

## Chapter 6

### The Exodus to Alsace<sup>1</sup>

The story of Hans Landis, the “last Anabaptist martyr” in canton Zürich, is well known in Mennonite historiography. Less well known is what befell the grandchildren and later descendants of the martyr. This chapter will clarify the sequence of events that took place when the Landis family emigrated from canton Zürich in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century and settled in Alsace, with special focus on Caspar Landis, my next lineal ancestor in this chronicle.

As we have seen, the Zürich authorities had ratcheted up their pressure on the Anabaptists after the census of 1633 provided them with a list of names of those who remained religiously non-compliant. They imposed an economic quarantine over the next 15 years which systematically deprived the Anabaptists of their livelihood. Other villagers were forbidden to engage in economic transactions with them. They were fined and imprisoned. The charity fund (the *Hallauer Gütli*) of the congregation on the Horgenberg was confiscated. The authorities also confiscated many of their farms, which were then sold or leased to others in the community. By mid-century most of the resources of the Anabaptists, both private and collective, had been seized. Their leaders were either dead or imprisoned. Emigration was the only recourse, and it soon began on a massive scale. It has been estimated that at least 1,661 Anabaptists fled Zürich after 1649, and most were gone by 1660. They made up almost half of the known emigrants from the canton in this time period.<sup>2</sup>

The revenue from the confiscated estates was held in trust by the Zürich authorities to pay the cost of the trials and imprisonment of the Anabaptists, as well as the education, clothing, board and room of their children. After deducting for these expenses, plus taxes, the remaining proceeds were set aside for the heirs of each family when they reached marriageable age, *if* they were willing to join the state church. The ledgers for each of these estates are available in the Zürich State Archive.<sup>3</sup> The entries are an invaluable source of information about the eventual fate of the grandchildren because they record, by name and date, each time that they filed a claim to their share of the family estate. Several of these entries show that after the Anabaptists emigrated to Alsace and nearby areas, some returned to canton Zürich as refugees from the devastations of the “Dutch War” (1672-1678), during which much of the Rhine valley was laid waste by military campaigns and bands of marauding soldiers.

#### The Fate of the Grandchildren of Hans the Martyr

As far as can be determined, none of the children of Hans Landis managed to leave Switzerland. Felix, we have seen, died in prison. Hans II was incarcerated in 1637, as were his wife Elizabeth and their daughter Margaret. After their release they continued to be harassed

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<sup>1</sup> An earlier version of this chapter was published in *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* – see Wagner 1995b.

<sup>2</sup> Kläui 1948; Zbinden 1981, p. 191-192.

<sup>3</sup> Zürich State Archive, Files FIII (*Täufer Amt* series).

by the authorities. By 1657, perhaps even earlier, both Hans and Elizabeth were deceased. Verena also died from "shock" shortly after her arrest in 1643. Rudolf may be the only child of Hans the martyr who was able to avoid these conditions. Assuming that Schuchmann's report is accurate that Rudolf was shunned by the Anabaptist congregation, he may have collaborated with the authorities.

We have seen that most of the grandchildren were boarded with various families in the Horgenberg and Wädenswil area while their parents were imprisoned. Confirming this, the *Martyrs Mirror* and the *Wahrhafter Bericht* in the *Ausbund* both state that Felix's children were placed with "strangers." The financial records of the confiscated estates of Hans Landis II and Felix also contain numerous entries for the board and care of their children, as well as for the children of Oswald and his son Hans Jagli Landis. When these grandchildren became old enough, several of them emigrated to Alsace.

In 1651 the pastor of the Reformed Church in Hirzel, Hans Jacob Heitz, filed an emigration report<sup>4</sup> with the authorities in Zürich which listed all those persons who had left the community between 1649 and 1651 to the Alsatian *Breisgau* (the plains of Alsace by Colmar, also referred to as *Ried*), the Palatinate (*Kurpfalz*), and other adjoining areas, some of whom left with their entire household, and others for service (*Dienst*, or wage labor). Of special interest is the first portion of the list, which mentions those who left with their families:

1. Hans Jagli Landis, a *Wiedertäufer*, moved away with wife and three children. Supposedly they are staying at "Heidlezen" [Heidelsheim] two hours from Colmar. While they resided in the community, the children were sent to the church and the school, the first child is 11, the other 8, and the third is 5 years of age.
2. Caspar Landis, the surgeon [*Schärer*], and Hans Heinrich Landis, the weaver, brothers, moved away, the first with wife and four children [*selbst sechs*], the other with wife and three children [*selbst fünf*], partly because of overwhelming debts, partly because there wasn't much for them to earn. They are supposedly at "Jepsen" [Jepsheim] near Colmar. The ordinances of our honorable rulers ["G.H.," i.e. *gnädigen Herrschaft*], especially those concerning Anabaptist business [*Täufergeschäft*], had much to do with [the departure of] both of them.

Slightly different information was provided by pastor Heitz in a later report filed in July, 1657,<sup>5</sup> which stated that the following persons had emigrated between 1649 and 1657 to "Alsass, Breisgau:"

1. Heinrich Landis left with wife and child because he couldn't keep himself out of debt. They are residing at "Heidlezen" [modern Heidelberg], two hours from "Shletstatt" [Selestat].
2. Caspar Landis, his occupation a surgeon [*Schärer*], left with wife and three children. They are staying in "Jepsen" [Jepsheim], not far from Colmar.

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<sup>4</sup> Zürich State Archive A103, Nr. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Zürich State Archive EII 700.139, p. 112; available on LDS microfilm #1185179.

3. Rudolf Landis, his occupation a carpenter [*Zimmermann*], left with wife and child, concerning where little is known. While he lived here he did indeed attend the sermons but there is reason for concern that he may have taken up the sect of his parents, who are deceased, but who were *Täufer*. [Rudolf is] living at "Dären Enzigen" [Durrenenzen] two hours from "Brisach" [Breisach].

Emigration reports were also filed by other parishes in the canton of Zürich in 1657. The town of Horgen reported that 12 families left that year, but no members of the Landis family were included.

Who precisely were these four members of the Landis family? The emigration reports contain significant clues -- such as that Hans Heinrich and Caspar were brothers, it also gives their professions, and the number and the ages of their children. As will be shown, the evidence supports the conclusion that Caspar, Hans Heinrich, and Rudolf were the sons of Hans Landis II, and that Hans Jacob was the son of Oswald Landis. As we have seen in the previous chapter, these men had ample motive to emigrate. They were imprisoned and severely harassed by the authorities. The comment by pastor Heitz that Caspar had "overwhelming debts," and that there wasn't "much left for them to earn," is a blatant example of evasion beneath a bureaucratic smokescreen of understatement. It is a tactful way of saying that they had to pay crippling fines, their possessions were confiscated, and that they had no further means of earning a living since others in Hirzel area were prohibited from conducting business with them.

#### Hans Jacob (Jagli) Landis

Schuchmann<sup>6</sup> states that Hans Jagli, who is mentioned in the 1651 emigration report, was the brother to Caspar, Hans Heinrich, and Rudolf (i.e. their brother Jacob born March 11, 1628). Best,<sup>7</sup> however, feels that he was their cousin, Hans Jacob, the son of Oswald. The evidence seems to clearly support the latter interpretation. The fact that the 1651 report mentions Caspar and Hans Heinrich together in the same paragraph as brothers (*Gebrüder*) but refers to Hans Jagli separately in the next paragraph, gives greater credibility to his being their cousin. Another piece of evidence that supports this conclusion is the stated ages of the three children. In 1651 the three youngest children of Hans Jacob, the son of Oswald Landis, were Barbara (born 1645, age 6), Caspar (born 1643, age 8), and Georg (born 1640, age 11). The fit is almost exact with the ages given in the 1651 report (which were, we recall, 5, 8, and 11 years). Yet another piece of evidence supporting this identification for Hans Jacob is the *Martyrs Mirror* account which states that "Jacob Landis, the son of Oswald [emphasis mine], as also his entire family, were exiled into misery."<sup>8</sup>

A final source of evidence on the identity of Hans Jagli is in the records of the confiscated Anabaptist estates in the Zürich archive. The file for the estate of Hans Jagli Landis and "both of his wives, Verena Pfister and Verena Schäppi" indicates at various points (e.g. in 1640) that he

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<sup>6</sup> Schuchmann 1963, 1966.

<sup>7</sup> Best 1990.

<sup>8</sup> Thielmann van Braght 1660, p. 1119.

was the son of Oswald Landis.<sup>9</sup> Stucki<sup>10</sup> has summarized some of this information. The estate was confiscated in 1640 and held in trusteeship by the government until 1679. Expenses were deducted from the account each year for the cost of boarding Hans Jagli's children and for keeping the parents in prison.<sup>11</sup> In 1647, a fee was paid to the schoolmaster in Hirzel as tuition for teaching Hans Jagli's children. In the previous year, 1646, a fee was paid for legal counsel to represent Hans Jagli's daughter in a divorce court suit against Caspar Koradi. In 1647 the prison keeper at the Oetenbach was paid a fee for keeping Hans Jagli's daughter, Elizabeth, in custody. In 1651 an entry states that one of Oswald's sons, residing at Moosacher in Hirzel, paid back taxes owed the state.<sup>12</sup> After this date the records in Oswald's estate taper off, which seems to confirm the conclusion that Hans Jagli and his immediate family emigrated sometime in 1651.

A final comment should be made about the reference to Hans Jagli's "two wives." Verena Pfister is listed as his wife in the account each year until 1667, when the name changes to Verena Schächli. The likely conclusion is that his first wife died, and he remarried about that time. It is unknown whether his first wife was the sister to Susanna Pfister, wife to Caspar Landis. The authorities in Zürich kept informed as best they could of the changing marital statuses of the persons whose estates they held in trust.

### Rudolf Landis

Rudolf Landis was one of the sons of Hans II. In the 1649 census of Hirzel, Rudolf and his wife, Christine Metler, are shown residing on the farmstead known as Kellen, with one small child, Hans Heinrich, one year of age. The emigration report of 1657, we recall, stated that he left with "one child." This couple does not appear in later censuses of 1654 and 1656, which supports the conclusion that they emigrated.

A 1646 entry in the ledger for the confiscated estate of Hans Landis II provides some interesting background on this couple. It states that his son, Rudolf, had been involved in an illicit relationship with Christine, the foster-daughter<sup>13</sup> of Hans Metler, a carpenter in Hirzel. Hans Metler was stated to be an honorable man, but Christine, who resided in his "house and home," had committed fornication (*Hürrethat*). A fee of 50 Pounds was paid from the family estate of Hans Landis to pastor Heitz to "cover" this situation. Rudy was stated to be 23 years old at the time (which matches his known birth date). The Hirzel churchbook reports that their marriage took place two months later on September 1, 1646. It should be noted that pastors sometimes accused Anabaptists of such faults, despite the fact that they may have been previously married by their own minister. Only those ceremonies performed by the Reformed minister were regarded as "legitimate."

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<sup>9</sup> Zürich State Archive, File FIII 36b.11

<sup>10</sup> Stucki 1988.

<sup>11</sup> "*für sy selbstn über ihrer gefangen*"

<sup>12</sup> Zürich State Archive, Oswald Landis, FIII 36b.6

<sup>13</sup> The phrase used is *Zige Tochter*. It also occurs in the Hirzel census records for various households. The phrase may be derived from *in die Ziehe geben*, which indicated that a child was placed with foster parents.

Another entry in the ledger states that in 1648 Rudy Landis took his younger sister, Margaretli, away from the home where she had been boarding. The reason for this action was not stated, but it was dutifully recorded that the Staublis would receive only 17 Pounds that year instead of their normal 30 Pounds for her room and board. This is an intriguing entry. Does this incident indicate that Rudy and his brothers were already preparing for emigration? Finally, an entry in 1650 states that Rudy, the son of Hans Landis, wanted to leave the canton and he was given 10 Pounds out of the family estate. The authorities gave him this money with some reluctance. They requested that "he should see if he couldn't support himself here" (in canton Zürich).

The eventual fate of Rudolf Landis and his family after they departed for Durrenenzen in Alsace is unclear. Rudolf and his wife Christine seem to have remained in Alsace. The Hirzel Chart reports that their son, Christian, was born there in Markirch in 1659. An entry in the Evangelical churchbook of Mützenheim<sup>14</sup> reports that on Oct. 31, 1670 Christian Landis, an "orphaned boy of about 11 or 12 years of age," of Anabaptist parentage at nearby Durrenenzen, was instructed in the principles of the Christian faith, after which he was baptized. His stated age yields an approximate birth date of 1659, which matches that shown in the Hirzel Chart. Rudolf died sometime before 1670, as indicated by the use of the term "orphaned" (*hinterlassener*) in the entry.

Further details on the fate of Christian and his mother are found in the ledger of Hans Landis' estate. In 1675 it was reported that Christian, the son of "Rudolf Landis the carpenter," had been residing in Durrenenzen with a legal guardian since the death of his father. That year Christian, a 16 year old boy, appeared in canton Zürich "naked and bare," a refugee from "the sad events of the war" in Alsace -- a reference to the "Dutch War" (1672-1678), during which much of the Rhine valley was laid waste by military campaigns. Christian was placed under the care of his cousin, Hans Landis, in Hirzel. In 1676 he was apprenticed to Rudolf Korrodi to learn the tailor-trade. However, the following year Christian was pensioned to a hospital in Zürich, at a cost of 1,416 Pounds to the family estate. The entry states that he was "completely simple (*einfalt*) and produced nothing, so no matter what the effort, he could only make half progress" in his apprenticeship.

Concerning Christian's mother, Christine Metler, a ledger entry in 1678 credited the family estate with net proceeds from a payment clearing the remaining debts on the land and house of the "deceased Rudolf Landis the carpenter." This evidence shows that after Rudolf's death, his wife placed Christian under the care of a guardian in Durrenenzen. She returned to Zürich to press a claim to her husband's share of the estate, and she likely also returned to the Reformed Church at some point during the intervening years.

### Hans Heinrich Landis

In 1637 Hans Landis II wrote a letter to his family from his prison cell in the Oetenbach, giving instructions to his son, Heinrich, about the proper care of the cattle. References to Heinrich also occur at various points in the ledger for the family's confiscated estate. In 1647 and 1651 "Hans' son, Heinrich the cow-herder" paid 5 Pounds for using the lands, probably as a grazing

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<sup>14</sup> LDS microfilm 715515.

fee. He most likely married Barbara Buehler in 1643. They had at least three children, some of whom may have been born later in Alsace – Jacob, Barbara, and Hans Heinrich. By 1651, when Hans Heinrich and his family emigrated, he was deeply impoverished. An entry in 1645 in the ledger states that a payment of 72 Pounds was made to Hans Hottinger on behalf of “Hans Landis’ sons, namely Caspar and Hans Heinrich,” and it adds that their “entire household is bankrupt.” In 1646, a penalty of 6 Pounds was paid because of the “disloyal piety” of Hans Heinrich’s wife. The 1651 emigration report also comments that Hans Heinrich “couldn’t keep himself out of debt.” He departed for Jepsheim that year with wife and three children.

Little else is available on Hans Heinrich’s fate after he settled in Alsace. An entry in the ledger in 1670 states that he was deceased. The following year, 225 Pounds were deducted from the family estate, with the comment that “Heinrich Landis had been out of the canton for many years without leaving anything behind, and no one knew his whereabouts, therefore the outstanding postings [debts] were written off.”

On Sept. 28, 1670 his daughter, Barbara, married Hans Jacob Stocker in Markkirch, a weaver from Wädenswil. The marriage entry states that they left Switzerland because of the “false Reformation” (a pejorative reference to Anabaptism) and that the young couple accepted the Reformed Church. Three months later, Stocker was given 20 Pounds from his wife’s family estate to purchase a weaving-mill in Alsace. Later, in 1674, Stocker returned to Wädenswilerberg with his wife and child, fleeing from the war in Alsace. They testified that “they had never at any time approved of Anabaptism.”

Hans Heinrich’s son, Jacob, also fled Alsace at this time. In 1675 Jacob was sent 30 Pounds, the entry noting that he was residing in “Fortschweier,” in the district of Montbeliard (*Mümpelgard*) where his property was plundered by soldiers. In 1676 he was in Colmar with his brother, Hans Heinrich. Later that year he showed up in Zürich “with his pregnant wife and sick child, very miserably clothed and maltreated by the soldiers.” He provided written testimony that they had been good members of the Reformed Church in Alsace, and additional funds were given to them. A final reference notes that Jacob was given money in 1678 because his wife had become seriously ill in Alsace. He had suffered an injury which required surgery, and he also had the misfortune of losing his linen-weaving mill.

His son, Hans Heinrich jr., also fled to Zürich in 1675. He had been staying until that point in Obernai, “five hours from Strassburg,” and he also was driven out by the soldiers. For the next two years he wandered about Switzerland, seeking a livelihood as a linen-weaver. In 1676 it was reported that he couldn’t find work in Zürich, so he was planning to travel to “Württemberg or to Kempten.” Later that year he was taken seriously ill in Altstetten, and had to send for money from the family estate to pay his room and keep. In 1677 he found little work in Basel, and asked for enough funds to move to Bern. His whereabouts after this are unknown.

Finally, his daughter Elizabeth also showed up in Zürich in 1677. She had been staying in Selestatt in Alsace, but she arrived “sick, and her belongings were plundered.” Later, in 1678, Elizabeth was again taken seriously ill and was given funds from the family estate. She supported herself afterward through service.

### Caspar Landis

Caspar Landis the surgeon (*Schärer*), who emigrated with his brothers, Hans Heinrich and Rudolf, is my next lineal ancestor in this chronicle, and the bulk of the remaining discussion will focus on him and his children. The 1649 census for Hirzel shows that Caspar Landis, the son of Hans II, and his wife, Susanna Pfister, were residing on the farmstead known as "Sprürmüllli" with three of their children -- Barbali age 16, Hans age 3, and Jagli (Jacob) age ½.

This family does not appear in the following censuses of 1654 and 1656, which supports the conclusion that they emigrated. The 1657 report states that they took three children, matching what was shown in the 1649 census. The 1651 report mentions four children, which is a minor inconsistency probably explained by the six year gap between the reports. Caspar's daughter, Anna (born 1650) was too young to appear on the census of 1649, and he undoubtedly took her with them as well.

Caspar and Susanna Pfister had been pressed very hard by the authorities. In September, 1640, Caspar was imprisoned in the Wellenberg tower in Zurich. By 1643, perhaps earlier, Caspar's children were boarded with other families in the area. From 1646 to 1648 payments were made for their daughter, Barbali, who boarded with Jagli Rusterholz, and their son Rudy, who boarded with Heinrich Rusterholz, both in Wädenswil. A payment was made in 1645 from the estate of Hans Landis II to a person at the Oetenbach in Zurich for Caspar's wife, Susanna, which suggests that she also was imprisoned at that time.

That same year a payment was made from the family estate to cover the debts of Caspar and his brother Hans Heinrich, who were described as "bankrupt." The reference to Caspar's "overwhelming debts" in the 1651 emigration report is graphic testimony to his dire straits at this juncture. The deductions for the support of his children in the estate records cease after 1651, which again indicates that he had left the canton with his family.

### Caspar Landis' Profession – Barbers, Doctors and Surgeons in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century

Before we begin our detailed discussion of Caspar Landis, the nature of his profession needs to be addressed. In the emigration reports he was referred to as a *Schärer*, which has occasionally been mistranslated as a "shearer." In the marriage records for his children he is referred to as a *Chirurgui* or a *Wund Artzt*, and in the family estate records in the Zürich Archive he is sometimes stated to be a *Balbierer* (an alternate spelling for *Barbierer*). In French the word *Chirurgie* denotes a surgeon, and it has the same meaning in German (the archaic term *Schärer* is of related linguistic etymology since all these professions involve the act of cutting, or *scheren*). A *Wundartzt*, literally a "wound doctor," obviously has a similar meaning. The word *Schärer* is also sometimes translated as "barber," but this can be misleading because the role of the barber was quite different from today. What were the differences in these professions?

Wehrli<sup>15</sup> sheds light on this question in his study of *Bader*, *Barbiere*, and *Wundärztzte* in old Zürich. In the Middle Ages people congregated at the public bathhouses to relax and to attend to their personal hygiene. Attendants known as *Bader* washed and trimmed their hair, treated skin rashes, abrasions, and minor wounds. Over time the role of the health attendant diversified into various specializations. The bathing-attendant (*Bader*) was often a woman (referred to as *Wöscherin* in Switzerland). Barbers (*Barbieren*) practiced their craft in private rooms (*Badestuben*)

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<sup>15</sup> Wehrli 1927.

which they rented in the bath-houses. They not only shaved and cut the hair of their clients, they also performed rudimentary medical procedures such as lancing boils, excising cysts, and doing the periodic blood-letting (“cupping”) which was regarded at that time as essential for good health. Indeed, until as late as the 19th century it was commonly believed that a person should be bled twice a year or more, in accordance with the ancient Greek theory that bleeding would release the “bad humours” which caused illness. The dates were recorded on the calendars with red or blue strokes (a practice which has survived as the red and blue stripes on today's barber poles). The color, wateriness, and “bile” content of the blood was carefully noted as an indicator of various ailments. “Dropsy,” for example, was a common symptom which accompanied infections, characterized by the accumulation of fluids under the skin. The obvious treatment was to release the “excess water” in the blood.

The *Schärer*, *Chirurg*, or *Wundarzt* not only was a blood-letter, but he also had greater expertise in treating wounds and ailments, using herbs, purgatives, salves, bandaging, plastering, and setting broken bones. When diagnosing the blood, he typically also dabbled in numerology and astrology.<sup>16</sup> The *Artzt* could perform more skilled treatments, such as surgery on the eyes (*Starstechen*, or cataracts), gall-bladder, kidney-stones (*Steinschneider*), and hernias (*Bruchschneider*). Drawings from that time clearly show that abdominal surgery was performed (without anesthetic, other than alcohol or elixirs extracted from the poppy). A *Blatternarzt*, who claimed to treat syphilis, was known to practice at the Oetenbach hospital in Zürich. *Pestchirurgen* specialized in treating plagues and other infectious diseases, which involved lancing the pox on the skin. Others were specialists in removing tumors (*Krebs*). Military doctors or field surgeons accompanied armies to treat gun-shot wounds and to extract bullets and arrows. *Zahnbrechern*, or “tooth-breakers,” were the prototype to today's dentists. Veterinarians (*Vieharzten*) also practiced in canton Zürich. Each community usually had one or more surgeons. Wädenswil had three practitioners by 1768, and Horgen had four. A few doctors, such as Paracelsus, became renowned throughout the Germanic realms.

By the 16th century the professions of bather, barber, and surgeon were well-established and distinguishable, but there was overlap in their practice. The fact that they had historically diverged from the profession of a hygiene attendant at the bathhouses was reflected in their common membership in the same guild. Apprentice *Schärer* or *Wundärzte* began their training as barbers, by cutting and washing hair, trimming nails, and gradually they acquired the skills of the surgeon. Their overlapping practices sometimes led to economic competition. It was not uncommon to find petitions filed on behalf of one group or the other to protect its privileges (for example, that bathers should be restricted to practicing only in the bathhouses). Indeed, even the smiths joined the fray and attempted to prevent the surgeons from sharpening their own implements! Despite this wrangling, there seems to have been little standardized training for these related health and hygiene professions. Perhaps out of despair, the authorities in Zürich declared in 1527 that these were “free trades” (*freie Kunst*), which meant that anyone could practice these skills, even out of charity. However, prompted by the many examples of charlatans and botched cures, by the 17th century there was a trend throughout the Germanic areas to institute examinations and greater standardization to the trade. In 1730 *Kurfürst* Karl Philip appointed a commission (*Consilium Medicum*) to supervise the “*Medicos, Apotheker, Chirurgos*,

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<sup>16</sup> Wehrli 1927.



Oculisten, Bruch- und Steinschneider [hernia and stone surgeons], Barbierer, Baader, Hebammen [midwives], und der gleichen Leuthe."<sup>17</sup>

In the Middle Ages there were several professions that were regarded as dishonorable, including that of innkeeper, prostitute, alchemist, magician, cook, laundryman, textile worker, and dyer. They were held in contempt by dint of their morals or by the sweat of their brow that was expended to earn their living. The various health and hygiene attendant professions were also generally regarded as "dishonorable." The bathers, usually women, were low in prestige



<sup>17</sup> Mörz 1985, p. 434.

because they often acted as procuresses for prostitutes, and sometimes they served in this capacity themselves. Somewhat surprising by modern standards, the *Wundarzt* or *Chirurg* also had little of the prestige that the surgeon has today! He worked with wounds, which was regarded as a “disgusting and servile business.”<sup>18</sup> All professions that sullied one’s hands with blood were dishonorable -- including butchers, soldiers, executioners, as well as surgeons.

As a result of this blood taboo, a split developed over time within the medical profession. Doctors (*Ärzte*) enjoyed higher prestige than the surgeons. Their craft required more book-learning and they did not have to dirty their hands performing operations. However, both professions were often criticized in Medieval literature because they profited from other people’s misfortunes.<sup>19</sup> In Nördlingen, a Free Imperial City, there was a clear hierarchy of practitioners during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. At the top of this “juristically arranged and controlled system” were two city physicians. The barbers were next highest in prestige, and they enjoyed the right to be referred to by the title of *Herr*. Below them came the surgeons, who treated external wounds. Then came the bath house operators who had licensed bathing rooms and, finally, at the bottom, the *Stüblinsbader*, the bathing attendants.<sup>20</sup>

A final point concerning the profession of Caspar Landis should be noted. Some medical practitioners had no home-base, especially those who practiced outside the larger cities. They wandered about as *Land Schärern*, widely practicing their trade. These itinerant barber-surgeons briefly set up shop in a village, or in the privacy of a client’s home. *Land Schärern* practiced a “free trade,” with little restriction by political boundaries or from the local guilds. *Wundärzte* from Swabia were quite common in canton Zürich at that time, and we may assume that this was true throughout the Rhine area. This tradition of itinerancy undoubtedly facilitated Caspar’s move with his family to neighboring Alsace and it likely explains why he was reported in so many villages.

### Their Destinations in Alsace

The names of several villages where the Landis family settled in Alsace were identified in the emigration reports. Both Hans Heinrich and Hans Jacob went to “Heidlezen” (Heidelsheim). The 1651 report states that it is “two hours from Colmar,” whereas the 1657 reports specifies that it is “two hours from Selestat.”<sup>21</sup> This is not a contradiction. Heidelberg is indeed located between these two cities, about 10 kilometers southeast of Selestat and about 15 kilometers northeast of Colmar. Caspar Landis went to “Jepsen” (Jebsheim, sometimes referred to as “Jepsenheim” in old records), located 12 kilometers northeast of Colmar, very close to

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<sup>18</sup> Walker 1971, p. 104.

<sup>19</sup> Jones 1956, p. 168.

<sup>20</sup> Schenda 1986, p. 143.

<sup>21</sup> Concerning the stated distances, it was common practice at that time to measure distances by the number of hours (*Stunden*), or fractions of an hour, that it took to reach a destination (these old stone markers can often still be found at country crossroads across southern Germany). One German *Meile* was equivalent to 7.5 kilometers, or 4.7 U.S. statute miles. A public transport or postal carriage could cover at least one *Meile* in about one hour, and horses were usually changed every five *Meilen*. See Haller 1993.

Heidelsheim. Rudolf settled in "Dären Enzigen" near "Brisach," which is almost certainly Durrenenzen (sometimes also referred to as "Duerrsanzenheim," the suffix "heim" being very common in Alsace place-names), about four kilometers below Jepsheim.

These villages are all but a short distance from each other, located east of Selestat and Colmar in the Alsatian plain paralleling the Rhine on the west bank. This narrow plain (only about 15 miles wide), hemmed in on the west by the Vosges (*Wasgau* in German) mountains, has always been the agricultural heartland of Alsace throughout history. It is also a natural land corridor and commercial avenue of transportation along the river. It is not clear why the members of the Landis family dispersed to separate villages rather than staying together. They undoubtedly left with few belongings and little means of sustenance. It is likely that they, along with the other Swiss emigres, turned to the Anabaptist congregations in Alsace for hospice, who may have dispersed them to nearby villages in order to equalize the burden of support. All these villages were mentioned in a mid-17th century report of the Alsatian authorities as having Anabaptist congregations.<sup>22</sup> Robert Baecher has published a series of articles exploring each village in detail, and these are extensively utilized in the following discussion.<sup>23</sup>

Alsace had been attracting Anabaptists for well over a century by that time. The nobles were eager to lease their land to the Anabaptists because they made such excellent tenant farmers, and they began to entice them by offering lower rents than were charged to other farmers. Strasburg was the center of religious and cultural developments north of the Alps, and it had already developed an active Anabaptist congregation by 1525. Members of the major faiths and creeds of Europe mingled there -- Roman Catholic, Anabaptist, Zwinglian, Calvinist, Lutheran, spiritualist, and humanist.

At that time Alsace was still part of the Holy Roman Empire, and Anabaptism was illegal throughout the realm, as declared by the Edict of Speyer in 1529. However, enforcement varied by local whim. Emperor Charles V, and his successor Ferdinand, were often irritated that their decrees were ignored. Each principality, imperial city state, and nobleman on his estate chose to enforce the edict with different degrees of strictness. The most rigid enforcement occurred in Switzerland, in the Catholic Hapsburg territories of Upper Alsace and the Breisgau, and in Bavaria. Since the early 15th century the Hapsburgs had maintained a seat of government for Outer Austria (*Vorderösterreich*) at Ensisheim in Alsace.<sup>24</sup> The imperial government at Ensisheim was rarely able to impinge upon the jurisdiction of the local lords outside its territories. The religious authorities in Strasburg succeeded in influencing the city council to issue its own edict against Anabaptism in 1534, but this also was not strictly enforced. Anabaptists were generally tolerated as long as they kept a low profile and didn't publicly practise their religion. To avoid drawing the attention of the authorities, they held their services in private home or in the forests, as they had previously done in Switzerland.

Initially the Anabaptists were clustered in the Alsatian plain on the larger estates of the local nobility, working as tenant farmers and operators of their grain mills. A network of small congregations was established, stretching from the border with the Pfalz on the north, westward

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<sup>22</sup> Grandidier 1867b.

<sup>23</sup> Baecher 1988,1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1991.

<sup>24</sup> Scott 1986.

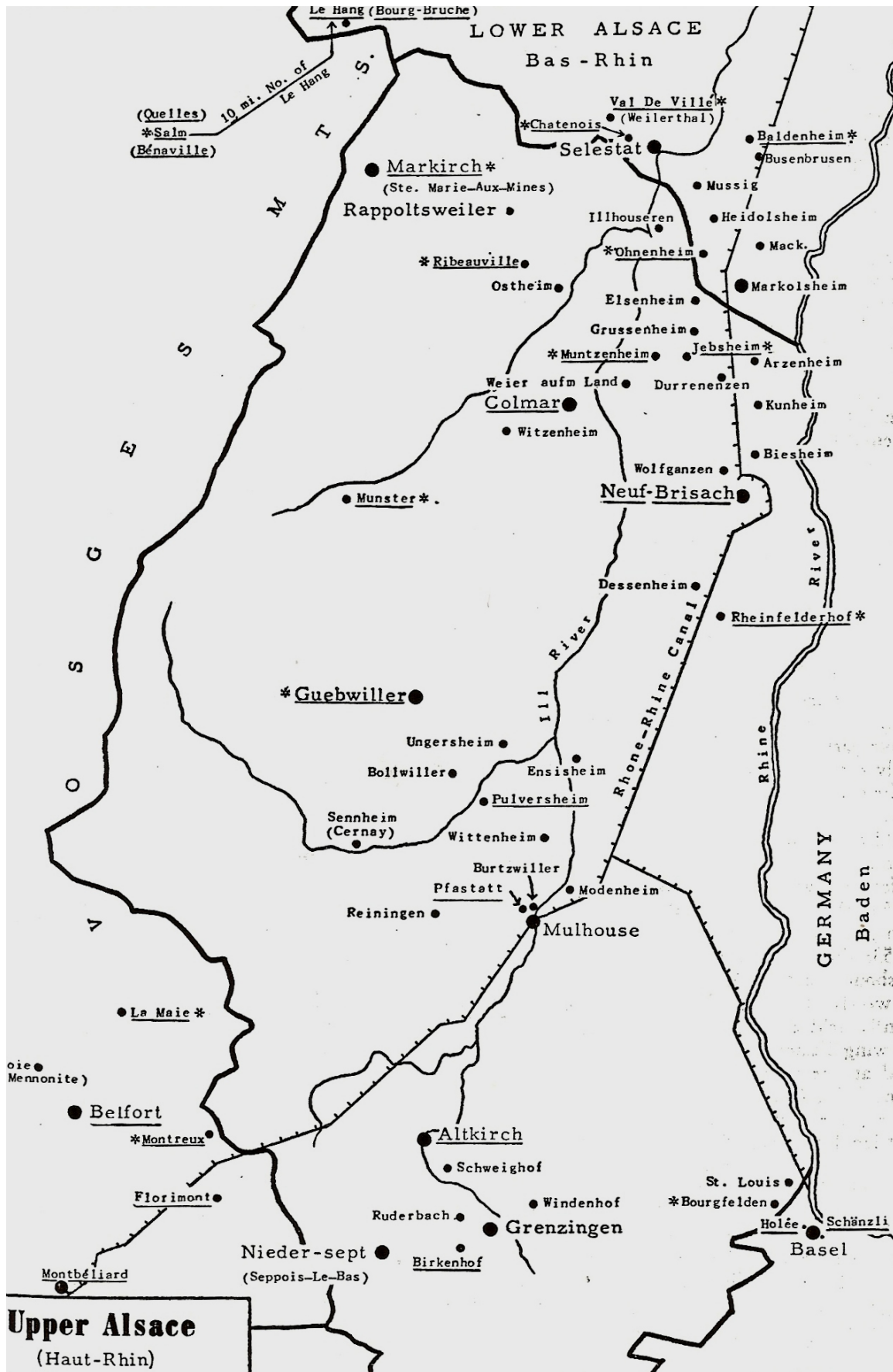
to the Vosges mountains, and south to Colmar.<sup>25</sup> A report by the Alsatian authorities in about 1660 stated that Anabaptists had settled in 16 villages in the diocese of Strasburg, comprising a total of 62 families, 496 persons in all of Alsace.<sup>26</sup> The major centers were at the mining town of Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines (Markirch) and in nearby villages in the plains of Alsace, at Heidelsheim, Ohnenheim, and Jepsheim. The number of Anabaptist families in each village was as follows (the original spelling for each location is retained):

Baltenheim	5
Jepsheimb	7
Ste. Marie aux Mines	10
Mussig	4
Heidelsheim	4
Bessenbiessen	2
Ohnenheim	9
Maggenheim	2
Elsenheim	1
Groussenheimb	1
Artzheimb	1
Kuennenheimb	4
Irrenensheimb	4
Wirr	3
Osteheimb	1
Illheusseren	1
Total Anabaptist Families	62
Total Anabaptists	496

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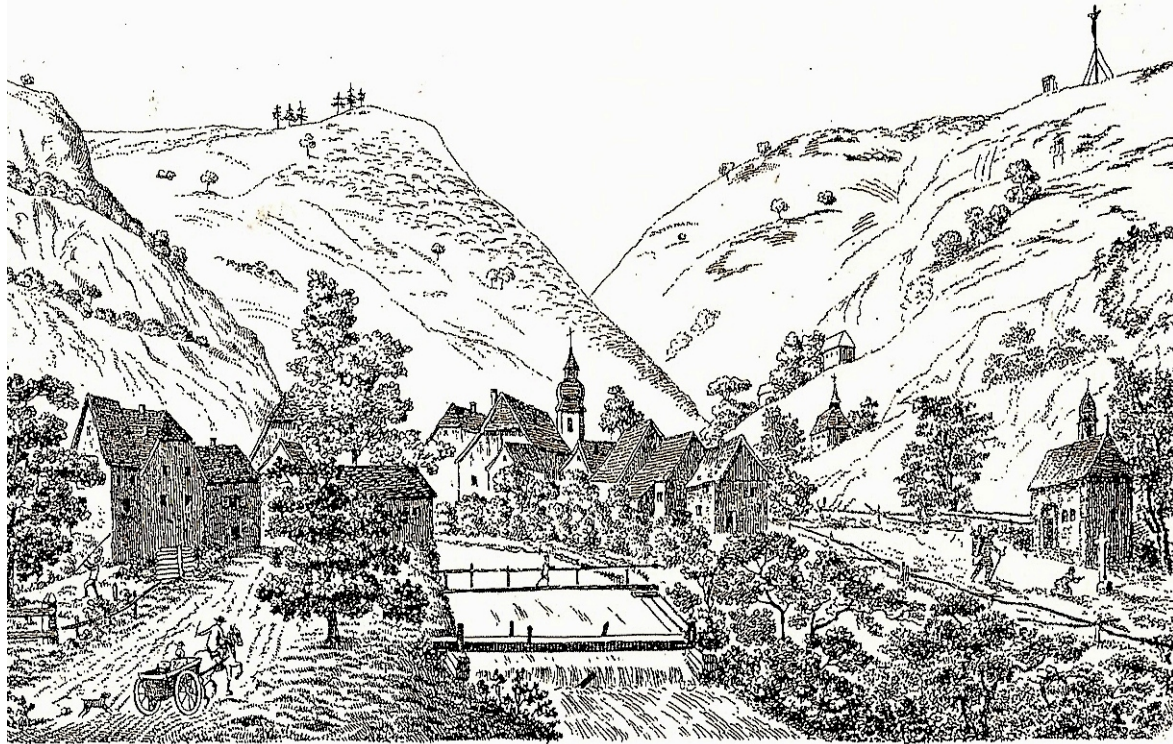
<sup>25</sup> Baecher 1986.

<sup>26</sup> Grandidier 1867b.



## The Anabaptist Enclave in Markirch

In the mid-17th century the mining town of Markirch became a magnet for the Anabaptists from Zürich, and it played a major role in this next stage of the Landis family history. Anabaptists were drawn there not only by its isolated location, high in the Vosges mountains, but also by its unique combination of great economic opportunities and a tolerant nobility. Over time their numbers in Markirch became quite large, both in the town itself and on the numerous small farmsteads nearby. The major economic activity at Markirch centered on its lucrative silver mines, which had been in operation since the Middle Ages. In addition, the Anabaptists pursued weaving, cattle raising, and some farming. Although the hilly country was not well-suited for agriculture, the valley where Markirch is located was made quite productive through their perseverance and exceptional skills. Swiss farmers had become highly adept at tilling marginally productive hillside lands, a skill which served them well in this new environment.



Markirch anno 1785. — Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines en 1785.

Nach einer Gravüre von M. Walter. (Aus dem Werke von Herrn Abbé Grandbier.)

D'après une gravure de M. Walter. (Vues pittoresques de l'Alsace, par M. l'abbé Granddier.)

The full name of the town was *Maria Kirche* (Mary's church), and after the French took control it became known as *Sainte Marie-aux-Mines*. The town is located some 22 kilometers west of Selestat, nestled in a long and narrow valley known as the Lebertal (*Val du Liepvre*). The valley is hemmed in by mountains and cut through the middle by the Liepvrette river which flows eastward to the Rhine. Since the river flows through the heart of the town, it became a dividing line between two political jurisdictions. The territory on the north bank was owned by the royal

family of Lorraine, which strongly favored the Catholic faith. The south bank of the river was

owned by the Rappoltstein family.

The Rappoltsteins (known today by the French equivalent of “Ribeaupierre”) were the major royal family in Alsace. Their holdings comprised the largest and most important territorial unit in Upper Alsace. These included over 30 villages, which were divided into nine jurisdictions, with centers at Bergheim, Guemar, Heiteren, Jepsheim, Orbey, Ribeauville, Markkirch, Wihr-au-Val, and Zellenberg.<sup>27</sup> The silver mines at Markkirch were their most valuable possession. The Ribeaupierres had supported the principles of the Reformation from its very beginning. They adhered to a Lutheran creed, with a strong bent toward Pietism, which likely predisposed them to sympathy for the



Anabaptists.<sup>28</sup>

Markkirch also offered a refuge for the Anabaptists during the Thirty Years War. Most had initially settled in various lowland villages, such as Ohnenheim and Heidsheim, but many families fled into the mountains. In 1633 a Swedish army had passed through Alsace, pillaging settlements along the way. All of central Alsace was struck especially hard during this period. The total loss of population is estimated to range from 30% to 60%, many of whom likely fled to other regions for safety. The Leber valley was almost totally abandoned between 1635-1636. The farms were left desolate and operations at the silvermines ceased. There had been a small

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<sup>27</sup> Baecher 1987.

<sup>28</sup> Seguy 1977.

Anabaptist congregation there before this date, but by 1643 they had begun filtering in in larger numbers.<sup>29</sup>

Over time, the Anabaptist immigrants did quite well economically, and they became integrated into the religiously pluralistic community in Markirch. Some even acquired houses and became relatively wealthy. One example was Rudolf Hauser, the head a local Anabaptist congregation, who became a wealthy mill-master. Some were accepted as citizens in Markirch (an extremely rare occurrence in the history of their faith). A few apparently were even willing to serve in the *Heimburg*, a citizen's governance committee. The *Heimburg* not only oversaw the collection of taxes, but it also served as the village militia, patrolling the streets and preserving order. The prohibition against such civic functions, especially those pertaining to the carrying of arms, had been a central tenet of Anabaptism since its origin, and this was a significant departure from religious tradition.<sup>30</sup> Baecher aptly characterizes Hauser's congregation as the "*Anabaptistes Bourgeois*."<sup>31</sup>

### Caspar Landis, His Siblings and Children in Alsace

Caspar Landis's younger sister, Marie, was perhaps the first member of the family who settled in Markirch. On August 25, 1658, the Reformed Church book in Markirch reported that Marie Landis, a "native of Switzerland" born of Anabaptist parents, renounced Anabaptism and accepted the Reformed faith.<sup>32</sup> In 1662 she served as a godmother in Markirch and the baptismal entry referred to her as a "young woman from Zürich." The finance archives for the estate of Hans Landis and Elizabeth Erzinger in Zürich contain an entry which adds further information: "1661 Marie Landis, their daughter [of Hans and Elizabeth] is residing in Markirch where she became married, and was given 200 Pounds out of their estate." The entry adds that she and her husband "attended church diligently."<sup>33</sup> It was customary for the Zürich authorities to release portions of the confiscated estates to the children when they reached adulthood, if they returned to the Reformed faith.

Caspar's other sister, Margaret (born 1638) also eventually settled in Markirch, where she wed Joseph Casson on June 23, 1664, as recorded in the Reformed Churchbook.<sup>34</sup> She was stated to be the daughter of the deceased "*Joan [Johann] Landis du Horgerberg Terre de Zurich*." That same year her husband, stated to be a bailiff in Markirch, returned to Zürich and received 250 Pounds as his wife's share of the Landis estate. In 1668 they received an additional 200 Pounds, after providing testimony that they were attending church. In 1670 they received yet another 144 Pounds, with the wry notation that this was done "in the final analysis out of respect" for the fact that Margaret was "the old Hans' daughter." This comment may hint that they were over-drawing their rightful share of the estate. No further information is available on Margaret in the civil or ecclesiastical records.

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<sup>29</sup> Legin 1986.

<sup>30</sup> Meyers 1993.

<sup>31</sup> Baecher 1987.

<sup>32</sup> LDS microfilm #747602. In this record she is clearly stated to be "*natif du pais de Suisse*"

<sup>33</sup> Zürich State Archive FIII 36b.1

<sup>34</sup> LDS microfilm #747603



On September 28, 1670 Barbara Landis, daughter of [Caspar's brother] "*Heynri Landis, Terre de Zürich*," married Hans Jacob Stocker, in Markirch.<sup>35</sup> The final portion of the entry is difficult to decipher, but it appears to say that she (perhaps both of them) left Switzerland because of the "false Reformation," a common reference for Anabaptism.

Caspar Landis, being an itinerant barber-surgeon (*Schärer*), seems to have moved about to various locales before he settled in Markirch. His wife, Susanna Pfister, died sometime before 1661. The church book for Durrenenzen records the second marriage of Caspar Landis "from Hirzel" with Catherine Danherr "from Herzogenbuch, Canton Bern," on June 2, 1661.<sup>36</sup> Caspar was reported to be a "non-citizen"<sup>37</sup> in Durrenenzen at the time, which is indicative that he didn't have a stable residence. The following year, in 1662, his daughter, Barbara, became married in Jepsheim to Heinrich Dreikler from Wädenswil, as recorded in the Catholic church book.<sup>38</sup> She was reported to be "the legitimate daughter of Caspar Landis, the *Schärer*," and at that time he was stated to be residing in Grussenheim," which is only two kilometers from Jepsheim.<sup>39</sup>

Caspar and his son, Rudolf, had moved to Markirch by 1668. The Reformed Church book in Markirch shows a significant influx of Swiss settlers between 1667 and 1670, which matches the time of arrival for Caspar. That year Rudolf presented a request to the Zürich authorities for money from the family estate. The entry in the ledger reads: "Rudolf Landis, weaver, grandson of Hans Landis, who also ended up in Markirch and who is obedient to the Church, received 300 Pounds inheritance on July 13, 1668." The following year another entry reports: "Caspar Landis, *Balbieter*, son of the deceased Hans Landis, along with his son, Rudolf Landis, who are householders in Markirch, presented a testimonial from the *Herr* Minister in Markirch [affirming that they were attending the Reformed Church], along with a request for some money to be paid to him out of the Landis estate for the purchase of a house in Markirch. 25 Pounds were allotted to him."

It's clear from these entries in the ledger books in Zürich that there was some competition among the heirs for their shares of Hans Landis's estate. Caspar's daughter Barbara and her husband remained in the Jepsheim and Grussenheim area, where they had gotten married eight years before. In 1670 an entry in the ledger reads: "Barbara Landis, daughter of Caspar Landis and granddaughter of Hans Landis, married to Heinrich Treichler (son of Jagli), who had originally bought Hans Landis's farmstead but which then fell into disrepair, received on April 29, 1670, at her request, 12 Pounds as an allowance. She is living in Grussenheim in Alsace, under the French, and has three children. She also said that the authorities should give no more money to her brother, Rudolf, a weaver, who twice already has received a sizeable amount, since he and her own father were housed poorly, and also that no more money should be given to her father's brother-in-law, a bailiff (Josef Cassant)." Barbara's comment about how Rudolf and Caspar were

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<sup>35</sup> LDS microfilm #747603

<sup>36</sup> LDS microfilm #715515

<sup>37</sup> The word used is *Hindersäss*. Throughout the German realms a distinction was made between residents who were legal citizens, with voting rights, obligations, and welfare protections, and those who were temporary residents. The latter were referred to in various ways, usually as *Hintersetzer* or *Brinksitzer*, literally persons sitting on the sidelines.

<sup>38</sup> LDS microfilm #1676754

<sup>39</sup> LDS microfilm #1676754

“housed poorly” is ambiguous.<sup>40</sup> She was clearly chiding them for their requests for money, but it’s unclear if she was also blaming them somehow for their housing problems. Caspar received a small allowance in 1669 to purchase a house in Markkirch, which perhaps needed extensive repairs. She also may have been reacting defensively because the authorities perhaps reprimanded her and her husband for allowing Hans Landis’s property in Hirzel to fall to ruin.

Despite Barbara’s urging that no more money should be given to her brother, her father, or her uncle, two weeks later in 1670 Josef Cassant in Markkirch was given an additional 144 Pounds from the estate, “in the final analysis as a recognition that his wife is Maria Landis, daughter of the old Hans Landis, as specified in the decree of the authorities.” Soon after that, another allowance was given to Caspar from the family estate. The entry reads: “Ulrich Stenz from Markkirch received 36 Pounds on June 3, 1670 for Caspar Landis, son of Hans Landis, he is residing in Markkirch, at his request and the intercession of the *Herr* Minister and the authorities at Markkirch, out of their grace and for the last time, once and for all, since he had already received more than his share [of the estate].”

However, that was not to be the last time that the Zürich authorities had to deal with requests for funds from members of the Landis family. During the “Dutch War” (1672-1678) most members of the Landis family in Alsace, almost without exception, seem to have been reduced to abject poverty. Their property was looted and destroyed and they were lucky to have escaped with their lives. The ledgers for the Landis estate in Zürich contain several entries reporting how various members of the family returned to Zürich as desperate refugees, their lives shattered, pleading for assistance from the authorities.

The so-called Dutch War was sparked when Louis XIV invaded the Dutch Republic in 1672. With England as their ally, the French achieved easy victories at first. Most of the conflict centered in Holland itself, or in massive naval battles off the coast. However, the situation soon changed when the German states and the Holy Roman Emperor became concerned that France would emerge as the single dominating power in Europe. France had recently annexed Alsace at the end of the Thirty Years War, and there seemed to be no limit to Louis XIV’s ambitions. By 1673 a quadruple alliance had formed against France, consisting of the Dutch Republic, the Holy Roman Empire, Spain, and the Duke of Lorraine. That year, despite Louis’s capture of the fortress of Maastricht, allied German troops outmaneuvered the French and forced them onto the defensive. With supply lines to the Dutch Republic disrupted, Louis was obliged to evacuate all his troops from Dutch territory in 1674. His armies retreated through the Palatinate into Alsace, leaving a trail of ruin in their wake. The population in the Rhine valley had scarcely begun to recover from the devastation of the Thirty Years’ War when this new war, following so soon upon its heels, once again caused widespread economic collapse. There was massive displacement of the population, and they fled wherever they could for safety.

The estate ledgers in Zürich report only the barest of details about how this political turmoil affected those in Landis family who had emigrated to Alsace. In 1675 four of the

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<sup>40</sup> The phrase used is *hause schlecht*. The verb *haussen* (with a double-s) means “to increase,” or “to prosper.” It is possible that Barbara was accusing her brother, Rudolf, and father Caspar of mishandling their finances. However, given the spelling *hause*, plus the broader context of other references to Caspar’s housing problems, the phrase is probably best translated as “housed poorly.”

children of Hans Heinrich (Caspar's brother), returned to Zürich, their lives in total disarray. Barbara and her husband Hans Jacob Stocker were given 30 Pounds from the Zürich authorities: "...due to the Alsatian war disturbances he had to return to this land, in consideration of his wife and child, and to establish their household in Wädenswilerberg, and [they testified] that they had never at any time approved of Anabaptism." In 1675 Barbara's other siblings, Hans Heinrich, Jacob, and Elizabeth, also returned to Zürich, destitute refugees from the war in Alsace, their belongings looted, badly mistreated and driven out by the soldiers. At that same time, we recall the pathetic story of Christian Landis, the 16 year old simple-minded son of the deceased Rudolf (Caspar's brother), who returned to Zürich "penniless and naked," harassed by the soldiers, a broken victim of the war.

Caspar resided in Markirch from 1668 to about 1674, then for a time he too may have fled to Zürich to escape the war, as did his other relatives. On Nov. 20, 1674, Caspar was given 4 Pounds for living expenses. On Jan. 15, 1675 he received another 20 Pounds, "upon his humble request, in order to arrange the household affairs with his wife a little better." It's unclear if Caspar and his wife, Catherine, were living in Zürich at that point, or if they had remained in Alsace. On May 29, 1676 a person in Hirzel was given 9 Pounds from the estate as repayment for money he had loaned Caspar "for bread." This shows that Caspar's living circumstances remained destitute at that time, which was still late in the war.

At some point, Caspar returned to Durrenenzen, in the valley of Alsace. Catherine Danherr died there on February 15, 1687. The Reformed Churchbook at Durrenenzen reported that she was 70 years old at the time of her death, of the Calvinist faith, and originally from Zürich.<sup>41</sup> After her death, Caspar spent his final days in Markirch, close to his family. The last record we have for him is in the German Reformed Church book in Markirch, where it was reported that "Caspar Landiss, from Horgerberg, in the district of Zürich, received communion for the first time on Christmas day, 1691."<sup>42</sup> Since he was born in 1614, he was already 77 years old at that point. We may assume that Caspar had been compliant with the Reformed ministers well before this date, since he had provided testimonials to the Zürich authorities as far back as 1668 that he was attending church services, if for no other reason than to get his share of the family estate. If he indeed converted to the Reformed faith in his old age and received communion "for the first time," he may have been influenced by the fact that his children, Rudolf and Barbara, had already converted to the Reformed faith, as well as other members of the family in Markirch. If Caspar remained Anabaptist before this point, it would explain why he does not appear in earlier civil or ecclesiastical records. No further records have been found to indicate where or when he died.

#### Assimilation of Caspar Landis' Family in Markirch: Rudolf and his Descendants

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<sup>41</sup> LDS microfilm #715515. Note that their marriage entry 26 years earlier had stated that Catherine Danherr was from Canton Bern, not Zürich. Her death record also mistakenly states that she was the wife of the "deceased" Caspar Landis. As an itinerant *Schärer*, Caspar may not have been resident in Durrenenzen at the time of her death. There is also the possibility that they lived apart.

<sup>42</sup> LDS microfilm #747600

Of the various members of Caspar Landis' family who settled in Markkirch, Rudolf and his descendants appeared most frequently in the later civil and church records. Rudolf was a linen-weaver by profession. He settled in Markkirch about 1668, apparently along with his father. The French Reformed Churchbook reports that on May 6, 1668, Rudolf, the son of Caspar Landis *Chirurgui de Zurich*, married Elizabeth Grandhomme.<sup>43</sup> She was the daughter of Jean Grandhomme, whose family had deep roots in Markkirch. Two months later, in July, 1668, Rudolf traveled to Zürich where he received 300 Pounds as his share of the Landis estate. He seems to have suffered financial setbacks. On Nov. 30, 1672 Rudolf returned to Zürich where he was given 10 Pounds for his humble support and for his travel expenses, as concession from the authorities "due to his conspicuous misfortune." As we recall, his sister, Barbara, told the Zürich authorities to not dispense any more money to Rudolf because he, and their father Caspar, had "poor housing." Rudolf may have remained in Markkirch during the war years, when many other residents fled for their safety. He served as a baptismal godfather in 1669, and again in 1673.<sup>44</sup>

Other documentation of Rudolf's presence during this period was fortuitously discovered while perusing the Ribeaupierre archives.<sup>45</sup> In 1784 Rudolf's grandson, Karl Landis, petitioned for citizenship in Markkirch, stating that his father had been a loyal citizen there, and that his grandfather Rudolf had also been granted citizenship. Karl stated that he was old and infirm at this point, that he had little money, that he was living with his wife, and that he was no longer able to be employed. He had never requested money from the government, and the fact that his forefathers were citizens of Markkirch should qualify him for citizenship without fee. The records accompanying Karl's request confirmed that his grandfather, Rudolf, was granted citizenship on January 23, 1669. Another accompanying document states that Rudolf Landis, citizen at Markkirch, became married a second time on April 21, 1678 to Anna Götz. From his second marriage Rudolf produced ten children, born between 1679 and 1692.<sup>46</sup> His first-born child, Rudolf (born 1679), was named after Rudolf Hauser, who served as his godfather. It is possible that this was the same Rudolf Hauser who was the wealthy head of the local Anabaptist congregation (apparently no religious conflict was perceived for him to agree to be a baptismal sponsor!).

The church records show that Caspar's siblings and his descendants through his son Rudolf not only assimilated to the Reformed faith, but also with the French residents in Markkirch. This is shown by the surnames of their spouses. Caspar's sister Margaret married a "Casson," his son Rudolf married into the "Grandhomme" family, Rudolf's son Jacob married a "Jemil," and his daughter Elizabeth married a "Gosart." It is true that these families may originally have been of German extraction, as was the case for most people in Alsace at that time (perhaps the surnames were originally "Grossmann," "Gamel," and "Gosser"), but the French spelling of their surnames was used throughout in the French Reformed Church book.

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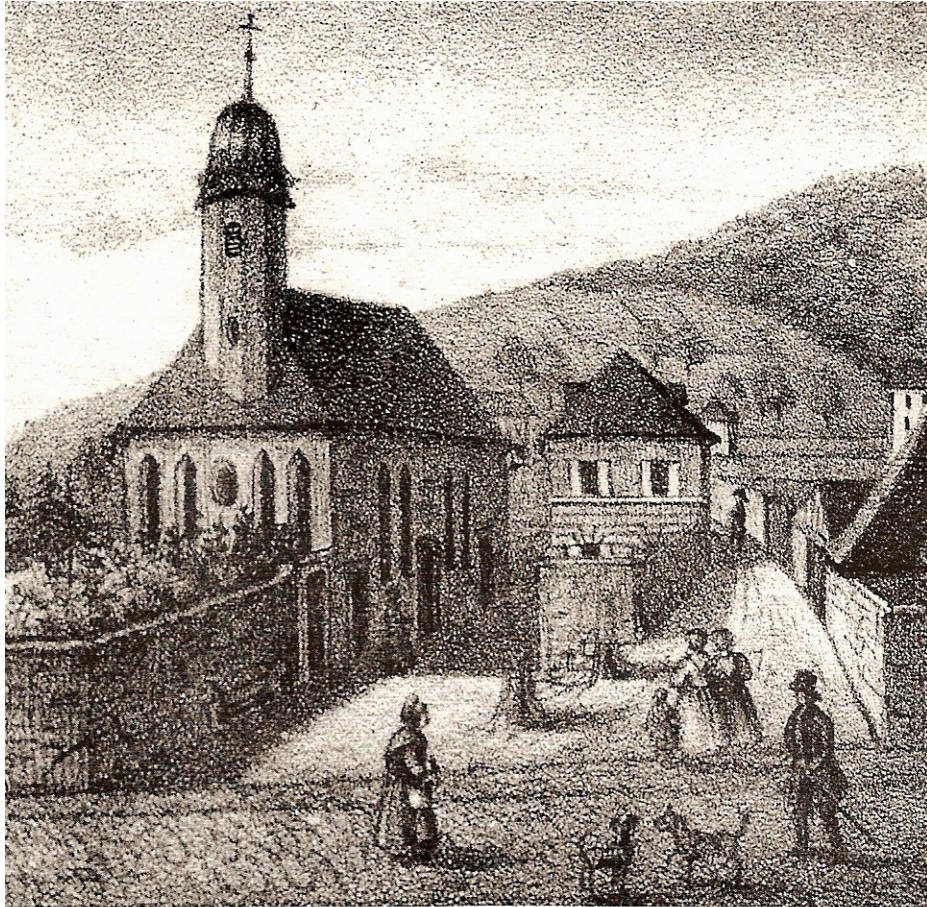
<sup>43</sup> French Reformed Churchbook, LDS microfilm #747602

<sup>44</sup> LDS microfilm #747602

<sup>45</sup> LDS microfilm #1069938

<sup>46</sup> The births of the first children of Rudolf Landis and Anna Götz are recorded in the French Reformed Churchbook, LDS microfilm #747602, and the later children are in the German Reformed Churchbook, microfilm #747600

This does not mean that they abandoned their German-Swiss identity. For at least two generations the Landis family seems to have maintained an awkward balancing act between the French and the German-Swiss elements in Markirch. Initially the Swiss immigrants (those who were non-Anabaptist) had attended church services with the French Reformed congregation, but



TEMPLE REFORMÉ.

**Reformed Church in Markirch**

by 1687 they had formed their own separate German Reformed congregation. Toward the end of the century the French Reformed Church book began to refer to the existence of a German congregation (*comunion allemande*). The two Reformed congregations coexisted rather uneasily in Markirch, sharing the same church building, and by 1698 they were forced to negotiate elaborate agreements to resolve their frequent disputes. Intermarriages such as those with the Landis family probably created some strain since the couples may have been divided in their loyalties. The baptismal entries for Rudolf's first children are recorded in the French churchbook, but later, after the German congregation formed, the entries for his younger children are recorded only in the German church book. An unusual transition point occurred in 1689 when Rudolf had twins, Marie and Phillippe. The baptism of Marie is reported only in the German church book, but

Phillipe's baptism is reported on the same date only in the French church book! This suggests a very deliberate attempt by Jacob and his French wife to maintain ties with both congregations, which must indeed have been an awkward balancing act! Subtle clues such as these indicate that the Landis family attempted to avoid being caught up in the chronic factional disputes between the two Reformed congregations in Markirch. When Rudolf's children reached maturity and married, some of them also preserved this pattern. Jacob, who married into the Jemil family, had his first-born son baptized in the German Reformed congregation, and the next three children in the French. Johann Landis, who became a well-known chief-forester for the Ribeaupierres, also achieved fame by being married "three times in five years." He appears to have been primarily affiliated with the German congregation. All three of his wives were of German-Swiss origin (their surnames were Schenk, Flogertz, and Karl, all stated to be from Canton Bern), and both his children were baptized in the German congregation.

### Changes in Religious Affiliation in Markirch and the "Amish Division"

The assimilation of the Landis family in Markirch was also happening with other Swiss Anabaptist immigrants. During the earlier years of Anabaptism in Zürich, participation in the religious services of other denominations had been discouraged as a source of moral contamination. However, in the isolated mining town of Markirch, these social boundaries became quite permeable over time. An extraordinarily high level of interchange seems to have occurred between the local Anabaptist congregation, under the leadership of Rudolf Hauser, and the Reformed congregation. Indeed, it might be speculated that a process of fusion was occurring between the two groups, which triggered the religious reaction conflict when Jacob Ammann and his congregation of Anabaptists from Canton Bern arrived on the scene in 1695. Ammann described some of the practices he had observed in Markirch in a letter written on November 22, 1693.<sup>47</sup> Some Anabaptists, he states, were lax in observing dress codes, with "shaved beards, long hair, and haughty clothes." These earlier Anabaptists were attending Reformed Church services, as well as more socially oriented events such as weddings and funerals for "true-hearted" (*Treuherzigen*) non-Anabaptist acquaintances. Their dead were reportedly being buried in church cemeteries, with a Reformed minister officiating at the ceremony. The name of Rudolf Hauser occurs several times as a godfather for baptisms performed in the Reformed Church, including for children of Rudolf Landis. If this is the same person who headed the local Anabaptist congregation, it shows a remarkable willingness to participate in a ceremony that was anathema in the early history of the religion. Some of the young people in Anabaptist families were supposedly loose in their morals and courtship behavior. This probably referred to the fact that inter-denominational marriages, as between the Landis family and the members of the Reformed congregation, were common and this led many Anabaptists to eventually drop out of the faith.

Changes such as these were widespread at that time, not only in Alsace but also in Switzerland, the Palatinate, and even in Holland. When the separate German-Swiss Reformed congregation finally came into being around 1687 in Markirch, it attracted a large influx of new members, including some of the Anabaptists. The German church book records a total of 378 new Swiss communicants (men and women) from 1687 to 1694, most of whom are cited by name and

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<sup>47</sup> Roth 1993; McGrath 1989; Hostetler 1993.

place of origin. The majority (225 of them) originated in canton Bern (including some from Erlenbach, the home village of Jacob Ammann). The second most common place of origin was canton Zürich, for 60 of the new members (including Caspar Landis from "Horgerberg"). This wave of conversions began shortly before the arrival of Jacob Ammann from canton Bern, and it may well shed light on his motivation for introducing a revival of a more fundamentalist form of Anabaptism in the Markirch area.

None of the Landis family appear to have joined the Luthern church. A list of members of the Evangelical congregation in Markirch is available in the churchbook for 1699,<sup>48</sup> which includes those families that were "totally" Lutheran and those that were "mixed." A total of 31 families is given, along with widows, widowers, and single members of the congregation. The surname Landis does not occur on this list, nor on the general index to the Evangelical churchbooks.<sup>49</sup>

### The Expulsion of the Anabaptists from Markirch

The safe harbor that the Anabaptists had found in Alsace became threatened after the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which led to the total annexation of Alsace by France. The intrusion of the Bourbons into Alsace sounded an ominous note for the survival of Protestantism, and eventually it culminated in a disaster for the Anabaptists. Despite the fact that French forces had fought against the Catholic emperor during the Thirty Years War, Louis XIV remained strongly pro-Catholic (although clearly not pro-papacy). He was firmly resolved that France should not be a decentralized and religiously pluralistic realm, as was the Holy Roman Empire. His policies of political centralization of France went hand-in-hand with religious centralization under the control of his monarchy. Louis was especially prejudiced against the Anabaptists, whom he contemptuously dismissed as rebels and Münsterites.

The first indication of impending trouble occurred in 1685 when Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes, which had guaranteed Protestants in France their freedom of belief since 1598. Louis decided that they should be forcefully converted to Catholicism. He ordered that troops be quartered in their homes until they recanted their beliefs. Many tales circulated of the violent atrocities committed by these soldiers. Although the Protestant minorities were forbidden to leave France, a mass exodus began, most notably of the Huguenots (French Calvinists), to the Netherlands, Switzerland, and to the German territories.

Alsace was shielded at first from Louis XIV's actions by the terms of the Treaty of Westphalia, which guaranteed the right of each prince to determine the religion in his territory. Initially Louis was preoccupied with consolidating his hold on Alsace and the enforcement of religious uniformity was not a priority. As a result, although the French imposed a rigid grip on the reins of local government, the Alsatian territories remained virtually autonomous in their internal religious and cultural affairs for decades after the Treaty of Westphalia. French forces commanded all fortified positions and controlled diplomatic relations, but the city-states were allowed to continue their policy of toleration of the Protestant religions.

Louis had also inherited a wasteland in Alsace. The lowlands were in ruins at that time, requiring several decades for economic recovery. During the years of warfare the fields had been

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<sup>48</sup> LDS microfilm #1069943

<sup>49</sup> LDS microfilm #747605

left fallow and they were overgrown with thickets. Most villages had suffered great damage. The few peasants who remained had virtually no farming implements, seed, or cattle, and no capital to restore the land to productivity.

Alsace was a complex thorn in the side of Louis XIV. The Alsatians were ethnically German, they spoke a German dialect, and they refused to sever their cultural and economic ties with the German territories across the Rhine and north in the Palatinate. Their economy was integrated into the lucrative trade of the Rhine valley, and not with the heartland of France west of the Vosges. As late as 1691 contemporary chronicles reported that only about 0.1% of the population of Strassburg spoke French. In Alsace, Louis' campaign against Protestantism became embroiled in his plan to enforce the linguistic and cultural integration of his newly conquered territories into France. The chronicle in the church book of Jepsheim records that in 1684 the two oldest Reformed Churches in Colmar were forced to become Catholic and to adopt the French language.<sup>50</sup>

In 1673 Louis XIV toured his new acquisitions in Alsace. When he visited Markkirch he authorized the construction of a second Catholic church, named in honor of his patron saint, St. Louis. This new church was not necessary since it is located only about three city blocks away from the original Catholic church in Markkirch (*La Madelaine*), and the number of Catholic adherents in the town at that time was very small. The real political significance of the construction of St. Louis is that it is located on the south bank of the river, in the political jurisdiction of the Ribeaupierres, who had favored Protestantism (the north bank, we recall, was in the political jurisdiction of Lorraine, which favored Catholicism). Louis was making a clear statement that he wanted to integrate the two halves of the town under himself and the Catholic church. During his visit Louis pointedly ignored the other Reformed and Lutheran congregations in town, which had larger by far numbers of adherents. He expressed the desire that no new settlers should be allowed to enter Alsace unless they were Catholic.

Up to that point, the Anabaptist congregations in Markkirch had flourished under the tolerance of Christian II, the lord of Ribeaupierre, but they had potential enemies in the Catholic clergy, the provincial officials, the town council and the local citizenry. One major politically sensitive issue was the obligation of all males to serve in the *Heimburg* and in the village militia. The Ribeaupierres had granted the Anabaptists a dispensation from this obligation in exchange for the payment of a fee, but this aroused resentment among the citizenry.<sup>51</sup>

The precarious balance was upset when Jacob Ammann and his congregation of Anabaptists from Canton Bern arrived on the scene in 1695, after which tensions with the non-Anabaptist community began to escalate. Ammann had fiery public confrontations with the local Catholic priest, who felt entitled to a fee from the Anabaptists.<sup>52</sup> In 1701 one of Ammann's members became involved in a mixed-faith marriage, which triggered a conflict over legal guardianship of the children. The town clerk attempted to name a non-Amish family as the guardian, and Ammann took his protest directly to the prince. The grand bailiff sided with

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<sup>50</sup> LDS microfilm #1676754

<sup>51</sup> Baecher 1987.

<sup>52</sup> Baecher 1993, pp. 5-6.



Ammann and issued an order that the Amish (“the so-called new Anabaptist congregation in Ste. Marie”) should be allowed to handle these family affairs according to their own rules.<sup>53</sup>

Ammann also stood firm on the issue of the citizens’ obligation to participate in the militia and in the *Heimburg*. This matter came to dominate the political affairs of the Anabaptists through the latter half of the century, and eventually it was the source of their undoing in Markirch. Ammann was outraged when he found that some in Rudolf Hauser’s congregation were willing to participate in this quasi military citizens group. In 1696 Ammann submitted a petition, in the name of all members of his Anabaptist congregation, stating that it was “no longer possible,” according to their beliefs, for them to serve in the *Heimburg* or to participate in other public affairs as had been requested by the *Bürgermeister*. In order to mollify the authorities, Ammann offered to make an appropriate payment to discharge their duties. The officials accepted the offer, but later abused the arrangement by demanding higher payments. The Ribeaupierres again sided with the Amish, but the local officials side-stepped them and appealed to the Superintendent of Alsace and the Grand Vicar of the diocese of Strassburg, asserting that the dispensation placed an undue burden on the other townspeople. Due to its lack of clarity, nothing came from this appeal.

The issue surfaced again in 1708 when the Anabaptists submitted a request to the Ribeaupierres for the renewal of their exemption from military service. Once again, the citizens of Markirch protested this exemption. Their petition was signed by 17 citizens, one of whom was Pierre Götz, the brother-in-law to Rudolf Landis, and the father-in-law to the French Reformed pastor. The matter was submitted to the French administration of *Bas-Alsace*, who then queried the presidium of Alsatian nobility about their tolerance of the Anabaptists. The Alsatian nobles responded that they were satisfied with the conduct of the Swiss refugees, “commonly called Mennonites,” who had settled in this *Departement* and who lived under the protection of king Louis. However, the wheels were set in motion for a final resolution of the Anabaptist issue by the civil and clerical officials.

Four years later, in 1712, the Superintendent of Alsace requested Louis XIV’s general secretary for instructions on what policy he should adopt concerning the Anabaptists. The royal court had become impatient by this time with the entire issue. The king saw no point in allowing the Anabaptists to remain in Alsace, and he issued an order for their expulsion. When it was pointed out that this would cause grave concern to the other Protestant religious groups in Alsace, who were already tense since the Edict of Nantes had been recently repealed in 1685, the king’s general secretary replied that there was no point in discussing these prior treaties, since Anabaptism was not one of the protected religions specified in the treaty of Westphalia in 1648.<sup>54</sup>

With no other alternative remaining, Christian II reluctantly complied with the order to expel the Anabaptists in all his territories in Alsace on September 9, 1712, including not only the recent arrivals but also those in Rudolf Hauser’s congregation that had long lived there. Many of the families suffered great financial loss as they were forced to sell their belongings as quickly as possible. After selling his estate, Rudolf Hauser fell dead the next day, probably from the stress.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Baecher 1993, p. 6.

<sup>54</sup> Mathiot 1922, p. 30.

<sup>55</sup> Sommer 1957, McGrath 1989.

The expulsion order was not carried out with equal rigor throughout Alsace, and as a result not all of the Anabaptists had to leave. Undoubtedly they kept a very low profile during these trying times, and possibly they compromised with the Reformed Church in order to survive.

Those who left Alsace went to various places, some deeper into the Vosges and eventually across the mountains to Lorraine, which was not under French control at that time. Many went northward to the Principality of Salm, which retained its autonomy from France until 1793.<sup>56</sup> Amish-Mennonite congregations still exist in modern times in the upper Bruche (Breusch) Valley in the district of Salm, and on both sides of the border between Alsace and the Pfalz.<sup>57</sup> Some went even further north into the Palatinate and into the Duchy of Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld. Others went south to the neighboring principality of Montbeliard (Mömpelgard), owned by the royal family of Württemberg, which was sympathetic to the Anabaptists. Many Anabaptists crossed the Rhine to the Breisgau and to the lands of Karl Wilhelm, Margrave of Baden-Durlach, who was promising religious freedom at that time. This was also the period in which a major emigration began to America.

#### The Landis Family from Richterswil in Markkirch

Before we close this chapter on the history of the Landis family in Alsace, note should be made that toward the end of the 17th century yet another branch of the Landis family (other than that of Caspar and his siblings) came to reside in Markkirch. "Jean" Landis appears several times in the records. In 1696 he is shown on a list of Anabaptists in Markkirch, and he also served as a legal witness on documents dated 1706, 1708, and 1716. Further information is provided in a 1709 entry in the Ribeaupierre archives, which states: "Hans Landis, a widower, and also his son, Heinrich, who is married, both weapons-smiths by profession, from Richterswil, Zürich district, according to current reports have been baptized as Johannes in 1708 after coming to Markkirch, where they are established and practicing their trade."<sup>58</sup> This record occurs as one of several on a two page list of persons, each of whom was stated to be "baptized" - e.g., "*bapt. alls Johannes,*" "*bapt. alls Martinus,*" and so on, sometimes the baptismal name matches their original name, and other times it is different. The phrasing is ambiguous, but it likely referred to those who had been baptized in the local Anabaptist congregation and it clarified what their current names were. An annotation in the margin states that "they likewise should pay from the reported time." This payment refers to a special tax, a "protection fee," levied by the authorities on the Anabaptists in 1708 and 1709.

Baecher<sup>59</sup> also notes the presence of this Hans Landis and his son from Richterswil, who were members of the local Anabaptist congregation. They had no listed household estate or livestock, which suggests that they were not farmers. The fact that he and his son Heinrich were armorers (*Waffenschmid*) by trade is striking, since this was a very unusual profession for an Anabaptist!

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<sup>56</sup> Diener 1983.

<sup>57</sup> Guth 1983.

<sup>58</sup> LDS microfilm #1069942.

<sup>59</sup> Baecher 1987.

Hans (Jean) Landis was stated to have come from Richterswil. The best candidates for his parents were Hans Rudolf (born 1603, died 1666) and his wife Barbara Ritter, who moved from Hirzel to Richterswil. They had a son Johannes (born 1641), who according to the data on the Hirzel Chart “moved to Markirch to the Baptists” with his son Hans Heinrich. Best<sup>60</sup> adds that this was in “about 1700.” This seems like a good match with the Hans (Jean) who first appears in the Markirch records close to that time. Johann was married to Angelika Trümpler in Richterswil in 1677, and they had seven children, one of whom was Hans Heinrich (born 1683). Their last child was Verena, born in Richterswil in 1686. When “Jean” first appears on the *Wiedertäufer* list in Markirch in 1696, Johann from Richterswil would have been about 55 years old, and he may well have been a widower at that time. The Hirzel Chart also states that his son, Heinrich, married Elizabeth Hirt in Markirch in 1709, that he was a Mennonite, and that he emigrated to Pennsylvania sometime after 1719.

It is notable that “Jean” Landis is the only person with this surname shown on the 1696 list of Anabaptists in Markirch, as well as on the later lists compiled in 1703, 1704, and 1708. None of the siblings and descendants of Caspar Landis are listed. This indicates that they had already joined the Reformed congregations by the time Johann Landis and Heinrich from Richterswil arrived about 1696 and became baptized into the local Anabaptist congregation.

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<sup>60</sup> Best 1990.

## Members of the Landis Family in Alsace, 1650-1730<sup>61</sup>

### Descendants of Hans Landis (111) and Elizabeth Erzinger

- 1111** Caspar Landis b. ca. 1614; m.(1) July 22, 1634, Hirzel, Susanna Pfister. Emigrated to Jepsheim, Alsace, ca. 1651, a "surgeon," with Hans Heinrich and Rudolf, his brothers. M.(2) June 2, 1661, **Catherine Dannherr** in Dürrenentzen, Alsace. Referred to as a surgeon in nearby Grussenheim in 1662 marriage entry for da. Barbara in Jepsheim. Possibly moved to Markkirch 1668-1672 with son, Rudolf. Catherine Dannherr d. in Dürrenentzen, Feb. 15, 1687, age 70. "Caspar Landis from Horgerberg" was listed as a new communicant in the German Reformed congregation in Markkirch, 1691.
- 11111** **Barbara Landis**, bp. Nov. 1, 1635, Hirzel; m. Aril 21, 1662, Jepsheim, **Heinrich Dreichler** from Wädenswil. They possibly had a two year old son who died in 1664 in Jepsheim.
- 11112** **Ursula Landis**, bap. Mar. 24, 1637 Hirzel.
- 11113** **Rudolf Landis**, bap. Oct. 7, 1638, Hirzel; m.(1) May 6, 1668, **Elizabeth Grandhomme** (bap. Dec. 9, 1627, da. of **Jean Grandhomme**, Markkirch, Eliz. d. after 1671). Linen-weaver; citizen of Markich on Jan. 28, 1669. No children. M.(2) april 21, 1678, **Anne Götz**, da. **Johann Götz**, Markich.
- 111131** **Rudolf Landis**, bap. April 9, 1679; d. April 24, 1690, "age 11."
- 111132** **Johann Landis**, bap. Aug. 4, 1680; chief forester and game-warden for the Ribeaupierres in Markkirch; d. May 1, 1738.  
M.(1) May 11, 1722, **Elisabeth Schenk** (widow of Joseph Caugy).  
M.(2) Nov. 16, 1723, **Anne Flogertz**, from Bern, widow of Peter Pieris; Anne d. Sept. 18, 1726.
- 1111321** **Johann Landis**, bap. Oct. 15, 1724, d. Nov. 2, 1727, Markkirch.  
M.(3) April 22, 1727, **Elizabeth Carlin**.
- 1111322** **Susanna Landis**, bap. March 14, 1728; d. March 31, 1728, Markkirch.
- 1111323** **Elisabeth Landis**, bap. Dec. 21, 1730, Markkirch.
- 111133** **Anne Marie Landis**, bap. Dec. 21, 1681; m. **Jacob Haldimann**. Two children.
- 111134** **Ulrich Landis**, bap. Jan. 20, 1683; d. May 4, 1688, "age 6."
- 111135** **Elisabeth Landis**, bap. Oct. 19, 1684; m. Aug. 17, 1684, **Jean Gosart**, two children.
- 111136** **Jacob Landis**, b. March 7, 1687; bap. March 9, 1687 "Jacques;" d. April 11, 1765, "age 78." Linen-weaver. Witnessed documents in 1716 and 1722, marr. **Anne Marguerite Jemil**.
- 1111361** **Johann Jacob Landis**, bap. May 14, 1719.
- 1111362** **Anne Marguerite Landis**, bap. April 3, 1721.

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<sup>61</sup> For the sake of consistency, I am using the genealogical numbers assigned by Samuel E. Wenger (2005), continuing from the summary table for Hirzel in the previous chapter. Only those who appear in the records of Markkirch and other villages in Alsace are shown. The direct line of my ancestry is underlined.

- 1111363 **Marie Elisabeth**, bap. Aug. 25, 1722.
- 1111364 **Karl Landis**, bap. Nov. 30, 1724; requested citizenship in Markkirch, April 8, 1784.
- 111137 **Marie Elisabeth Landis**, bap. Feb. 27, 1689. Twin. One d. next day, Feb. 28, 1689. Another child d. Oct. 4, 1690, prob. the other twin, although it may have been Barbara.
- 111138 **Phillippe Landis**, bap. Feb. 27, 1689; twin.
- 111139 **Barbara Landis**, bap. Feb. 5, 1690.
- 111110 **Rudolf Landis**, bap. July 27, 1692; d. Sept. 11, 1702, "age 10."
- 11114 **Hans Landis**, b. ca. 1646; "age 3" in 1649 census of Hirzel; presumably emigrated with parents to Alsace in 1651; m. Jan. 29, 1678, **Rosina Catharina Bender** in Neckarburken, Baden, stated to be the "son of Caspar Landis, surgeon from Horgen."
- 11115 **Jacob Landis**, bp. Aug. 1, 1647, Hirzel; presumably emigrated with parents to Alsace; m. Nov. 26, 1678, **Anne Barbara Lauer**, Neckargerach, Baden.
- 1115 **Hans Heinrich Landis**, bap. Nov. 13, 1621, marr. **Barbara Buehler** Feb. 14, 1643 in Hirzel. Emigrated ca. 1651 to Heidelsehim, Alsace, with wife and three children, and bro. Caspar; d. by 1670.
- 11151 **Jakob Landis**, b. Feb. 1643 Hirzel, died in childhood.
- 11152 **Jakob Landis**, b. Dec. 1644 Hirzel, d. Mar. 20, 1646 Hirzel.
- 11153 **Catherine Landis**, b. Feb. 1646 Hirzel.
- 11154 **Hans Heinrich Landis**, b. ca. 1649 Hirzel, a weaver in Strassburg and Colmar, Alsace, lived in various places.
- 11155 **Barbara Landis**, b. ca. 1651 Hirzel, marr. Hans Jakob Stocker on Sept. 28, 1670 Markkirch. Converted to Reformed faith away from "fau" Reformation.
- 11156 **Jakob Landis**, b. ca. 1654 Alsace.
- 11157 **Elizabeth Landis**, b. ca. 1656 in Selestat, Alsace, returned to Zurich in 1675.
- 1116 **Rudolf Landis**, bap. Nov. 23, 1623; m. Sept. 1, 1646, **Christine Metler**. Emigrated ca. 1651 to Dürrenentzen, Alsace, with bros. Caspar and Hans Heinrich; Rudolf d. by 1670; Christine alive in 1678.
- 111261 **Hans Heinrich Landis**, bp. June 4, 1648; presumably taken as a child to Alsace.
- 111262 **Christian Landis**, b. ca. 1659, Markkirch?; bp. Oct. 31, 1670 Dürrenenzen, "age 11 or 12," an orphan. Parents stated to be Anabaptist.
- (The following six children of Hans Landis and Elizabeth Erzinger apparently did not leave Canton Zürich, there are no records for them in Alsace: 1117 Anna; 1118 Hans Jakob; 1119 Verena; 11110 Barbara; 11111 Hans Rudolf; 11112 Elsbeth)
- 11113 **Margaret Landis**, bap. Dec. 16, 1638, Hirzel; 1649 entry in Zurich refers to her as da. of Hans Landis and Eliz. Erzinger, "age 16 or 17;" marr. June 23, 1664, **Joseph Casson**, Markkirch.
- 11114 **Marie Landis**, b. ca. 1641. Converted to Reformed faith in Markkirch, Aug. 25, 1658, an "Anabaptist from Zurich." 1661 entry in Zurich states she resided in Markkirch and became married. Referred to in Markkirch 1662 a "young woman from Zurich."

**Descendants of Hans Rudolf Landis (1333) and Barbara Ritter from Richterswil**

**13339 Hans Landis**, b. ca. 1641, Richterswil. In 1709 listed in Markkirch as "a widower from Richterswil," with son Heinrich, both stated to be weapons-smiths, apparently Anabaptist. "Jean" Landis appears as witness in documents in Markkirch, 1696-1716.

**133394 Heinrich Landis**, bap. Feb. 26 1683; 1709 weapon-smith in Markkirch; Hirzel Chart shows Hans m. 1709 **Elizabeth Hirt**, Markkirch, emigrated 1718-1719 to Pennsylvania.