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JOHANN FRIEDRICH AMELUNG AT NEW BREMEN

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AMONG the many persons who attempted to set up manufacturing enterprises in the newly established United States of America, was Johann Friedrich Amelung. Late in May, 1784, Amelung started a sixteen week voyage from Bremen to Baltimore, where he landed on the last day of August.¹ He brought his family with him, including his wife, Magdelina Carolina Amelung, a son, Johann Friedrich Magnus, and three daughters, Fredericka, Sophia Christine Dorothea, and Johanna.² Frau Amelung's sister, Wilhelmina Griepenkerl accompanied them. Amelung was under contract to a group of Bremen banking houses which had invested £10,000 in a scheme to start one or more glass manufacturing establishments in America. They had chartered the ship *Fame*, and loaded on board the machinery for three "Glass Ovens." Amelung undertook to recruit experienced workers from Bohemia and Thuringia, the areas in which the German glass industry flourished. The workers were to join the ship in Bremen in the spring of 1784.³

Nothing is known of Amelung's earlier life, and there seems to be no basis for the supposition that he was a person of wealth and position. In none of his papers or those of his son, is there any evidence or mention of a personal fortune, although a great deal is said about his financial affairs. Since the cost of the enterprise during the first five years reached some £20,000, the remaining money, over and above the bankers' investment of £10,000, may have come from other sources.⁴ Frau Amelung and Frau Griepenkerl contributed \$2500, if we accept the statement of Amelung's son.⁵ Some may have come from the sale of glass. Amelung's son said that his mother and aunt had inherited land in Germany, which they sold in order to finance the trip to America, and they had contracted with Amelung for reimbursement with land of equal value in America. Because of this, Frau Amelung and Frau Griepenkerl were considered by the family to be the real owners of the land on which the glass-works were built.

¹ Such detail as we have concerning the dates and length of the voyage are taken from a pamphlet, John F. Amelung, *Remarks on Manufactures, Principally in the New Established Glass-House near Fredericktown in the State of Maryland* (Printed for the author, 1787). The only original known is in the library of the Boston Athenaeum. The Maryland Historical Society and the Pratt Library in Baltimore have photostats. The writer is grateful to the Pratt Library for a positive photostat made from their negative.

² The names of members of the family have been established by studying the records of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Frederick, the Zion Lutheran Church of Baltimore, and obituary announcements in Baltimore papers. Mr. James Foster, Director of the Maryland Historical Society, kindly allowed me to use notes he had made on some members of the family from the Land Records and Records of the Orphans' Court in Baltimore. The writer also studied these records for individuals not covered by Mr. Foster. In the nineteenth century there were other Amelung families in Baltimore, which necessitates eliminating from our list all names not accompanied by proof of relationship. There is one slight possibility that Amelung's family included two daughters and his sister, instead of three daughters. See note 17 below.

³ Amelung, *Remarks on Manufactures, passim*. In 1801, John Frederick Magnus Amelung prepared a long statement which is filed among the Chancery Records, MS 1767 in the Land Office, Hall of Records, Annapolis. In this document he referred to his aunt's arrangements to accompany her sister. She was only nineteen at the time, and had sold her German property, apparently an inheritance which she shared with her sister, to finance the trip.

⁴ Petition of John Frederick Amelung, May 26, 1790, Records of U. S. Senate 1st. Congress, 2nd Session, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

⁵ This statement may be unreliable because of the conditions under which it was made. In the course of the litigation over his father's estate John Frederick Magnus Amelung attempted to justify a large payment to his aunt, and an annuity of \$200 which he had settled on his mother, claiming the exemption of these two items from the assets of the business. One of his creditors contested these payments as fraudulent efforts to cheat the creditors.

As in all schemes for establishments in the new world, the crying need was for labor. Amelung was spared the problem of earlier entrepreneurs, who had recruited unwilling or unskilled workers as indentured servants, who might, at the will of the purchaser, be used for work of the heaviest kind, such as clearing land. Amelung wanted experienced glass-workers, and he offered them work at their own trade in a land where skilled workers were rare, and where the future offered unlimited opportunity. They seem to have been engaged as indentured hired servants who would repay the cost of passage with their labor, but would receive some pay and maintenance for themselves and in some cases for their families.⁶ Having been engaged in Germany for a definite job in a definite place, they did not have to face the uncertain fate of ordinary indentured servants whose services were sold by a sea-captain or his agent to the highest bidder in the port of arrival.

The scheme looked promising. The newly independent country would need, as previously, glass for windows and table use. Glass and china ware had always been difficult to transport in the tiny ships which pitched and tossed across the Atlantic, and such manufactured articles have always been expensive and scarce in distant colonies. Great profits seemed to await those in a position to manufacture such articles in America. European merchants did not welcome this scheme to close one of their lucrative markets. As late as 1810 Thomas Cooper in writing Madison told of the difficulties in getting necessary information about glass-manufacturing, except from the friendly French.⁷ The English, the writer said, refused all information and closed their factories to visitors to prevent spying. The Germans also refused. Even Amelung, who had the necessary technical equipment either personally or through trained workers, ran into difficulties. Although the tone of the recital of his calamities suggests that he saw himself as a martyr in a great cause, important enough for him to be feared and pursued by the British Navy, both Royal and Merchant, there is probably some truth in his account. He claimed that the English merchants and sea captains in Bremen asked the government of Hanover to interfere, and received the coöperation of the princely houses of neighboring states including Brunswick and Hesse, all of whom placed obstacles in the way of workers who were attempting to join Amelung at Bremen. In fact, so much excitement occurred that Amelung had to embark hastily with only a part of his employees, in order to avoid the "rag" directed against him. He was convinced "on good authority that the *Brig. Fame* in which myself and some of my most necessary workmen came over was to be taken by some English ships of force."

Amelung claimed to have established distinguished relationships with this country before he embarked. Although there is no evidence other than his own statement, he is believed to have known Benjamin Crockett of Baltimore while in Bremen, and to have obtained letters of introduction or recommendation from the American Consul in Paris, and, from Adams and Franklin. The letters, he said, were directed to such people as General Mifflin, Thomas Jefferson, William Paca, Charles Carroll of Carrollton and to leading mercantile establishments.

When he landed in Baltimore, August 31, 1784, he had 68 workers with him. On November 22, his agent arrived, bringing 14 more. These were probably some of those supposedly delayed by the pro-English German princes, or perhaps by what Amelung described as a "hard winter" with frozen roads dissolving into impassable mud, causing the workers a slow and difficult journey to the port, where, he said, they had finally arrived in a state approaching starvation. The stragglers who followed with the agent had avoided Bremen. The agent conducted them across the Dutch province of Friesland, and finally succeeded in embarking them at Amsterdam.⁸

Amelung lost no time in getting established. He purchased something over 2100 acres of heavily wooded land to the north and east of Sugarloaf Mountain in Frederick County. Additional purchases later increased the estate to some 3000 acres. The land lay along both sides of Bennett's Creek, "following the meanders." It probably did not extend west and south far enough to fit Amelung's statement that his tract was "on the Patowmac not far from the mouth of the Monacacy."⁹ He himself may have been confused, or he may have permitted this inaccuracy in order to locate the site in a general way to readers unfamiliar with Frederick County geography. This resulted in confusion later on, for the Glass-Works came to be known in some quarters as "that of the Potomac." As far as can be determined from a study of extant deeds and survey records, the land lay along both sides of Bennett's Creek, from its junction with Little Bennett's Creek on the east, to a point south of Park Mills, on the west, about three miles as the crow flies. The estate was thus on Bennett's Creek not far from the Monacacy, rather than "on the Patowmac, not far from the mouth of the Monacacy." Soon after arrival, Amelung had a survey made and some

⁶ Amelung advertised in the *Maryland Chronicle*, June 28, 1786, announcing the escape of a twenty-one year old "hired servant" who was bound for three years and had served only two. On the status of indentured hired servants see E. I. McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland, 1634-1820* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1904), p. 40.

It is not clear whether the families were included at first. In 1790 Amelung referred to the workers who "have offered to come over with their Family's as soon as we desire them." Petition of John Frederick Amelung; June 29, 1790, Records of the Senate, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

⁷ Thomas Cooper to James Madison, Sept. 14, 1810, Madison Papers, Library of Congress.

⁸ Above account is based upon Amelung, *Remarks on manufactures*, pp. 11-12.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13, and MS notes therein.

vacant land was found, about 324 acres in all. This was added by arrangement with the state of Maryland. He paid the Treasurer of the western Shore seven pounds ten shillings for the improvements, which were listed, as "6 acres cleared, 1 old Logg House, 2000 old fence rails, 15 peach and cherry trees." The "aforesaid parcels of land, reserved as aforesaid, with the vacancy added" were "called New Bremen." Amelung immediately built "a glass oven for bottles, window and flint glass and dwelling houses for 135 souls."¹⁰

On February 11, 1785, he was able to announce in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* that "a company of German manufacturers have arrived and will establish a factory. Window glass, table glass, optical glass, looking glass."¹¹ They invited commissions through their agents, Messrs. Ludlow & Gould in New York, Crockett & Harris, and Melchior Keener in Baltimore, Abraham Faw in Frederick, or directly, John F. Amelung & Co. at the Glass Works.

It has been impossible to determine the date on which the "Amelung Mansion" was ready for occupation. There were a great many small houses, and some of two stories on the estate, but the main house was a "large commodious, two-story brick house" with "kitchen, spring-house, stables" and other buildings.¹² The remains of the spring-house, and stables are still to be seen, and some other buildings, one in particular which may have been the out-door kitchen or quarters. To judge from the appearance of the Mansion House today, it was a beautiful rectangular building with the very thick walls typical of many late eighteenth century houses. The bricks on the front and west end of the house follow the Flemish bond design, while on the opposite end and rear the pattern is English bond. One may still examine the original pegged beams in the enormous attic. There is a large chimney at each end. That at the west end has a brick with the date, 1789, now almost invisible.¹³ At the east end of the house apparently a wooden addition, one story high was constructed. The date of its erection is unknown. A similar one story addition may have existed near the west end at the rear. The front entrance opened on a wide porch from which broad stairs led to the terraced lawn. In the rear there was a small porch, probably enclosed. In the wide hall extending between the front and rear entrances, a beautiful stair-case leads to the second floor.¹⁴ Here, opposite the top of the stair, was once a magnificent ball-room, with a view out over the terraces sloping to the river. The fine panelling of the fireplace, the doors, window and door frames, cornice, and other wood-work, were sold some years ago by an indifferent owner, and are now in Westchester County, New York, in a room built to fit them. The former ball-room space has been modified to make several smaller rooms. Fortunately the rest of the panelling in the house was left untouched. It is particularly beautiful in the two parlors on the lower floor, and in the front parlor the panelling duplicates to some extent that which once graced the ball-room above it. There are four corner fire-places in the house, two of them with good panelling. The windows are all large and deep, and framed with beautiful panelling. When the present owners acquired the property they found a contemporary cast of Guiseppi Ceracchi's well-known bust of Alexander Hamilton.¹⁵

The house is situated just below the brow of a hill, where it is protected from wind. A lane runs from the county road down to the house. There is some evidence that the ground in front of the house was at one time terraced down to Bennett's Creek, about a quarter of a mile below the house. The lane leading from the road to the house seems to have continued down to Bennett's Creek, turning near the house and crossing the terraces diagonally. Joining this road just above the high-water level of the Creek, is a small, tree-lined road, following the line of the stream in both directions. On it still are the ruins and foundations of the workers' cottages, and, the remains of the furnaces and ovens of Amelung's two Glass-Houses on the north side of the Creek. The third Glass-House, that which became later the Kohlenburg Glass House, was on the opposite bank. On the south bank opposite the end of the road leading from the Mansion House, there was a sawmill. Here the logs were turned into lumber needed for the buildings, or

¹⁰ Frederick County Patent Certificate, No. 2821-1; Land Office, Liber IC C, f. 285; Frederick County Land Records, Liber WR 5, f. 520-524, all in Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.; Amelung, *Remarks on Manufactures*, p. 12. The lands to which he acquired title before the end of 1784 included sections of old grants, and were known by names already attached to them:

Part of Gantt's Garden.....	1570 acres
Adam's Bones	194 "
Tobacco Hook	71 "
I Don't Care What.....	51 "

¹¹ The use of the word *company* has sometimes given the impression that a formal organization existed in Germany, and that a firm was transplanted intact from Bremen to America. It is obvious from examination of contemporary records that the word *company* was in common use meaning a group, not a firm.

¹² Description of property in advertisements of sale, *Federal Intelligencer*, March 23, 1795. This notice was repeated a dozen or more times during March and April, 1795. *Federal Gazette*, June 2, 1804.

¹³ If the house was partly destroyed by fire and the rear part rebuilt possibly in 1789 or 1790, this would account for the difference in the brick pattern and for the lateness of the date.

¹⁴ Strongly resembling the stair-case at Cliveden, Philadelphia.

¹⁵ See note 47 below. Neighbors report that this bust previously stood in the front hall on a shelf.

for fuel for the furnaces. The whole tract had been very heavily wooded and had been bought because of the wood. Only the part necessary for the houses and garden had been cleared.¹⁶ This seems to have been two separate tracts of 160 acres altogether. It may have been the part known as Gantt's Garden, and may have been cleared when acquired.

Very little historical information has survived to help us reconstruct the life of this German family during the ten or more years of their residence at New Bremen. The members of the family, insofar as we know, were the father and mother, one son and three daughters. Amelung was forty-five, his wife thirty-five, the younger daughters fourteen and nine respectively, and the son 13. In the case of the eldest daughter, we know only that she married in Frederick in 1785. None of the women of the family married early, so we may assume that she was at least seventeen or eighteen when she came to America. Even that would have necessitated her birth when Carolina Amelung was herself only seventeen or eighteen, and we have no information on this point. It opens the possibility that Fredericka Amelung may have been a child by a previous marriage, or even a sister, rather than a daughter, of Amelung.¹⁷

The census of 1790 lists Amelung as the head of a large family, seven adult males, one boy, ten females of unknown ages, and four slaves. Presumably, this meant persons living in the house or connected with it. It did not include indentured servants. Of the seven adult males, only Amelung, his son, then nineteen and a son-in-law, can be definitely identified. The boy was probably a grand-son, Charles Frederick Keener. Of the ten females, we can account only for Frau Amelung and the three girls. This leaves four men and six women unidentified, and all we know about them is that they were not slaves or indentured servants. Some may have been higher employees who lived in the house. The census did not include as members of the family all the higher employees, so we may deduce that residence had something to do with it. Frau Amelung's sister Wilhelmina had married Dietrich Griepenkerl either before or shortly after she came to America with her sister. Griepenkerl was employed at New Bremen, and must have lived nearby. His name appears as sponsor and witness on church records of events in the Amelung family, and the accounts of the firm at a near-by store show his name frequently.¹⁸ But he is listed separately in the census, as the head of a family which included himself, two females, and no slaves. The two females were, of course, his wife, Wilhelmina, and their daughter Carolina, born in 1786 and named for her aunt, Frau Amelung.

Fredericka Amelung married Andrew Keener (Andreas Kuehner) on September 20, 1785.¹⁹ He was the son of a Baltimore merchant, Melchior Keener, one of Baltimore's earliest German immigrants, and one of Amelung's agents. There is a possibility that Andrew Keener was employed as book-keeper for the Glass-Works. Some years later, Amelung's son spoke of himself replacing the book-keeper who died, and the date seems to have been about 1792. In 1792, when the firm drew up a note for an obligation to the State of Maryland, Andrew Keener signed as a witness. We know that he lived at New Bremen, and that when he died, on August 11, 1792, at the age of thirty-two, he was "buried at the burying-ground of the Manufactory."²⁰ It is thus possible that he was the book-keeper in question, placed there by his father's arrangement with Amelung. Less than five months after her husband's death, Fredericka remarried, again at New Bremen, this time to Doctor Philip Somerkamp, by whom she had five children.²¹ We do not know whether she continued to live at New Bremen.

In 1797, there were two weddings at the house. The son, John Frederick Magnus Amelung, married Louisa Sophia Furnival there on May 29. The bride was the eldest daughter of Alexander Furnival, the well-known Baltimore postmaster.²² They probably lived at New Bremen for a year or more. On August 9, the second daughter,

¹⁶ John Frederick Magnus Amelung's statement, Land Office, Chancery Records, MS 1767, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

¹⁷ See note 2 above. The ages of the parents and three of the children can be calculated from later obituary records and from confirmation records of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Frederick. There are no records for the eldest daughter except that of her marriage.

It will be recalled that Frau Amelung's sister accompanied the family, and may, like Fredericka, have married soon after arrival. One wonders whether the solicitous concern of German families of that day may not have induced Amelung and his wife to help out sisters by bringing them to a place where marriageable women were in great demand.

¹⁸ A ledger in the possession of Mr. Marshall Etchison of Frederick, contains the accounts of a general store run by one Shewell, in or near Frederick. It has several Amelung accounts, in the name of the firm, and several private accounts of persons employed there. Mr. Etchison kindly loaned the ledger to the writer for assistance in identifying New Bremen personnel.

¹⁹ Frederick County Marriage Records, 1779-98, p. 23, Courthouse, Frederick, Maryland.

²⁰ J. F. M. Amelung's statement, Land Office, Chancery cases, MS 1767, Hall of Records, Annapolis; *Maryland Journal*, Aug. 14, 1792; *Federal Gazette*, Aug. 27, 1798. Andrew and Fredericka Keener had one child, Charles Frederick Keener. Apparently his grandfather Keener took responsibility for him after his father's death, for Melchior Keener's will (Baltimore Court House, Wills, WB 6, f. 130, dated Aug. 29, 1798) appointed guardians for Charles Frederick, and left a fund of \$3000 for his support. This was the largest single legacy left to any of Melchior Keener's grandchildren. There is no mention of the child's mother, even in the matter of guardianship, which gives rise to doubts as to Melchior Keener's relation to Fredericka.

²¹ Frederick County Marriage Records, 1779-1798, p. 212.

²² Frederick County Marriage Records, 1779-1798, p. 55; *Federal Gazette*, May 8, 1797.

Sophia Christine Dorothea, married Peter Adolph Volkman of Baltimore, and went to live in Baltimore, where her husband was a merchant.²³ There are no records of births at New Bremen, although Fredericka's first child must have been born there. A number of children lived at New Bremen, as the communion and confirmation records of the Lutheran Church in Frederick reveal.²⁴ A third daughter, Johanna, born in 1775, also resided at New Bremen, since she did not marry until 1801.²⁵

In establishing New Bremen, Amelung obviously had a self-contained community in mind. In his letters to Congress he had referred to his contribution in augmenting the population of the country, an idea much in the minds of his contemporaries, who considered this a most important contribution. His quarters for workers were not dormitories, but rather the nucleus of a quasi-feudal village, which would grow as families increased in number and size. It is therefore not surprising, nor is it a sign of any particular humanitarianism, that Amelung planned schools at New Bremen. His pamphlet described them as follows:

Persuaded that no greater happiness can be for the succeeding generations, than to give them a good education in their younger years, and impress religion and morals early in their breasts; for this purpose, I have (directly after my settlement here) established a German School, the master, a worthy man, is fully acquainted with his duty, and has a yearly salary from me, a commodious house, in which every Sunday divine service is kept, a garden, some land, and free fire wood. The inhabitants, who send their children to this school, pay a trifle to him.

I am now about establishing an English School, for which purpose I have built a house on my land, and as I advance, I intend to put the same upon such a footing, that children may get a complete education in the same, as in the English, German, and French languages, writing, ciphering, music, to play on the harp, harpsichord, Rute and violin; I have the masters for this purpose already here. . . .²⁶

It must not be supposed from the above that the schools were well-staffed. It was not uncommon at that time to see notices in newspapers advertising the services of a teacher who considered himself capable of giving instruction in several languages and music, as well as in the fundamentals we usually consider necessary.

As we have seen, there was no church at New Bremen. In the absence of a pastor, services may have been held by the schoolmaster, or by visiting clergymen. The children went to Frederick for confirmation, and perhaps for other important ceremonies. Weddings, however, seem to have taken place at home. There was a burying-ground, which came to the writer's attention in connection with the death of Andrew Keener. No other reference to it has been found, either in print or manuscript sources. The country people living near the site today say they remember it as being quite near the house, on the slope behind it. The stones, they say, were removed so that the field could be plowed.

The only traces of the Amelung era still visible at the house at New Bremen are the results of the custom of writing on window-panes with diamonds. Many of the original window panes are still left at Amelung House, unfortunately the only products of the famous factory still to be found on the estate. Two of the panes show eighteenth-century inscriptions, one the signature of a Captain Piper, with the date, 1791. This particular pane is part of a very beautiful window in the front parlor, a window which probably once had a window seat, and which still today has two narrow cupboards concealed behind the panelling which frames the window. There is a magnificent view out over the fields towards Sugarloaf Mountain, particularly beautiful when the late afternoon sun streams in through the window.

It is surprising that no traces are to be found of the relations of New Bremen with Frederick. Except for advertising, we have found no mention of the German colony in such examples of the contemporary press as are still extant. But few private papers relating to Frederick County in this period have been preserved and those which are known do not mention New Bremen. We have one record of Amelung's modest political activity. He voted in the presidential elections of 1796 for Thomas Jefferson.²⁷ He was a naturalized American citizen, but we have no details as to date.²⁸

Little has been discovered about the business. There are traces of many members of the New Bremen community, but it is difficult or impossible to find out anything about them. In the Shewell ledger there are accounts of people from the "Manufactory." The accounts were paid in glass. The names appear sometimes as purchasers of articles on the account of the firm, or receiving cash advances on the credit of the firm. Half a dozen of these people had

²³ Frederick County Marriage Records, 1779-98, p. 56; *Federal Gazette*, Aug. 16, 1797.

²⁴ Evangelical Lutheran Church, Frederick, Records, p. 222.

²⁵ Her husband was Christian Frederick Kracht, whom she married on Nov. 1, 1801, in Baltimore. They had four children, the first born in 1815, *Federal Gazette*, Nov. 4, 1801.

²⁶ Amelung, *Remarks on Manufactures*, p. 13.

²⁷ Gaius Marcus Brumbaugh, *Maryland Records* (2 vols., Baltimore and Lancaster, Pa., 1914-1928), I, 277.

²⁸ J. F. M. Amelung's statement, Land Once, Chancery cases, MS 1767, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

accounts as well in their own names. At the time of Andrew Keener's death, he had a bill at Shewell's which had been due since May, and interest of £5-10-0 on a note due since June. There is a record of Amelung's having settled his son-in-law's account, probably at the time of his death in August, 1792.²⁹ A careful search of this ledger was made in an effort to discover what these people did at the Manufactory, particularly Griepenkerl and Keener. Unfortunately the nature of their purchases had no relation to any particular job. It had also been hoped, by this method, to discover the name of the schoolmaster, or rather, which of the names was his. He is not listed except as the school-master, as far as we can determine, and his purchases seem always to have been articles of general utility, rather than tools of his profession. The only unique entry for him is one of a shilling "to drink for him," following an entry for a cash advances of 3/9. There are a number of entries of a general nature on the account of Doctor Messing who is believed to have been the physician for the community. His expenses were heavy ones, and were usually paid for in glass.

The census of 1790 which lists by name only heads of families gives some data about the members in each family and whether male or female. Sometimes an examination of these records suggests, but does not prove information as to where people lived. The New Bremen community is not mentioned by name but the census taker seems to have visited it last, or almost last, of the settlements in Frederick County. We find grouped together the people we know to have held important positions at the Glass Works: Amelung, Griepenkerl, Hopke ("Harpoke"), Messing, and Balthazar Crämer, the last name being that of a famous glassblower who had been with Stiegel. Among the ninety-three names in this final group are many which are proven by Shewell's ledger to have been connected with the Glass works. It is likely that almost all of them were, otherwise they would not have resided at New Bremen.

From the advertising we know that the Manufactory made a variety of glass objects, from ordinary window glass to the magnificent presentation pieces still extant today. One of the advertisements read:

He makes Window Glass, Transparent and substantial, equal to London Crown, an inferior quality equal to Bristol Crown, all kinds of Flint Glass such as Decanters and Wine Glasses; Tumblers of all sizes, and every other Sort of Table Glass. He also cuts Devices, Cyphers, Coats of Armes, or any other Fancy Figures in Glass, and in a short time hopes to be able to furnish Looking Glasses of all sizes. . . .³⁰

There seem to have been difficulties almost from the first. From 1785 through 1789 there are advertisements from time to time in the Baltimore papers, sometimes describing the company's table glass, sometimes mentioning only their window glass, 8 x 10 and 7 x 9.³¹ I have found no advertising of their wares after 1789, and it may be that their financial difficulties became crucial about this time. In 1788, Amelung had applied to the State of Maryland for financial assistance. He said that he had brought glass manufacturing to perfection, but had spent £20,000 in the process. He was employing 342 persons in the Manufactory at the time. His application was favorably received, and he was given a loan of £1000 and a tax exemption for five years.³²

About the time of this appeal a serious fire broke out at New Bremen.³³ We do not know whether it destroyed a part or all of the buildings connected with the industry, such as the "glass-houses, flattening houses, ware-houses and stables" or whether some of the dwelling-houses went up in flames.³⁴ Twice in 1790, Amelung wrote of "his heavy, well-known loss by fire" and referred to it as having happened very lately.³⁵

It must have been this tragedy, following his failure to get a large state appropriation which led him to go to New York to appeal to Congress, then in session there. He petitioned the Congress as follows:

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled;

The petition of John Frederick Amelung of the State of Maryland most respectfully sheweth,

That since the year 1785 he has laid out upwards of twenty thousand pounds in bringing several hundred Workmen from Europe, purchasing three thousand Acres of land, and establishing a compleat American Glass-manufactory at New Bremen in the State aforesaid.

That he has, from time to time, encreased his works as his original Stock would admit, and flattered himself, shortly to be able to supply the United States, in a great degree, with Glass of every kind, and on reasonable terms, and equal in quality to any

²⁹ Shewell's ledger, p. 23.

³⁰ *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, May 16, 1789.

³¹ *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Feb. 11, 1785; *Maryland Chronicle*, Nov. 29, 1786; *Maryland Journal*, May 22, 1789.

³² *Laws of the Maryland Assembly*, May session, 1788, ch. VII; Statement of J. F. M. Amelung, Chancery cases, MS 1767, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Land Office.

³³ Since he did not mention it in the appeal, and does mention it in subsequent appeals, we may assume that it occurred between the two periods.

³⁴ Description in advertisement of sale, *Federal Intelligencer and Baltimore Daily Gazette*, March 23, 1795.

³⁵ Petitions of J. F. Amelung, May 26 and June 29, 1790, Records of U. S. Senate, 1st Congress, 2nd Session, National Archives.

imported from any part of the world.

That, by his exertion he has nearly expended his original Stock, and owing to the unforeseen high prices of Grain this Year, the dulness of Trade in almost every branch of business, (that of Grain and Flour excepted), the small demand for Glass, and the difficulty of collecting outstanding Debts, at this time, when Cash is become so scarce, he finds almost insurmountable difficulties in carrying his original design into execution. To this he begs leave to add, that he has very lately met with considerable loss by fire, and is also well-assured, that measures are now taking in England to prevent the success of the Manufactory; so that the Works, which bid fair to become of great and lasting Utility to the United States, are in danger of being rendered totally useless.

That he hath, at this time, upwards of four thousand pounds worth of Glass of all kinds on hand, as well as nearly the same sum in outstanding debts, and the whole estate is clear of debts; but, as between four and five hundred people now employed by him look up to him for their daily subsistence, and as some additional Works ought still to be erected to compleat the original design, he humbly begs leave to solicit the Aid of the Government of the United States in this important Undertaking, either by granting him a loan of Money, upon the most undoubted and unequivocal Security, or by such other means, as Congress in their Wisdom may see fit.

And he will pray-

Joh. Friedr. Amelung

New York, 26, May, 1790.³⁶

On his return to New Bremen he sent a second petition, describing an ambitious plan he had conceived for the establishment of glass-houses in Virginia and the Carolinas for the purpose of supplying the southern states. He wanted a grant of money, but he also asked that the protective tariff be raised on imported glass in order to protect his own and similar industries. It read as follows:

To the honourable the Senate and House of Representatives of the united States in Congress assembled.–

The petition of John Frederick Amelung of the State of Maryland respectfully sheweth.–

That he by his return from New York has received Letters from Germany, which advise him that some Glass-makers have embarked for Baltimore to work with him, which he expects dayly, and a good many more, have offered to come over with their Family's as soon as he desires them to come. He has not only offered the different Glass-Houses established on this Continent to assist them, if required, but repeats now this offer publicly, and further intends to erect a Glass House in the State of Virginnny, all which is well known to a Number of the Members of the Honourable Houses.

Now he finds by the above mentioned Letters, that he is not only able to fulfill his promises but to extend his Plan.–

Your petitioner humbly prays if the Honourable Houses would not give him a Grant of a certain Number Acres of Land in that extensive Tract which the State of Carolina has ceded to the united States free of Taxes for – Years, to build two or Three Glass Houses on it, from which the Southern States might be supplied, it would make little odds to him if the Country was mountainous and also not well adapted for Cultivation, if only well-timbered, and close to Navigable Water, on which the Products of this Manufactory might be brought to market.–

The Advantages, which such a Colony would be to adjacent Country is very obvious, as the Number of Inhabitants in a few Years would amount to upwards of Five Hundred. The Neighboring Lands would increase to more than double their value. Such a Number of People living together on a small spott would be a greater Barrier against the Invasions of the Indians than scattered Plantations, whom they would be able to protect. Is this plan brought into Execution than the greatest part of the united States can be supplied with Ease with Glass of their Country's Manufactory,

Your Petitioner further prays that the Honourable Houses will please to raise the Duty on imported Glass, which in the beginning will not only increase the Revenue of the united States, but at the same Time enable him to execute his Plan with more ease and certainty.

As extensive his Plan may appear, your petitioner promises to execute the same, having surmounted the chief Obstacles which hitherto have attended the greater part of the Glass-Works, erected in the united States – Viz the want of Workmen.–

Your petitioner further prays the Honourable House to grant him for his Services he has already done the Publick in augmenting the Population of the Country, and the large amount of ready Cash he has brought from Europe, and now circulates in it, a grant of such sum of Money as the Honourable Houses, according to their generous Disposition will think best, not only to enable him to repair his heavy well known Loss by Fire, as to pay the Freight and Expenses of those workmen, he dayly expects, of which he has to defray all the Charges from their respective Homes, and to support them, and those which in all probability will soon follow, so that he according to the Plan proposed, may soon put them to Work.–

Your Petitioner lastly offerd to lay before the Honourable Houses from Time to Time Accounts grounded upon facts & Evidence how far he is succeeded with his Plan, and he is fully persuaded that those Accounts will give certain proofs, that his Plan is grounded upon solid foundations, and your petitioner will for ever Pray etc etc –³⁷

³⁶ Petition of J. F. Amelung, May 26, 1790, *Ibid*.

³⁷ Petition of J. F. Amelung, June 29, 1790, *Ibid*, In the case of both the letter of May 26 and that of June 29, simultaneous letters went to the Senate and House of Representatives. Only the Senate copy was available and this was therefore the one used. The heading of the letters

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New Bremen Glassmanufactory
The 29 June 1790.–

Joh. Friedr. Amelung.

These two letters were probably prepared for Amelung and copied by him in his own hand. The English shows evidence of copying, and Amelung's own signature is that of a German, using the German forms of his name. His name in the body of the letters, on the other hand, is given in the English form.

The records of Congress show that Amelung's first letter, dated May 26, 1790, was filed on that day and was referred to a committee.³⁸ A week later on June 3 Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a member of the committee and a neighbor of Amelung, made a report. He summarized Amelung's petition and recommended favorable action, emphasizing, unfortunately inaccurately, that the manufactory had been a going concern since 1778. A lively debate followed, and the principle of such loans from the federal government was vigorously opposed in some quarters. William Laughton Smith of South Carolina, argued that the federal government did not have the power to make such loans. This position was opposed by Elias Boudinot and Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Boudinot informed his colleagues that the New Bremen product was the best ever produced in America. Smith won the day with an unanswerable question. Amelung had asked for the loan "upon the most undoubted and unequivocal security." Smith pointed out that although £20,000 had been spent, the enterprise was still in danger of failing. How, he asked, was the government to get its money back if an accident occurred? He was perhaps thinking of the fire to which Amelung himself had referred. The report was "negatived" and Amelung got no help from Congress, either as a loan, or in the form of an increase in the protective tariff.³⁹

The decision of Congress was made on June 3, 1790. Amelung's second letter to Congress was written from New Bremen on June 29. Although not mentioned, the contents of this second petition suggest that Amelung had learned of the rejection of his application. His second letter was an elaboration of the first, giving details not previously mentioned, and speaking of nebulous plans for extending the glass industry all over the country, in particular, it appears, to the regions represented in Congress by some of the opponents of Amelung's application. He brought in such currently important matters as the defense of the frontiers against the Indians.

Among the "Public Acts of Congress" during the first session, there had been passed an "act for laying a duty on goods, wares, and merchandise imported into the United States."⁴⁰ Contrary to some present-day writers, this was not a duty primarily for the protection of the glass industry. It taxed some seventy-four categories of merchandise, including "all looking-glasses, window and other glass, except black quart bottles." Amelung's second petition sought to have the duty increased on imported glass, but his request was not granted, although slight general increases including glass were made later. One gets the impression that his second letter was a last, frantic effort to persuade Congress to reverse its decision on a matter which was literally one of life and death to the New Bremen manufactory.

Although it had been impossible to induce Congress to interest itself financially in Amelung's enterprise, it was highly thought of in other important quarters. There is a well-known passage in one of Washington's letters to Jefferson in which he wrote: "A factory of glass is established upon a large scale on the Monocacy near Fredericktown in Maryland. I am informed that it will produce this year Glass of various kinds nearly to the amount of three thousand pounds value. This factory will be essentially benefited by having the navigation of the Potomac completely open."⁴¹ This passage has been taken by descendants of Amelung's neighbors at New Bremen to prove that Amelung was a personal friend of Washington, and that while president, Washington was a frequent visitor at New Bremen. There is no evidence whatever to support the story. Washington and Jefferson were much interested in the development of necessary industries in the new Republic, as the frequent references to manufacturers in the correspondence between them, and in their letters to others testify. The excerpt quoted above reveals no personal knowledge of New Bremen, but sounds rather like the information of one who had received a delegation sent to inform him of the progress of a scheme in which he had a strong, if general interest.

There may be truth in the other local legend, that Amelung went to Mount Vernon in person to present a sample of the New Bremen achievements to Washington. [Handwritten note in booklet - see *Antiques Magazine*, April 1964, p. 448.] Amelung made a number of magnificent presentation pieces, of which there are two in the Metropolitan Museum today, and some others in private hands, One of the Metropolitan pieces, which shows the

show that they were identical.

³⁸ *Annals of Congress*, 1st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 1616, May 26, 1790.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, same session, pp. 1629-32, June 3, 1790.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 1st Congress, Appendix, pp. 2129-30.

⁴¹ George Washington to Thomas Jefferson, Mount Vernon, Feb. 13, 1789, *George Washington, Writings* (39 vols. Washington, 1931-1944), ed. by John C. Fitzpatrick, XXX, 198-199.

arms of Pennsylvania, was made for General Thomas Mifflin, who at the time of the presentation, 1791, was Governor of Pennsylvania.⁴² He had been president of the Continental Congress in 1784 when Amelung arrived in this country. Another piece, with the arms of the city of Bremen, went to the backers in Germany. It is not inconceivable that Washington and other persons of prominence were similarly honored.

Amelung's pamphlet, printed in 1787, had evidently been sent to Congress with his petition. In the copy of the pamphlet now in the Boston Athenaeum, the blank leaves at the end are filled with extensive notes in Amelung's hand dated June, 1790. To judge from these notes, it is not at all impossible that this copy of the pamphlet is the very one which Amelung sent with his petition. His pamphlet treated at length the attitude of various European sovereigns towards the matter of subsidies for industries. He contended that high protective tariffs, subsidies, and exemption from taxation and military service were the rule, rather than the exception in all prosperous European countries. He pointed particularly to the case of Catherine the Great, who started with nothing, and built up an extensive glass industry in Russia by means of a 100% import duty on glass. Although Amelung admitted the American fear of special privileges, he felt that it would be fatal to the interests of the country. He mentioned also his early difficulties, especially the cool reception he had met as a foreigner. Amelung may have been badly cheated in some of his first business deals when he arrived. In the papers of his son, there is mention of the father having bought land for wood, only to have found some of the wood surreptitiously cut in the course of the negotiations.⁴³ This may have been the basis of Amelung's recommendation that it would be of "great encouragement for beginning manufacturers if patriotic citizens would assist foreign ones with their good advice, give them protection against imposition (which often is the case with foreigners who are strangers to the laws of this country.)"⁴⁴

Alexander Hamilton showed some familiarity with Amelung's plans. In his report on manufactures in 1790, he advocated the encouragement of such industries by means of bounties provided by tariff duties, essentially what Amelung had asked for his own plant in his petition to Congress. In his report Hamilton mentioned specifically problems of glass manufacture. He said that the materials for making glass were plentiful in this country, but that capital and labor were both lacking. He spoke of the "increasing consumption of window glass and bottles." Finally he wrote, "the glass manufactory on the Patowmack, it is said, gives employment to five hundred persons."⁴⁵ There seems to be no reasonable doubt that he was referring to the New Bremen plant, for no other factory fits the description in any detail. His mistaken idea that it was on the Potomac may be traced to Amelung's own pamphlet, and the resulting popular notion that New Bremen was on the Potomac. Perhaps it is because of this error, that Hamilton's knowledge of New Bremen has never been previously noticed.⁴⁶ We have no proof of any relations between Hamilton and Amelung, but we may hazard a guess that Hamilton's activities and interest in manufactures were well-known at New Bremen. There is still at Amelung House a contemporary cast of Guiseppi Ceracchi's famous bust of Alexander Hamilton.⁴⁷ One wonders if it may not have once occupied a place of honor on a pedestal in the establishment.

Foreign visitors knew about New Bremen, and some must have visited there. Two French travelers described the settlement. Brissot de Warville was in the vicinity and probably visited it in 1788. He wrote:

In the United States the prodigious consumption of glasses, bottles, and window glass is increasing the number of glass-manufactories. It is said that the one on the Potowmack now employs more than 500 persons. And how the business will increase when the canals, now under construction connecting the great rivers shall have reduced the cost of transportation of provisions.⁴⁸

Brissot de Warville knew the factory in its early and prosperous period. Some years later La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, recorded a scene far less happy:

⁴² Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Early American Glass* (New York, 1936), Introduction and figure 15.

⁴³ Land Office, Chancery Cases, MS 1767, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁴⁴ Amelung, *Remarks on Manufactures*, MS notes and pp. 4-9

⁴⁵ Alexander Hamilton, "Report on Manufactures," in Alexander Hamilton, *Works* (3 vols., New York, 1810), I, 266-61.

⁴⁶ A. H. Cole, *Industrial and Commercial Correspondence of Alexander Hamilton*, (Chicago, 1920), pp. 119-120. Cole says that the factory was at Alexandria, Va., and that it had been visited by Brissot de Warville in 1788. There is no record of a glass factory in eighteenth-century Alexandria. Brissot de Warville was also in the vicinity of Frederick.

⁴⁷ The bust was identified by Mr. Marvin C. Ross and Miss Dorothy Hill of the Walters Art Gallery, and Miss Anna Wells Rutledge of the Peabody Library, all of Baltimore. Mr. Theodore Sizer of Yale University, kindly sent additional suggestions and bibliography. Mr. Sizer knew several casts of the Hamilton bust. This writer examined one of them, in the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. The cast at Amelung House is a very good one, marked "J. Lametti fecit." The name of the original artist, and the place, Philadelphia, can be read with difficulty. The bust in the Maryland Historical Society, which was received as a gift in 1865 is similar, but inferior to the one at Amelung House. The artist, G. Ceracchi (1751-1802) did a number of excellent portrait busts and was particularly active in America in 1791.

⁴⁸ J. P. Brissot de Warville, *Nouveau voyage dans les Etats-Unis... fait en 1788* (Paris, 1799), p. 269.

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A glass-manufactory had been established some miles from Frederick-town. Either because of bad management or bad luck on the part of the managers who came from Bremen in Germany, or because of lack of capital, or because of a combination of a variety of causes, this manufactory has gone the way of all such early establishments. It is now so near to complete collapse that one may give it up as hopeless.⁴⁹

Unfortunately, the second French writer was correct. In 1793 Amelung mortgaged part of his land to James Labes, who apparently joined Amelung in the firm of Amelung and Labes. In 1794, he also gave a mortgage to Abraham Faw, his agent in Frederick.⁵⁰ In 1795, the Glass Works were put up for sale.

A bargain! A bargain!

The subscribers offer for sale, the New Bremen Glass Works, and 2000 acres of *Land*, about nine miles from Fredericktown, within forty miles of the Federal City, and not more than six miles to the river Potowmac. There are on the premises, 30 one and two story Dwelling Houses; two Glass Houses; two Flattening Houses; Warehouses and Stables; the necessary Buildings for boiling pot-ash; in short all the Buildings that are wanted to carry on the manufactory of blowing Glass, on a large and extensive plan. There are only two small Farms cleared on the Land, the remainder is all in woods. The Land is mostly of a kind and good quality. There is a valuable *Mill Seat* about two hundred yards from the Works on Bennett's Creek, on a large and never-failing stream. As every person inclining to purchase will wish to see the premises, we think it unnecessary to give a more minute description. For terms apply to Abraham Usher, of Baltimore, or to Amelung and Labes living on the premises.⁵¹

Amelung seems to have given up at this point, and either because of discouragement or poor health or both, he made over his unmortgaged interests to his son, John Frederick Magnus Amelung, on September 22, 1795. The property was technically sold to the son for the sum of five shillings plus "a consideration of natural love and affection."⁵²

After 1795 the finances of the Amelungs and their Glass Works become so complicated that it is impossible to establish a clear and connected story with the material now extant. Certain facts emerge, and these point to a family situation the complications of which rival those of the finances themselves. It appears that there were no buyers when the sale was announced in 1795. Some time later, the firm of Amelung and Labes became insolvent, and the State appointed receivers for the property. It was again put up for sale, and this time it was bought in by Peter Adolph Volkmann, Sophia Volkmann's husband, who had been a member of the family since 1797. This sale seems to have taken place in 1799. Volkmann bought the tract known as "Adam's Bones" for £760, paid part of the price, and gave his note for the rest, that is, £200, "on the account of J. F. M. Amelung." In mentioning this last point, Volkmann declared that he made no effort to take possession himself until December 11, 1799.

In the same year, part of the land, supposedly the unmortgaged section still held by J. F. M. Amelung, was sold to Adam Kohlenberg and John Christian Gabler. The tract was one which lay along the stream, probably on the south bank, where at least one of the Glass Ovens was located. Varlé's map of Frederick County (1808) shows this oven plainly under the name "Kohlenberg Glass Works." Adam Kohlenberg and John Christian Gabler were to pay him with "725 boxes of good merchantable eight-by-ten window glass."

In 1797 Peter Volkmann had been involved with another relative in a real-estate transaction. He had acquired some property in Baltimore from Alexander Furnival, the well-known Baltimore post-master, and the father-in-law of J. F. M. Amelung, Volkmann's wife's brother. In 1800, Volkmann had financial troubles, and when Furnival pressed him for payment, of the note, he persuaded Furnival to accept his interest in the New Bremen property in lieu of payment. Furnival was to assume the debt still due on that property. Things reached a crisis almost immediately when Volkmann became bankrupt. J. F. M. Amelung was appointed trustee for Volkmann's property, although Amelung had recently passed through bankruptcy, and had lost the very property involved. Amelung refused to convey the New Bremen property to his father-in-law on Furnival's demand. In 1801 Furnival sued and got a judgment awarding the estate to him.⁵³

In the meantime, Johann Friedrich Amelung had died in Baltimore at the home of his daughter and her husband, Peter Volkmann. The New Bremen property was listed for delinquent taxes in 1800⁵⁴ J. F. M. Amelung, and his wife, Sophia Furnival Amelung, had left New Bremen and had followed other members of the family to Baltimore. On June 27, 1800, Amelung announced in the *Federal Gazette* that his new *Baltimore Glass Works* would start

⁴⁹ La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Voyage dans les Etats-Uri d'Amerique fait en 1795, 1796, et 1797* (8 vols., Paris, 1799), V, 109.

⁵⁰ Statement of J. F. M. Amelung, Hall of Records, Land Office, Chancery cases, MS 1767, Annapolis; Frederick Co. Land Records, WR 12, fol. 151.

⁵¹ *Federal Intelligencer and Baltimore Daily Gazette*, March 23, 1795, repeated a dozen times within a month.

⁵² Land Office, Chancery cases, MS 1767, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁵³ This story is pieced together from Land Office, Chancery Records, MS 1767, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁵⁴ *Federal Gazette*, Nov. 21, 1798; *Rights of Man*, April 22, 1800.

making “all kinds of Glassware and Bottles” on July 1. He is listed in the Baltimore Directory of that year as “Superintendent of the Glass Works.” He was in partnership with his father-in-law, despite the bankruptcy of them both and the suits in which they had been involved. The partnership, however, was dissolved in 1802.⁵⁵

However praising this venture seemed, Amelung was ruined by becoming involved in extensive litigation with his father’s former agent in Frederick, Abraham Faw. Faw charged that enormous debts were due him from the New Bremen business, chiefly for purchases made on Amelung’s order in Philadelphia. Faw maintained that the transfer of property by Johann Friedrich Amelung to his son in 1795 had been fraudulent, and executed for the purpose of cheating Faw by reducing the value of the property sold in bankruptcy in 1799. He also claimed that the sale to Kohlenberg and Gabler had been of the same type.⁵⁶

Another transaction of similar nature seems to have occurred in 1801, for J. F. M. Amelung now gave a deed of trust to his brother-in-law, Peter Adolph Volkmann, for “all his property.”

It should be recalled that Amelung had been bankrupt, and that his property had been bought in by Volkmann in 1799. The next year Volkmann, was bankrupt, and Amelung was appointed trustee. Then, in 1801, Amelung was again in difficulties and borrowed from Volkmann, to whom he gave a mortgage on everything he owned.

The litigation dragged on, and the property again reached the receiver’s hands. J. F. M. Amelung and his father-in-law Alexander Furnival both became bankrupt, and the trustee sold the property of both on the same day, June 18, 1804. The announcements show that a part of the property was still in Amelung’s hands, and that another part, including the Mansion House, belonged to Furnival. By this remarkable series of financial transactions and bankruptcies, Furnival came into possession of his daughter’s home, only to lose it immediately.

On June 2, 1804, an announcement appeared in the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*:

Exposed for sale at Auction on Wednesday, the 18th day of June next, at 12 o’clock, on the premises. Part of the effects of Frederick M. Amelung, a bankrupt – a tract of Land near Fredericktown, part of the resurvey on Right and Good Reason, containing 560 acres, clear of elder surveys; on said land is erected an extensive glass manufactory with the necessary buildings and ovens; 14 or 15 dwelling houses; barn; stables; etc.– Some of the land is under good fence; it is well adapted for farming or planting. It will be offered in lots, or undivided, as may best suit the purchasers.

Immediately after the sale of the above will be sold: Part of the effects of Alexander Furnival, a bankrupt, a tract of Land adjoining the above, called New Bremen, containing about 280 acres. On this tract is erected a number of dwelling houses, one of which is a large commodious two story brick house, kitchen, spring-house, stables, etc. There is also a mill seat on this land on a never-failing stream or water. Terms will be made known at the time and place of sale.

By order of the assignees, Reuben Elling, Messenger to the commissioner of bankruptcy and auctioneer.

The connection of the Amelungs with the Glass Works in both Frederick and Baltimore seems to end here. There is a rumor that J. F. M. Amelung and his wife moved away immediately and went to Pittsburgh, and that he had some connection with a Glass Works there. The daughters seem to have remained in Baltimore. Fredericka lived there with her second husband, Dr. Philip Somerkamp, whom she had married in Frederick. He died in 1805, leaving her with five children. She died in Baltimore in 1838.⁵⁷ Sophia, who not only married and survived three husbands, somehow managed to get from her husbands or future husbands contributions, financial and otherwise, in the repeated economic crises of her family. By her first husband, Peter Adolph Volkmann, who died in 1805, she had two daughters. Her second husband, Albert Seekamp, married her in 1806, but died in 1811, leaving her with a son and two more daughters, and a large fortune. Within the year, she married a third time, this time another Amelung, who may have been a relative, Friedrich Leopold Eberhard Amelung, a man a little younger than herself.⁵⁸ They had two children, both girls.

Caroline Griepenkerl, the daughter of Frau Amelung’s sister, was somewhat younger than any of her cousins, and unlike them, was born in Frederick. She married in 1808, her husband being Carl Friedrich Kalkmann, by whom she had three sons and two daughters. Frau Griepenkerl and her sister, Frau Amelung lived on in Baltimore after the death of their respective husbands. Frau Amelung died in 1815. Her sister died in 1847, after reaching the ripe age of eighty-two, surviving her husband by some forty-five years at least.⁵⁹ Unlike her sister, who had daughters in a position to look after her, and unlike her nieces, some of whom were left in more than comfortable circumstances,

⁵⁵ *Federal Gazette*, Aug. 11, 1802. The site of the Baltimore Glass Works was on the harbor at Hughes Street (now Key Highway) between Henry and Covington Streets, where its successor company, the Federal Hill Glass Works of Baker Bros. & Co. remained as late as 1873. For this information the author is indebted to Mr. E. V. Coonan, of Baltimore.

⁵⁶ The records of this litigation make up the parcel of records frequently referred to above: Land Office, Chancery Cases, MS 1767, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁵⁷ Baltimore County Records, Administrations, Liber 21, f. 540; *Baltimore Sun*, June 30, 1838.

⁵⁸ *Federal Gazette*, Feb. 1, 1811; *Baltimore American*, Oct. 20, 1812.

⁵⁹ Records of the Zion Lutheran Church, Baltimore, pp. 15, 344, 424.

Frau Griepenkerl seems to have had problems. She is listed in the Baltimore directory of 1804 as keeper of a boarding-house, a sad fate for one who, as a young woman of nineteen had sold her inheritance in Germany in order to come with her sister to the New World.

One striking thing about this family is the impression one gets of very strong family ties and family devotion which seem to have survived the intricate if not actually questionable financial dealings in which they became involved. From the first, one notices the frequency with which they stood sponsor at baptisms for each other's children, particularly the two grandmothers, who seem to have been in great demand, not only for their own grandchildren, but for the numerous nieces and nephews. The children without exception, received at baptism, the names of their grand-parents, uncles, aunts, or cousins. This was not an uncommon practice in the German communities in Pennsylvania and Maryland, but it at least testifies to the fact that they got on together. More striking still is the evidence which appears in the communion records of the Zion Lutheran Church in Baltimore for many years after the family moved there. There are frequent references to the appearance at communion of Frau Griepenkerl, accompanied by her daughter, Caroline Kalkmann. All the Amelung daughters managed to attend together, on many occasions of which we have record, and sometimes the Amelung daughters, Frau Griepenkerl and Caroline Kalkmann, all came together, to judge from the order in which their names appear.⁶⁰ The Baltimore directories of the first years of the nineteenth century show them to have been neighbors, living on the same, or neighboring streets. There are a number of descendants living in or near Baltimore today.

Of the glass, the writer is not qualified to speak. It has been dealt with in detail by the McKearins and by Knittle, and is the subject of many articles, learned and otherwise.⁶¹ [Handwritten note in booklet - see *Antiques Magazine*, January 1963, p. 112.] People still dig hopefully in the ground where the old ovens once produced works of art, but the fragility of glass has made discoveries of anything but fragments impossible.

When one visits the place today, one gets a peculiar realization of its history. From the front porch of the house, there is a view over the pasture towards Sugarloaf Mountain. It is not difficult to see in the road across the pasture, the route once taken by wagons going to and from the factory, and to imagine the houses, the ruins of which are in summer hidden by the trees, inhabited by Amelung's five hundred workmen.

The lands once owned by the Amelung family, the Mansion House, a second known residence on the county road, and lesser buildings of all sorts passed through many hands after the sale of the estate in 1804. For the most part they were neglected and allowed to decay. In 1940, Mr. and Mrs. Alden Fisher of Frederick bought the Mansion House and an acre of land around it. They restored it beautifully but were unfortunately unable to live in it as they had hoped. In 1947 they sold it to Mr. and Mrs. William Rogers Quynn of Frederick, who now live there.

CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. Dorothy Mackay Quynn (Mrs. W. R. Quynn), previously a professor of history at Duke University and Goucher College, is now on the staff of the University of Maryland Study Center in Paris, France. Mrs. Quynn contributed an article on the Barbara Frietschie legend to the *Magazine* for September, 1942. ☆

For the photograph of the Amelung house on the cover the Magazine is indebted to Mr. Henry Kauffman.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 106, 258, 299, 312, 485, 497.

⁶¹ Rhea Mansfield Knittle, *Early American Glass* (New York, 1921); George S. and Helen McKearin, *American Glass* (New York, 1941). The gift to the Society by Mr. and Mrs. Ernest W. Kemp of a collection of glass pieces, most of which have been attributed by competent judges to the Amelung works, was described in the May, 1948, issue of *Maryland History Notes*, news bulletin of the Maryland Historical Society.