—they had King Log and they got King Stork. The Emperor, "graciously," as before, promulgated another decree compared to which the first was a mere milk and water article. It must have been cause for much regret to these pillars of the Catholic Church that, owing to a foolish sentimentality that then seemed to be creeping over the civilized world, they could not out of hand burn refractory Schwenkfelders at the stake or stretch them on the rack, but were confined to such simple and ineffective means of religious persuasion as imprisonment and the confiscation of property. But what means they had they now proceeded to use vigorously. And then the exodus began. It continued intermittently as the persecution waxed or waned until about the close of the year 1737.

And now let us turn to Frederick the Great, whose intervention comes about three years later, in 1740. Only about four decades previously Prussia had struggled from the position of an electorate to the dignity of a kingdom. She was then a parvenue among the royalties. A little over ten years ago, in our own recollections, she was making a fair bid for world domination; but when Frederick assumed his throne the other royalties of Europe regarded her in somewhat the same manner as Har-

vard College looks at the University of Kankakee. There was one quality then that made her formidable and a quality that has a distinct modern echo; she had a strong well developed standing army of a size altogether disproportionate to Prussia's size as a state. This army was the result of the efforts of Frederick's father, Frederick William, who hoarded and collected soldiers as other misers and collectors hoard and collect coins or postage stamps. Among other fancies he recruited a regiment of giants and his agents were at work all the world over paying fancy bonuses for men over seven feet high. When I say he hoarded his soldiers I mean so literally, for, beyond a small war with Sweden at the beginning of his reign, he never fought a battle. He drilled, maneuvered and disciplined his troops, but he never had the heart to squander them in a war. His son, Frederick the Great, was to put them to this test almost immediately. This son passed through an apparent character metamorphosis, certainly as pronounced and decidedly more remarkable, than that which changed Prince Hal from the boon companion of Falstaff and roisterer at Eastcheap and Gadshill to the hero of Agincourt. We borrow the simile from Lord Macauley. Frederick the heir apparent and Frederick the king were two very different personalities. As heir apparent he wrote verses, he played the flute, he surrounded himself with persons of artistic and literary tastes, good wines and good cookery abounded—an Augustine age seemed to be promised. These tastes horrified Frederick William, his father, whose frivolities were confined to smoking pipes and drinking beer. Frederick's verses were very bad, and very bad, we believe, they remained to the last.

On one of Voltaire's visits, the Great King submitted some of his verses to the literary potentate of Europe with a request that they be returned with corrections and criticisms. "See," said Voltaire, "what a quantity of his dirty linen the King has sent me to wash."

Of his flute playing it is related that on one occasion Frederick asked one of his instructors what progress he thought he was making. "All flute players, your Highness," replied the tactful instructor, "are divided into three classes. Those who cannot play at all, those who play badly and those who play well. Your Highness is just rising into the second stage."

But this condition changed and, even with a discount of the adulation due to royalty, Frederick ultimately became quite a creditable performer. But the poetaster, the bluestocking, the gourmet and the flute player became transformed beyond recognition when Frederick ascended the throne. A parsimonious, selfish, greedy and unscrupulous tyrant had begun his reign. Falstaff, Bardolph and Poins were not more disappointed in the changed character of their "sweet prince" than were Frederick's associates when he assumed the trappings of royalty. "No more of these fooleries" he is reported to have said to one of them.

He began and continued his reign as one who was in the strictest sense the governor of his people. The minutest details of all departments passed under his scrutiny. He answered an enormous correspondence by a personal perusal of each letter. A notation on the letter expressed the royal pleasure as to the answer, and four overworked secretaries proceeded to translate this pleasure into formal answers. The king saw that no deception was practiced upon him by taking out half a dozen of the answers at random and reading their contents. He attempted to surround himself by a cordon of men of letters who might constitute a sort of academy, and with whom he could converse in freedom and throw off his regal cares; but the chief effect was a series of literary quarrels that convulsed all Europe.

But we are anticipating somewhat in our endeavor to give you a picture of Frederick.

At one time, in his troubled youth, his father had with difficulty been persuaded by the intercession of other crowned heads in Europe from the unnatural crime of executing his own son for what the half-crazed Frederick William took to be desertion from the Prussian Army. If Frederick felt any debt of gratitude to his intercessors he failed to show it at the commencement of his reign, for his actions were steeped in extreme perfidy.

Frederick's reign began on May 31, 1740. The awakening of Europe to his real character was naturally not immediate. That it was one whose chief features were a hard selfish courage, a grasping ambition, an utterly unscrupulous falseness in international dealings, and a cynical and almost brutal outlook in his association with others, nobody guessed for an instant. But it was all there, the selfishness, the ambition, the falseness and the cynicism. There still remained as side issues the scribbling of doggerel, the literary frippery, the epicureanism of his palate, and his flute. But these were subordinate to his other qualities—he was the despot, and, while interest might urge him to exercise at times a benevolent despotism, this exercise was seldom the result of unselfish or generous virtue.

His reign had lasted a little over four months when Charles VI died and was succeeded on the Austrian throne by his daughter, Maria Theresa. To accomplish this succession and bring a woman to the throne, Charles had labored long and earnestly and made many sacrifices. By what was known as the Pragmatic Sanction, he had decreed the succession to the throne of Austria to his daughter and had by large concessions of territory bound the various powers to an agreement that they would observe the conditions of the Sanction. Among the signatories was Prussia. Silesia was a province of the Austrian dominions and clearly covered by this agreement—yet on Silesia the new king of Prussia fixed his acquisitive gaze. By a tortuous series of maneuvers he cast dust in the eyes of the Austrian ministers as well as those of the other powers and then, when he con-

ceived that the moment was ripe for action, he poured his troops into Silesia. Of the history of that campaign we shall not speak, suffice it to say that Frederick established his conquest, and that he was greatly helped by playing the other states of Europe against each other. This did not raise his character for good faith but it enormously enhanced his reputation as a king.

By the close of 1741 he had Silesia firmly in the grip of his invading forces, and that grip was never relaxed. This struggle actually continued until 1742, and then a second struggle of three years' duration took place. Then ten years of peace and a third struggle for Silesia, the famous Seven Years War, in which most of the great states of Europe were leagued against the little Kingdom of Prussia, and again the little Kingdom remained firm, and with it remained Silesia.

The diplomacy of that age may have been of a low standard, but I doubt if there were many defenders of the conduct of Frederick, which I am about to relate, during the year 1741, in the first Silesian campaign. France and Bavaria entered the war as opposed to Austria and with the intention of supporting the claims of Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, to the Austrian throne. There then stood as opposed to Austria, France, Bavaria and Prussia, which last then occupied the greater part of Silesia. By a secret convention with Austria, determined between Frederick and the Austrian generals, with the British ambassador as a sort of onlooker, it was determined that Austria would evacuate Silesia, and Frederick should become neutral in fact, though hostile in appearance. A few sham skirmishes and sieges were to be carried on so as to throw dust in the eyes of Frederick's allies, France and Bavaria, and lead them to imagine that he was still fighting on their side, when as a matter of fact he had agreed to stand aside and throw upon them the brunt of the entire struggle with the enemy.

Here we have the astounding spectacle of a king deserting his allies, and sacrificing the lives of his subjects in battles and skirmishes that were meant for nothing save to be smoke screens to conceal his treason. Something of the sort, however, might have been predicated in the conduct of one who said, as Frederick said, "If there is anything to be gained by being honest, let us be honest; if it is necessary to deceive, let us deceive." In fairness to the international morality of the time it must be said that his acts were not without their critics. But this was not all. Frederick found his old allies, France and Bavaria, in the height of success about a month or so after his convention and driving everything before them. He promptly threw the convention overboard and rejoined them actively in the field. Unhappily for his further consistency, he had scarcely resumed this activity, when the tide of victory suddenly ebbed, turned against his allies, and Austria was swimming with it. Frederick then deserted his allies once more and, making a final treaty with Austria, secured Silesia absolutely. This was in July, 1742, four

months after his invitation to the Schwenkfelders to return. Since at least the close of 1741 he had been in absolute possession of Silesia.

Therefore on March 8, 1742, Frederick was in this position. He held Silesia, but by no definite treaty. He was still at war with the power from which he had filched her; and that power was at the moment victorious over his allies and might readily turn and rend him.

Frederick's actual religious attitude was more than agnostic. He was a great admirer of Voltaire, invited him to his court, lavished favors—with a somewhat parsimonious hand, to be sure—and flatteries—more liberally—upon this leader of European thought. Voltaire's attacks on religion had given him the name of the anti-Christ, and Frederick was in full accord and more than accord with the spirit of this philosopher. When Frederick relaxed among the circle of intimates with whom he had surrounded himself the scoffing at sacred things was so scandalous that the tales of the sayings of this circle horrified all the religiously minded of Europe. The King was nominally the head of the Lutheran Church, but he believed in no religion and in private ridiculed all faith. These sentiments sometimes were carried into the practical jokes which the King delighted to play. A certain Baron Pollnitz had already changed his religion in the hope of a rich marriage. Frederick hinted to him that a rich canonry in Silesia was vacant, with a probable implied regret that Pollnitz's present religion rendered him ineligible. Next day, as the King had anticipated, Pollnitz came to say that he had again discovered the error of his ways and had adopted the faith essential to the occupant of the post. The King was apparently greatly distressed—he had just made the appointment. But stay—perhaps he could do his friend a service after all. The position of a Rabbi was vacant. "Turn Jew," said he to Pollnitz, "and you shall have it."

This attitude of indifference to religion was far less dangerous to the Schwenkfelders than the religious zeal of the Catholics. While every country having established religions in Europe, even England, put the members of dissenting sects under severe civil disabilities, if not under positive persecution, Frederick opened his country to the oppressed of any and every religious faith. "In this country," he said, "every one shall get to heaven in his own way." Therefore, though it was true that Casper Schwenkfeld had tweaked the nose of the great Martin, and though, if there was an official religion in Prussia, it was the Lutheran, Frederick still resolved that he would invite back to his newly conquered province the heretics who had migrated, impelled by religious persecution.

The cardinal motive that underlay this act of his would beyond doubt be his strong feeling for religious toleration. But let us not be too liberal in our praise of Frederick, for men's motives are very mixed, and good actions are frequently per-

formed from reasons of selfish interest. The Prussian king was occupying a country newly conquered. It was in large part filled by a population whose religion had waged actual war with the Protestant faith up to the Peace of Westphalia, a century before, and the smouldering embers of which still sputtered throughout Europe. The religious treatment of the Schwenkfelder sect we have already noticed, and such differences are not easily accommodated under a change of sovereignty. Therefore policy dictated what abstract liberal thought advised. The happy coincidence was reached. He would invite the return of subjects whom religious persecution had driven out. He would put into the conquered territory a people who would be bound to him by ties of profound gratitude. The invitation is dignified and stately. The preamble:

"Whereas we do hold nothing to be so contrary to Nature, Reason and the principles of Christian religion as the forcing of the subjects' consciences, and the persecuting them about any erroneous doctrines which do not concern the fundamentals of the Christian Religion."

Wise words and worthy of a wise king, and while to us it may appear as if they involved a political truism, yet we must not forget that they were written one hundred and eighty-five years ago, and that this truth had to be established by the expenditure of unlimited blood and treasure.

That Frederick was keenly alive to the importance of the return of the Schwenkfelders and that his edict was not a mere gesture is apparent from the fact that he offered inducements. Their property restored when the present possessor had not given compensation for it; farms offered for tillage, and employment for those who wished to settle in the cities, with places assigned gratis for the building of their houses—the King was unquestionably very eager for their return.

If Judge Heydrick is to be credited, the Schwenkfelders at that time numbered only a few hundred souls. A few hundred souls was a very small addition to the Province of Silesia, and Frederick must have felt that he was asking for the importation of a very valuable cargo when he undertook to invite back to the Province these exiles. Few in number but undoubtedly composed of individuals whose civic value was high.

With all his faults, and we have unfortunately been obliged to review the most discreditable parts of his career, he had a keen sense for the welfare of his kingdom. He was the first to establish and lay the foundation for the future glories of a state, which, whatever just condemnation her actions in this century have brought upon her, must be admitted to have set her mark upon the civilization and progress of the 19th century.

When Frederick requested your forefathers to return to the territory which he had so shamelessly appropriated he knew that their virtue, their industry, and their culture would add heavily to the worth and dignity of his kingdom.

A List of the Members

of the

Descendants of the Schwenkfeldian Exiles

JANUARY 1, 1928

- Adams, Mrs. Israel S., Pennsburg, Pa.
 Anders, Andrew A., M.D., 1706 Diamond Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Anders, Daniel M., 11 East Airy Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Anders, D. Webster, 6372 Columbia Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Anders, Mrs. Eveline S., Norris Apartments, Norristown, Pa.
 Anders, Hiram M., 341 Whitehall Road, Norristown, Pa.
 Anders, J. Leidy, 1118 West Airy Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Anders, Mrs. J. Leidy, 1118 West Airy Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Anders, James M., M.D., 250 South Seventeenth St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Anders, Monroe H., Ardmore, Pa.
 Anders, Morrell Z., 4935 Pulaski Avenue, Germantown, Pa.
 *Anders, Mrs. Regina G., 6372 Columbia Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Anders, Warren Z., M.D., Collegeville, Pa.
 Anders, William H., 533 Columbia Avenue, Lansdale, Pa.
 Barrett, Mrs. Laura A., 30 East Freedley Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Baylor, Mrs. John H., McEwensville, Pa.
 Bean, Theodore Lane, 317 Swede Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Bechtel, Dwight Earle S., 4912 Knox Street, Germantown, Pa.
 Beyer, Alvin D., 830 West Marshall Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Beyer, Emma C., 830 West Marshall Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Beyer, Wesley B., 833 DeKalb Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Bobb, Miss Minnie, Lansdale, Pa.
 Brecht, Arthur M., 83 South Eagle Road, Manoa, Upper Darby, Pa.
 Brecht, George K., 539 George Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Brecht, Harold W., 83 Eagle Road, Manoa, Upper Darby, Pa.
 Brecht, Mrs. Sarah K., 926 West Marshall Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Brecht, Samuel K., 83 Eagle Road, Manoa, Upper Darby, Pa.
 Breitenbaugh, Mrs. Annie, 4813 Springfield Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Brown, Burton, 2929 West Lehigh Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Brown, Mrs. Nellie, 2929 West Lehigh Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Brumbaugh, Hon. Martin Grove, LL.D., Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pa.
 Buckenham, Miss Adelaide Marion, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Buckenham, Miss Clara Virginia, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Buckenham, John Edgar Burnett, M.D., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Buckenham, Mrs. John W., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Cassel, Harry, 307 Linden Avenue, Haddonfield, N. J.
 Clark, Mrs. Elmira Heebner, 4605 North 10th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Clothier, Mrs. Wm. J., Valley Forge, Pa.
 Cole, Mrs. Samuel V., Chatham Court, 49th and Locust Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Cook, Mrs. Helen, 243 High Street, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Corson, Mrs. Eleanor Y., 502 Haws Avenue, Norristown, Pa.
 Craven, A. Sanford, Box 848, Coral Gables, Florida.
 Crawford, Mrs. Martha Dresher, 623 Swede Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Danehower, Mrs. H. B., 1032 West Marshall Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Daub, Miss Sadie Seifert, 20 Huron Avenue, Norwood, Pa.
 Daub, Samuel S., Green Lake, Maine.
 Davis, Mrs. William A., 102 Onondaga Avenue, Syracuse, New York.
 Day, Mrs. Alexander S., 3221 Columbia Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Delp, Miss Jane S., 223 Nassau Place, Norristown, Pa.
 Derr, Mrs. Mary Y., 502 Haws Avenue, Norristown, Pa.

Dresher, Mrs. Ella, 523 Columbia Avenue, Lansdale, Pa.
 Dresher, Raymond, 523 Columbia Avenue, Lansdale, Pa.
 Druckenmiller, Joseph Y., Edge Hill, Montgomery County, Pa.
 Essick, Frank C., Y. M. C. A., Elmira, N. Y.
 Ettinger, James A., 414 Merchant Street, Audubon, N. J.
 Evans, Hon. Burd Patterson, "Fairfield Farms," Trappe, Montgomery County, Pa.
 Farrell, Mrs. John L., 20 Huron Avenue, Norwood, Pa.
 Fetterolf, Charles G., 2131 North Seventh Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Fisher, John S., 4632 North Warnock Street, Logan, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Freyer, Edith K., 312 DeKalb Street, Bridgeport, Montgomery Co., Pa.
 Fry, Mrs. Alma Schultz, 1321 Markley Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Gerhard, Homer S., 1024 West Marshall Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Gerhard, Josephus, Clayton, Pa.
 Gerhard, Mrs. Laura J., 715 West Marshall Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Gerhard, Marvin S., 735 Noble Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Gerhard, Owen S., Clayton, Pa.
 Gerhard, Samuel P., M.D., 639 North Sixteenth St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Getelman, Ralph, M.D., 2011 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Groff, Henry C., M.D., Broad and Venango Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Groff, J. W., M.D., 3500 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Hartranft, John Harrison, 1824 Ruscomb Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Heebner, Charles, 315 South Forty-first Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Heebner, Miss Ellen K., Pennsburg, Pa.
 Heebner, Ernest A., R. D. 2, Norristown, Pa.
 Heebner, George K., 1337 Hunting Park Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Heebner, Harry G., 5856 Washington Avenue, West Philadelphia, Pa.
 Heebner, Rev. Harvey K., 2509 North Thirtieth St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Heebner, Miss Ida J., 4605 North Tenth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Heebner, Wilfred, 4253 Regent Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Henwood, Mrs. Sarah B., 349 Whitehall Road, Norristown, Pa.
 Heydrick, J. C., Lafayette Hotel, Lexington, Kentucky.
 Heydrick, Mrs. Sophia K., 363 Highland Avenue, Norristown, Pa.
 Heydrick, Miss Stella, Norristown, R.D., Pa.
 Hickman, Mrs. Leila F., 4934 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Higson, Mrs. Richard, 5th and Main Streets, B. & O. R. R., Darby, Pa.
 Hoffman, Mrs. Carlotta Schultz, 7109 Ridge Avenue, Roxborough, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Hoffman, Rev. Levi S., 739 West Main Street, Lansdale, Pa.
 Huling, Miss Dora Hartranft H., 5734 Windsor Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Hunt, Russel A., 2701 Ellsworth Avenue, Erie, Pa.
 Jarrett, Mrs. Henry, 38 South Plaza Place, Atlantic City, N. J.
 Jervis, Nora Anders, 25 North Whitehall Road, Norristown, Pa.
 Johnson, Mrs. Agnes Gerhard, Hereford, Pa.
 Johnson, Rev. Elmer E. S., Ph.D., Hereford, Pa.
 Jones, Mrs. A. Conrad, 125 Fourth Avenue, Conshohocken, Pa.
 Jones, Charles C., 156 Pelham Road, Germantown, Pa.
 Kindig, Marvin C., Ambler, Pa.
 Knipe, J. C., M.D., Medical Arts Building, 18th and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Knipe, Reinoehl, M.D., 549 Haws Avenue, Norristown, Pa.
 Knoll, Mrs. Lloyd M., 6120 Carpenter Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Krauss, Rev. E. F., 1618 South 11th Avenue, Maywood, Illinois.
 Krauss, John S., 5049 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Krauss, Miss Nora, East Greenville, Pa.
 Kriebel, Alverda Souder, 23 West Main Street, Lansdale, Pa.
 Kriebel, Ambrose, R. F. D. No. 1, Lansdale, Pa.
 Kriebel, Calvin G., Hereford, Pa.
 *Kriebel, Henry S., North Wales, Pa.
 Kriebel, Miss Lillian R., 517 Swede Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Kriebel, Mary M., Pennsburg, Pa.

Kriebel, Mrs. Nora Meschter, 1022 West Main Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Kriebel, Mrs. Nora Meschter, Hereford, Pa.
 Kriebel, Rev. O. S., D.D., Pennsburg, Pa.
 Kriebel, Rev. E. Wilbur, 917 Swede Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Kriebel, William S., 6121 McCallum Street, Germantown, Pa.
 Lapp, Mrs. Margaret Beaumont, West Chester, Pa.
 Little, Mrs. Eleanor S., 800 West Main Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Lloyd, Mrs. Anne B., 405 Derstine Avenue, Lansdale, Pa.
 Longaker, Miss Mae, 645 North 40th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Lowrie, Mrs. Robert N., 210 Hawkins Avenue, North Braddock, Pa.
 Lyle, Mrs. Martha G., 424 West Marshall Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Masters, George L., M.D., 102 Heineman Building, Connorsville, Indiana.
 Mathias, Miss Ethel, Hamilton Apts., Norristown, Pa.
 Maxwell, Miss Frances Helen, 64 East Greenwood Avenue, Lansdowne, Pa.
 Maxwell, Mrs. Irene Longaker, 64 East Greenwood Avenue, Lansdowne, Pa.
 Meschter, Prof. Charles K., 1221 Loraine Avenue, Bethlehem, Pa.
 Meschter, Eugene, M.D., 326 Emerson, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Meschter, Harvey C., Palm, Pa.
 Meschter, Mrs. Leila Kriebel, 126 Roberts Avenue, Glenside, Pa.
 Meschter, Wayne C., 126 Roberts Avenue, Glenside, Pa.
 Meloy, Mrs. Ida, 216 Sixth Street, Renova, Pa.
 Miller, Mrs. John Faber, 333 DeKalb Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Miller, William H., Jr., 216 Clymer Street, Reading, Pa.
 Miller, Mrs. William S., Fairmont Hotel, San Francisco, California.
 Mosser, Mrs. Miriam E. Schultz, 280 West Washington Lane, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
 McHarg, Mrs. Elizabeth, Norristown, Pa. R. D. 1.
 Nash, Mrs. Dorothy Ann, Flourtown, Montgomery County, Pa.
 Nash, Miss Ruth, Flourtown, Montgomery County, Pa.
 Oldham, Mrs. Joseph, 2131 North 7th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Poley, George W., 353 Whitehall Road, Norristown, Pa.
 Porter, Andrew Wagener, 2132 Pine Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Porter, William Hobart, 1500 Pine Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Porter, Hon. William Wagener, 1201 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Powell, Mrs. Ray Heydrick, State Street, Dover, Delaware.
 Rittenhouse, C. Gordon, 6025 Jefferson Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Rittenhouse, John K., 6025 Jefferson Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Roberts, Owen J., 1827 DeLancey Place, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Rosenberger, Seward M., Quakertown, Pa.
 Rothenberger, Alvin K., Norristown, Pa.
 Rothenberger, Wayne H., Pennsburg, Pa.
 Rudy, Mrs. Alice Meschter, 1731 West Huntingdon Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Ruth, Mrs. Henry L., 527 West Main Street, Lansdale, Pa.
 Schelly, Cyrus Y., 32 North Seventh Street, Allentown, Pa.
 Schelly, Rev. P. Y., D.D., 1020 South 60th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 *Schott, Mary W., 1906 Rittenhouse Square, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Schultz, Ada De Haven, 367 Worcester Street, Wellesley Hills, Mass.
 Schultz, Miss Alice S., Boyertown, Pa.
 Schultz, Amos K., Barto, Pa.
 Schultz, Andrew, 367 Worcester Street, Wellesley Hills, Mass.
 Schultz, Charles M., 1936 West Venango Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Schultz, Chester K., Barto, Pa.
 Schultz, Edwin K., 141 Reading Avenue, Boyertown, Pa.
 Schultz, Miss Ella S., Palm, Pa.
 Schultz, Elmer K., 6101 Wayne Avenue, Germantown, Pa.
 Schultz, Miss Hannah E., 715 West Marshall Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Schultz, Howard B., Danville, Pa.
 Schantz, Mrs. Emma R., 8103 Ardmore Avenue, Chestnut Hill, Pa.
 Sheppard, George S., 169 Main Street, Penn Yan, N. Y.

Schelly, Adelia, 752 West End Avenue, New York City.
 Shultz, Mrs. Ellen, 243 High Street, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Schultz, Miss Irma, 4623 Sansom Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Schultz, Lloyd H., Elkins Park, Pa.
 Schultz, Lucina K., Palm, Pa.
 Schultz, Miss Margie, 604 Noble Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Schultz, Marvin G., 910 East Stafford, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Schultz, Miss Minnie S., Boyertown, Pa.
 Schultz, Oscar S., Boyertown, Pa.
 Schultz, Owen K., Barto, Pa.
 Schultz, Raymond A., Mt. Penn, Pa.
 Schultz, Walter A., 246 State Road, Highland Park, Upper Darby, Pa.
 Seipt, Manilius D., 1043 DeKalb Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Seipt, Miss Mary, 418 South Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Seipt, Samuel, Wyndmoor Avenue, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Seipt, Mrs. Samuel, Wyndmoor Avenue, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Shelly, Ida Schultz, 11 East Mercer Avenue, Llanerch, Upper Darby, Pa.
 Silva, Mrs. Stella Schultz, Baynton and Tulpehocken, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Slingluff, Mrs. Wm. H., 800 West Main Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Smith, Herbert Heebner, 33 Dudley Avenue, Lansdowne, Pa.
 Snyder, John K., 725 Rosemary Avenue, Ambler, Pa.
 Steinbright, Mrs. Anna Dixon, 636 Stanbridge Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Stephens, Wm. M., Port Kennedy, Montgomery County, Pa.
 Stockham, Mrs. Marion, Perryman, Md.
 Tippin, Mrs. Annie Nash, Blue Bell, Montgomery County, Pa.
 Underkuffler, Frank M., Haddon Heights, New Jersey.
 Underkuffler, Mrs. Frank M., Haddon Heights, New Jersey.
 Weber, Mrs. Emma Brecht, 349 Whitehall Road, Norristown, Pa.
 Weber, Herbert B., 349 Whitehall Road, Norristown, Pa.
 Weber, Miss Marion B., 349 Whitehall Road, Norristown, Pa.
 Weldin, Mrs. Howard F., 2331 Dellwood Avenue, Jacksonville, Florida.
 White, Mrs. Carrie E., 268 South 58th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Wieand, Miss Irma C., Chatham Court, 49th and Locust Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Willard, De Forest Porter, M.D., 1729 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Witham, Mrs. Amy Shultz, Media, Pa. R. D. 2.
 Wolfe, C. Anthony, 90 West Street, New York.
 Wolford, Alice Stahlnecker, 1323 Locust Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Wright, Mrs. Franklin L., Norristown, Pa. R. D. 4.
 Yeakel, Miss Sarah Jane, 280 Roseville Avenue, Newark, N. J.
 Yeakle, Atwood, 600 DeKalb Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Yeakle, Frank S., 1217 DeKalb Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Yeakle, Miss Mary A., 901 West Marshall Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Yeakle, Samuel A., Fort Washington, Pa.
 Yeakle, Walter A., M.D., 600 DeKalb Street, Norristown, Pa.
 Yocum, Mrs. Clea Anders, 405 West Schoolhouse Lane, Germantown, Pa.
 Zimmerman, Mrs. C. H., Centre Square, Montgomery County, Pa.
 Zweier, Mrs. Dora, Lansdale, Pa.

* Deceased since January 1, 1928.