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## The Dutchman Vol. 6, No. 4

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# The Dutchman



Gensler





# The Dutchman

Spring 1955

Vol. 6, No. 4

*Editor:* Dr. Alfred L. Shoemaker

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# Painted Tin or "Tole"

By EARL F. ROBACKER

Good for an argument any time is the question of whether or not the painted tin ("tole") of Dutch Pennsylvania was actually a Pennsylvania product.

One school of thought maintains that it was New England ware, peddled from door to door by enterprising Yankee salesmen. Another is equally sure that it was produced in Philadelphia, from where it made its way to the hinterland to brighten the kitchens and warm the hearts of the Dutch housewives. Still a third group, of whom the writer is one, finds evidence to indicate that *some* Dutch tinware is natively Pennsylvania Dutch.

In this, as in any argument, it is well to have a definitely established point of departure. Toleware to the student, the decorator, or the collector, is not tin in the sense that common kitchen utensils were tin, or a tin cup was tin; it is thin sheet iron, lightly or heavily tin-coated, and then japanned and

Bread or apple trays. The tulip has been freely interpreted in the two lower specimens. Chemicals dissolved in the varnish give the crystalline effect in the one at the right.



Illustrations from the Robacker Collection

Photography by Charles Bahr



"just - for - fancy"  
 Pennsylvania coffee  
 pot in top condition is  
 the ne plus ultra for  
 any collectors. Of  
 the three shown here,  
 the side-pourer at the  
 left is most unusual.  
 The dark green leaves in  
 the second enhance  
 the beauty of the pot  
 but do not show up in  
 the photograph. Flam-  
 boyant reds and yell-  
 ows characterize the  
 bird.



Tall measuring cups, syrup or cream pitchers, salt shaker, tea pot, a jointed nutmeg grater—all subject to competent decoration. The child's cup at the left is in rare yellow; the miniature pail, in red. Note the bird decoration on the tall measure—what other than the distelfink!

decorated. Its French name springs from the name for similar ware, more elaborate and often more skilfully executed, made in France and elsewhere on the Continent and in the British Isles and frequently exported to America. Japanned and decorated ware was made in Wales, at Pontypool and at Usk, as early as the late 1600's; it seems to have developed in Europe as a cheap but much admired substitute for the expensive lacquered ware of the Orient.

Tinware merely painted is not properly called tôle, no matter how attractive it may be; it is tôleware if it has, prior to its decoration, been covered with a thinned, colored varnish—the process being known as japanning. Japanned ware at its best gives a translucent effect; painted objects are merely flat. An added sparkle was sometimes given, as in the inside bottoms of trays, by adding crystals of various chemicals to the varnish. As the crystals dissolved, they created a shimmering, jewel-like effect in the varnish. This particular technique seems not to have been very successfully imitated by present-day craftsmen, though modern tôle reproductions good enough to pass for the bona fide article are sometimes seen in circulation.

Now, among genuine old tôleware objects, which may be called Pennsylvanian, and which not? In some cases, with documentation and records lacking, it is admittedly out of the question to give a positive answer. Much New England tôle, however, is fairly easy of identification; we can separate

it from Pennsylvania tinware by its wide range in tints and shades of color seemingly not known or not available to Pennsylvania craftsmen—its delicate pinks, blues, greens, and lavenders. We can separate it also by its artistic groupings of flowers and by its thin and delicate brush strokes added not as a basic element of the design but to fill out a given surface in pleasing composition.

Pennsylvania tôle, on the other hand, displays bold colors: strong reds, bright yellows, dark emerald greens. Instead of elaborate groupings of flowers, foliage, urns, weeping willows, and the like (but there are exceptions which will be noted), decorative motifs are usually simple, forceful, and concentrated. If there is an over-all superiority in technique, it should probably be granted to New England tôle, though present-day students of the art are quick to admit that the brushwork on almost all old tôle decoration represents skill of the highest order.

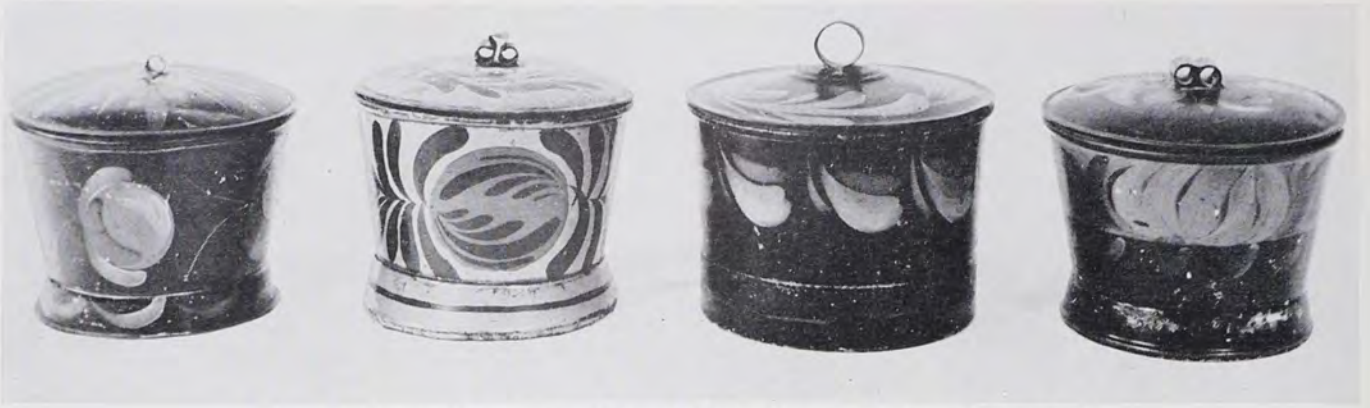
Some of the best known "Pennsylvania" motifs, and the objects on which they are likely to be found, are given below, not as a complete check list but as a partial guide. First there is the tulip, represented in profile, showing two petals only; it has been found on apple trays and on octagonal "coffin" trays—the bases on which teapots were set. These tulips are generally yellow or red.

Seemingly peculiar to Pennsylvania is the "tomato"—an almost circular design in red, its spherical contours denoted by

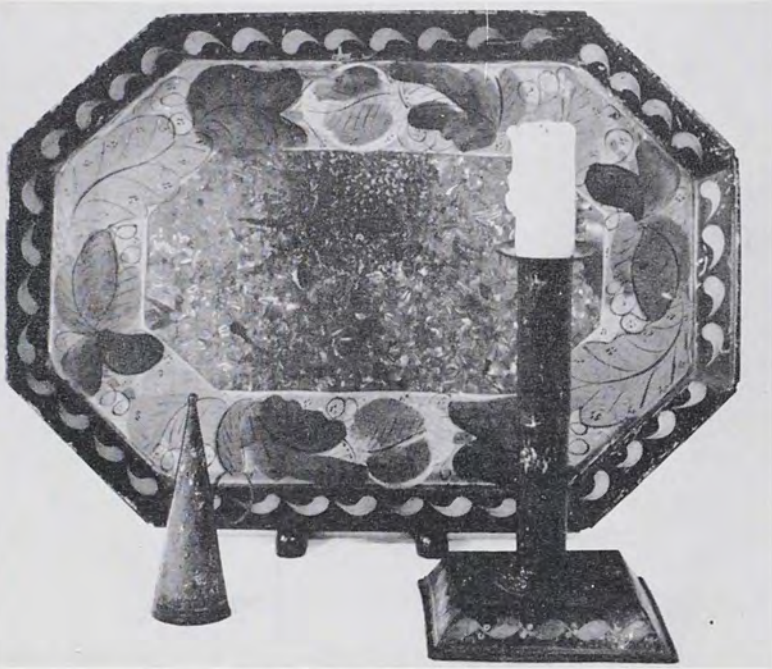
Oval bread or apple trays. Note particularly the expert brushwork in the three types of borders—and the individuality of the horse in the example at the right.







Sugar bowls are alike in size, differ widely in design and types of "handles."  
The second specimen from the left is in yellow.



"Coffin"-shaped tray with crystalline bottom, candlestick, and snuffer. Decorated candlesticks are all but non-existent.

brush strokes, cross-hatchings, or both, in white or cream or gilt. Coffee pots, tea pots, and large measuring cups and mugs offered generous surfaces for this decoration. Another nearly circular design seems to have been inspired by a cut section of a fruit, showing the arrangement of seeds—possibly a tomato but more likely a pomegranate. In either case, some artistic license has been taken. This is a coffee pot design. Bold green leaves, in most cases darkened almost to black by the passing of time, serve as a background.

Peaches, very like the peaches found on stenciled or painted furniture of the Painted Period (roughly the first three quarters of the Nineteenth Century) are found on trays, canisters, and tea caddies. The peach and its leaves usually stand alone on smaller objects—not as part of an elaborate garniture.

Seemingly peculiar to Pennsylvania also is the six-pointed tea caddy design, comparable to the six-petaled open tulip of spatterware, and a first cousin to the six-pointed compass designs seen in barn signs, cheese strainers, pie cupboards, and elsewhere.

Found only in Pennsylvania, in its natural colors of yellow and black, is an unmistakable wild canary—the "distelfink" of Dutch Pennsylvania. This motif is used on large mugs and coffee pots.

Common to all the simple household objects of decorated tinware are boldness in color, freedom in execution of design,

An all-red group. It is difficult to find red pieces in good condition.







Document boxes in red, brown, and red, respectively. The oval specimen at the right is almost certainly Pennsylvania; the others (note brass handles) may reasonably be questioned.

and restraint in the number of motifs used on any given piece. Besides the objects mentioned, one might list pin trays, children's drinking cups and small pails ("blickies"), nutmeg graters, sanders, salt shakers, sugar bowls, cream pitchers, boxes with flat or trunk tops from four to twelve inches in length, and still others. In late Victorian times, watering cans, display cases in stores, and sugar and flour drums were gaily painted, but these late articles (unjapanned) are not correctly called tôle.

From the collector's point of view, the color of the basic varnish is at least as important as the design in establishing a collection. Dark brown is the usual color; red is far less common, and therefore much sought for; blue is almost never seen, but exists; green and yellow are real finds.

An interesting pair of pin trays in the writer's collection offers some data as to the time when tôleware was in actual use. The trays were a Christmas gift in 1837, according to a notation scratched on the back of each by Susannah Miller, who goes on to record interesting bits of history and genealogy: "I done this in the year of our Lord 1837 on the 24th of December"; "Susannah Miller her hand and knife"; "Conestogo is my dwelling place"; "done this on Sunday afternoon by myself"; "names of my father, mother, brother, sister" (the names follow). In the same hand appears a notation of "Price, 15"; in an alien hand, "Susan is going to get married to John Eshbach"!

Almost or quite in a class by themselves are the Lancaster County trays, so-called, of graceful shape and elaborate design. These range in size from ten inches in length to

about 27. They have been found in plain oblong models with rounded corners and in skillfully executed "Chippendale" shapes. Like most large trays, they have wide stenciled gilt borders. The central decoration is lavish, and one favored design features a bird-of-paradise (or is it the peacock the dealers call it?) perched on a floral spray. One of the two central flowers closely resembles a single red



A typical large tray of the Victorian period, with the plumes of the peacock in blue and the border in gilt. Not necessarily Pennsylvania.



Tea caddies in ever-popular designs—the tulip perennially, the peach in early Victorian times, and the hexagonal figure early and late.

May not the disputed "Hex" have derived as reasonably from "Hexagon" as from Hexen?



The so-called Lancaster County "Chippendale-edge" tray at its most distinctive. This design is repeated on straight-edge trays of various sizes and shapes. For all its splendor, the brushwork is less expertly controlled than in some more simple objects.



dahlia; the other, cream-colored, has serrated petals partly shown in profile. Perhaps it would be far afield to suggest that this latter flower has been borrowed from the tooled leather cover of Martin Luther's "Gesang-Buch" printed in Marburg in 1784—but the resemblance is striking. This same design is used in an apple tray.

Old inventories show that comparable major pieces were sold in Philadelphia, and from this fact it is sometimes assumed that therefore all good tôle came from Philadelphia. Inventories are only too frequently lacking in the towns and villages of the Dutch Country, and the fact might just as well be admitted. We have instead the spoken word of an occasional person who says with positive finality, "Why, those trays were decorated over in Lancaster. My father knew . . ." There are enough such instances to make it seem reasonable that tôle decoration was no more confined to Philadelphia than it was to New England.

Perhaps it is time to bury the hatchet, in the face of a concern more pressing: Little tôleware in good condition is being discovered today, and pieces offered for sale as "prime" would not have commanded even a second glance a mere decade ago. Really superior specimens do change hands, it is true, but often the transaction is a private one, or contrived for a favorite collector to whom price is of secondary importance.

Long-established good collections are dispersed now and then; he who aspires after the cream of the crop would do well to scan auction catalogues and haunt the galleries—and cultivate the dealers who helped form the original collection! There is an unwritten feeling—not so strong as law, admit-

tedly, but more powerful than sentiment only—that the dealer whose effort and acumen went into the building of a worthy collection in the first place should have the first refusal if and when circumstances put it back on the market. To be sure, it does not always work that way, but the serious collector does not overlook the possibility.

Too-frequent changing of hands is not good for tôleware. Its attractiveness lies largely in the completeness and the fine condition of its painted design, and with every removal, every change in climate, every wrapping and unwrapping,



**Not Pennsylvanian.** These exquisite specimens in cream and yellow serve to point up some of the differences between work assumed to be local and work known not to be.





An all but perfectly matched painted pair. Stenciling might have given exactness, but would not have added to their desirability. Found in Shillington, Pa.

that condition is jeopardized in some degree. Even dusting should be kept to a minimum, for once the paint has begun to fleck away deterioration is likely to be rapid.

As is true in any field of collecting, it makes good sense to secure only the finest pieces possible, not only for their eventual resale value but for the present satisfaction they give. It makes good sense, too, to take care of them—for while collectible pieces grow fewer, collectors do not, and a liking for painted tinware seems to be increasing. Is proof of the point of origin more important than the inherent beauty in a fine specimen? Think twice. If it is, pass it up, because absolute proof is lacking. If it is not, act fast; the person who will acquire it is even now breathing down the back of your neck!



Front and reverse of a pair of trays belonging to Susannah Miller, "Conestoga," 1837. Whether or not Susannah married John Eshbach (upside-down inscription on left tray) is a matter for the genealogists.





Amish maiden done in applique and embroidery with fractur-like arrangement of heart and cherubs.



Colorful appliqued wall hanging done on homespun linen inspired by the Amish

# Embroideries and Cutouts

By OLIVE G. ZEHNER



Amish Madonna, another portrait in applique and embroidery with a fractur-like quality.





Bright little birds add sparkle to this charming embroidery of Amish children on a horse.

Mrs. Gerald A. Lestz is a person who loves to go exploring with new ideas in the field of art. Many times she has found a completely new treatment for a picture and then sees in an art publication that someone else has done the same thing. This does not make her feel disappointed or frustrated, for she says that it is an indication that she is working within her own time or era.

Edith Lestz was born in Las Esperanzas, Mexico, where her father was a mining engineer. She graduated from Montana State and studied art in Paris and Italy. She

has lived in Lancaster eight years (her husband is a newspaper man) and, like many others coming into the area, has found that Pennsylvania Dutch folk art, the Amish folk, and Pennsylvania in general just naturally seep into her consciousness and find ways of expressing themselves through her work.

She finds that she likes to work in many mediums at one time and often has four or five different pieces in progress simultaneously. When she feels that she is going stale with one she will work on another for awhile. Much of

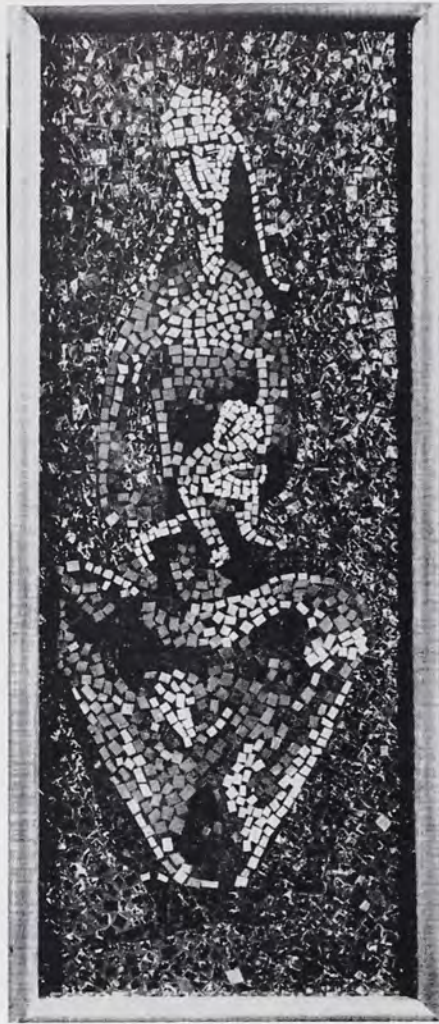
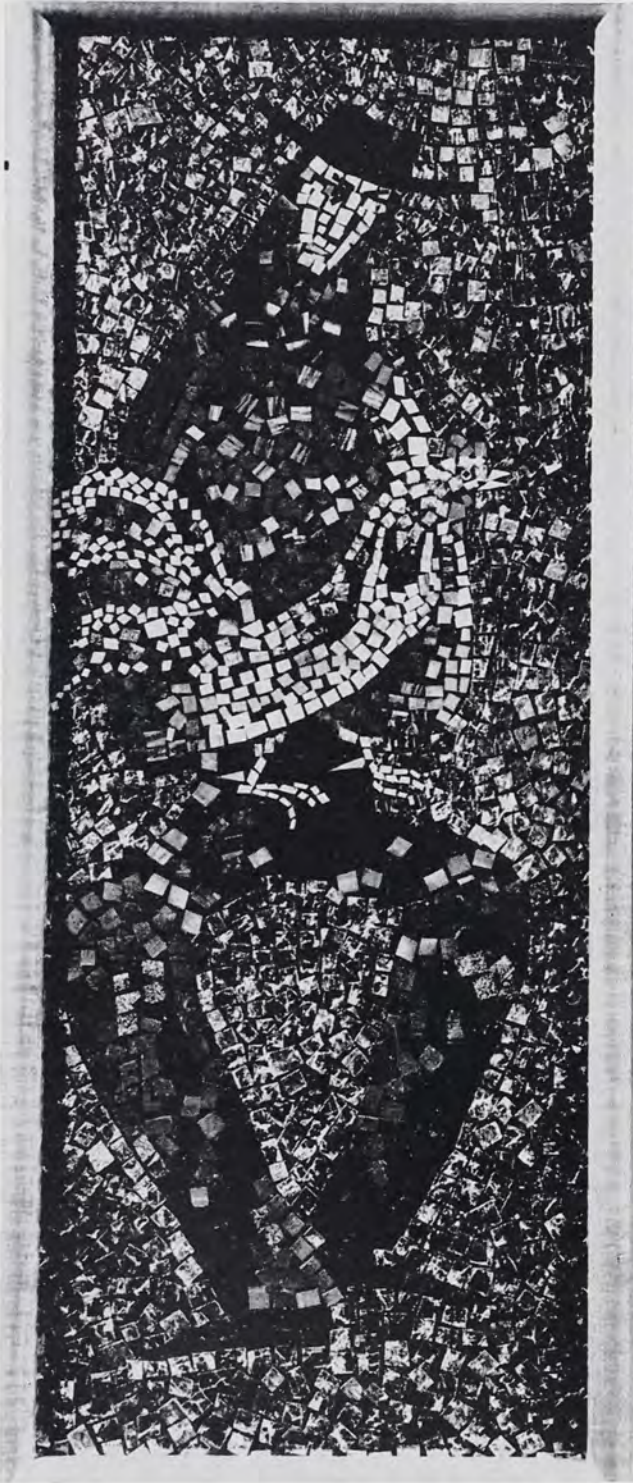
Hurrying horses done in black, gray and gold metallic threads convey the feeling of great motion to this framed panel which hangs over a Dutch water bench in the Lestz home.



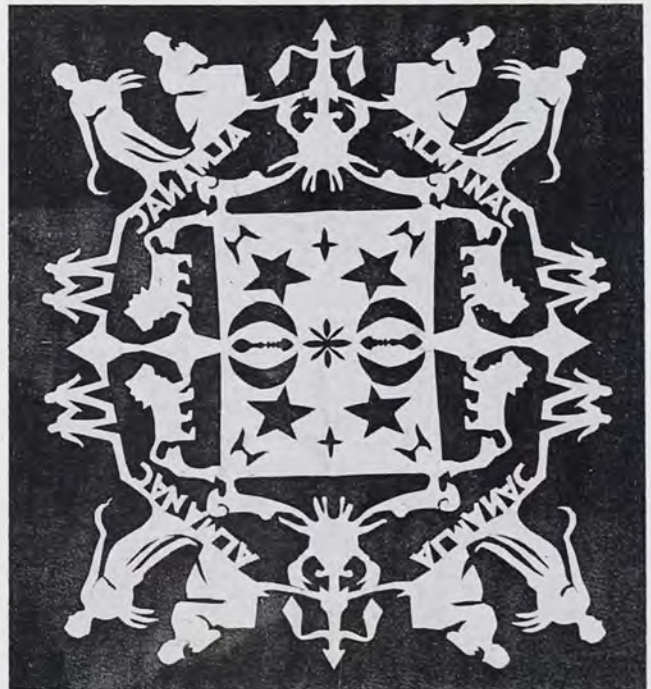


Another Amish madonna done this time with snips of colored paper. The companion piece to the picture to the left. The background is gold wrapping paper.

Amish man holding rooster—in paper mosaic technic. This is a new idea original with Mrs. Lestz.

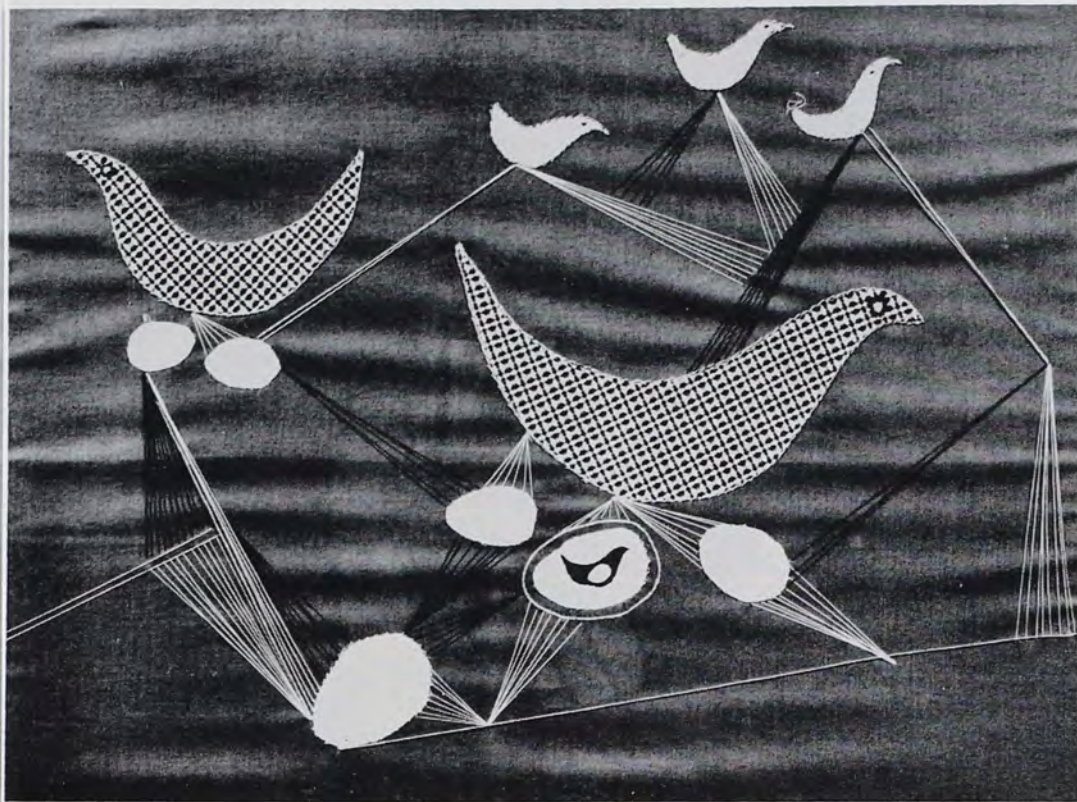


Signs of the Zodiac embroidered in black, colored and metallic threads with simple outline stitch and variations of the feather stitch.

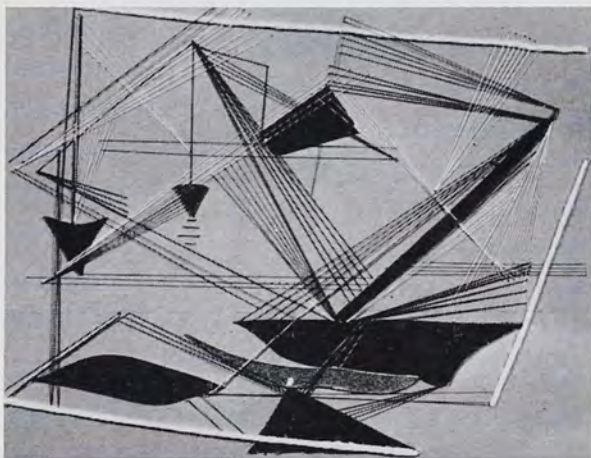


This cutout and the zodiac panel above were inspired by the Lancaster BAER'S ALMANAC which Mrs. Lestz' husband publishes. This particular piece was done as a birthday present for him. The design is from the ALMANAC cover.





The Bird and the Egg—applique with threads. This is a beautifully done semi-abstract which reminds one of the so-called string paintings. Its success depends upon the skill in which the loose threads are drawn tautly over the fabric. The two large birds are done in a printed corduroy material which adds feeling of texture.



Threads skilfully drawn in various planes over solid masses of applique make this a most interesting piece. The heavy threads of wool vary the texture.

her work hangs in her own home and she likes to make her own gifts. For several years now she has used decorated eggs and cloth birds with pleated wings on her Christmas tree.

While her work can be classed as modern in feeling she calls on the traditional Pennsylvania Dutch as a theme many times, just as she combines modern furnishings with Dutch antiques in her home. She is now producing modern painted tin, and in a recent Lancaster exhibit showed for the first time anywhere her paper mosaics. She uses snips of paper from magazines, wrapping paper, etc., to produce pictures with a bright jewel-like quality.

Edith Lestz is a member of the Echo Valley Art Association and the Conestoga Valley Chapter of the Pennsylvania Guild of Craftsmen. Her work has appeared in *Craft Horizons*, *Design Magazine*, and the *Pennsylvania Farmer*.



A real cutout Valentine complete with the eternal message "I Love You." Mrs. Lestz uses surgeon's shears to produce these intricately cut pieces.





## Moravian Architecture in Bethlehem

By HENRY J. KAUFFMAN

There are many places of interest and historical importance to visit in the Dutch Country of Pennsylvania. Lancaster County has the Ephrata Cloister where a protestant sanctuary was established in the eighteenth century, similar in many details to earlier Catholic ones in Europe. Lebanon County can boast of the furnace at Cornwall where iron was produced for over a century and it now stands intact, a silent witness to the mechanical and technological skill and ingenuity of the men who built it. Berks County has the Oley Valley with its numerous examples of Georgian architecture and its many tile covered secondary buildings. Northampton County seems to have the greatest heritage in the remnants of the Moravian settlement at Bethlehem.

Although less easily found by the casual visitor to Bethlehem, in addition to their physical heritage, there is also a spiritual heritage. Modified and changed for mid-twentieth century living its roots are ancient and deep. Their theology antedates the nailing of the theses on the church door by Luther. It passed through many trials and tribulations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and many of its followers suffered martyrdom or exile. Nurtured by Count Zinzendorf at Herrnhut, a small band zealously pursued their goal until they were permitted to migrate to America, the haven for all who sought to worship God according to the dictates of their hearts and minds.

In addition to their singular theology, the Moravian settlement at Bethlehem is famous for other facets. Their missionary work among the Indians was of great importance to their congregation and some ecclesiastical works were translated into Indian tongues. They were one of the first groups to recognize the importance of formal education for girls and they established a number of schools in America. Bethlehem had the first centrally located water works in America, which included an ingenious pump and a distribution system through pipes of wood. Their Crown Inn and Sun Hotel were two famous hostelries in Pennsylvania and attracted a clientele from New York and Philadelphia. Their devotion to music is second to none in the country

and it continues to thrive in the achievements of the Bach Choir of Bethlehem. The self-sufficiency of the town required a number of craftsmen who not only were the economic mainstay of the community but sold their products in distant cities. There is frequent mention of the fine needlework that was produced in the Sister's House, while among the Brothers such trades were pursued as, hat making, tailoring, carpentry, blacksmithing, tanning, milling, carding, fulling, shoemaking, bell-founding, brick and tile making, and farming.

It would seem reasonable to presume that a community of such diversified interests and such high achievement would be greatly concerned with the architecture of their dwellings. Their religion was deeply rooted in European traditions and their cherished ideals of architecture had a similar European background. The architectural pattern was further influenced by the peculiar social structure which existed at that time and which may be briefly described as follows.

For about the first twenty years of the settlement a communal plan of ownership was operated. There was no ownership of private property and all the people really owned was their clothing and tools; all lived in community owned buildings and their products were community property. This plan was justified because the problems of wresting a livelihood from nature and life from the Indians could be better done coöperatively than individually. For the next hundred years there was a quasi-communal plan which permitted the ownership of personal goods, but only Moravians could live in the settlement.

A contemporary account of the later period describes conditions of participation. "The adult unmarried men and boys upward of 12 years of age, in the Settlement of the United Brethren, live mostly in a house called 'The Choir House for Single Brethren.' That also the adult unmarried women and girls upwards of 12 years of age, inhabit 'The Choir House of Single Sisters.' There are also houses for the Widows and Widowers." The married couples lived on farms or in town houses.

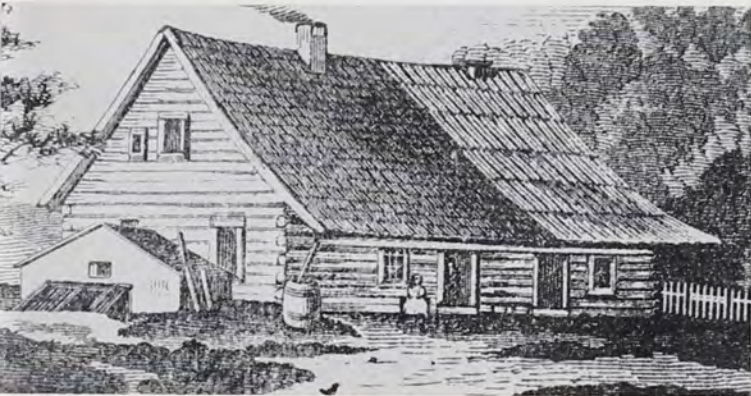


—Tobias Photo

Old print of Bethlehem as it was between 1803 and 1816. Central Church had porches on the ends of the roof. In 1816 the gable roof was extended from end to end.

From the foot of Church Street one can view one of the finest displays of Mediaeval European architecture in America. Unfortunately the first log house built in Bethlehem is obviously gone, the water works are out of character (it is now used as a residence), and the oldest apothecary in America has recently become the home of the local Chamber of Commerce. However, beyond the Central Moravian Church on the left stands a high clapboard covered, log building, with its sharply pitched roof, its double attic, its beautifully proportioned gable end, and its interesting diagonal moulded-joint doors. Beyond, and to the rear, is the old Chapel with its sturdy stone walls and impressive buttresses. Beyond the Chapel is the Bell House which time and fashion have changed, but it continues to perpetuate an old world charm with its bell tower and flat topped dormers. Forward to the street is the Sister's House, the first section being built in 1744 to be used as men's quarters, but later relinquished to the now resident sister's group.

Across the street from the Sister's House is the Widow's House and by coming down the hill one finds the structure provided for the Brethren when they left their original abode, but now occupied by the Moravian Seminary and College



—Tobias Photo

Hypothetical appearance of the first log house built in Bethlehem, 1741. It did not have a cellar so the cave cellar at the left was used as a substitute.

for Women. All of these buildings were built in the eighteenth century and despite many attempts at modernization they present a quaint setting for the study of European Mediaeval architecture in America.

On the corner of Main and Church streets the Central Moravian Church of Bethlehem is located. Built the first decade of the nineteenth century it provides an interesting contrast with the other structures. Its architectural pattern is not Mediaeval but in the contemporary Classic Revival. This masterpiece with its sixty foot beams, supported from wall to wall, completes the major group of buildings in this survey.

A detailed study of Moravian architecture in Old Bethlehem should naturally start with the first building erected on the town site. This chronological approach is doubly interesting for the first house was also partially a barn. The house and barn combination was a common pattern in European architecture so it is logical that these pioneers should build such a building here. It is difficult to explain why only one such building was erected in the Dutch Country, however, economies of material and space were not as pressing here and the practice quickly was established of building separate quarters for man and beast.

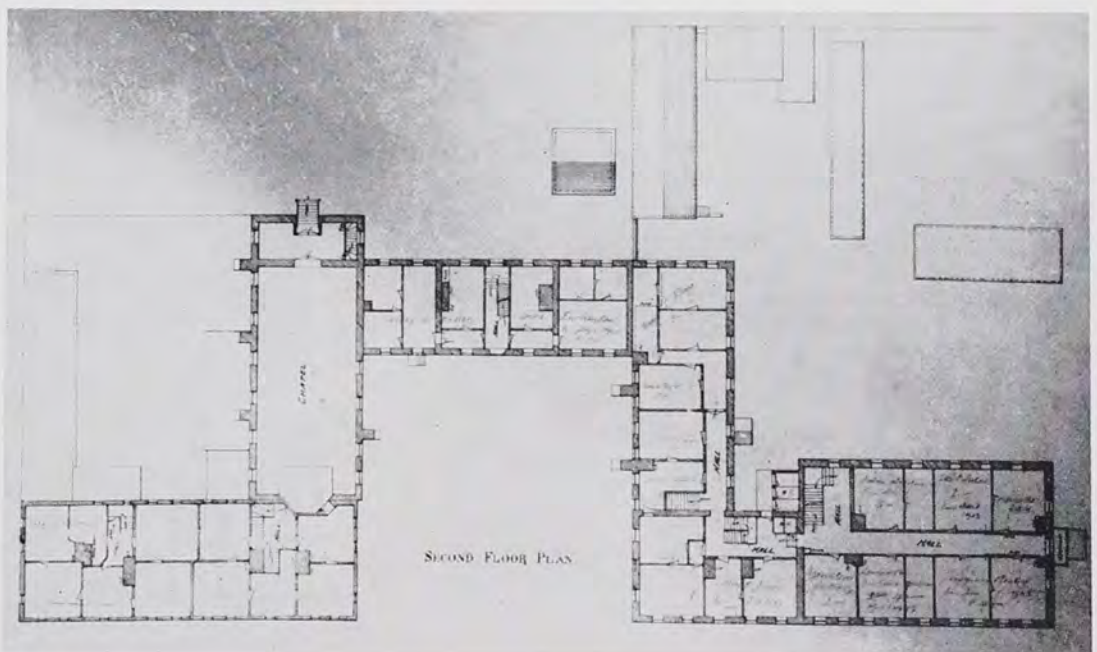
The structure was of logs and measured 20' by 40'. There was a single partition between the two rooms, one serving as a residence for ten men, two women, and two boys, the other being a shelter for their stock. The loft above the whole area served as sleeping quarters.

It was in this house that the first Christmas was celebrated in 1741 and after Count Zinzendorf led his little band of worshippers into the stable on Christmas Eve they immediately conceived the idea of calling the settlement Bethlehem.

Subsequently the structure was used as a stable, later a residence, and in 1823 this precious structure was razed to provide space for the erection of the Golden Eagle Hotel. In 1892 a memorial marker was placed on the site, but in 1921 hotel parking became acute and the marker was imbedded in the west wall of Hotel Bethlehem. The hotel is doubtless a convenient spot for travelers, but the original structure of the site would be a priceless example of European architecture in America were it standing today.

—Tobias Photo

Floor plan of the Moravian Buildings on the north side of Church Street in Bethlehem. At the left bottom is the Gemeinhaus, next is the old Chapel, then the Bell House and finally the Sister's House. The name of the architect is not known.







The end view of the Gemeinhaus includes the iron fence of the Central Church on the left and the Sister's House can be seen in the distance.



The doorway of the Gemeinhaus is one of the most pleasing in Old Bethlehem. The bronze plaque briefly tells the history of this famous structure. Under the stoop is the entrance to the old kitchen.

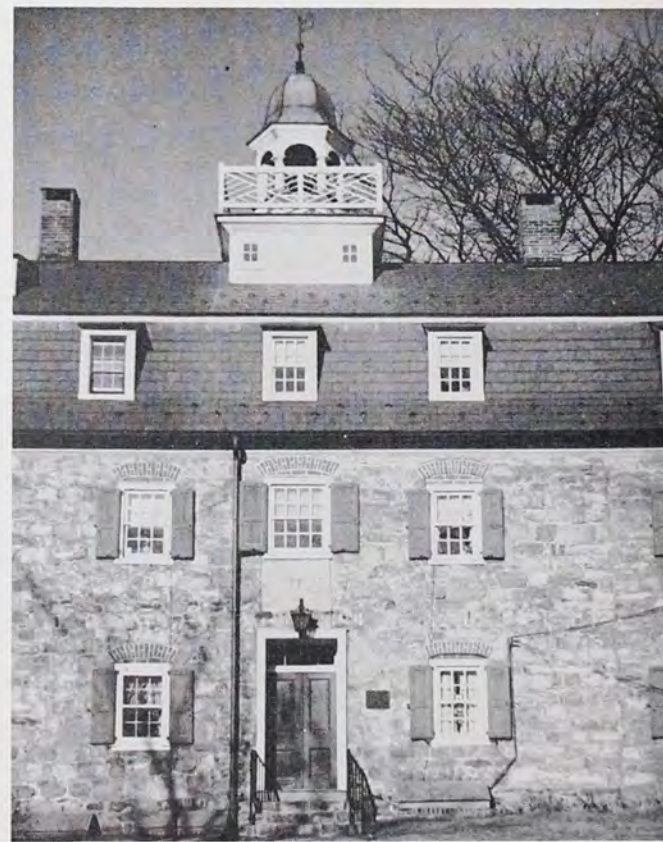
The second building in the town, and the oldest now standing, is called the Gemeinhaus (Community House). The cornerstone for this huge log structure was laid in September 28, 1741, and it was completed in the spring of 1742. By August, 1743, an addition was finished and the building was then 94 feet long and 32 feet wide. The Gemeinhaus contained dormitories, lodging areas for the community leaders, and their first place for worship. A portion of the east end of the second floor was set apart as a chapel but it soon became inadequate and within nine years they had to seek space elsewhere.

The building was primarily a residence so a kitchen was necessary and it was placed on the ground floor in the western end. Its large fireplace was used for cooking and heating; in the back a beautiful brick lined oven can be seen today. The kitchen floor and the adjoining eating area were probably floored with red tiles in the typical Moravian fashion. The entrance to the kitchen was off the street under the stoop where a modern door conceals an interesting double door with appropriate hinges and latches.

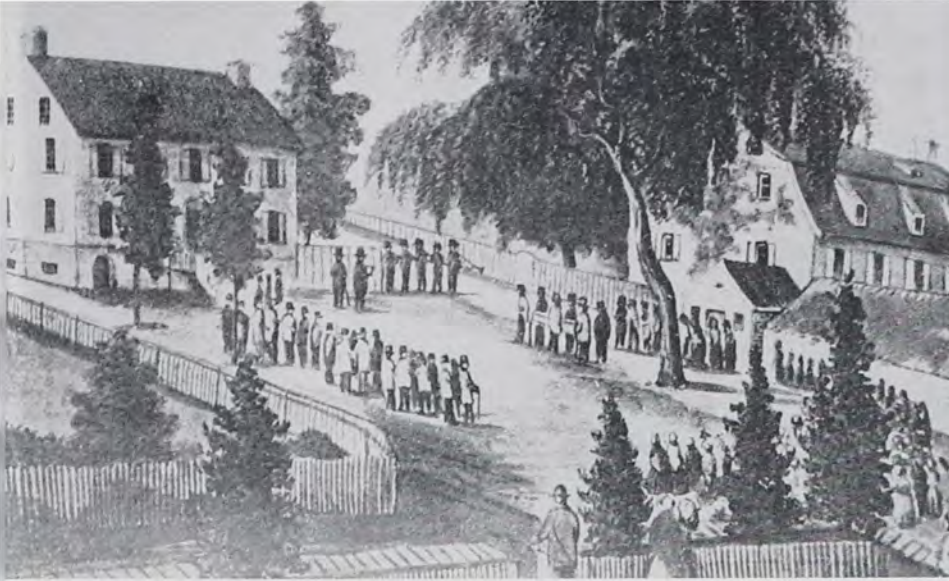
The interior and exterior of the building have been changed a great deal but it retains some of its mediaeval aspects. An opening through the plaster wall in a hall reveals the original wall of hewn logs and plastered chinking. The original planking of the floor was unfinished and the wall and ceiling joists were exposed in the traditional manner. The hardware was massive and the strap hinges of the doors have functioned satisfactorily for two centuries. There are also sliding bars and press latches on the doors. The interior walls were plastered in 1750.

The simple exterior framing of the doors and their pedimented mould joints are a striking detail. The sharply pitched roofs and flat topped dormers are retained and the projecting cornice assist in making it an attractive building. In 1868 the clapboard covering was added and the building's most important feature was concealed from an admiring public.

The old Chapel was built at the east end of the Gemeinhaus and perpendicular to its main axis. It was built from April 5, 1751 to July 10, 1751, its size being 66 feet long and 32 feet wide. The ground floor provided a dining area for the Married People's Choir and the second floor was the community's second place of worship. It had common walls with the Gemeinhaus and the Bell House through which doors were cut so that residents from either area could have easy access to the chapel. This plan developed a unique architectural feature for it did not have an outside







—Tobias Photo  
The old print shows a Moravian funeral procession. The small building to the right of the tree is the Corpse House where the body is kept while services are held in the church.

The old chapel showing the new facade which was built in 1865. A new corpse house was built at that time but it was torn down before this picture was taken.

entrance. There were separate entrances for the men and women and they were seated separately at services.

The present interior of the chapel reveals little of its original pattern. The window openings have not been changed, but the original pews have been replaced and one can only conclude that it was a simply built and furnished house of worship.

The exterior of the Chapel conformed to the architectural pattern of the community. Its thick stone walls are supported by buttresses and it had a typical Germanic gambrel roof with flat topped dormers. In 1865 the North facade was added which provided an outside entrance, but also changed the character from the current style of the mid-nineteenth century. The difference in stone texture of the facade clearly indicates the division between the old and the new sections.

The name Bell House was naturally derived from the interesting belfry and its three bells. The Chinese Chippendale pattern is contemporary with its use in England and is a pleasing delicate departure from the heavy unornamented plan of the balance of the building. Three bells were placed in the tower, the largest being used to regulate the daily life of the settlement, which started at 4:15 A.M. in 1755. It was also quite useful when the house provided a home for the Moravian Seminary for Women.



Originally there was a clock in the tower, made by Augustine Neisser, a clockmaker from Germantown. Although it has had several internal face liftings it continues to mark time in the belfry of the Central Moravian Church on Church Street.

The original wind-vane continues to revolve at the top of the belfry. Its lamb and banner, inscribed with the word Heil (Salvation), were designed by the youngest bishop of the Moravian Church, John Frederick Cammerhoff. The lamb was a holy symbol in England in the eighteenth century although one writer points out its decadence by appearing in a vane for an alehouse. A similar design was also widely used as a touch mark by English pewterers at that time.

The Bell House seems to be the most charming of all the buildings on Church Street. Its central location, its position back from the street and its unique tower seem to set it apart from the other buildings.

The original structure required about one year to build and it was completed in October, 1746. Its length was from chimney to chimney, a vertical line clearly showing its termination on the right hand end.

The window opening above the door was originally larger and accommodated another door. The texture below the window does not conform to the balance of the wall and the window is four lights wide instead of the usual three.

At the second floor level the joists were obviously sawed off flush with the wall indicating that they at one time extended and supported a small porch. There the town musicians entertained the community as early as 1746.

Front view of Bell House. A charming residence for members of the Moravian Church.



Belfry of the Bell House showing the detail of the Chinese Chippendale railing. This appendage is a masterpiece in plan and execution.





Front view of Widow's House showing the massive appearance of the structure and the fine stone work.



Back view of Widow's House. The part in the foreground was the last addition made to this unit.

The cornerstone of the widow's house was laid April 27, 1766, and the first portion of the building was finished October 11, 1768. In May, 1794, an increased number of widows required the building to be enlarged and in 1889 an annex measuring 80 feet by 40 feet was built on the south side and connected with the original structure by short enclosed passages.

The architectural pattern of the widow's house indicates that it is one of the later structures on Church Street. The gable of the roof is less sharply pitched than the similar roof on the Gemeinhaus and the gable topped dormers are less harmonious with the plan than the second tier which are flat-topped.

The small front porch has been modernized, it originally had gabled roof with slender supporting posts. Benches were placed between the porch posts and the wall in the traditional manner.

The shutters have been retained throughout the house, however, some of the sash have been changed from six lights to two.

Architecturally the exterior of this building is the least interesting of all. The writer was unable to examine the interior and a brochure called *Church Street in Old Bethlehem* by Kenneth Hamilton does not describe any of its architectural features.

Apparently this building has always been used as a Widow's residence.

The Sister's House completes the large section of buildings on the north side of Church Street. The original structure was not attached to the Bell House and was not as long as it is today. The cornerstone was laid August 8, 1744, and the building was occupied December 6, 1744.

Although additions have been made to the building the exterior architectural pattern has been changed little. It retains its typical German gambrel roof and the dormers in the back or also the typical flat topped type. Some of the dormers in the front are curiously gabled in the later fashion, this style likely being the result of renovation rather than original planning.

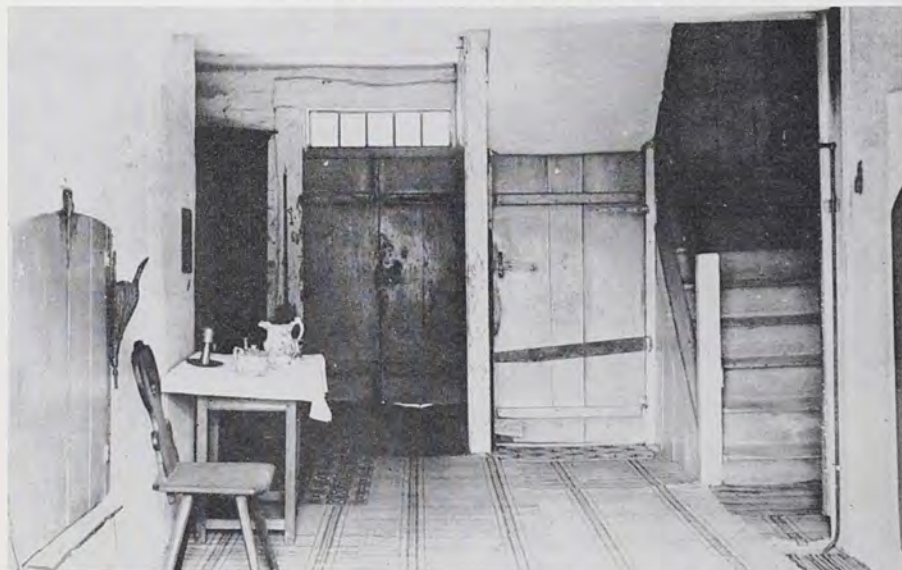
The profusion of chimneys indicates that it, like the other buildings, was heated by fireplaces and on occasions by tile stoves. The fireplace openings are distinctive for their functional simplicity, ornamented only by a top arch which resembles the brick arches over the exterior doors and windows. The fireplaces in the halls did not have hearths and most of them were about a foot above the floor level. In this detail, like many others, the architectural plan of these buildings resembles those at the Ephrata Cloister.

The moulded-joint exterior of the doors was attached to vertical boards and horizontal battens on the inside. The battens functioning doubly by holding the door together

Interior of Sister's House showing a typical Moravian Chair. The other furnishings and carpet are of a later period.



Doorway of the Sister's House. The diagonal mould-joint in the door is found in other spots in Bethlehem.







—Tobias Photo of an old print group  
**Colonial Hall is regarded by many as one of the most attractive buildings in the Church Street group. When this print was made it was obviously used as the main unit of the Young Ladies Seminary at Bethlehem.**

and providing an adequate place to attach the long strap hinges. Some doors are locked with sliding bars but originally they were locked by placing horizontal bars across the middle. The small transoms above the doors are quite decorative and supply the only light available in the halls when the doors are closed.

The stair rails were simple in cross-section and were attached to equally simple newel posts.

A small museum is housed in the Sister's House in which a few eighteenth century and some later nineteenth century decorative arts and furnishings are exhibited. There are also some interesting early sketches of Bethlehem and some musical instruments which were used before the advent of machine made devices.

**End of Sister's House looking down Church Street toward the Gemeinhaus and the Central Moravian Church.**



The cornerstone of Colonial Hall was laid April 7, 1748, and the building was dedicated November 16, 1748. At first there was only one building on the site. The timber and boards were floated down the Lehigh River from Gnadenhütten, a Moravian Indian settlement, where a saw mill was operated. Four out-of-town masons were employed to work on the structure, but most of the work was done by the skilled Brethren who were destined to occupy the building when it was finished.

The first entrance to the house was in the center of the North side (facing Main street) and on the stone lintel the following inscription was carved, *Vater, Lieber Mann—Habt Ehr vom Junglings Plan.* On the lintel of the south door *Gloria Pleura* was carved. The carving of lintels was widely practiced in the Dutch Country. In addition to moral precepts, the owner's initials or name is found and more frequently the date the building was erected.

The roof on Colonial Hall is the typical German gambrel type on top of which is a platform with a baluster. From this spot Moravian musicians announced the death of a member of the congregation.

The original use of this building was a residence for the brethren. There were the necessary cooking, eating and sleeping quarters and the basement was fitted up as a workshop so that the brethren did not have to leave the building to ply their trades. Some employed at trades such as brewing, brickmaking, and milling had to leave for such facilities could obviously not be installed in the basement of a hall.

Subsequently the building was used as a hospital for the soldiers of the American Revolution. On December 3, 1776, it became the General Hospital of the American Army and on the same day Doctors Warren and Shippen arrived to arrange accommodations for 250 sick and wounded soldiers. Again on September 2, 1777, it was occupied as an army hospital and finally relinquished in June, 1778.

By 1810 the membership of the Brethren Choir had diminished to such a small number that such a large building could not be devoted to their use. It then became the home of the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies and today is the chief unit in the Moravian Seminary and College for Women.



The signs of Main and Church streets indicates the location of the church. It is obviously a massive structure.



—Tobias Photo  
The understructure of the roof forms an interesting pattern and a substantial support.

For a number of reasons the Central Moravian Church is considered last in this survey of Moravian Architecture in Bethlehem. It was the last building erected in the Church Street group and it reflects the climax of the religious and secular life of the Moravians in old Bethlehem. It is also different in style for the earlier buildings were low, massive, simple, austere, and functional in the Mediaeval Germanic tradition; and the new church is tall, light, and ornamented and in most details fits the contemporary style known as Classic Revival.

One of the most striking parts of the exterior of the church is its belfry. Its supporting roof has less pitch than the surrounding buildings, but it is obviously adequate for the proper shedding of water. The Doric columns of the belfry are more decorative than the simple arch topped ones of the Bell House, but curiously, the Chinese Chippendale pattern was repeated in the railing. The floor inside the railing supports an eight sided podium, four sides having clocks and the alternate sides having arch topped doors. The semicircular roof is covered with copper which replaced an earlier roof which leaked causing the understructure to rot. The band between the roof and the capitals of the columns is ornamented with carved blocks of wood which give the feeling of dentil moulding on a large scale.

Originally the gable roof covered only the auditorium portion of the church, the end portions having a flat roof

with a baluster around the edge. This roof proved difficult to keep water-tight so in 1816 the gable was extended and reaches from end to end.

The five windows in the north and south walls greatly reduce the massive appearance which the church would otherwise have. These were also necessary for lighting as the previously used small windows would not have adequately lighted such a large interior. At first there were casement sash in these large windows but in one of the renovations they were removed and the present ones installed. One would expect to find the main entrance in the middle of one of these long sides for such a plan was customary to follow in the eighteenth century, but for some unexplained reason the entrance was always at the end where there are vestibules and offices for the pastor.

The outer doors have a pleasing arrangement of raised panels and are simply framed in a double recessed moulding. These were quite a departure from the earlier simple doors framed in a pinned oak frame. A decorative band was placed above the doors which was ornamented with a draped curtain and fluting. These details are commonly associated with the style of Adam. The door knobs are a closed hand with a bar, which facilitates easy opening, although these may not have been original, they certainly are distinctive. The window frames are the double recessed pattern but lack the decorative band of the doors.





The belfry rises majestically above all other buildings on Church Street.

—Kauffman Photos

The brick walk and iron balusters provide an interesting approach for the simply executed doorways.



is simply supported with a number of stone walls provided with arches for ventilating purposes.

The interior of the church has been changed beyond recognition from the first plan. The pews, lighting fixtures, and other appointments have kept pace with modernization of church interiors throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

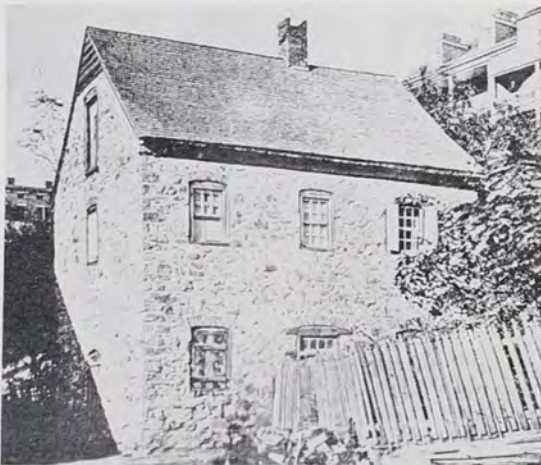
In conclusion, a description of Bethlehem in 1829 might assist in presenting the so-called bird's-eye-view at that time.

Bethlehem is comparatively a large town and though mostly built of stone, has some handsome brick buildings. It is regularly laid off into handsome streets, and like Nazareth, stands on considerable eminence. It, however, sinks in some places and rises in others. The new buildings are showy, and built in the modern style; but original buildings are roughly built of stone, and those where the Societies live are huge masses of great size, small windows, and stone or brick floors, on the lower stories. The Church, however, and the Young Ladies' Academy, are two of the finest buildings in the United States.

In final conclusion, one might say that, so it is to-day.

Perhaps the size of the church is the next most striking part of the architectural plan. The massive size of sixty by ninety feet seems to have been a great engineering feat of the time, particularly, when the fact is considered that there was no master architect employed and only the men responsible for its building seem to have been engaged in its planning. Many of the structural details were referred to the congregation but the size was an early decision and it was never changed.

The ceiling beams from side to side are sixty-eight feet long, not only covering the sixty foot inside span, but extending over the outer wall and forming an integral part of the cornice. Unfortunately there are no records describing the shaping and installation of these timbers. The vertical supports from the beams to the apex of the roof are twenty feet long. The entire network of braces is cleverly contrived and pinned together so that the auditorium beneath is free from any obstructions or supports. The floor of the church



—Tobias Photo

The brick arch top of the windows, the central chimney, and the horizontal boarding in the gable are attractive parts of the old water works at Bethlehem.

—Tobias Photo

The oldest apothecary building in America is located on Main Street near the Central Moravian Church. At present the interior is being renovated for the local Chamber of Commerce who are its new tenants.







# Scratch-Carved Easter Eggs

By ALFRED L. SHOEMAKER

The earliest reference thus far located to the custom of scratch-carving Easter eggs in the Dutch Country is in Thomas Anburey's *Travels Through the Interior Parts of America*, London, 1789. The author speaks of boys and girls scratching all sorts of shapes and figures on dyed Easter eggs with needles. We learn nothing about the designs, however, that were scratched on the eggs.

Judging from everything else that was ever decorated in the early period, it is quite likely that there were tulips, hearts and distelfinks. The very next reference, chronologically, does mention scratching tulips on Easter eggs. A Moravian, in a letter to the publisher of the *Allentown Republikaner* of April 23, 1829, writes that on a trip from Nazareth to Sunnyside he saw old folks scratching tulips on Easter eggs. ("Die alten kritzelten Tullpanen darauf.")

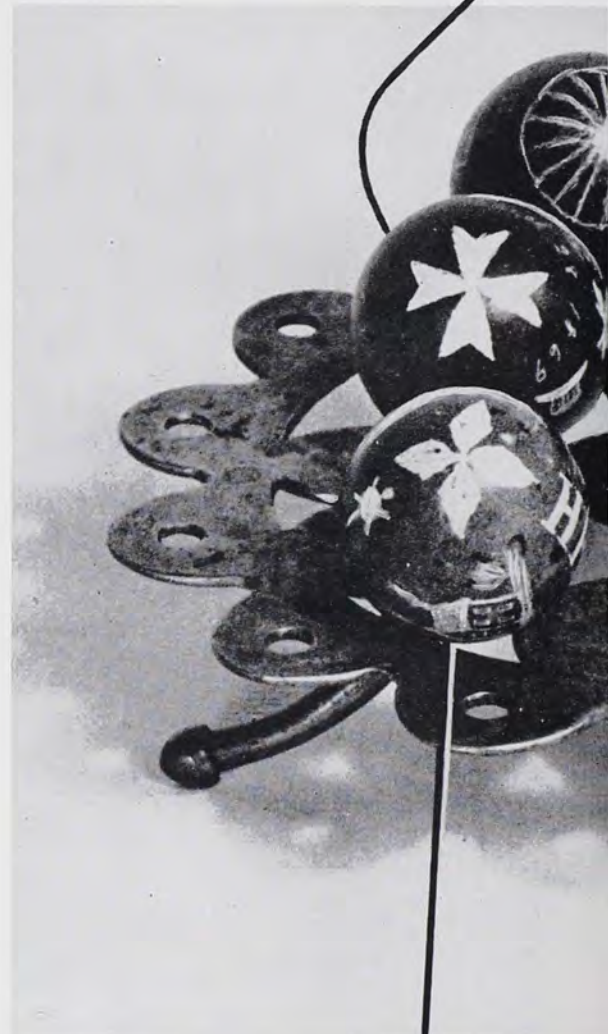
In an article on "Easter Lore" I wrote in the *Easter 1953 Pennsylvania Dutchman* I published the materials I had gathered up to that time on scratch-carved eggs. In the meantime I have located several other items on the subject.

*From the Reading Times and Dispatch of April 3, 1874*

Last evening we were shown by Mr. Lewis H. Neider, residing at No. 25 North Second street, an Easter Egg of the year 1840. Inscribed on it is the year 1840, a log cabin, hard cider barrel, buckeye tree, the American flag, a sheaf of wheat, and mountain tulips. It is a veritable Old Line Whig egg, and was inscribed by the late Abraham Neider, the father of Mr. Neider, who prizes it as an old family relic.

*From the Lancaster Intelligencer of March 18, 1880*

Amos Miley, saddler, showed us this morning an old Easter egg which has a history. The egg was decorated fifty-five years ago by David Miley, Amos Miley's father, who was a wheelwright and then resided in Washington Borough. On one side of the egg is drawn a mill with two large arches under it through which the tailrace water is supposed to pass. The mill is surmounted by a spire, the weather-vane of which is a fish, very like a shad. The mill is flanked on either side by Lombardy poplars, trees that were held in high esteem in the olden time. To the rear of the mill, on the opposite side of the egg is a garden in which flowers are growing—one of them being a good representation of a tulip, and the leaves of another looking like tobacco leaves, a plant that was cultivated to some extent in Washing-



No. 4—Hen's Egg, reddish; a tree; decorative branch leaves; pig; nest with eggs; decorative tree; two turtles; animal; house with a large and small trees; cup with ho. The ends are geometric designs. Inscription— E H H (This was probably the son of the No. 11, see also N and 4.)



# Egg Collection of FRED WICHMANN

—Photography by Samuel Cooper

en's Egg, brown; a  
bird; small animal;  
s; decorative branch  
; bird on branch;  
s nest with eggs; a  
Ends highly geo-  
Inscription—ED-  
RR MARCH 28 1869  
11, 2, 4.)



No. 1—Hen's Egg, brown; a house; decorative trees; initials—E A F; bird on a branch; ends highly geometricized. See No. 12.



No. 3—Hen's Egg, brown; a box with two-branched decorative tree with bird on top; a long-necked bird; nest with eggs; ark; cup with handle; gull-like bird; small bird. Ends highly developed geometric designs. Inscription—1869.

Note: This probably belongs with Nos. 4 and 9 as it has the same style, subjects and was purchased with them.

No. 5—Hen's Egg, yellowish-brown; a large house with large and small trees; an ark; tulip and leaf. Inscription—MAMA AND PAPAS GIFT TO THEIR BABY. The one end reads—OUR BESSIE COLUMBIA APRIL 25 1886 in a circle.





No. 11—Turkey's Egg, dark brown; a nest surrounded by two large fowl and six small ones, a palm-like tree; a box containing a decorative plant with a bird sitting on top. The ends are geometric in design. Inscription—A M H MADE BY HIS PAPA 1843. See Nos. 2, 3, 4.



ton, even at that early day. On the centre of the larger end of the egg is scratched a double white star, and surrounding the star are the following letters and figures: "D.M.B.S., 1825." "D.M." are the initials of David Miley, and 1825 is the year when the egg was scratched. The "B.S." is supposed to be the initials of some other person's name.

This egg was found about a dozen years ago in a secret drawer in an old-fashioned desk, and from that time until about two years ago was carefully preserved in his safe. Two days ago, Mr. Miley took it from the safe and put it in his coat pocket for the purpose of showing it to some friends. Forgetting that it was in his pocket he "sat down

No. 10—Hen's Egg, yellowish-brown; decorative flowers and leaves; a pair of flying birds. The end has COLA (is this for Columbia?). Most of the space is taken up by the inscription—BESSIES GIFT FROM MAMA APRIL 18 1890. See No. 5.



No. 9—Hen's Egg, brownish-purple; the ends are spotted with lighter dots resembling a resist treatment. The inscription is scratch carved—EMMA LOUISA 1855.

No. 7—Hen's Egg, dark reddish purple; the side area is divided into five equal parts: 1, contains a tree; 2, a fish; 3, a bird on a branch; 4, the date 1897; 5, the inscription—LIZZIE. The ends are five-pointed stars.





on it" crushing it into fragments. Gathering together the pieces, he placed them in the hands of Charles R. Frailey, esq., with a request that he should mend the egg if he could. Mr. Frailey took a large cork and cut it down to the shape and size of the broken egg, as nearly as he could judge its proportions, and then piece by piece placed the fragments on the surface of the cork. There were 56 fragments and Mr. Frailey, with much labor and skill, succeeded in getting each one in its place, restoring the egg to its original appearance.

*From the Lancaster Intelligencer of March 20, 1880*

We were today shown by Abe Miller, four colored eggs which have been scratched by him, and which will be shipped to Brooklyn, a party from that city having ordered them some time ago. One of the eggs has a correct likeness of Horace Greeley on one side, while on the other is a coat-of-arms of Pennsylvania. On a large goose egg Mr. Miller has scratched pictures of Wilhelmj, the violinist, and Miss Anna Teresa Berger, the cornetist. Another goose egg contains an excellent picture of Henry Ward Beecher on one side, while on the other is a picture representing a tobacco packer and his boss. On the fourth egg is scratched a picture of the Berger family of musicians as they appear on the stage. The work is remarkably well done, and it shows that Mr. Miller is quite an artist in that line.

*From the Lancaster Intelligencer of March 27, 1882*

Abe Miller, the well-known egg scratcher, has just completed two good jobs for Dr. H. H. Gerhart, of Canandaigua, New York. On the side of one there is an excellent likeness of President Garfield and on the reverse is a cross entwined with flowers. The other egg has a very good picture of Washington on one side and an Easter scene, with a rabbit, a small boy and an egg on the other. Mr. Miller has left at this office an egg containing a picture of Garfield on one side and one of the catafalque, on which his body rested in the Washington depot, on the other.

*From the Lebanon Daily Times of March 24, 1883*

Mr. Lyman Hess, barber, of this place, last week forwarded to Gov. Pattison an Easter egg which is artistically engraved with representations of the Goddess of Liberty, the American eagle with a streamer in its mouth, with the words "Democratic victory"; a rooster, crowing the words, "40,000 for Pattison"; and a rose, encircled by stars. The egg is very much admired by Gov. Pattison and he has returned his thanks to Mr. Hess for the present.



No. 8—Hen's Egg, reddish-brown; a weeping willow; pick; shovel; axe; farm wagon; plow. The date—1870. The ends are plain.



No. 12—Hen's Egg, yellowish-brown; has large and small vessels with sails spread; a bird; three rectangular designs; the initials—E A F. The date—1883 and E A S T E R. See No. 1.

No. 13—Hen's Egg, bright red; a heart and the name and date—LIZZIE CAMMAUF 1888. Otherwise plain.



No. 14—Small Hen's Egg, brown; two decorative trees; a circular geometric design. The initials—S A K and the date—1846. The one end has a large crawling turtle.



No. 6 — Duck's or Turkey's Egg, purplish-grey; outline picture of a boy with a printed inscription SNOOKS EASTER 1868. All of this is treated by resist instead of being scratch carved.





# The Conestoga Horse

By ALBERT I. DRACHMAN

*Dedicated to my learned and beloved father, Rabbi Dr. Bernard Benjamin Drachman, whose interest in horses has passed down to me and from whom, as a very young boy, I first heard of the sturdy Pennsylvania Dutch and their significant role in the development of this country.*

No discussion of Pennsylvania transportation could properly omit the famous Conestoga wagons and the remarkable animals that powered them. For generations the feeding of the populace was dependent on them; they kept alive the Continental Army during the bitter winter at Valley Forge, brought supplies as far as Lake Erie during the War of 1812, and, in the modified forms known as *covered wagons* or *prairie schooners*, made possible the settlement of the western states. Without them the history of the United States would have been different.

Although the public has no conception of the immensity of the rôle played by these vehicles, they have heard of them and have a general idea that they were of some importance. The wagons are mentioned often in history books, novels and films. Do not, however, imagine that you can get reliable printed information at the nearest library or book store. The best work on the subject is John Omwake "The Conestoga Six Horse Bell Teams of Eastern Pennsylvania." One would expect it to be widespread, but I was unable to purchase a copy from any of the rare book dealers whom I approached over a period of about six months. In the library system of the great city of New York, there is not a single copy available for circulation. However, Mrs. Florence Nixon Kane, Librarian of the Monroe County Public Library at Stroudsburg, very kindly procured a copy for me from the library at Harrisburg.

Mrs. Lorraine Carstairs Pierce, now of West Chester, Penna. wrote me over half a year ago, "Did you know the Omwake book was published in two editions? The second edition is better than the first. I have been unable for two years to get a copy of the second edition. Howard Frey has the only copy of the second edition that I have ever seen."

Howard C. Frey is described by the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center as "the author of numerous articles and pamphlets on the Conestoga Wagon and was the principal contributor to the John Omwake book, . . . privately published."

Mr. Frey's "The Conestoga Wagon," originally published as "Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society," volume LI, no. 3, 1947, is an excellent and informative work, and even includes four pages of detailed specifications "for making a large Conestoga road wagon." His "Conestoga Wagon Lore" published by our own Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center, makes good reading, though it is, naturally, more concerned with the human interest aspects of the topic.

Regarding the wagons, then, there is considerable general awareness on the part of the public, as well as reliable, detailed information available. The case of the horses is quite different. Most people have never even heard of them. Although the title of the Omwake book appears to indicate that it is concerned mainly with the animals,

it actually contains only one short chapter on them, the remainder concentrating on the vehicles.

I at first found it singularly difficult to obtain any information regarding the horses. For example, about a year and a half ago, having failed to get all I wanted, I fell back on the United States Department of Agriculture, as I was well aware of their numerous and valuable bulletins. The Department's Bureau of Animal Industry wrote me ". . . we know of very little available information on the so-called Conestoga horse. The Conestoga horse was of some historical significance in the early days . . . but . . . is no longer in existence. . . . The following . . . is typical of the brief . . . information . . . which occasionally appears." Then follows a short quotation from a reference which is too brief to be of much value to our readers. The letter continues, "It is possible that you might be able to run across similar brief references by combing through the books, . . . but . . . probably not very extensive."

Later, after further correspondence, the Bureau wrote me again, this time saying, ". . . we would appreciate receiving any references *you* would care to send us on the subject for use in case of future inquiries . . ." (*Italics mine. A.I.D.*). The irony of the situation is that one of the more important items which I listed was an article beginning on page 175 of the Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Agriculture for the year 1863, mentioned in more detail below, and about its own publication of which the Department apparently knew nothing. No criticism is intended. They have much to concern themselves with, of importance to present day agriculture, and can not always burden themselves with matters of purely historical interest. Also, once they learned of this reference, they offered to send me a photostatic copy thereof for a moderate fee.

Shortly after my first letter to the Department, I did what I should have done in the beginning by writing to our Editor, Professor Alfred L. Shoemaker, who had often previously been both kind and helpful. He responded by sending me the Pennsylvania Dutchman, volume III, no. 11, issued Nov. 1, 1951, containing a five paragraph article of this horse by Robert Jennings, reprinted from the Philadelphia Great Western Almanac for 1863. Dr. Shoemaker also printed in the paper of January 1954 (volume V, no. 9) a letter from me asking for information. Our Dutchman family responded nobly, with personal letters of information and with references. Prominent among the correspondents were Professor Herbert H. Beck, Mrs. Pierce (mentioned above), Raymond E. Hollenbach, Mary A. Ranck, Librarian of the Lancaster County Historical Society, and others.

A relatively brief analysis of these references may be of value to readers interested in pursuing the subject further.

1. The longest, most comprehensive and best treatment is that of Prof. Herbert H. Beck, "The Conestoga Horse" in "Papers Read before the Lancaster County Historical Society" volume XLIV, no. 5, 1940, procurable as a pamphlet (307 No. Duke Street, Lancaster, Penna., 50 cents). Professor Beck has not only done an excellent job in this 92 page pamphlet, but has also been most kind and informative. He has written me personally several times and has granted





—Courtesy, Maryland Historical Society

Conestoga teams at Fairview Inn three miles from Baltimore.

permission to use his material in this article, which is based largely on his. His paper includes a substantial number of references, mostly not cited here because they are no longer easily obtainable.

2. The first article of any length on the subject is "The Conestoga Horse" by former Congressman "Honest John" Strohm. This is the one in the Agriculture Report for 1863, mentioned previously. Although only four and one-half pages long, it is very good and has been the basis for all of the later writings on the subject.

3. Monthly Bulletin of the Commonwealth of Penna., Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg, Penna., volume IX, numbers 8 and 9, July and August 1941, contains a two instalment article by Professor Beck, which is essentially a reprint of his pamphlet, though apparently edited and cut.

This about exhausts all the material on the subject which is both of value and easily obtainable. Some additional references, not possessing this double qualification, and gathered mainly from Professor Beck's paper, will be cited later for specific points.

Strohm gives, as one of his reasons for writing the paper, almost a century ago, "to rescue the . . . animal from that oblivion to which modern inventions . . . are rapidly consigning it." Since so much less is known today about the horses than about the wagons, the remainder of this article will concentrate primarily on the horses themselves.

The present unawareness of these fine animals was by no means always the case. On the contrary, they were well known and highly regarded. As early as 1789 Dr. Benjamin Rush writes of the wagons "drawn by . . . horses of a peculiar breed," and relates how they moved heavy loads "over the roughest roads." The animals, however, were not originally called *Conestoga*, but *Lancaster* horses. The name *Conestoga* is a geographical one, coming from the Indian *Conestogoe* and applying almost exactly to that part of Southeastern Pennsylvania at present constituting Lancaster County. When I began looking into this subject, the name *Lancaster*, as applied to the quadrupeds, reawoke a memory of something I had read some 35 or so years earlier

but to which I had given no special attention then. I recalled that George Washington had been desirous of breeding large and fine mules. The King of Spain presented him with a number of Spanish jacks, or male asses. As suitable dams to be crossed with these prize sires, he purchased 27 Lancaster mares. Within the past year, Raymond E. Hollenbach, who is exceptionally well informed in Pennsylvania Agricultural history, has kindly furnished the exact reference. It is page 88, volume LV, "Memoirs of Long Island Historical Society" (New York 1889).

In "The Cabinet of Natural History and American Rural Sports" (J. and H. Doughty, Phila., 1832) there is a section entitled "The American Horse" which recognizes only three breeds on the entire American continent: the Canadian, the English and the Conestoga. L. F. Allen says of American Draft Horses (Report of the Pennsylvania Department of Agriculture 1877) "of this class first in order stands the Conestoga. . . . It is doubtful if a better class of heavy draft horses . . . ever existed." Many other brief references show the admiration accorded these animals.

#### *What Were Conestoga Horses Like?*

On a number of points most of the descriptions agree. In general, they picture these horses as large, heavy, strong, with exceptionally large feet, well fed and cared for, powerful, and relatively active for such heavy animals. The main colors given are bay, brown, black and, to some extent, dapple grey. It is frequently stressed that they were gentle, placid and remarkably well trained. To such an extent was this latter the case that the teams were guided mainly by the voice and not by reins or lines attached to a bit in each animal's mouth, as would normally be done in controlling horses. The construction of the Conestoga wagon did not even provide a seat in front, on which the driver could sit to manage his animals. The men walked alongside, rode the "saddle horse," so-called, namely the nigh wheeler or, in other words, left rear horse, or rested on the "lazy board," about at the middle of one side of these very long vehicles.



All three are positions from which it would be difficult or impossible to hold six lines and control the animals thereby.

#### *What Is the Problem?*

In all these respects there is pretty general agreement. However, there is also much variation, and even contradiction, in the accounts. To such a degree is this true, that a student who is not himself familiar with horse breeding but reads the descriptions carefully, is liable to become very much confused. Several additional colors are given, not mentioned above. Strohm shows a picture, reproduced here as Figure S, which he describes as "a very good specimen of the Conestoga Horse," and whose weight he gives as 1350 pounds. Other writers state different weights up to 1900 pounds. Professor Beck has kindly written me recently a letter with several items of interest on these horses, including the statement "Possibly the most valuable part of my record was that I got from the late Harry Snavely on the typical Conestoga . . ." The particular animal referred to here is discussed in Professor Beck's pamphlet which relates that Mr. Snavely "says this horse . . . weighed over 1800 pounds." On the other hand, the same pamphlet quotes the 1832 Doughty work as describing the Conestoga as "long in limb and light in carcass," though Frank Forester in "Horse and Horsemanship" (1871) says "the Conestogas, excellent for ponderous slow efforts." The latter author also says, ". . . with the exception of the Conestoga . . ., there is in the United States no purely bred draft or cart horse, nor any breed . . . kept entirely for field or road labor, without a view to being used at times for quicker work . . ."

I. Daniel Rupp in "The Farmers Complete Farrier" (1842) repeats the previous statement about long leg and light carcass and adds "those of middle size . . . are much used for the saddle and . . . for hunting." He presents a picture, given here as Figure R, which he entitles "A Lancaster County Draft Horse." Professor Beck says of this drawing ". . . a typical Conestoga." With all due respect to the learned gentleman, and with deep appreciation of his assistance and kindness, I am not in complete accord with this characterization, as explained a little more fully below.

As concerns breeding, there is perhaps even greater disagreement. An interesting article in "The Herald," Honey Brook, Penna., July 1, 1954, very courteously sent me by Mrs. Pierce, says bluntly that the famous animals were "actually . . . bred in this country of Belgian drays."

Many of the writers say a good deal about the horses stemming from the English draft breed, the Suffolk Punch. Fully as many lay stress on the influence of British Thoroughbreds. Thus Professor Beck, in the above mentioned letter, writes ". . . the Suffolk Punch . . . seems to be the heavy ancestor of the Conestoga. The longer leg . . . from something of the Eclipse type." Eclipse was a famous English race horse, of nearly 200 years ago, regarded by horsemen as essentially the ancestor of the present day Thoroughbred. This quotation by no means gives a complete and fair picture of Professor Beck's full views, as he has said very much more, not quoted at this point. I give it because it summarizes in one sentence two opinions widely held among students and authors in this field.

Stonehenge's "The Horse, in the Stable and the Field" (London 1869) ascribes the origin of the breed to Flemish (that is Belgian) and German progenitors, brought over by the Pennsylvania Dutch settlers, but adds ". . . or else they have since selected from those within their reach the

animals most resembling . . . their old favorites . . . in their fatherland."

#### *Clearing Away the Obstacles*

Any reader who is not a specialist in this field may by now be bogged down in this mass of divergent views. It is time to give him a helping hand, sift the facts, and leave him with some clear, simple and reasonably valid conclusions. It is certainly necessary for me to give my *interpretation* of the facts. However, to be at all scientific, we must consider *all* the known data, including those which seem to be not in conformity with the findings. The remainder of this paper will endeavor to harmonize the apparently contradictory observations.

The first point which needs to be emphasized is this: The Conestogas *were never a real breed* in the true sense of the word. They were verging toward becoming one, with characteristics gradually growing more uniform and fixed toward the large and heavy draft type. If allowed to continue developing along this line, they would undoubtedly have become a genuine breed, relatively invariable and breeding true. The spreading of the canal and railroad systems, which made these heavy freight movers unnecessary, put an end to their development before that stage in their evolution was reached.

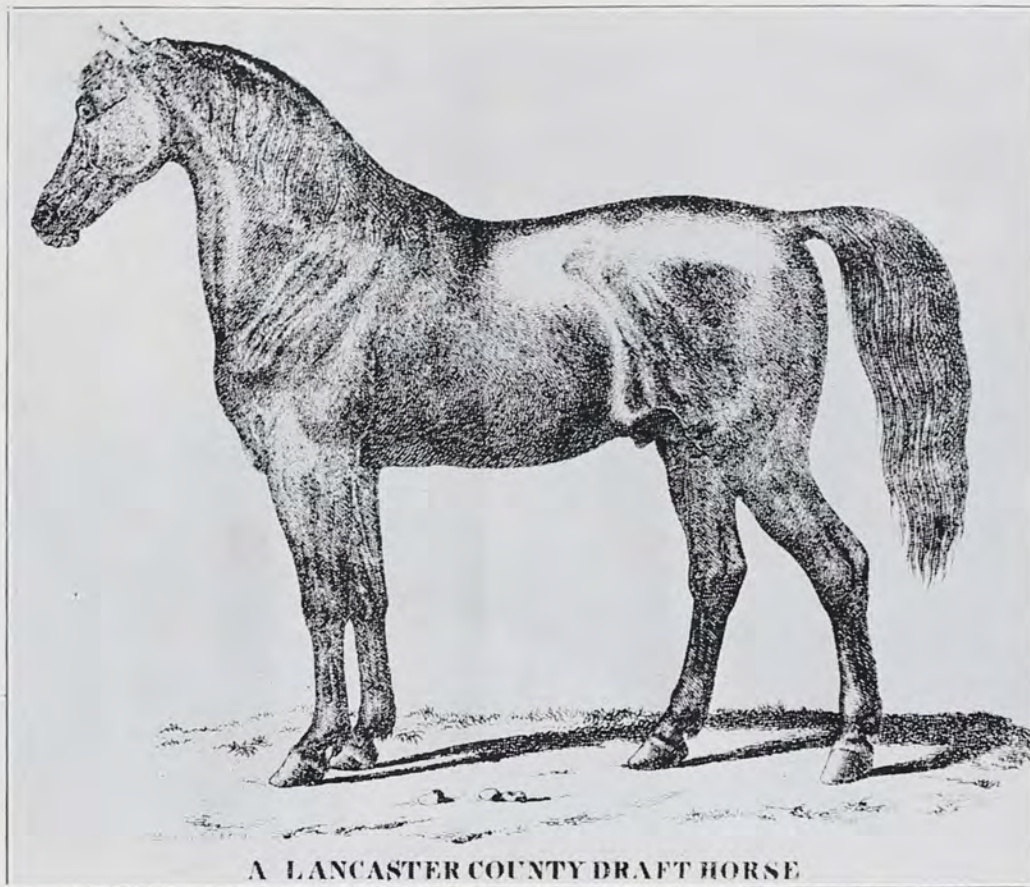
This makes comprehensible the differing descriptions of the animals. The type being not yet standardized, different individuals would vary, both within a community and from locality to locality. In those days, within each small area, some one, or a few, desirable and prepotent stallions would be bred to the local mares. The traits of the sires would be handed on to their get, and, as the latter matured and were bred in their turn, would tend to characterize the horses of that district. Thus the qualities would vary from place to place.

Aside from the variations with space, just indicated, there was also notable differentiation with time. The earlier accounts, the ones of the *Lancaster Horse* period, describe the animals as light, long-legged, active and suitable for road work under saddle or hitched to carriages. The later descriptions stress size, weight and the great loads that they were able to draw. Thus, in the 1870's, the Conestoga horse spoken of by Mr. Snavely, once won a wager for his owner by pulling 3 tons for a substantial distance.

This also ties in with the contradictory statements regarding breeding. Various authors ascribe the Conestoga to different progenitors. Each may be correct, at least to this extent: that the source proposed by him did play a part in establishing the type. But, on the other hand, any of the writers would be in error if he maintained that his proposed origin is the sole, or almost the sole, source of the animals. For undoubtedly these celebrated horses resulted from the mingling of many blood lines.

At this point, some practical considerations, a little "horse sense," so to speak, would be very helpful. What are the actual conditions on farms, and particularly on the Pennsylvania Dutch farms of that time? Some of the immense "mass production" farms of today are highly specialized, each animal, machine and man being fitted for one particular function. Thus in cattle, for example, we have the Holstein for high milk yield with low butter-fat content, the Jersey for fewer quarts of rich, creamy milk, the Hereford for quantity of meat and the Aberdeen Angus with its smaller production but finer quality of beef. In the early days, and even, to a large extent, during the childhood of people





A LANCASTER COUNTY DRAFT HORSE

—Courtesy, Lancaster County Historical Society

Figure R: From I. Daniel Rupp's "The Farmers Complete Farrier" of 1842.

who today are only in their fifties and sixties, the conditions were quite different. Then farmers, their tools and live stock had to be less specialized. They were less perfect for any one particular function but more generally serviceable for *all* tasks.

The farmer's equines at that time were general purpose horses. They were heavy enough for satisfactory service before the plow or cart, while simultaneously light and active enough for road service in the buggy or under saddle. They could neither draw the great loads of genuine heavy draft breeds nor develop the high speeds of specialized light horses such as the Thoroughbred running horse or the Standard Bred trotter. But the farmer could use the same animal to pull a reasonable load in his wagon or to take his buggy to town without undue consumption of time.

The original horses were mongrels, containing the genetic inheritance of many indeterminate breeds, which could certainly include some Suffolk Punch, Belgian and other draft strains, as well as those from other and lighter sources. Many, undoubtedly, originated entirely from ancestors of no standard breeds.

Starting with these general purpose animals, their owners fed them liberally, cared for them attentively, and bred from the best stallions. On occasion, when any good sires of pure draft or other desirable breeds were available, they were utilized, but this can not have been usual. There were not enough purebreds around, and the sturdy Dutchmen were too practical to maintain expensive and finicky blooded animals *yosht fer schee*.

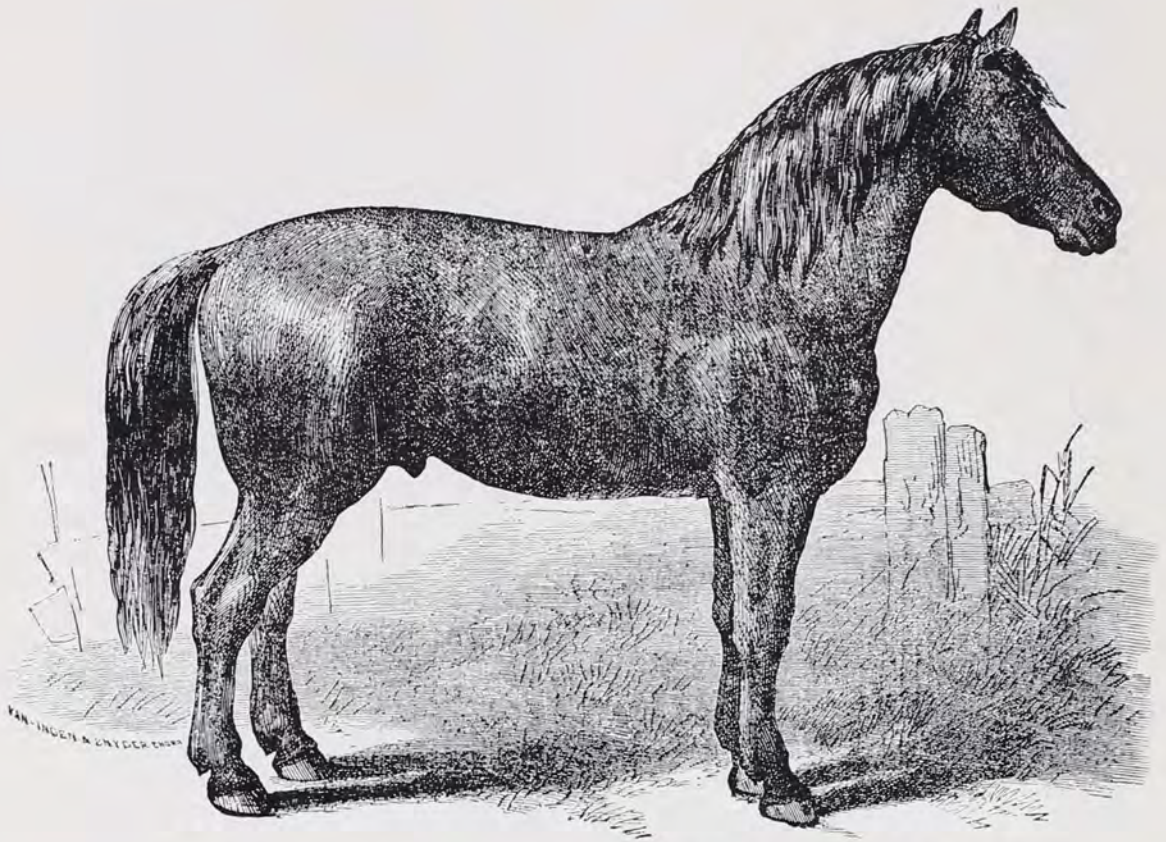
To some extent, the blood lines introduced into the horses included the Thoroughbred, but, as explained below, not

to a great extent. This combination of methods, given in the previous two paragraphs, resulted in the "Lancaster Horse," the precursor of the final, more typical and more perfect Conestoga. At the first of these two stages the animal was becoming heavier, but was still more active than ponderous, and still showed many of the traits of the lighter breeds. Thus in Figure R, the animal is not a typical heavy draft horse, of which Figure S, twenty years later, is more nearly characteristic. The former shows the Lancaster horse alert, long and relatively thin-limbed, apparently active and spirited, and with a delicate, finely-chiseled, almost Arab head.

When the later and really massive type of Conestoga wagons was developed and the transportation of large volumes of freight became an extensive activity, the need for heavier horses was apparent. The animals could now profitably be specialized for that purpose, leaving the saddle and light carriage duties to other types. Production of heavier horses was stimulated, resulting in animals like that in Figure S, with its larger head, greater chunkiness, shorter and thicker legs and other typical draft characteristics. These include calmness, placidity and a quiet reserve of power, ready for use when needed but not wasted by needless tension, activity or unnecessary movements.

In breeding up the weight of the horses, undoubtedly, studs of genuine draft breeds were occasionally utilized when conveniently possible, and by that time there were more purebreds in this country which could be so used. Writers on the subject sometimes, though not frequently, mention the Percherons among the progenitors of the Conestoga. I think this heavy French breed must have played





—Courtesy, Lancaster County Historical Society

Figure S: John Strohm used this cut in 1863 to illustrate the Conestoga Horse.

a somewhat greater part than is commonly realized, since some dapple gray is found in Conestogas, and few draft animals other than the Percheron have that color.

*What Was the Rôle of the Thoroughbreds?*

There is no doubt that the Thoroughbred entered into the breeding of the Conestogas. In the first place, the early general purpose horses included strains of various light breeds. Many of the good light breeds contain Thoroughbred blood. Thus, even if inadvertently, the Lancaster horses would tend to have some genes from that racing breed. In addition, about the second decade of the nineteenth century, there was some intentional crossing of Thoroughbred studs with Lancaster mares, largely for the then rapidly spreading stage coach lines. These heavy vehicles require more powerful animals than the usual light harness roadsters, and time schedules—primitive and variable as they may have been—could hardly be met by ordinary draft or farm horses. The best specimens of the Lancaster type, as in Figure B, show a noticeable, though not considerable, influence from the British racer.

Nevertheless, too much stress is usually laid on that element, which, however, is not surprising if one reflects on the background circumstances. The Thoroughbred, even today, is almost the only breed known by name to most people. At that time, the same could have been said of most farmers and many horsemen. Moreover, this breed of racers is notably prepotent. That is, it stamps its offspring very markedly with its own characteristics. Hence the long, thin limbs and other similar traits in the articles on the Lancaster horse.

The Conestoga animals, however, were quite different. In their heyday, their conformation and action were typically

those of the draft breeds. For example, one of the few items on which the descriptions agree is that of temperament, almost all the authors stressing placidity, gentleness and docility. This temperament is the exact antithesis of that of the running horse, which is characteristically nervous, high strung and self-willed.

Since the Thoroughbred is so prepotent, its traits of conformation and action should be well marked in its descendants, even those with but a small fraction of the blood. The Conestogas were almost at opposite poles from these ancestors in weight and all the more important aspects of build and temperament. By the time they had developed to their maximum, the Thoroughbred genes had apparently been almost completely bred out of them, and they had become typical draft animals.

Significant as this point is, it is nevertheless necessary to avoid exaggerating it. The Conestogas had become real draft animals, but these horses never became as highly specialized in that direction as any of the pure draft breeds. Consider, for example, Figure S, selected by Strohm to illustrate "a very good specimen of the Conestoga horse." This animal weighed 1350 pounds. No one would call a horse of that weight a good specimen of the Suffolk Punch, Belgian, Percheron, Shire or any other pure draft breed, which normally weigh around a ton, from about 1800 to 2200 pounds. A 1350 pound animal, in any of those breeds, would be more nearly a runt than an example of the type. Interestingly, this Strohm selection lived at the same time as Mr. Snavelly's favorite 1800 pounder and not many miles away. This again illustrates that, even at that late date, the Conestoga was hardly a genuine breed with uniform characteristics.



This is not derogatory to the animals. For the purposes for which they were used, they were better suited than if they had been more highly specialized. A really heavy draft horse is an almost perfect machine for the short haul of great weights in places with well paved roads and good conditions. The Conestogas traveled hundreds of miles, often over poor roads and through mountainous territory. Despite the usual liberal feeding and good care, there must frequently have been times when feeding became a problem and road and weather conditions bad, hardships which the highly bred, pure draft horses would never have been able to take. As conditions improved, the weights of the Conestogas were increased correspondingly. I do not believe that either 1350 pounds, or the 18 or 19 hundred reported by some writers, was the average weight of the typical Conestoga. There may have been a few individuals who did attain the higher of these poundages. Perhaps 1600 or thereabouts was approximately the average weight by the middle of the nineteenth century. Though Strohm's pictured animal was considerably lighter, he was probably selected because of his conformation and other points rather than weight. So many of the writers speak of size and poundage that it is hard to believe that the usual Conestoga was that light, not very much heavier than a good sized saddler or heavy hunter. As a fair compromise between the extremes, and taking into account the amount and nature of the work which they did, I arrive at 1600 pounds as a probable figure for the typical animal. This was my estimate. Later I found that Professor Beck's paper had said, years earlier "its average weight 1650 pounds."

#### *Where Have These Horses Taken Us?*

Let us pause here, look around and see where we have arrived. In the reading time of this article, you have now traversed the course which I have followed over a period of years, and in about the same order. I had heard rumors and vague scraps of information for a long time, and had mentally arrived at that picture of these horses with which an early paragraph of this article has said, "most of the descriptions are in agreement." Then, years later, I began consciously trying to get more knowledge on the subject, and did succeed in getting many disconnected and often contradictory bits of information. I was puzzled by the conflicting statements and began analyzing them, looking for a central core around which all could be harmoniously organized. This led me to the conclusions which you have just read in the last dozen paragraphs. To sum them up briefly:

1. The Conestogas were never a real breed, with uniform characteristics and breeding true.
2. They originated from mongrel general purpose horses.
3. By good feeding and care, by breeding from the more desirable and heavier specimens, and by the occasional admixture of blood from genuine draft breeds such as the Suffolk Punch, and from Thoroughbreds, the Lancaster horse was finally arrived at. This type was heavier than the usual farm horse, but relatively long limbed and active.
4. This process was continued, starting now with the Lancaster horse and breeding more for weight than previously, almost completely eliminating the Thoroughbred influence. The final product was the typical Conestoga: large, heavy, about 1600 or 1650 pounds, placid and docile, short and thick limbed, with very large feet, but somewhat more

active than the standard draft breeds, and never as heavy nor as highly specialized as they.

This was interesting and perhaps valuable, but was just my own conclusion and lacked corroboration. And then, through the kindness of our Dutchmen readers, as related above, I obtained fuller and more authoritative information—notably the excellent Strohm and Beck treatises. It was a revelation to me that Mr. Strohm advanced, of his own personal knowledge while the Conestogas were still prominent, almost exactly the same points which I had arrived at as the result of a reasoning process and with *Sturm und Drang*. His essential relevant points are abstracted below. I hope that our readers will find them a restful haven after their arduous trip.

"The wide celebrity acquired by this distinguished animal has induced the belief that he springs from some peculiar species or breed.

"Fully impressed with the belief that the superior excellence attributed to the Conestoga . . . is not derived from any strain or breed that can now be traced to its origin, the following sketch has been penned with the view of exploding that idea, and . . . to rescue . . . that celebrated animal from . . . oblivion.

"The horses used by . . . early settlers were . . . the progenitors of the far-famed 'Conestoga horse' . . . but of what particular stock or strain . . . history and tradition are equally silent.

"Being . . . well fed, protected from . . . inclemency . . . and never overworked or abused, this horse . . . arrived at a degree of . . . perfection . . . much surpassing the original stock. This was not . . . by any scientific system of breeding; for this frugal people, . . . having an eye to economy and utility, kept neither males nor females for the exclusive purpose of breeding. . . . a stud horse . . . was . . . compelled to do his share of . . . labor. So with the mare; she was . . . worked until within a few weeks of foaling.

"Under this system . . . by selecting their best stock . . . , the farmers . . . were very successful in improving their stock.

". . . the attention of the . . . farmer was directed . . . to produce a strong, heavy, well-set, and tolerably active animal, with great . . . endurance.

"The Conestoga horse is not a distinct species or strain . . . but . . . has attained a great degree of efficiency for a particular purpose; and . . . the appellation by which this class is . . . known denotes superior excellence in . . . draught horses, although the individuals composing it may have sprung from a crossing . . . of various breeds or families.

"I . . . regret that the 'Conestoga horse' . . . is likely in a few years . . . to become quite extinct."

*How right he was!*

#### *About the Author*

Mr. Drachman, a high school teacher in New York City, was a farmer when a young man. Over 30 years ago he resided in Pennsylvania and now spends all his Summers here. The present article combines two of his main interests: "Dutch" culture and horses. His paper on the distelfink, the first comprehensive study on that topic ever to appear, will be published shortly.



# The Reading Boat

By EARL J. HEYDINGER

The Reading Boat of the Schuylkill equalled the much publicized Durham Boat of the Delaware and the ark of the Susquehanna in performance, but never received the publicity it deserved. This may have been due to the fact that the Reading Boat was an adaptation of the earlier Durham Boat, that the Schuylkill Valley is smaller in area than the other valleys, and that the craft on the Delaware and the Susquehanna continued to operate for several decades or more after the Schuylkill Region had converted from the ten-to-fifteen ton Reading Boat to the twenty-eight ton canal boat.

The Durham Boat, developed on the Delaware before 1730, Lewis Evans described in 1755:

trough-like, square above, the Heads and Sterns sloping a little fore and aft; generally forty to fifty feet long, six or seven wide and two feet nine inches or three feet deep and drawing twenty to twenty-two inches, when loaded.

The Durham Boat was probably copied soon after its invention in a modified form by an observant Schuylkill canoe, flat, or raft navigator. In 1760, Franklin was told that properly constructed flatboats with ten-ton capacity were operating on the Schuylkill from Reading to Spring Mill Fall. The 1768 Potts estate inventory listed a boat valued at twenty pounds, and the Valley Forge accounting a year later carried a boat at twenty-four pounds. Similar craft were probably owned at other Schuylkill ironworks. Although a 1769 navigation enthusiast whittled his thirty boats (of fifteen tons each) located at Reading to fifteen to avoid argument, his modified statement failed to tally with a 1788 account which located ten five hundred bushel wheat boats of the same tonnage at Reading.<sup>1</sup>

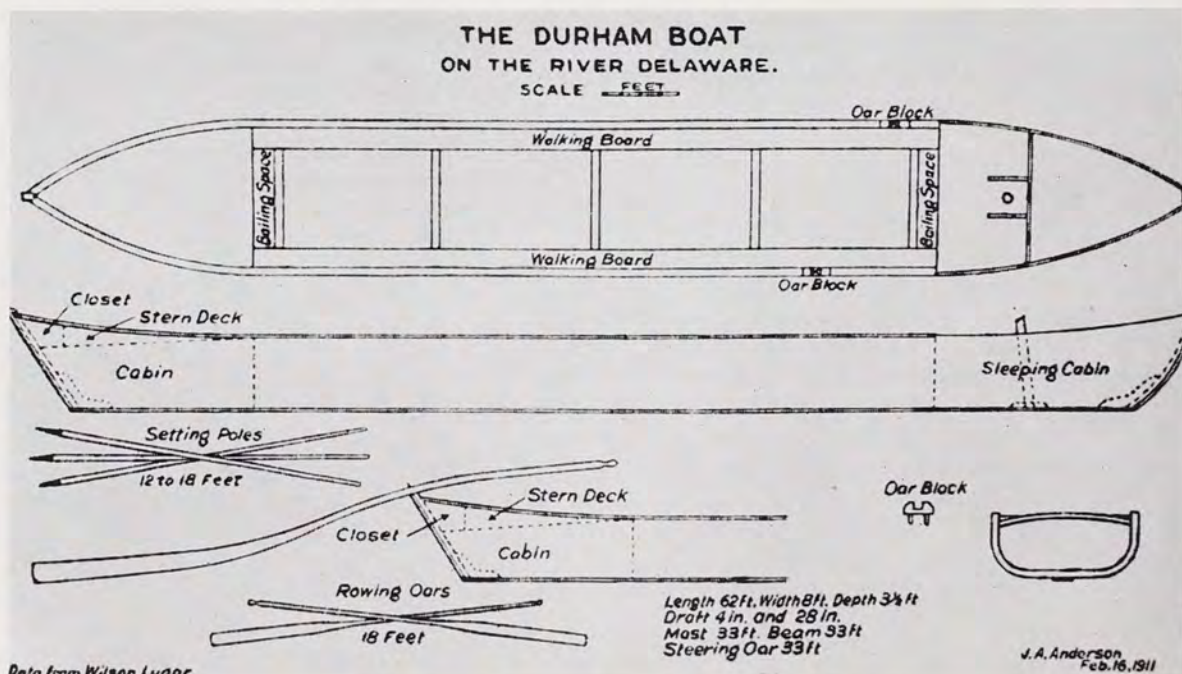
The most complete Reading Boat description is given in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 14, 1788, account of a trip from Reading to Philadelphia on the Schuylkill. The

Reading Boat was sixty feet in length by eight wide and two feet deep, identical with its Durham Boat model except that it was a foot less in depth. To better visualize the size of this Schuylkill craft, subtract a foot from the width of your living room 9 x 12 rug and multiply its length by five. A craft of these dimensions cost fifty pounds, about \$220, and was usually navigated by its owners. The seventy-five mile trip to Philadelphia (fifty-six by land) consumed *only* fourteen hours on the river. A five-to-six-day round trip usually required one or two days to float to Philadelphia, another to discharge and to load the two-ton return cargo, and three days to pole back to Reading. The five to seven roundtrips accomplished on the spring and fall floods, plus those made on occasional floods, in this account are probably exaggerations for propaganda. The income per trip, \$110, paid the owner a profit of \$48 after six men had been paid \$6.60 each for the roundtrip without meals. River freight rates, \$1.10 per ton less than land charges, were \$7.70 a ton for wheat and flour and \$6.20 for bar iron, while the two tons brought laboriously upriver paid \$12.20 a ton. Land flour costs to Philadelphia carried two rates, \$15.50 a ton by the professional teamsters and \$13.30 by the transient ("sharpshooters" or farmer) wagoners. Reading-bound goods paid \$13.30 a ton by land. In either direction, the newspaper account averred, river costs were \$1.10 a ton cheaper than land. In the period from the opening of navigation to May, 1788, in addition to corn, flour, boards and scantlings, fourteen thousand bushels of wheat had been carried on the Schuylkill. This wheat would have made

<sup>1</sup>L. P. Gipson, *Lewis Evans* (Philadelphia, 1939) 165. Thomas Pownall, *A Topographical Description of Such Parts of North America as are contained in the (annexed) Map of the Middle British Colonies, etc., in North America* (London, 1776) 35. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Apr. 3, 1760. Hereafter *Gazette*. Mrs. T. P. James, *Memorial of Thomas Potts, Jr., with a Historic-Genealogical Account of His Descendants to the Eighth Generation* (Cambridge, 1874) 164, 216. *Gazette*, Nov. 30, 1769, May 18, 1788.

Courtesy, Historical Society of Bucks County

Plan of Durham Boat from which the Reading Boat was adapted.







—Courtesy, Historical Society of Pennsylvania  
 Reading Boat (on left), flour-laden, from Barralet's 1805 "Market Street Bridge."  
 Schuylkill lumber raft (on right).

forty-two ten-ton, or twenty-eight fifteen-ton boatloads, by land 350 four-horse wagonloads.<sup>2</sup>

The boat which made this 1788 trip moved on a three-foot freshet at five to seven miles an hour, but stopped an hour at each of three landings below Reading for additional lading, and tied up nine hours at a farm house. This overnight stopping place may have been the Lamb's Inn, better known today as the Mounce Jones House, the oldest in Berks County, which was a hotel much frequented by river boatmen and raftsmen in the pre-canal days. In distance this hotel was about halfway between the head of lumber-raft navigation (above today's Pottsville) and Philadelphia. In the vicinity of the Lamb's Inn was another river warehouse; John Sands of the area disposed of a river boat and warehouse in 1775. There were also several angular dams (wingdams) improvements mentioned in this 1788 trip visible in the Schuylkill near this site. After the boat's last lading its gunwales were within two inches of the river's surface, and over fifty miles of the Schuylkill were navigated with this narrow clearance to Spring Mill, where sufficient wheat was sold that the boat was able to navigate the six-mile Falls section with safety.

From Reading to Spring Mill the six-man crew had alternated in navigating five-mile sections of the river, but in running the next six miles through Spring Mill Falls, Rumhill Falls, the Narrows and the Falls of Schuylkill the two oars of the boat and the tiller were double-manned. An eyewitness described the passage of the Falls of Schuylkill by loaded Reading Boats as a beautiful and exciting sight. The long, narrow, sharp-prowed boats descended with great rapidity, being almost lost to sight one instant and high

on the waves the next; in many instances they were wrecked. However, Falls' accidents appeared only in 1765, 1790, 1799, and 1812 newspapers, few in comparison to the numbers of Reading Boats on the Schuylkill. It is highly possible that the accidents were toned down while the propaganda favoring improvement was given prominence.<sup>3</sup>

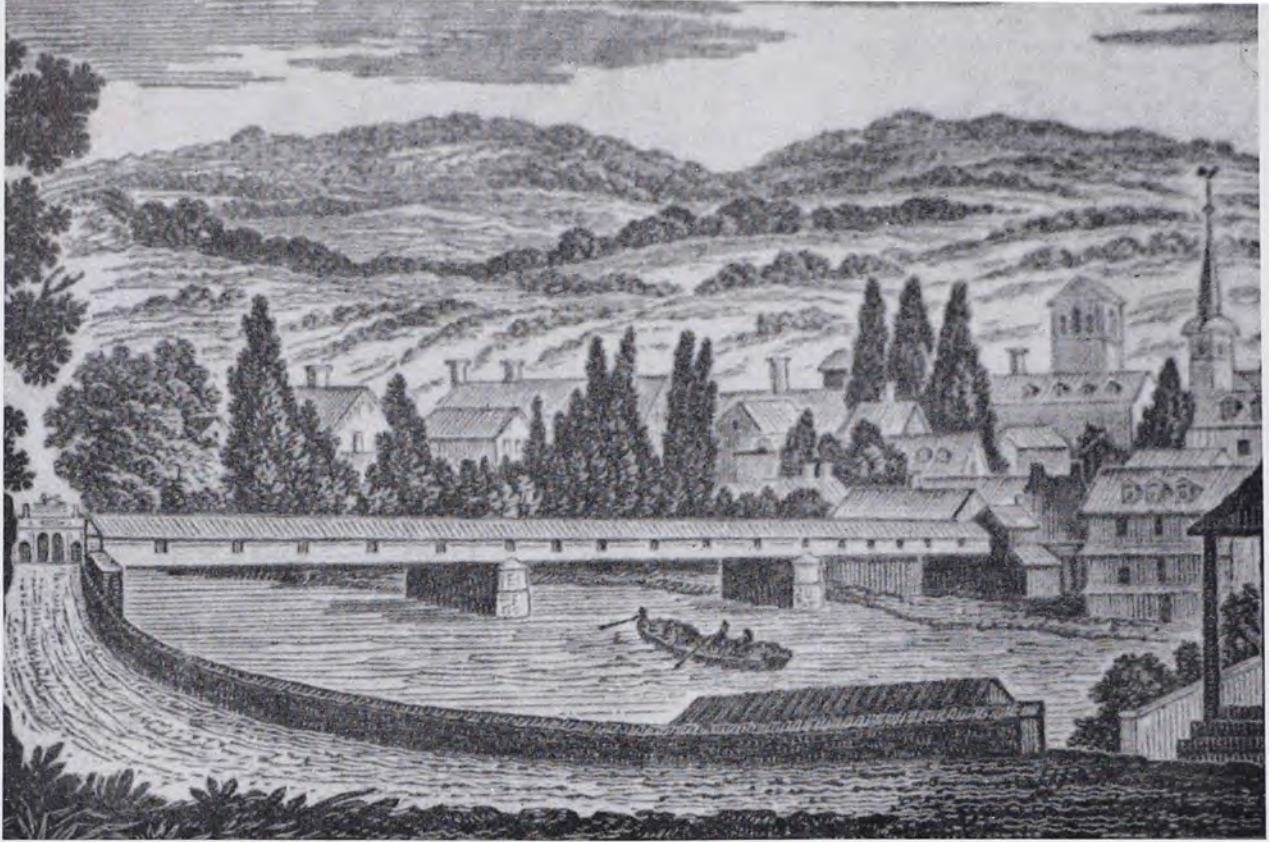
Cazenove in 1794 gave only two dimensions of a Reading Boat which he observed under construction on a back street of Reading. His construction costs, forty-five pounds or \$112.50, reflect the deflation of the period. Capacity varied, according to this observer, from five tons on low water to twelve on flood. Two years later, Laincourt, in his account of Reading's extensive grain buying, gave a questionable larger capacity to the Reading Boat and a political slant to the wheat trade. During the winter when navigation was impossible on the Schuylkill, farmers in need of money had to sell wheat at a low price to wealthy men. These buyers, financially able to hold their purchases until the river opened, sent their grain at a profit to Philadelphia. The Schuylkill, Laincourt reported, was navigable, winter excepted, for craft of one to two hundred tons!<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> 1788 Trip. Schofer Scrap Books 13 255, at the Historical Society of Berks County. Hereafter Schofer. Verbal information from Mrs. J. V. R. Hunter, Reading. Reading Zeitung, Mar. 3, 1790, Mar. 27, 1799. Hereafter Zeitung. Reading Weekly Advertiser, Dec. 8, 1812. Hereafter Advertiser. Reading Adler, Dec. 12, 1812. Hereafter Adler. Charles V. Hagner, Early History of the Falls of Schuylkill, Manyunk, Schuylkill and Lehigh Navigation Companies, Fairmont Waterworks, etc. (Philadelphia, 1869) 60. Hereafter Falls.

<sup>4</sup> Raynor W. Kelsey, ed., Cazenove Journal, 1794, A Record of the Journey of Theopile Cazenove through New Jersey and Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, 1922) 83. Value of the Pound at \$2.50 on p. 1. Hereafter Cazenove. Compare building site of his Reading Boat with that in J. Bennett Nolan's, The Schuylkill (Rutgers, 1951) 269. Hereafter Schuylkill. Duke de La Rochefoucault Laincourt, Travels through North America, The Country of the Iroquois and Upper Canada in the Years 1795, 1796, 1797 with an Authentic Account of Lower Canada (London, 1799 2 V) I 28. Hereafter Laincourt.

<sup>2</sup> Gazette, May 14, 1788. Hereafter 1788 Trip. Dollar values are based on a Pound quotation of \$4.44 in the Gazette, July 22, 1789.





—Courtesy, Berks County Historical Society  
 Reading Boat at Penn Street Bridge in Reading from early engraving.

Readingite Phillip Lotz, according to his riverboating account book, on March 21, 1809, delivered 131 barrels of flour, about twelve tons, at fifty cents a barrel (\$5.40 a ton) to Philadelphia for Henry Van Reed, Tulpehocken miller. Proponents of the navigation improvements in 1813, probably Josiah White, quoted almost the same boating capacity, 110 barrels, and the same rate for freight. Through improvement, it was promised, a boat would carry three times the tonnage for sixteen dollars less than the ten-ton river boat. In addition, the improvement would operate nine months of the year compared to the three month season on the "unimproved" Schuylkill. A wheatboat accident in 1812 reported, as Laincourt had, an unreliable tonnage figure. The *Reading Advertiser* of December 8, credited a boat with the carriage of fifteen hundred bushels of wheat, forty-five tons. However, the *Readinger Adler*, four days later, told that the lading of the wrecked boat was wheat and flour; tonnage was omitted.<sup>5</sup>

The Reading newspapers sporadically furnished figures on the Schuylkill's traffic between 1795 and 1811, figures worth repetition. Even though these statistics have been presented before, the editorial comment which accompanied them has been disregarded. Three years' shipments from *only* one warehouse were published by the *Adler* of February 13, 1798, without comment except to identify the shippers as Gerber and Strohecker, two of the three Reading men who had submitted bids on the 1791 Schuylkill contract to the state. This partnership had a warehouse on each shore of the Schuylkill at the Lancaster Ferry (today's Bingaman Street Bridge in Reading), Gerber's on the western or southern shore and Strohecker's on the Reading bank.<sup>6</sup> Six months' produce shipped between December 20, 1800, and

June 20, 1801, consisted of twenty thousand barrels of flour, a hundred tons of iron, six hundred barrels of bread and "an astonishing quantity of hats, lard, wax, etc.," valued at \$270,000. The editor of the *Zeitung* (July 8, 1801) observed that a much larger shipment would have arrived in Philadelphia if the canals had been operating as promised by their promoters. This was mild protest against the four hundred thousand dollars spent without benefit to the Schuylkill by the Delaware and Schuylkill and the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Canal Companies, compared to the ten thousand dollars appropriated for the Schuylkill in 1791. A second set of figures, overlapping in time with those just quoted, but from Gerber and Strohecker only, are reported by the *Adler* (October 6, 1801) and reprinted in the German-language *Zeitung*, which credited them to the *American Stadtsbothen*, probably to avoid giving credit to the *Adler*, which along with the majority of Berks County's voters and Strohecker, was Democratic-Republican. In commenting, the *Zeitung* remarked that the quantity of Schuylkill traffic must be far greater than that reported because of the astounding amount of product shipped by Alexander Eisenbeis from his Schuylkill warehouse and the *other* stores in Reading. Again, the misapplied funds, spent on non-operating canals rather than the river itself, are blamed for the smallness of the shipment. The 1793 improvements allowed navigation only during freshets; properly spent the funds would have made the Schuylkill navigable the whole year. Other Schuylkill warehouses in addition to those mentioned were those of Paul and Livezey, the proprietors of the mill at Spring Mill, who owned two-thirds of a warehouse on the western shore of the Schuylkill opposite Reading from 1794 to 1803, and Van Reed, the miller previously mentioned, who had a warehouse on the river as late as 1817. Whether every store or buyer who advertised for country products maintained a warehouse on one of the twenty-four waterlots, or owned and or hired Reading Boats is unknown.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Schofer*, 9 70. *Adler*, Feb. 16, 1813.

<sup>6</sup> *Jones Scrap Books*, 1 104, at the Historical Society of Berks County. Hereafter *Jones*. Gerber had advertised 165 acres on the Schuylkill one mile from Reading in the *Gazette*, Feb. 24, 1779, without mention of ferry, warehouse or 1760 waterlots. In the Aug. 13, 1822, *Adler*, his heirs offered a gristmill, "a stone warehouse on the Schuylkill's shore conveniently arranged" alongside the ferry.

<sup>7</sup> *Zeitung*, Jan. 15, 1794. *Adler*, May 10, 1803, Jan. 8, 1817.



All three of Reading's papers, in reporting a shipment made in a single day in March, 1802, agreed on the produce and tonnage involved, but varied in their editorial comments. All agreed that 160 wagons and teams would have been necessary because of the weather and bad roads to have carried the 160 ton shipment to Philadelphia. To convince its readers, the *Zeitung* on March 3, vouched for the integrity of its correspondent, while the *Adler* of March 9, scolding about the dangers involved in navigating the Schuylkill, commented that Philadelphia, Berks and those counties more remote from the port city would benefit by the improvements, if the river's impediments were removed. One eyewitness told of having seen seventeen Reading Boats leave Reading at one time, but gave no date. An unreliable hundred boat departure is reported. Using Cazenove's five- to twelve-ton capacities, this would have been a shipment of *five to twelve hundred tons*. This may have happened before 1789 when Reading had no newspaper, though it is doubtful, because the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, an advocate of improvement from 1760, does not mention the departure or arrival in Philadelphia of such an immense fleet and tonnage.<sup>8</sup>

An article from the Baltimore *American* about Reading's trade was quoted by the *Adler* of February 7, 1804. The purchase of forty-five thousand bushels of wheat by Reading grain-buyers after a snowfall made transportation easy from the farming areas to Reading were cited to show the extent of Reading's trade. The great commerce from Reading to Philadelphia, both by land transport and Reading Boat, created much favorable publicity for Reading. This heavy traffic, the Baltimore paper predicted, would continue to increase.

A report of shipments sent down river by Gerber and Strohecker between February 15 and June 1, 1807, told that 13,198 bushels of wheat, 4,695 barrels of flour, 50½ tons of iron, 1,256 gallons of whiskey, 153 barrels of pork, 200 bushels of corn and 274 tubs of butter and *schmaltz* were sent via the Schuylkill to Philadelphia. The *Adler* reminded its readers that there were other warehouses in Reading with considerable export business, but failed to enumerate them. Fourteen Reading Boats under "Commodore" Jacob Saetle carried merchandise down river in 1809. Two papers almost agreed on the tonnage and did about the number of boats, but the Federalist *Zeitung* asked how many wagons the shipment would have required, and politically minded, inquired where and how the evil effects of the Embargo hurt Reading? The last departure of Reading Boats as reported in the *Reading newspapers* was in 1811 when eighteen craft departed for Philadelphia between March 1 and 6. Five of these Reading Boats carried 475 barrels of flour, ninety-five barrels or 8.6 tons each.<sup>9</sup>

That great quantities of bariron used the Schuylkill to reach market is asserted in the 1788 Boating Account because river freight rates were \$6.20 a ton, less than half of land transport. Mordecai Millard boated six river shipments of bariron from today's Birdsboro between March 16 and December 13 in 1800 and three additional by May 1801. Eisenbeis and Brown, a Reading shipping partnership, billed this iron works for transportation on June 20, 1807, and in

<sup>8</sup> *Advertiser*, Mar. 6, 1802. *Jones Scrap Books*, 1 104, at the Historical Society of Berks County. Hereafter *Jones*. J. Bennett Nolan, ed., *South-Eastern Pennsylvania, A History of Berks, Bucks, Chester, Delaware, Montgomery, Philadelphia and Schuylkill Counties* (Philadelphia, 1943 3 V) 1 54. Compare this with *Schuylkill* 270.

<sup>9</sup> *Adler*, June 9, 1807. *Zeitung*, Mar. 18, 1809. *Adler*, Mar. 21, 1809, Mar. 12, 1811.

an undated letter charged this iron establishment \$32.50 for carrying ten tons of bariron from Birdsboro to French Creek, about twenty-eight miles via the Schuylkill, at a labor cost of \$19.50. French Creek orders specifying ten-ton river shipment continued into 1810. An 1837 sketch of Birdsboro located an iron warehouse for river shipment near the mouth of Hay Creek, probably the loading point for the shipments cited. William Bird had pledged 40£ for Schuylkill improvement in 1760. These meager figures seemingly contradict a statement that the eighteenth century carriage of iron on the Schuylkill was limited by the difficulties of navigation and by river freight costs which were only slightly lower than land transportation.<sup>10</sup>

The advantage of the Reading Boat both in tonnage and speed, 75 to 150 barrels of flour usually traveled to Philadelphia in a day, is further magnified when compared to land transportation on the sixty-two mile turnpike between Lancaster and Philadelphia. Before the road was turnpiked in 1791, a five-horse wagon could cover the distance with eighteen barrels of flour in three days; after the improvement a four-horse outfit could handle twenty-four barrels in two days. The waiting-loaded Reading Boat departed whenever the Schuylkill rose two feet. If the current was rapid, the trip to Philadelphia required a day; the 1788 trip account reported an overnight stop after three loading delays. The return trip consumed a week or more, or about nine days for the round trip. Manpower towing where the shore permitted—probably at the falls—and poling brought the boat to Reading. This poling was a tedious and laborious process, but it is employed today in cheap-labor areas of the world. On the Schuylkill two men at the bow (prow) of the boat would set their poles against the river's bottom and push until they had walked on the poling plank along the boat's sixty-foot length to the stern. They then passed over the cargo to the front of the boat to repeat this process. Since some Reading Boats carried a seven-man crew, there might have been three pairs of men poling at one time on the sixty-foot craft.<sup>11</sup>

There is conflicting testimony about up-river traffic. Hagner, Falls of Schuylkill historian, writing in 1869, held that return loads were impossible. However, Falls of Schuylkill could be and was crossed with loaded craft. Colonel James Coultas, Sheriff of Philadelphia and 1761 Schuylkill Commissioner, backed his belief in the work accomplished from 1761 to 1764 by betting a hundred pounds in 1764 that he could move two flats of hay upriver across the Great Falls (Falls of Schuylkill) in half an hour. Coultas and an unrecorded number of men did cross the Falls with two flats carrying 4323 pounds of hay in twenty-one minutes even though the dry season was disadvantageous to his efforts. Perhaps towing with ropes was employed as well as poling in this feat. The bet was fictitious, he later announced, made only to draw a crowd. The demonstration, he hoped, would encourage landowners along the Schuylkill to subscribe toward further improvement of the river because their land had increased in value.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Brooke Papers of Birdsboro Iron Operations*, Microfilm Roll No. 10 at the Historical Society of Berks County. Arthur C. Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century* (Harrisburg, 1938) 11.

<sup>11</sup> *Jones*, 1 104. *Richards Scrap Books*, H 87, D 260, at the Historical Society of Berks County. Hereafter *Richards*.

<sup>12</sup> *Falls*, 39, 40. *Gazette*, Nov. 1, Nov. 22, 1764. Charles R. Barker, "The Stony Part of the Schuylkill" *MH&B* L 350. Robert P. Robbins, "Colonel James Coultas, High Sheriff of Philadelphia, 1755-58" *Ibid.*, XI 53. Sheriff Coultas was buried on Feb. 1, 1768. Compare dates with *Schuylkill*, 177.



Hessian Captain Wiederhold predicted in 1779 that Philadelphia would never really prosper unless the Falls of Schuylkill was opened, while Laincourt in 1795 minimized the danger of the Falls. "A name very improperly given to a slight inequality in the level of the Schuylkill" created by rocks of uneven size in the river's bed, which with a certain noise accelerated the current and obstructed the navigation. When covered by high tide, this inconsiderable water fall was passed by small boats along the right bank (the western shore going downstream) with some danger. Laincourt predicted Moncure Robinson's Falls Bridge of the Reading Company by telling that the rocks of these Falls formed an easy communication across the Schuylkill and would greatly facilitate the building of a bridge.

Laincourt's description of the Falls as inconsiderable is contradicted by a 1798 account of the labor involved in the upriver passage of a Reading Boat. While the rapid had a fall of only three and a half feet, the Falls, about five hundred feet long, required from twelve to fifteen man-hours of labor to cross with an empty or lightly-loaded boat, plus an additional expense of two or three dollars for drinks, jiggers of whiskey being part of everyone's wages at that time. In the light of these difficulties it is easy to believe that two tons as mentioned in the 1788 trip account was the usual upriver loading for a Reading Boat and that nine days were occasionally consumed in the return trip. This account also shows Sheriff Coultas' 1764 feat to have been more remarkable than it appeared. It is logical to believe that upriver lading may have been taken at Spring Mill, the beginning of easy water for the return trip.<sup>13</sup> Readingite "Shad" Hoff told that Reading Boats carried store goods for Reading merchants on their return trips, while Philip Lotz, a Reading Boatman, left an account which tells of several return trips on which the cargo was liquors: whiskey, rum and gin by the barrel. These probably were imported as the whiskey of Berks was a regular item of downriver traffic; Berks had 212 stills in 1806. There are records where several weeks were required for the return trip from Philadelphia. While the delay may have been caused by low water, this time consumption might also signify a freight-trip to Reading.<sup>14</sup>

Passengers traveled on the Philadelphia-bound Reading Boats from 1775 to 1818. Delegate Edward Biddle's fall into the Schuylkill from a Reading Boat while on his way to attend the 1775 Congress is well known. The presence of a Negro woman and her child in a 1799 Reading Boat accident at the Falls of Schuylkill is not explained in the newspaper account. The trip of Jacob Wenig's relatives downriver in order to bury his body in a Philadelphia cemetery saved time. Whether the Schuylkill carried soldiers during the Revolution is problematic, but the departure of Captain Keim's Volunteer *Reading Washington Guards* was described by the Reading English newspaper, the *Advertiser*, of September 24, 1814. After an oration and a prayer by a preacher, the soldiers escorted by their friends marched to the Schuylkill, where they embarked on a Reading Boat for Philadelphia. Captain Hawley's company joined in the Schuylkill trip at Pottsgrove and both groups proceeded to Philadelphia.<sup>15</sup> Lotz noted passenger receipts only from 1814

<sup>13</sup> J. Bennett Nolan, *Annals of Penn Square* (Philadelphia, 1938) 24. Laincourt, 13. Alvin Harlow, *Old Towpaths, The Story of American Canals* (New York, 1926) 38.

<sup>14</sup> Jones, 1 25. Shofer 9 70. Richards H 87.

<sup>15</sup> *Zeitung*, Mar. 27, 1799. Craig Biddle, "Edward Biddle" *MH&B* 1 101. *Zeitung*, Dec. 31, 1794. Compare *Advertiser*, Sept. 24, 1814

to 1818. The speed of the one-day trip should have been a selling point, while the passage through the Falls section of the lower Schuylkill should have attracted thrill seekers. However, neither of these elements of travel is mentioned. On the contrary, Lotz's pity for poor people accounted for most of the traffic. Receipts certainly prove passenger business to have been secondary; Lotz collected only \$2.50 from five of the seventeen passengers according to four entries cited.

While the 1788 account told that most boats were navigated by their owners, Lotz's boat was owned by Peter Stichter, Reading grain buyer and lumber dealer. The 1788 profit statement of \$48 for a trip was matched by an 1810 payment to Stichter by Lotz of \$45.45 as boat profit. Another entry recorded Lotz paying the owner half of the trip profit and two dollars rent for half the boat; apparently a settlement was made after each trip. A freight rate of a dollar a barrel for a ten barrel shipment of whiskey, twice the downriver rate of flour, was mentioned, probably for an upriver shipment. Lotz also handled anthracite in May 1820, buying ninety bushels (perhaps after unloading bariron) from the French Creek Iron Works at fourteen cents a bushel. Lotz with Stichter's Boat participated in the July 5, 1824 *partial* opening of the Schuylkill Navigation Canal from Reading southward to Philadelphia. However, on the return trip, because one of the new locks was out of order, he wrecked his craft in attempting to portage it over the lock.<sup>16</sup>

Lotz' activities have been cited with a double purpose, for the account itself and, more significantly, to show that the Reading Boat *did not disappear* from the Schuylkill because there are no statistics available from the Reading newspapers after 1811. While the *De Witt Clinton*, to be so often mentioned in the 1824-25 account of the Schuylkill Canal's opening, may have been a full three-foot draft Durham Boat, the use of Lotz's boat on the new canal shows that other Reading Boats were probably used for their remaining lifetime on the Schuylkill Navigation. Their eight-foot width, however, prevented their use on the 1827-54 seven and a half feet-wide Union Canal locks.

The price differential between Reading and Philadelphia was a factor in the profitable operation of the Reading Boats. In September 1811, Philadelphia paid twenty-two cents more for wheat, thirty-seven cents for corn—both sixty-pound bushels—and ten cents for a forty-pound bushel of oats. In January 1817, the flour differential was a dollar a barrel, whiskey seven cents a gallon and wheat eight cents. During July 1819, flour sold in Philadelphia at fifty cents a barrel above the Reading price.<sup>17</sup>

A rate of pay for Schuylkill boatmen in 1815 may have been the basis upon which an anti-Schuylkill Navigation correspondent stated that labor costs of a trip to Philadelphia from Potts with a twelve ton boat would be sixty dollars for a four-man crew. In 1788 the wages per man for the Reading-Philadelphia roundtrip had been \$6.66 each. The cost of a twelve-ton boat in this 1815 letter is given as \$200. In 1788, the figure was \$222, while Cazenove six years later gave \$112.50 as the cost.<sup>18</sup>

date and story with *Schuylkill*, 80. Theodore W. Bean, ed., *History of Montgomery County* (Philadelphia, 1884) 125.

<sup>16</sup> Shofer, 9 70.

<sup>17</sup> *Advertiser*, Sept. 14, 1811. *Reading Postbothe*, Jan. 25, 1817, July 3, 1819.

<sup>18</sup> Adler, Jan. 17, 1815. *1788 Trip*. Cazenove, 28.





Baskets of Strussels and lighted candles for Moravian love-feast.

Have you wondered where the pretzel came from? The word itself, though German, was taken from the Latin *pretiola*, meaning "little gift." In the Palatinate they were once given as rewards to children who learned their prayers. The shape of the pretzel suggested a pair of folded arms, an attitude of supplication. What a significant beginning for the lowly pretzel. From this grew our present multi-million dollar industry.

#### STRUSSEL BUNS

Now, let us take a look at two foods which are connected more definitely with the personal life and have a religious significance: namely, Moravian Strussel Buns and Moravian Sugar Cake. Both are served in the Lititz church as a part of the love-feasts, of which there are nine throughout the year. These are times set aside for fellowship in the Lord, when members of the congregation (and visiting Christians of other denominations) eat and drink together the love-feast buns and coffee.

Wherever you find Moravians, there will be love-feast buns. The type of bun served differs with each congregation, but at the same time, each kind seems to be traditional with its congregation. To the Lititz Moravians, this bun is the Strussel Bun, also called Streisler. It is a round bun about four inches in diameter. The dough is sweet as in other buns but the distinction lies in the topping. A sort of glaze, made by a cinnamon sugar, and butter mixture, covers the whole bun. At the church, before serving, they are sprinkled with powdered sugar.

Strussel buns are a delicacy that have been enjoyed by thousands of persons, yet no one in the congregation seems to know how to make them. As long as anyone can remember they have been supplied by a bakery who bakes them only for this one church. For the Christmas love-feasts alone (of which there are three) they supplied fifteen hundred buns.

The present shape is round but Strussel Buns were not always so. Originally they were in the shape of pretzels. As recently as fifty years ago (perhaps a few years more or less) they were still shaped thus for the Children's love-feast and then were called Sugar Pretzels.

The Strussel Buns are served at all love-feasts of the Lititz church excepting the "Diensers" which is the one given by and for all the workers of the church. For this love-feast the Moravian Sugar Cake is used. The reason for the substitution seems logical when one realizes that years ago when the "Diensers" themselves make the Streislers for all love-feasts they chose to make a simpler one for their own.

# Lititz Specialties

By EDNA EBY HELLER

In Lititz, a neat little town in Lancaster County, you will find the same Pennsylvania Dutch foods that are typical of the rest of the county. There are Shoofly Pies galore and Saffron to spare. Great crowds gather at the firehouse for Chicken Corn Soup Suppers and Sauerkraut Dinners. But there are other foods that belong in a very special way to this town alone, and particularly to the Moravians who founded it almost two hundred years ago.

#### PRETZELS

Consider the pretzel—that "salt-besprinkled twist of dough" as Dr. Preston Barba calls it. On the Main Street of Lititz stands the oldest pretzel factory in the new world, the N. D. Sturgis plant. On the front of this stone building a bronze plaque honors the production of the first commercial pretzel. It reads:

On this site in 1861  
Julius Sturgis  
Established the first pretzel bakery  
In the New World.  
This tablet is dedicated by  
The National Pretzel Bakers Institute  
May 1951

The Lititz Pretzel can truly be called Moravian in origin. The original recipe itself belonged to Moravians. Throughout these ninety-four years since Julius Sturgis began manufacturing pretzels from the formula received from an itinerant baker many pretzel bakeries have operated in Lititz.

Moravian women readying Strussels for serving.





—Courtesy,  
Mary Huebener, Lititz  
Lititz Moravians depict  
worship of forefathers.



## MORAVIAN SUGAR CAKE

This Sugar Cake is a delicacy known to the Moravians of Winston Salem as well as to the Bethlehem churches in Pennsylvania. Unlike the Streislars which seem almost sacred in that they are reserved for love-feasts, the Sugar Cake is baked in many homes even by non-Moravians who have borrowed the recipe. It is a raised cake made with yeast and baked in large sheets, about eight inches by eleven. This, too, has a scrumptious topping. When the cakes are raised light brown sugar is copiously spread on top with a sprinkling of cinnamon added. Now here comes the good part! Indentations are made about an inch apart over the top and these are filled with butter. Of course, the more butter the better!

There is a difference in Sugar Cakes just as there is in Shoo-Fly Pies, but basically they are the same. Some cooks let the dough rise over night, while others use a shorter raising dough. Although comparatively few women bake with yeast today, I venture to say that wherever there is a King's Daughters' Bake Sale you will still find Moravian Sugar Cake.

The following recipe comes from a Sugar Cake baker with twenty years experience. She is Mrs. Joseph Eidson, a member of the Lancaster congregation but formerly from Lititz. She is well known as a Sugar Cake baker as she sold them at the Arcade Farmers' Market in Lancaster for the past eight years. Although she discontinued her market baking several months ago, Mrs. Eidson still fills home orders. Rest assured that her recipe is fully tested for with it she sometimes baked two hundred cakes in a week! Here is her recipe.

### *Moravian Sugar Cake*

Place in a large bowl:

- $\frac{2}{3}$  cup vegetable shortening
- $\frac{1}{2}$  cup granulated sugar
- 2 tsp. salt
- 1 cup hot riced potatoes

Beat well. Add:

- 2 beaten eggs
- 1 pk. yeast dissolved in  $\frac{1}{2}$  cup warm water
- 7 cups enriched flour
- 1 cup warm milk

Mix and knead for ten minutes. Grease top with shortening. Cover with a cloth and set in warm place to rise until doubled in bulk. Punch down and spread on greased pans to  $\frac{1}{3}$  inch thickness. Cover with a dry cloth and cover the dry cloth with a wet or damp cloth. Let raise to  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch thickness. With a pastry brush, paint the top with melted butter. Sprinkle with sugar mixture: 1 tbsp. flour to 2 cups med. brown sugar. With fingers punch holes about an inch apart. Place  $\frac{1}{4}$  pat of butter in each hole. Sprinkle top with melted butter, using pastry brush. Sprinkle with cinnamon. Bake at 350 degrees for 20 to 25 minutes. When baked, remove from pans to a thick cloth until cooled.

Mrs. Joseph Eidson  
Lancaster, Pa.

## GINGER COOKIES

There are two more recipes that are definitely associated with Lititz Moravians: Ginger Cookies and Moravian Mints. The Ginger Cookies are almost identical with what is known in Bethlehem as the Moravian Brown Christmas Cakes. Of the similar Moravian White Christmas Cakes there seems to be no likeness in Lititz.

The Ginger Snaps, as sometimes called, are wafer-thin and made in the shapes of stars, men, women, and trees. If you would visit the home of the town historian, Mary Augusta Huebener, at Christmastime, Miss Huebener and her brother Louis would know that you "dropped in" to see their Christmas Putz. Undoubtedly they would pass their homemade cookies which will probably include Shrewsberrys, Scotch, Sandtarts, Cocoanut Macaroons, and Kisses as well as the Ginger Cookies. Among the Gingers will be camel shaped ones that have been cut with a camel cutter that Louis himself made.

### *Ginger Cookies*

- 1 qt. New Orleans molasses
- 1 lb. soft brown sugar
- 1 lb. lard and butter mixed, or all Crisco
- $3\frac{3}{4}$  lb. flour (more if necessary)
- $1\frac{1}{2}$  tabsp. ginger (no more)
- 2 or 3 tabsp. cinnamon
- $\frac{1}{2}$  tabsp. cloves
- 1 heaping tsp. soda, dissolved in  $\frac{1}{4}$  cup hot water
- 1 cup milk

Mix together the flour, sugar, and spices. Rub in the shortening as for pie dough. Add molasses and soda and mix thoroughly. Chill overnight or longer. Roll out very thin on a floured cloth. Cut out and place on tins. Wash with the milk, one cup, to which has been added on tsp. molasses. Bake in a 315 degree oven.

Miss Mary Huebener  
Lititz, Pa.

## MORAVIAN MINTS

These have been made in many Moravian towns but I do not know of anyone who decorated them like the late Mrs. Louis Huebener. With a toothpick she decorated them with Christmas flowers, wreaths and candles in multi-colors. Daintier mints have never been found. Each year Mrs. Huebener made thousands which she sold as an accommodation to her friends and their friends. They were indeed a work of art that will long be remembered.

### *Moravian Mints*

- 1 lb. XXXX sugar
- 4 tabsp. water
- 7 drops oil of peppermint or spearmint

Put one pound of XXXX sugar into the top of a double boiler. Add the water and allow to dissolve. Add the flavoring. When the mixture hardens slightly on top, it is ready to drop from a teaspoon on to waxed paper.



# PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH PIONEERS

By DR. FRIEDRICH KREBS—Palatine State Archives, Speyer, Germany

Translated by Don Yoder

## *Albisheim (Kreis Kirchheimbolanden)*

1. JOHANN ENGEL MORGENSTERN, born at Albisheim September 20, 1726—son of Johann Philipp Morgenstern and wife Maria Rosina—"residing in Pennsylvania." [*Johann Engelbert Morgenstern, Ship St. Andrew, September 9, 1749.*]

2. ABRAHAM BRUBACHER—son of Jacob Brubacher from his first marriage—"in Pennsylvania" (Document dated 1763). The Brubacher family, of Mennonite background, was in the 18th century located in the region of Albisheim, also in the Mennonite settlement of Ibersheim, near Worms.

## *Altenkirchen (Kreis Kusel)*

3. JACOB BERG—son of Jacob Berg of Altenkirchen and wife Anna Margaretha Wagner—blacksmith by trade, went to Pennsylvania without manumission, along with JOHANN THEOBALD SCHRAMM—son of George Schramm of Altenkirchen—in the year 1769. The property of both of them, namely an inheritance which came to them later, was on that account confiscated by the Government of the Duchy of Zweibruecken, since they no longer intended to return to their homeland. Jacob Berg was referred to in the documents as a blacksmith at Middletown, near Frederick, Maryland, while of Theobald Schramm is known only that after his arrival in America he worked as a hostler in Philadelphia. [*Jacob Berg, Theobald Schramm, Ship Minerva, October 13, 1769.*]

## *Appenhofen (Kreis Bergzabern)*

4. MARGRETHA and SIBILLA WINTZ—daughters of Georg Wintz of Appenhofen—"who are by this time living in the New Land" (Document dated February 10, 1752). One of them was married to THOMAS SCHLEY of Frederick, Maryland.

5. MARGRETHA KUHN—daughter of Nicklaus Kuhn, citizen of Appenhofen, and his wife Elisabetha Nickler—was, according to official declarations, married at Billigheim to Friedrich WUERTHSBACHER (or WIRTHSBACHER), who was a physician born in the region of Heilbronn (Wuerttemberg), and went with him to America in 1764. [*Friderich Wurtzbacher, Ship Hero, October 27, 1764.*]

6. GEORG MICHEL BANZ, tailor by trade, and his sister CATHARINA BANZ, both from Appenhofen, the former single, the latter married to PETER BRUNNER of Klingens, went to Pennsylvania without issue about 1748. A letter still extant in the Speyer Archives describes Georg Michel Banz as settled in Frederick County, Maryland, Johann Peter Brunner in the neighborhood of the town of Frederick. [*Peter Brunner, Ship Albany, September 2, 1749.*]

## *Assenheim (Kreis Ludwigshafen)*

7. FRANZ BALTHASAR SCHALTER—son of Johann Georg Schalter (died 1754) of Assenheim and his wife Elisabeth—went to Pennsylvania shortly after his father's death, in order to inherit here the property of a brother of his father, who had already been a long time resident of Pennsylvania. After the death of his uncle he stayed in Pennsylvania. On

November 16, 1767, he wrote from Alsace Township, Berks County, to his relatives, that he renounced his share of the inheritance, which he would have had a claim on from home, and wishes only that a clock and a Bible be sent over to him. With him went JOHANN GEORG BOERSTLER, likewise from Assenheim, to America, but later returned home again. [*Frantz Baltzer Schalter, Jorg Boerstler, Ship Edinburgh, September 30, 1754.*]

8. JACOB NEFF—son of the Anabaptist (Mennonite) Peter Neff of Assenheim and his wife Veronika Roesch—"absent in America" (Document dated May 27, 1789). [*Jacob Neff, Brig Betsy, October 15, 1785.*]

## *Billigheim (Kreis Bergzabern)*

9. BERNHARD KNEY—son of Philipp Kney of Billigheim and his wife Maria Margaretha Hutmacher—"who has gone to the so-called New Land" (Document dated May 10, 1755).

10. ANNA MARGARETHA DEGRIEFF—daughter of the councilor Jacob Degreiff of Billigheim—"is married in the New Land" (Document dated May 12, 1755).

## *Boeckweiler (Kreis Homburg, Saar)*

11. JOHANNES KELLER—son of Daniel Keller, of Boeckweiler—"established and married in the New Land" (Document dated October 19, 1776).

12. HENRICH KUNZ—"son of the deceased citizen of the same name, of Boeckweiler and wife Maria Margaretha Hock—removed himself from this country in 1764 and according to report that has reached here went to America without permission, contrary to the present governmental order" (*Frankfurter Kayserl. Reichs-Ober-Amts-Postzeitung, 2-13-1787*). According to the documents Henrich Kunz was a cartwright and from a letter dated August 21, 1768 we learn that he was living with Jonathan Heger in Canageschick in Maryland.

## *Breitfurt (Kreis Homburg, Saar)*

13. JACOB WELKER—son of Wilhelm Welker of Breitfurt—"who according to report, has gone to America" (Document dated December 4, 1777). [Either *Jacob Welker, Ship Minerva, September 17, 1771*, or *Jacob Welker, Ship Crawford, October 26, 1768.*]

14. ANNA APPOLONIA VOGELGESANG—daughter of Nickel Gentes, magistrate and citizen of Breitfurt—"married to Georg Vogelgesang, Jr. (evidently also from Breitfurt), resident in America" (Document dated May 6, 1765). [*Georg Vogelgesang, Ship Squirrel, October 21, 1761.*]

15. MATHEISS and GEORG SCHMIDT—children of Abraham Schmidt, citizen and magistrate of Breitfurt—"in America" (Document dated October 7, 1760).

16. JOSEPH NEU—son of Georg Neu, resident of Breitfurt and his wife Christina Margaretha Gentess—"went to America" around 1740. His brother PETER NEU, "went to America" around 1753.

17. JOHANN OTTO NEU—son of Wilhelm Neu of Breitfurt and his wife Anna Margaretha—"now residing in the



New Land" (Document of May 19, 1767). His brother JOHANN SIMON NEU," also residing in the New Land" (Document of May 19, 1767).

*Dannstadt (Kreis Ludwigshafen)*

18. About the year 1748 RUDOLPH DRACH and his sister ANNA MARIA DRACH from Dannstadt, both single, went to America, where they married and had children. In the year 1788 they requested, through a power of attorney, the surrender of their property on payment of the tithe. Their property was, however, not surrendered, but confiscated according to the Emigration Edict of the Electoral Palatinate.

*Edenkoben*

19. PHILIPP CARL HAAS—son of Johann Georg Haas—intended in the year 1748, to go, with his wife and five children, to the New Land "on account of a better fortune." [*Philipp Carel Haas, Ship Patience, September 16, 1748.*]

20. ANNA ELISABETHA SEYFFERT—daughter of Johann Gottfried Seyffert of Edenkoben—"married to DAVID DELATER, who went to Pennsylvania" (about 1740). [*David Delater, Ship St. Andrew, October 2, 1741.*]

21. ANNA CATHARINA GLEICH—daughter of the master miller Henrich Gleich of Edenkoben—"went to Pennsylvania" (about 1756).

22. JOHANN GEORG CROISSANT and his sister ANNA CATHARINA CROISSANT—children of Jacob Croissant of Edenkoben—"who went to Pennsylvania" (about 1756).

*Ellerstadt (Kreis Neustadt)*

23. In a Property Inventory of Ellerstadt from the year 1781 it is reported of JOHANN CASPAR HUBER—son of Michael Huber of Ellerstadt and his wife Anna Barbara—"living in Philadelphia and 44 years old; he has been absent from here 18 years." [*Casper Huber, Ship Chance, November 1, 1763.*]

*Elschbach (Kreis Kusel)*

24. JOHANN GEORG JUNG—son of Hermann Jung of Elschbach and his wife Anna Margaretha—"living in the New Land" (Document dated 1754).

*Freckenfeld (Kreis Germersheim)*

25. JOHANN HAHN—son of Jacob Hahn of Freckenfeld and his wife Ottilia Eichenlaub—"went to the New Land." CONRAD HAHN, brother of the preceding, single, "to the New Land." JOHANN JACOB HAHN, brother of the two preceding emigrants, "in the New Land." The later was baptized at Freckenfeld February 9, 1727. An Inventory of September 11, 1754, lists all three persons as emigrated before that date.

26. GEORG DIERWAECHTER, baptized at Freckenfeld, February 13, 1724, and JOHANN ERHARD DIERWAECHTER—sons of Peter Dierwaechter of Freckenfeld and his wife Anna Catharina Hummel—"who both went to the so-called New Land or Pennsylvania" (about 1751). [*Ehrhardt Thuervaechter, Ship Janet, October 7, 1751.*]

27. MARGARETHA APFEL—daughter of Georg Apfel of Freckenfeld and his wife Anna Catharina Gruber—"wife of MICHAEL HERRMAN, former citizen at Candel, who went to the New Land" (Document dated 1755). [Presumably *Michel Herrmann, Ship Richard & Mary, September 30, 1754.*]

28. GEORG BAUR—son of the citizen and beadle Jacob Baur of Freckenfeld and his wife Anna Catharina Klein—"who went to the New Land" (Document dated June 10, 1761).

*Freinsheim (Kreis Neustadt)*

29. MICHEL REZER—son of the cooper Theobald Rezer of Freinsheim and his wife Anna Maria Held—"who went away in the year 1756 to Pennsylvania."

30. JOHANN NICLAUS BACH—son of Sebastian Bach, who died at Freinsheim in 1753—"who is now, however, in Pennsylvania" (Document dated June 25, 1768). Niclaus Bach was a resident of the city of New York, as appears from a letter written from there. [Possibly *Nickel Bach, Ship Adventure, September 25, 1754.*]

31. JOHANN PETER WEILBRENNER—son of Georg Daniel Weilbrenner, citizen and master butcher at Freinsheim and his wife Catharina Hilb—went to America in 1753 and settled at Boucherville near Montreal. In a document dated at Montreal, June 12, 1781, he renounced his share of the property that had fallen to him, in favor of his brothers and sisters. At the same time there was in Montreal JOHANN JACOB MAURER, born at Kriegsfeld in the Palatinate, Captain of the Second Battalion of the King's Royal Regiment, of New York. In a letter of his brother, from Heidelberg, he is "described as overseer of the Royal British ships in Canada."

*Freisbach (Kreis Germersheim)*

32. JOHANN THOMAS KERN, baptized at Freisbach,—September 19, 1700,—son of Peter Kern of Freisbach—"went to Pennsylvania"—married at Freisbach, February 17, 1733, Maria Margaretha—daughter of Michel Jopp of Ottersheim. Children, born at Freisbach: 1. Johann Christoph, born January 25, 1736—"to Pennsylvania." 2. Anna Elisabeth, born November 20, 1733—"to Pennsylvania." [*Johann Thomas Kern, Ship Samuel, August 30, 1737.*]

33. JACOB PETER MUENCH, born at Freisbach June 28, 1733—son of Peter Muench and wife Christina—"to Pennsylvania". JOHANN GEORG MUENCH, born at Freisbach September 27, 1731—son of the same parents—"to Pennsylvania." PHILIPP SIMON MUENCH, born August 25, 1728 at Freisbach—son of the same parents—"to Pennsylvania." [Presumably *Hans Georg Muenig, Ship Jacob, October 2, 1749; Simon Minch, Ship Brotherhood, November 3, 1750.*]

*Grossbundenbach (Kreis Zweibruecken)*

34. GEORG DELLER—son of Georg Deller of Grossbundenbach—"who went to the New Land" (Document dated April 4, 1761). [*Johann Georg Deller, Ship Dragon, September 26, 1749.*]

35. PETER LUGENBIEHL—son of Kilian Lugenbuehl of Grossbundenbach—"who emigrated to America in the year 1750." [*Peter Lugenbuehl, Ship Brotherhood, November 3, 1750.*]

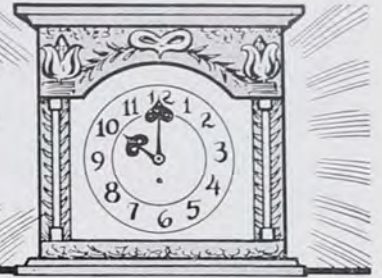
36. GEORG PETER ECKEL—son of Michael Eckel of Grossbundenbach and his wife Anna Catharina Keller—"in America" (Document dated March 22, 1764). [*Georg Peter Eckel, Ship Richard & Mary, September 26, 1752.*]

37. JULIANA BACH—daughter of Albrecht Bach, Sr., of Alststadt—"who was married to JOHANN GEORG ECKEL at Grossbundenbach, who went to the New Land" (Inventory of 1756).



# The Zehn-uhr Schtick

By Olive G. Zehner



"Plain and Fancy"

It has been almost two years now since I first told you of the musical comedy about the Amish, "Plain and Fancy." Well, I got the wish that I expressed in my last "Zehn-uhr Schtick," and I can report to you that it is a big hit on Broadway. It received a hearty reception in Philadelphia and it is now at the Winter Garden Theatre in New York. Recently the papers have announced that major motion picture studios are interested in the show. I only hope that Hollywood will treat them as gently and sympathetically as the theatre has in this case—where one laughs *with* the Amish *not at* them.

It is such a wholesome, gay, glowing and, at times, deeply sensual, fast-moving show that you may even want to see it more than once. At least, I felt that I had to do just that in order to review it for you. I had seen one of the final rehearsals in New York and saw two performances in Philadelphia.

Perhaps the very first thing to mention about the show is the expert casting of the characters. It was wise to pass up the big name stars, for as far as the audience it concerned the folks on the stage could really be Amish. None of the actors has been previously "typed" in the mind of the public. The girls are all beautiful in the fragile, classic, madonna-like way of the real Amish women that I know. The men have the sufficient rural sturdiness of the male of the actual Amish country.

The next item to be mentioned should be the sets and costumes by Raoul Pene duBois. Here the colorful tradition of the Pennsylvania Dutch is upheld in a way that should make us all proud. The main characters wear traditional Amish garb, but the chorus wears muted shades of harvest-time—greens, yellows, browns, wine, orange, and red in the most unusual combinations. The opening curtain is a very cleverly done map of the Amish country and a dot of light follows the route of the New York couple lost

in the area. Another superbly done curtain shows a row of trees and has silken tassels interspersed with the painted leaves to simulate the shimmer of sunlight shining through them. I didn't particularly care for another curtain with scrawny crow-like birds all over it. It wasn't very well painted and neither was a back-lighted frame around the stage with vines, flowers and birds. They may have been well conceived, but poorly executed. Quite a bit was done with silhouettes in the background with gradually heightening lights bringing in a scene. There is a breathtaking scene when the entire cast is motionless on the stage as the curtain rises, and is poised, in Amish garb, ready to break into song praising the "Plenty of Pennsylvania." Another well treated scene shows Katie and her Papa in the family buggy jogging happily home while Katie wistfully sings "It Wonders Me."

The choreography is excellent. I know that I have never seen better. The critics all, without exception, agree that Miss Tamiris has produced the very best. She has especially done well in a delightful little interlude called "By Lantern Light"—where four Amish couples go courting in the meadow by the barn with glowing lanterns.

Mr. Morton DaCosta's directing is very hard to find fault with all through the show. I suppose it is a combination of directing, acting by Stephan Schnabel, and music by Albert Hague that produces the most moving scene of all—when, with the male chorus, "Papa Yoder" sings "Plain We Live." This alone is worth going to the show to see. A barn raising scene is a gay contrast to the above, and is most exciting to see. It doesn't seem important that this is not a typical Amish barn. It is a bank-type barn, painted red, with "hex signs" and a hipped roof. Amish barns never have "hex signs," have straight roofs, and are rarely, if ever, painted red.

It is with the book of the show that I have the most fault to find—none of it too serious, however. But it is just enough to keep the show from being the very best thing that ever hit Broadway and being better than Oklahoma. The "Fancy" part is too strong a concession to Broadway. My feeling is that the little Amish girl, Hilda, should never be allowed to get involved so deeply in the carnival scene, and most important of all, she should never be allowed to appear at the final curtain disheveled and bedraggled in stolen, worldly garb. At least the writers could get her back into white prayer covering (cap) and Amish blue dress, cape and apron before her stern Papa sees her and before the final curtain goes down on a gentle and dignified portrayal of the life of a pastoral, peasant-like American folk.

I fail to see why the producer, the writers and staff did not dare to be different all the way. Theatre goers can see the "honky-tonk" type of stuff in any number of shows on Broadway anytime, why should they demand it in this show, especially when they are getting a glimpse of what many of them drive miles to see (and can never see as well)—Amish life! I can't help but feel that some of the "honky-tonk"



Katie and Hilda played by Gloria Marlow and Barbara Cook. "Hilda" is not a typical Amish name. Miss Cook's own name, Barbara, would have been more typical. The prayer coverings (white caps) look more like Pilgrim caps than Old Order Amish. They are not nearly so becoming as the real thing.





The entire cast of "Plain and Fancy" in the barn raising scene. A beautiful white rooster weather-vane is raised to the peak of the roof in a dramatic climax to the ballet.

### In Canada

time could have been better devoted to the deleted "Shunning ballet" which would have woven into the pattern of the show much smoother than did the other.

There are besides a few minor details that could easily be corrected.

### New Books

The latest yearbook of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society has just come out. It is a book on Pennsylvania German Tombstones by Dr. Preston A. Barba and is one of the best things this organization has ever done. Its greatest charm lies in the fine, clear drawings by Mrs. Barba. Dr. Barba has used quite a representative selection to bring to your attention. While I have never agreed that there is great symbolism implied in Pennsylvania Dutch folk art, and thus differ with some of Dr. Barba's views, I feel that he has done an excellent and interesting job with the text. It was a volume long awaited by many of us, and a much needed one, and I feel that it has lived up to our great expectations.

The Schwenkfelder Library at Pennsburg, under the direction of Andrew Berky, is doing an interesting series of very unusual publications. The latest of these is a nostalgic little booklet of turn-of-the-century photographs from the collection of the late H. Winslow Fegley, a native of Hereford where most of the photos were taken. There is an interesting commentary by Mr. Berky that weaves the pictures together and makes it a charming keepsake.

Speaking of publications, our Folklore Center is about to release the 1955 Tourist Guide to the Dutch Country, greatly enlarged over last year's, which was an overwhelming success, proving the great need and demand for such a publication.

A most beautiful product of the printers and binders craft has just been released as the most recent publication of the Pennsylvania German Society. It is titled "Practitioner in Physick," a biography of Abraham Wagner 1717-1763, and is skilfully written by Andrew Berky of the Schwenkfelder Library under whose auspices the book was printed. I wish there were more time and space to give it the praise it deserves.

I spent several days in December in the Area of the Twenty in Ontario, where I spoke at the annual meeting of the Jordan Historical Society and Historical Museum, and another day to the local chapter of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society. In that brief visit I caught glimpses of untold and untapped wealth of lore and folk art, notably in textiles and weaving. I also showed a few of my slides of Pennsylvania to four schools of the area. They were much intrigued with the fact that the people in Pennsylvania paint bright circles and stars on their big red barns. Now boys and girls in Ontario are drawing colorful Barn Signs and Hex Signs in their art projects at school.

### Distelfink Naval Unit

Last month the Berks County recruiting office of the Philadelphia Naval District enlisted a company of over 90 Pennsylvania Dutch recruits to form the Distelfink Company. The Folklore Center acted as advisor to the group. LeRoy Gensler, who does the layout and design for the *Dutchman*, created the emblem for the company—an alert little Distelfink in "bell-bottom trousers."



Distelfink Insignia

### Personalia

Congratulations to Dr. Donald A. Shelley who is the new director of the Ford Museum and Greenfield Village at Dearborn, Michigan. Dr. Shelley is an authority on Pennsylvania fractur and illuminated manuscripts. George O. Bird, one of his assistants, (formerly curator of the Berks County Historical Society) has received a fellowship to study at the Corning Glass Center.

Dr. Henry S. Borneman, a well-known Philadelphia lawyer and former president of the Pennsylvania German Society, passed away on Jan. 12 of this year. Dr. Borneman is well-known for his two volumes on illuminated manuscripts from his own collection—the most recent one "Pennsylvania German Bookplates" was reviewed in this column recently.



