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Karl J. R. Arndt, Donald Graves, Michael Colby, Paul McGill, Nancy K. Gaugler, Harry E. Chrisman, and William T. Parsons

Pennsylvania

Folklife

Spring
1986

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America.

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.— That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such Principles and organizing its Powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the urgent necessity of their case, that a firm and unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America is hereby published, in the name and in behalf of the good People of these Colonies, professing a Christian Religion, in support of the Rights and Liberties of the Colonies, and in support of the Union and Amity among them, and in support of the Peace and Safety of the whole World.

July 5, 1776: The First Announcement of American Independence.

Philadelphia, den 5 July.
Gestern hat der Sichtbare Congreß dieses Vesten Landes die Vereinigten Colonien Freye und Unabhängige Staaten erklärt.

Die Declaration in Englisch ist jetzt in der Presse; sie ist datirt, den 4ten July, 1776, und wird heut oder morgen im Druck erscheinen.

Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote

He has refused to assent to Acts of the British Parliament, and to suspend of his assent to Laws passed by the Kings two Houses, and to dissolve the Representatives chosen by the People. He has refused to assent to Acts of the British Parliament, and to suspend of his assent to Laws passed by the Kings two Houses, and to dissolve the Representatives chosen by the People.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the good People of these Colonies, professing a Christian Religion, in support of the Rights and Liberties of the Colonies, and in support of the Union and Amity among them, and in support of the Peace and Safety of the whole World, do hereby declare, that these Colonies are united States, free, sovereign, independent, equal with all other States, and at the same time joined to them by the ties of friendship, commerce, and mutual assistance, and that we do hereby declare, that these Colonies are united States, free, sovereign, independent, equal with all other States, and at the same time joined to them by the ties of friendship, commerce, and mutual assistance.

John Hooper
Joseph Hewes
John Penn

John Hancock

Robert Morris
Benjamin Rush
Benjamin Franklin
John Adams
George Washington
Thomas Jefferson
James Wilson

John Adams
Robert Paine
Thomas Jefferson
James Wilson
George Washington
Benjamin Franklin
Benjamin Franklin
Benjamin Franklin

William Gwinnett
Lynch Hall
Geo. Walton

George Wythe
Richard Henry Lee
George Mason

John Jay
John Jay
John Jay
John Jay

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CONTRIBUTORS
(Inside front cover)

COVER:

*The first announcement that American Independence had been declared appeared July 5, 1776, in Henrich Miller's **Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote**.*

Layout and Special Photography
William K. Munro

THE FIRST GERMAN BROADSIDE AND NEWSPAPER PRINTING OF THE AMERICAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

by Karl J. R. Arndt

Philadelphia, den 5 July.
Gestern hat der Achtbare Congress
dieses Vesten Landes die
Vereinigten Colonien Freye
und Unabhangige Staaten
erklaret.

Die Declaration in Englisch ist jetzt in der
Presse; sie ist datirt, den 4ten July, 1776, und
wird heut oder morgen im Druck erscheinen.

In the July 5, 1776 issue of his *Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote*, Henrich Miller printed the following epoch-making announcement:

Philadelphia, den 5 July.
Gestern hat der Achtbare Congress
dieses Vesten Landes die Vereinig-
ten Colonien freye und Unabhangige
Staaten erklaret.

Die Declaration in Elgisch ist
jetzt in der Presse; sie ist datirt,
den 4ten July, 1776, und wird heut
oder morgen im Druck erscheinen.

This was the first announcement in any newspaper that American Independence had been declared, and this was in the German language, which at that time was our nation's second official language. The first part of the news item was in larger bold type, to make it stand out from the rest of the column. Its translation says: "Philadelphia July 5. Yesterday the honorable Congress of this Continent declared the United Colonies free and independent states. The Declaration in English is now in the press; it is dated July 4, 1776, and will appear in print today or tomorrow."

Miller's *Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote* was published on Fridays and Tuesdays, and the above notice came on a Friday, so he still had until Tuesday to prepare a German translation of the Declaration for his next issue. Isaiah Thomas states that Miller had engaged Charles Cist as his translator into German, so we may conclude that Cist prepared the German translation which Miller published in the next issue of his paper on July 9th, 1776 in beautiful German headlines with the full text filling the first and half of the second page.¹ He showed a greater understanding for the importance of the Declaration than his Anglo-American fellow journalists who published the text of the Declaration before him, according to Clarence Brigham's list of newspaper publications of the Declaration.²

When Miss May Olson and I published our first volume of *The German Language Press of the Americas*, we, of course, included not only facsimile reprints of Miller's first newspaper publication in German of the Declaration of Independence, but also his first announcement in any newspaper that independence

had been declared. We knew that at that time there were at least two other excellent German-American printers in Philadelphia, Saur and Steiner & Cist, who might have preceded Miller's publications, but we did not have any evidence, so in our introductions to our volumes we asked our readers to send us any corrections or new findings to what we had printed. Above all, we asked for continued research at local levels in the project in which we were engaged. This actually was a continuation of Oswald Seidensticker's *The First Century of German Printing in America*,³ only we first concentrated on the newspaper phase of Seidensticker because we there found most interest and possibility of publication resulting from our research. We, however, never abandoned the idea of revising and enlarging Seidensticker's great bibliography. We learned of Wilbur Oda's extensive attempt to revise and extend Seidensticker, which he was unable to complete, so we persuaded his widow to send her husband's unfinished manuscript to us in order that we might make an attempt to complete it. This was done and we applied to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in 1973 for assistance in this project. Because this Foundation informed us that it could not grant support to non-Germans, we at their suggestion arranged with a German institution in Stuttgart to which we had been helpful in the difficult times of U. S. Military Government to administer the funds which would provide a German librarian with a full time salary for work under our direction. Because this did not work out, the project was transferred to the University of Göttingen, where an arrangement was made with Dr. Vogt, whereby he

and the author of this article were to be joint editors of the *Revised and Enlarged Seidensticker*. In this way we were able to obtain the full time assistance of a very capable German bibliographer from the University of Göttingen to devote his full time to field research in the U.S.A. This was Werner Tannhof. At the very start of his work in this country we impressed on him our interest in finding new material on the German translation and publication of the American Declaration of Independence, because we were convinced that such material did exist. Our request for such further research at local levels had not been heard or noticed as widely as we had hoped because interest in this search was lacking and our appeal had not reached the smaller libraries which had not purchased our volumes on the German language press. Although, as our publisher informed us, twenty-five libraries in Japan ordered our three volumes for their reference sections, American libraries apparently do not share such extensive interest for their reference divisions.

Mr. Werner Tannhof did not rely on correspondence in his research but personally visited also small libraries in his quest for new holdings. Thus he came to Gettysburg College Library and there with the help of Nancy Scott of their rare book section found what appeared to be a German broadside of the Declaration. After long correspondence and several photocopies and photographs of German documents which at Gettysburg were mistaken for the copy of the Declaration we were searching for, we finally obtained a photograph of the German translation of the Declaration of Independence which we had specifically requested. It is slightly damaged at the center by inept repair but we present it here in its present form for the edification and delight of American Antiquarians. We have done considerable research on the document and in the following give our reasons for considering this although undated document the first printing in German of the American Declaration of Independence.

At first glance a comparison of this broadside with Miller's printing on July 9th in Arndt and Olson⁴ will show great similarity, but a closer examination will prove that the two printings are from different typesettings from different fonts. The translations in German also vary, although only slightly. These similarities and slight variations can readily be explained because both translations were by Charles Cist. On the authority of Isaiah Thomas⁵ we know that Charles Cist was employed by Miller as his translator and by the printer's statement at the bottom of the broadside we know that Cist had a hand in the publication of it. Before we go on let us identify Charles Cist. A sketch of his life and activity in the *Dictionary of American Biography*⁶ informs us that he was born in 1738 in St. Petersburg, Russia, and that Charles Jacob Sigismund Thiel and Anna

Thomasson Thiel were his parents. Russia at that time was ruled by Catherine the Great, a person of German birth who brought the influence of German culture to bear on Russia, and Charles Cist for that reason received an excellent education. He was trained in pharmacy and medicine, graduating from the University of Halle as a doctor of medicine. Having come into conflict with the rule of Catherine the Great, so it seems, he found it advisable to emigrate to the United States in 1769. At that time he changed his name to Cist which the initials of his own name formed. He settled in Philadelphia where he was employed by Henry Miller as a translator of English into German. While so engaged he acquired a knowledge of the printer's trade and finally, in December, 1775, he entered into partnership with Melchior Steiner who was the son of the Reform Minister Conrad Steiner of Philadelphia. Melchior Steiner had also learned the printer's craft from Miller. The new firm of Steiner & Cist published works in English and German and was located in Second Street at the corner of Coats' Alley. They soon acquired the reputation of being good and correct printers of books and job work.

We know from Frederick Goff's *The John Dunlap Broadside, The First Printing of the Declaration of Independence*,⁷ and Julian Boyd's *The Declaration of Independence: The Mystery of the Lost Original*,⁸ that Dunlap's broadside edition of the Declaration of Independence on July 5th was the first printing of that important document. Both seem to have been unaware of Miller's first important announcement cited above that independence had been declared.

We know from Miller's statement in Dunlap's *Pennsylvania Packet* in which Miller protested the robbery of his press during the occupation of Philadelphia, that Dunlap and Miller were friends and patriotic Americans.⁹

We know from Miller's first announcement on July 5th that Independence had been declared and that the Declaration was in English and in the press and would appear "today," that is July 5th, or "tomorrow," that is July 6th. Dunlap's broadside did appear on July 5th. This shows that Miller was informed about the eager haste with which Dunlap had been working.

We know that Charles Cist and Melchior Steiner were printers of broadsides for proclamations of the government as early as February 1776,¹⁰ and as late as May 1777.¹¹

We know from Isaiah Thomas that Charles Cist was engaged by Henrich Miller as his translator into German.¹²

We know from the undated German copy of the Declaration bearing the names of Steiner & Cist that they printed the Declaration as a broadside.

We know that Dunlap printed his text of the Declara-

tion first as a broadside and as a newspaper publication only on July 8th in his *Pennsylvania Packet* and that the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* was thus the first newspaper to print the Declaration on July 6th.¹³

Dunlap therefore considered it more important to publish the Declaration quickly as a broadside, rather than wait until he could print it in his newspaper which appeared July 8th, although this gave the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* the honor of being the first newspaper to print the Declaration in English.

On the basis of these dated facts, is it not logical to consider the Steiner & Cist broadside in German translation a printing that came before Miller's on July 9th, although not dated? Charles Cist was Miller's translator and also his own.

The American revolutionary forces were always eager to publish official pronouncements in German as quickly as possible to reach the German speaking American public. They even sent a German appeal to German groups in Quebec inviting them to send delegates to the Continental Congress.¹⁴ Would Cist have let Friday, Saturday, Sunday and Monday pass and wait until Tuesday for Miller to print the text in his *Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote*, and then only for his subscribers? If Dunlap was in haste to get out his broadside before he printed the text in his *Pennsylvania Packet* on July 8th, is it not logical that Steiner & Cist would make haste to get out their German broadside as quickly as it could be translated? A comparison of the two German printings shows great similarity but also that they were from different fonts. They also show differences in the translation, although minor.

As an experienced translator into German of American legal documents, and in view of the above facts as presented, we would place the date of printing of the Steiner & Cist German broadside of the American Declaration of Independence as between July 6th and 9th, the date of Miller's publication in the *Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote*, probably the 6th of July 1776, and would say that Miller's printing was a translation by Cist with slight changes in wording made after reading the German broadside version of the Declaration.

I do not believe that a German copy of the Declaration could have been expected from the excellent Saur press, because he was too much a Biblical Fundamentalist and opposed to a revolution. Miller's statement published in Dunlap's *Pennsylvania Packet* in July 1778 proves that Saur was not inclined to publish such worldly and revolutionary news. After all, Saur's three printings of the Bible in German, the first printings of the Bible in this country except a translation in Algonquin, a fact of which he was very proud, show that his interests were not political, as were those of Dunlap, Miller and Steiner & Cist.

Steiner & Cist were both recognized printers of the

government in America, so because of the urgency of this epoch-making proclamation, the two would have been impelled by the revolutionary character of the news to publish their German broadside as soon as possible, and the 6th being a Saturday, and the day after Dunlap's broadside, this date of publication is not too early for translation and printing in German.

In spite of a time span of two centuries separating Charles Cist from the author of this article, there is a feeling of kinship remaining to be explained. While Cist was the translator into German of the American Declaration of Independence, the author of this article is the first translator into German of this country's first treaty with Germany, namely *The Treaty of Amity and Commerce of 1785 between His Majesty the King of Prussia and the United States of America*.¹⁵ Frederick the Great thought little of the German language and his version of this treaty was in French, the language he admired, although this was the period of great German writers. Our country's founding fathers, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin and John Adams, however, insisted that their version of the treaty be expressed in the AMERICAN LANGUAGE, note well, THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE because with the Declaration the name of our country's language had become AMERICAN. Due to this situation, the Germans had to wait until 1977 before they could read this first treaty in the language of Luther and Schiller. This German translation was first published in the trilingual definitive edition of the treaty in Munich by the Moos Verlag. At the celebration of the Tricentennial of German settlement in this country a copy was, therefore, presented to the President of Germany and to the Vice President of the U.S.A. in Philadelphia.

There is at present much uninformed concern about the future of our language. In Illinois a bill was presented to call our language THE AMERICAN and in the Congress of this nation another to make our language officially THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. If our legislators will take the trouble to read our first treaty with Frederick the Great, which formerly hung in the office of the Secretary of State, they will be able to convince themselves that our Founding Fathers settled this question before they were called to their eternal reward.

In conclusion, let me appeal to all readers to search for new original copies of the American Declaration of Independence in German. There must be copies around, perhaps even by other German-American printers because, after all, Gutenberg's tradition came to our country with the German immigrants three hundred years ago. You, my honored fellow Americans, may discover the hidden copy or copies.

Finally, for your convenience, in the following pages we have reprinted the first English-American printing of the Declaration of Independence as a Broadside and in a

newspaper in such a manner that you can readily compare these with the first German-American printings as a broadside and then as a newspaper. You will notice that Steiner and Cist followed John Dunlap's headlines exactly, which was not a simple thing when translating from English to German, but not only Steiner and Cist but also Henry Miller in the best Gutenberg tradition managed to improve on John Dunlap so as to give their headlines more beauty and impressive dignity suitable to the epoch-making Declaration they were honored to publish. This feeling is outspoken in the last words of Miller's report of the first public reading of the Declaration with which we conclude this article. Happy hunting!

ENDNOTES

¹Karl J. R. Arndt and May Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas* (Munich, 1976), I, frontispiece. This reference work has now increased to 3 volumes, the third includes many rare German-American broadsides of the Revolutionary period, including some from Steiner and Cist, who also published a German grammar in 1788. Since the death of my excellent and faithful collaborator Miss Olson, Miss Ruth Blair of the staff of the Connecticut Historical Society has assisted in the continuation of this reference work. Her

research assistance has also contributed substantially to this research, and a fourth volume of the Arndt and Olson series constituting a Biographical Dictionary of German-American journalists and printers is in progress.

²Clarence S. Brigham, *Journals and Journeymen* (Philadelphia, 1950), 58.

³Oswald Seidensticker, *The First Century of German Printing in America, 1728-1830* (Philadelphia, 1893).

⁴Arndt and Olson, I, frontispiece.

⁵Marcus A. McCorison, ed., *The History of Printing in America* (New York, 1970), 404.

⁶Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1930), IV, 108.

⁷Frederick R. Goff, *The John Dunlap Broadside, The First Printing of the Declaration of Independence* (Washington, 1976).

⁸Julian P. Boyd, "The Declaration of Independence: The Mystery of the Lost Original," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, (October, 1976), C, 443.

⁹Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas* (Munich, 1980), III, 83.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 57.

¹¹Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress 1774-1789* (Washington, 1907), VII, 325.

¹²McCorison, 404.

¹³Brigham, 58.

¹⁴U. S. Continental Congress, *Ein Schreiben An die Einwohner der Provinz Quebec* (Philadelphia, 1774).

¹⁵Karl J. R. Arndt, *The Treaty of Amity and Commerce of 1785 between His Majesty the King of Prussia and the United States of America* (Munich, 1977).

TRANSLATION OF REPORT OF READING OF DECLARATION, JULY 8, 1776

Bestern mittag um zwölff uhr wurde die Erklärung von Unabhängigkeit, welche vorn in dieser Zeitung steht, in dem hiesigen Staatsbamb Hofe, auf einem erhabenen gerüste in Englischer Sprache öffentlich verkündigt und dadurch die Vereinigten Colonien von Nord-America von aller dem Könige von Großbritannien hiebevör geleisteten pflicht und treuergebenheit von nun an und künftigh gänzlich frey, ledig und losgesprochen. Die Verkündigung geschah durch den Herrn Obersten Nixon, mit dem Herrn Scheriff William Dewees zu seiner seite; in beyseyn vieler Glieder des Congresses, der Assembly, der Generals und anderer hohen Kriegsbeamten; unten im Hofe waren vielleicht einige tausend menschen, die dieser feyerlichen begebenheit bewohneten. Nach verlesung der Erklärung, wurde ein dreomaliges freudengeschrey gemacht, mit den Worten: Gott segne die Freyen Staaten von Nord-America! Hiezu kan und wird wol ein jeder echter freund dieser Colonien Ja und Amen sagen.

Yesterday noon at 12 o'clock the Declaration of Independence which is printed in front of this newspaper, was publicly declared in the English language from an elevated platform in the court of the Statehouse here, and thereby the United Colonies of North America from now on and in the future declared to be completely free, separate, and cut off, and separated from all duty and obligation of loyalty heretofore shown the King of Great Britain. The Declaration was made through Colonel Nixon, with sheriff Dewees at his side; in the presence of many members of Congress, the Assembly, generals, and other high war officials; below in the courtyard there were some other thousands of people attending this solemn occasion. After the reading of the Declaration, a threefold cry of joy issued forth in the words: God bless the free states of North America! To this probably every true friend of these Colonies can and will say: Yes and Amen.

Im Congress, den 4ten July, 1776.

Eine Erklärung durch die Repräsentanten der Vereinigten Staaten von America, im General-Congress versammelt.

Wenn es im Lauf menschlicher Daseynheiten für ein Volk nöthig wird die politischen Bande, wodurch es mit einem andern verknüpft gewesen, zu trennen und unter den Mächten der Erden eine absonderte und gleiche Stelle einzunehmen, wozu selbiges die Geseze der Natur und des Ortes der Natur berechtigen, so erfordert Anstand und Achtung für die Meinungen des menschlichen Geschlechtes, daß es die Ursachen anzeige, wodurch es zur Trennung getrieben wird.

Wir halten diese Wahrheiten für ausgemacht, daß alle Menschen gleich erschaffen worden, daß sie von ihrem Schöpfer mit gewissen unveräußerlichen Rechten begabt worden, worunter sind Leben, Freiheit und das Bestreben nach Glückseligkeit. Daß zur Vertheidigung dieser Rechte Regierungen unter den Menschen eingeführt worden sind, welche ihre aechte Gewalt von der Einwilligung der Regierten herleiten; daß sobald einmal Regierungsform diesen Endzwecken verderblich wird, es das Recht des Volkes ist sie zu verändern oder abzuschieffen, und eine neue Regierung einzusetzen, die auf solche Grundzüge gegründet, zu deren Macht und Gewalt solchergestalt gebildet wird, als ihnen zur Erhaltung ihrer Sicherheit und Glückseligkeit am schnellsten zu thun dünket. Zwar gebietet Klugheit, daß von langer Zeit her eingeführte Regierungen nicht um leichter und vergänglich Ursachen willen verändert werden sollen; und demnach hat die Erfahrung von jeher gezeigt, daß Menschen, so lang das Uebel noch zu ertragen ist, lieber leiden und dulden wollen, als sich durch Auflösung solcher Regierungsformen, zu denen sie gewöhnt sind, selbst Recht und Hülfe verschaffen. Wenn aber eine lange Reihe von Mißhandlungen und gewaltsamen Eingriffen, auf dem und eben den Gegenstand unabhängig gerichtet, einen Anschlag an den Tod legt sich unter unauflösliche Verantwortlichkeit zu bringen, so ist es ihre Pflicht, ja ihre Pflicht, solche Regierungen abzumersetzen, und sich für ihre künftige Sicherheit neue Gewalten zu verschaffen. Dies war die Ursache, weshalb sie sich von dem britischen Reichthum, welches sie zu verändern. Die Geschichte des jenseits des Ozeans von Großbritannien keine Geschichte von wiederholten Ungerechtigkeiten und gewaltsamen Eingriffen, welche alle die Grundsätze einer absoluten Tyrannie über diese Staaten zum araben Endzweck haben. Das ist bewiesen, wenn wir der menschlichen Welt folgende Facta vorlegen:

Er hat seine Einwilligung zu dem heillosen und zum Dessestlichen Wohl nöthige von Verboten verweigert.

Er hat seinen Unterthanen verbotene, Gesetze von unverjährlicher und dringender Wichtigkeit heraus zu geben, so lang keine Kraft haben sollen, bis seine Zustimmung erhalten würde; und wenn ihre Kraft und Gültigkeit so aufgehoben ward, hat er solche baldigst aus der Acht gelassen.

Er hat sich gewagt andere Geseze zu betrautigen zur Bequemlichkeit von großen Theilen von Leuten, wozu diese Leute das Recht der Repräsentation in der Befestigung wider fallen lassen wollten, ein Recht, das ihnen unschätzbar, und nur Tyrannen schädlich ist.

Er hat Gesandte Körper an ungewöhnlichen, unbecuemen und von der Niedrigkeit ihrer öffentlichen Ämtern entfernten Plätzen zusammen berufen, zu dem Einbürgerung um sie so lange zu plagen, bis sie sich zu seinen Maßregeln bequemen würden.

Er hat die Häuser der Repräsentanten zu wiederholten Malen aufgehoben, daß sie mit männlicher Standhaftigkeit seinen gewaltsamen Eingriffen auf die Rechten des Volkes widerstanden haben.

Er hat, nach solchen Aufhebungen, sich eine lange Zeit widersetzt, daß andere erwählt werden sollten; wodurch die Gesezgebende Gewalt, die keiner Verminderung fähig ist, vom Volk überhaupt wiederum zur Ausübung zurück gefehrt ist; mittlerweile daß die Staat aller äußerlichen Gefahren und innerlicher Zerrüttungen unterworfen blieb.

Er hat die Vermehrung dieser Staaten zu verhindern gesucht; zu dem Zweck hat er die Geseze aus Naturursachen der Ausländer gehindert; andere, zur Verbesserung ihrer Auswanderung bisher, hat er sich gewagt heraus zu geben, und hat die Bedingungen für neue Anwesenungen von Landrücken erhöht.

Er ist der Vermehrung der Bevölkerung verächtlich gewesen, indem er seine Einwohner zu Gesezen verurtheilt hat, um Vertheidigung zu verschaffen.

Er hat Richter von seinem Willen allein abhängig gemacht, in Abseht auf die Befestigung ihrer Ämter, und den Verlauf und die Zahlung ihrer Gehalte.

Er hat eine Menge neuer Ämter errichtet, und einen Schwarm von Beamten hieher geschickt, um unsere Leute zu plagen, und das Mal ihres Vermögens zu verzeichnen.

Er hat unter uns in Friedenszeiten stehende Armeen gehalten, ohne die Zustimmung unserer Gesezgebungen.

Er hat sich bemühet die Kriegsmacht von der Bürgerlichen Macht unabhängig zu machen, ja über selbige zu erheben.

Er hat sich mit andern zusammen gethan um einer Vertheidigung, die unserer Landesverfassung ganz fremd ist, und die unsere Geseze nicht erkennen, zu unterwerfen; indem er seine Zustimmung zu ihren Acten angemachter Gesezgebung ertheilt hat, näml. Um große Haufen von bewaffneten Truppen bey und einzuliegen:

Um solche durch ein Schein-Verbot vor Bestrafung zu schützen für einige Missethaten, die sie an den Einwohnern dieser Staaten begehen würden;

Um unsere Handlung mit allen Theilen der Welt abzuscharben;

Um Taren auf uns zu legen, ohne unsere Einwilligung;

Um uns in vielen Fällen der Wohlthat eines Verbots durch eine Tarn zu berauben;

Um uns über See zu führen, für angegebene Verbrechen gerichtlich zu werden;

Um das freie System Englischer Geseze in einer benachbarten Provinz abzuschaffen, eine willkürliche Regierung darin einzusetzen, und deren Grenzen anzusetzen, um selbige in gleicher Zeit zu einem Empiret sowohl als auch zu einem verbotenen Werkzeug zu machen, nicht die absolute Regierung in diese Colonien einzuführen;

Um unsere Freyheitsbriefe uns zu entziehen, unsere kostbaren Geseze abzuschaffen, und die Form unserer Regierungen von Grund aus zu verändern;

Um unsere eigenen Gesezgebungen aufzuheben, und sich selbst zu erklären, als wenn sie mit voller Macht verfaßt wären, uns in allen Fällen Geseze vorzujubeln;

Er hat die Regierung alhier abberufen, indem er uns außer seinen Gehorsam erklärt hat, und gegen uns Krieg führt.

Er hat unsere Eren gelindert, unsere Küsten verheert, unsere Städte verbrannt, und unser Volk ums Leben gebracht.

Er ist, zu dieser Zeit, beschiffen mit Herberufsenden großer Truppen von fremden Kriegsknechten, um die Werke des Todes, der Zerstörung und Tyrannie zu vollziehen, die bereits mit solchen Umständen von Grausamkeit und Zerklopftheit angefangen worden, welche selbst in der barbarischsten Zeiten ihres Ueberlebens nicht finden, und dem Haufe einer geliterten Nation gänzlich unähnlich sind.

Er hat unsere auf der hohen See gefangene Mißbürger gezwungen die Waffen zu lassen, und hat sie in die Hände ihrer Feinde und Brüder zu werfen, ohne von ihnen einen Tod zu erwarten.

Er hat unter uns häusliche Empörungen und Aufrände erregt, und selbst über unsere Gesez-Einwohner die unheimlichsten wilden Indianer zu bringen, deren barbarischer Gebrauch den Krieg zu führen ist, ohne Unterschied von Alter, Geschlecht und Stand, alles niederzujammeln.

Auf jeder Stufe dieser Drangsale haben wir in den demüthigsten Ausdrücken und Hülfe und Erleichterung gesucht; unsere wiederholten Bittschriften sind nur durch wiederholte Beleidigungen beantwortet worden. Ein Fürst, dessen Character so sehr jedes einen Tyrannen unterscheidendes Merkmal trägt, ist unfähig der Regier eines freien Volkes zu seyn.

Auch haben wir es nicht an unserer Achtsamkeit gegen unsere Britische Brüder ermangeln lassen: Wir haben ihnen von Zeit zu Zeit Warnung ertheilt von den Verheerungen ihrer Gesezgebung eine unverantwortlich Verantwortlichkeit über uns anzunehmen. Wir haben ihnen die Umstände unserer Auswanderung und unserer Niederlassung außer zu Gemüthe geführt. Wir haben uns zu ihrer angebarnen Mordthatigkeit und Grolmuth gewandt, und sie ben den Banden unserer gemeinschaftlichen Verwandtschaft beschworen, diese gewaltsamen Eingriffe zu mißbilligen, welche unsere Verfassung und unsern Verkehr mit einander unvermeidlich unterbrechen würden. Auch sie sind gegen die Stimme der Gerechtigkeit und Glaubwürdigkeit taub gewesen. Wir müssen uns derothalben die Nothwendigkeit gefallen lassen, welche unsere Trennung anständig, und sie, wie der Rest des menschlichen Geschlechtes, im Krieg für Feinde, im Frieden für Fremde, halten.

Indem wir, herablassen, die Repräsentanten der Vereinigten Staaten von America, im General-Congress versammelt, und wegen der Redlichkeit unserer Bestimmungen auf den allerhöchsten Richter der Welt berufen, so Verantwärtigen wir hienit freyerlich, und erklären, im Namen und aus Macht der guten Leute dieser Colonien, daß diese Vereinigten Colonien Freye und Unabhängige Staaten sind, und von Rechts wegen seyn sollen; daß sie von aller Pflicht und Verantwortung gegen die Britische Krone frey und losgesprochen sind, und daß alle politische Verbindung zwischen ihnen und dem Staat von Großbritannien hienit gänzlich aufgehoben ist, und aufgehoben seyn soll; und daß alle Freye und Unabhängige Staaten sie volle Macht und Gewalt haben, Krieg zu führen, Frieden zu machen, Allianzen zu schließen, Handlung zu errichten, und alles und jedes andere zu thun, was unabhängigen Staaten von Rechts wegen zukommt. Und zur Behauptung und Thierhaltung dieser Erklärung verpfänden wir, mit bestem Vertrauen auf den Schutz der Götlichen Vorsehung, uns unter einander unser Leben, unser Vermögen und unser geliebtes Ehrenwort.

Unterzeichnet auf Befehl und im Namen des Congresses,

John Hancock, Präsident.
Carl Thomson, Secretär.

[Philadelphia: Gedruckt bey Steiner und Cist, in der Dritten-Strass.]

First German printing of the American Declaration of Independence, courtesy of Gettysburg College, owner of the original. This German broadside was printed by Steiner and Cist probably the night of 5 July or early on 6 July 1776, because Miller's announcement as printed at the beginning of this article shows that he was well-informed about Dunlap's printing, and the government

was always eager to get out official notices to its German speaking citizens as quickly as possible. We urge all readers to note how exactly the German broadside and newspaper printings of the Declaration follow John Dunlap's first edition, while the Pennsylvania Evening Post, in its first printing, is less aware of the Gutenberg tradition.

Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote.

Diese Zeitung kommt alle Wochen zweymal heraus, näml. Dienstags und Freytags, für Sechs Schillinge des Jahrs.

N. B. All ADVERTISEMENTS to be inserted in this Paper, or printed single by HENRY MILLER, Publisher hereof, are by him translated gratis.

Im Congreß, den 4ten July, 1776.

Eine Erklärung durch die Repräsentanten der Bereinigten Staaten von America, im General Congreß versammelt.

Wenn es im Lauf menschlicher Begebenheiten für ein Volk nöthig wird die Politischen Bande, wodurch es mit einem andern verknüpft gewesen, zu trennen, und unter den Mächten der Erden eine abgeforderte und gleiche Stelle einzunehmen, wozu selbiges die Geseze der Natur und des Gottes der Natur berechtigen, so erfordern Anstand und Achtung für die Meinungen des menschlichen Geschlechtes, daß es die Ursachen anzeige, wodurch es zur Trennung getrieben wird.

Wir halten diese Wahrheiten für ausgemacht, daß alle Menschen gleich erschaffen worden, daß sie von ihrem Schöpfer mit gewissen unveräußerlichen Rechten begabt worden, worunter sind Freiheit und das Bestreben nach Glückseligkeit. Daß zur Verwirklichung dieser Rechte Nothwendigkeiten unter der Mithandlung eingeführt worden sind, welche ihre gerechte Gewalt von der Einwilligung derer die regiert werden, herleiten; daß sobald einige Regierungsform diesen Endzwecken verderblich wird, es das Recht des Volks ist sie zu verändern oder abzuschaffen, und eine neue Regierung einzusetzen, die auf solche Grundsätze gegründet, und deren Macht und Gewalt solchergestalt gebildet wird, als ihnen zur Erhaltung ihrer Sicherheit und Glückseligkeit am schicklichsten zu seyn dünket. Zwar gebietet Klugheit, daß von langer Zeit her eingeführte Regierungen nicht um leichter und vergänglichlicher Ursachen willen verändert werden sollen; und demnach hat die Erfahrung von jeher gezeigt, daß Menschen, so lang das Uebel noch zu ertragen ist, lieber leiden und dulden wollen, als sich durch Umfassung solcher Regierungsformen, zu denen sie gewöhnt sind, selbst Recht und Hilfe verschaffen. Wenn aber eine lange Reihe von Mißhandlungen und gewaltsamen Eingriffen, auf einen und eben den Gegenstand unablässig gerichtet, einen Anschlag an den Tag legt sie unter unumschränkte Herrschaft zu bringen, so ist es ihr Recht, ja ihre Pflicht, solche Regierung abzuwerfen, und sich für ihre künftige Sicherheit neue Gewähren zu verschaffen. Dies war die Weise, wie die Colonien ihre Leiden geduldig ertrugen; und so ist jetzt die Nothwendigkeit beschaffen, welche sie zwinget ihre vorigen Regierungs-Formen zu verändern. Die Geschichte des jetzigen Königs von Großbritannien ist eine Geschichte von wiederholten Ungerechtigkeiten und gewaltsamen Eingriffen, welche alle die Errichtung einer absoluten Tyrannie über diese Staaten zum geraden Endzweck haben. Dies zu beweisen, wollen wir der unpartheyischen Welt folgende Facta vorlegen:

Er hat seine Einstimmung zu den heilsamsten und zum Dessestlichen Wohl nöthigsten Gesezen verweigert.

Er hat seinen Governörs verboten, Geseze von unverzüglicher und dringender Wichtigkeit heraus zu geben, es sey dann, daß sie so lange keine Kraft haben sollten, bis seine Einstimmung erhalten würde; und wenn ihre Kraft und Gültigkeit so aufgehoben war, hat er solche gänglich aus der Acht gelassen.

Er hat sich geweigert andere Geseze zu bekräftigen zur Bequemlichkeit großer Districte von Leuten, wofern diese Leute das Recht der Repräsentation in der Gesezgebung nicht fahren lassen wollten, ein Recht, das ihnen unschätzbar, und nur Eyranten fürderlich ist.

Er hat Gesezgebende Körper an ungewöhnlichen, unbequemen und von der Niederlage ihrer öffentlichen Archiven entfernten Plätzen zusammen berufen, zu dem einzigen Zweck, um sie so lange zu plagen, bis sie sich zu seinen Maßregeln bequemen würden.

Er hat die Häuser der Repräsentanten zu wiederholten malen aufgehoben, dafür, daß sie mit männlicher Standhaftigkeit seinen gewaltsamen Eingriffen auf die Rechten des Volks widerstanden haben.

Er hat, nach solchen Aufhebungen, sich eine lange Zeit widersezt, daß andere erwählt werden solten; wodurch die Gesezgebende Gewalt, die keine Vernichtung fähig ist, zum Volk überhaupt wiederum zur Ausübung zurück gekehrt ist; mittlerweile aber der Staat allen äußerlichen Gefahren und innerlichen Zerrüttungen unterworfen blieb.

Er hat die Bevölkerung dieser Staaten zu verhindern gesucht; zu dem Zweck hat er die Geseze zur Naturalisation der Ausländer gehindert; andere, zur Beförderung ihrer Auswanderung hieher, hat er sich geweigert heraus zu geben, und hat die Bedingungen für neue Anweisungen von Ländereyen erhöht.

Er ist der Verwaltung der Gerechtigkeit verhinberlich gewesen, indem er seine Einstimmung zu Gesezen verweigert hat, um Gerichtliche Gewalt einzusetzen.

Er hat Richter von seinem Willen allein abhängig gemacht, in Absicht auf die Besetzung ihrer Aemter, und den Verlauf und die Zahlung ihrer Gehalte.

Er hat eine Menge neuer Aemter errichtet, und einen Schwarm von Beamten hieher geschickt, um unsere Leute zu plagen, und das Mark ihres Vermögens zu verzehren.

Er hat unter uns in Friedenszeiten Stehende Armeen gehalten, ohne die Einstimmung unserer Gesezgebungen.

Er hat sich bemühet die Kriegsmacht von der Bürgerlichen Macht unabhängig zu machen, ja über selbige zu erhöhen.

Er hat sich mit andern zusammen gethan, uns einer Gerichtsbarkeit, die unserer Landesverfassung ganz fremd ist, und die unsere Geseze nicht erkennen, zu unterwerfen; indem er seine Einstimmung zu ihren Acten angemaßter Gesezgebung ertheilt hat, näml.

Um große Haufen von bewaffneten Truppen bey uns einzulegen;

Um solche durch ein Schein-Verhör vor Bestrafung zu schützen für einigerley Mordthaten, die sie an den Einwohnern dieser Staaten begehen würden;

Um unsere Handlung mit allen Theilen der Welt abzuschneiden;

Um Taxen auf uns zu legen, ohne unsere Einwilligung;

Um uns in vielen Fällen der Wohlthat eines Verhörs durch eine Jury zu berauben;

Um uns über See zu führen, für angegebene Verbrechen gerichtet zu werden;

Um das freye System Englischer Geseze in einer benachbarten Provinz abzuschaffen, eine willführliche Regierung darin einzusetzen, und deren Grenzen auszudehnen, um selbige zu gleicher Zeit zu einem Exempel sowol als auch zu einem ge-

First newspaper publication in German of the Declaration of Independence (Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.
A DECLARATION
 BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
 IN GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN in the Course of human Events, it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the Earth, the separate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the Separation.

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness—That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient Causes; and accordingly all Experience hath shewn, that Mankind are more disposed to suffer, while Evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the Forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the Necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The History of the present King of Great-Britain is a History of repeated Injuries and Usurpations, all having in direct Object the Establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid World.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public Good.
 He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing Importance, unless suspended in their Operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the Accommodation of large Districts of People, unless those People would relinquish the Right of Representation in the Legislature, a Right inestimable to them, and formidable to Tyrants only.

He has called together legislative Bodies at Places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the Depository of their public Records, for the sole Purpose of fatiguing them into Compliance with his Measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly Firmness his Invasions on the Rights of the People.

He has refused for a long Time, after such Dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the Dangers of Invasion from without, and Convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the Population of these States; for that Purpose obtruding the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their Migrations hither, and raising the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the Tenure of their Offices, and the Amount and Payment of their Salaries.

He has erected a Multitude of new Offices, and sent hither Swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their Substance.

He has kept among us, in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, without the Consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a Jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our Laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large Bodies of Armed Troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all Parts of the World:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us, in many Cases, of the Benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended Offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary Government, and enlarging its Boundaries, so as to render it at once an Example and fit Instrument for introducing the same absolute Rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all Cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our Towns, and destroyed the Lives of our People.

He is, at this Time, transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the Works of Death, Desolation, and Tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty and Perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous Ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized Nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the Executioners of their Friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic Insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known Rule of Warfare, is an undistinguished Destruction, of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions we have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble Terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated Injury. A Prince, whose Character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the Ruler of a free People.

NOR have we been wanting in Attention to our British Brethren. We have warned them from Time to Time of Attempts by their Legislature to extend an unwarrantable Jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the Circumstances of our Emigration and Settlement here. We have appealed to their native Justice and Magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the Ties of our common Kindred to disavow these Usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our Connections and Correspondence. They too have been deaf to the Voice of Justice and of Consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the Necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of Mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace, Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the Rectitude of our Intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly Publish and Declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political Connection between them and the State of Great-Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm Reliance on the Protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

Signed by ORDER and in BEHALF of the CONGRESS,

JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT.

ATTEST.
 CHARLES THOMSON, SECRETARY.

PHILADELPHIA: PRINTED BY JOHN DUNLAP.

By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, we above reprint a copy of the first edition of the Declaration of Independence, printed as a broadside by John Dunlap in Philadelphia the night of 4 July or early on 5 July, 1776, as stated by Henry Miller on

*July 5, 1776, in his *Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote* in the first of all printed announcements that Independence had been declared. With Michael J. Walsh we declare that this broadside constitutes the most important single document in our national annals.*

The PENNSYLVANIA EVENING POST

Price only Two Coppers. Published every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday Evenings.

Vol. II.]

SATURDAY, JULY 6, 1776.

[Num. 228.]

In CONGRESS, July 4, 1776. A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God intitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, That all men are created equal; that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependant on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independant of and superior to the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our government:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and

By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, we here reprint the first English-American newspaper printing of the Declaration of Independence. Please compare this printing with the first German-American printing and note how closely the German-

American follows John Dunlap's first printing as a broadside. Also note the more elegant headlines in the German-American broadside and newspaper. Miller's Staatsbote first announced the Declaration on July 5, 1776, and stated that it was in the press.

schickten Werkzeug zu machen, dieselbe absolute Regierung in diese Colonien einzuführen:
 Um unsere Freiheitsbriefe uns zu entziehen, unsere kostbarsten Gesetze abzuschaffen, und die Form unserer Regierungen von Grund aus zu verändern:
 Um unsere eigenen Beschreibungen aufzuheben, und sich selbst zu erklären, als wenn sie mit voller Macht versehen wären, uns in allen Fällen Gesetze vorzuschreiben.
 Er hat die Regierung allhier niedergelegt, indem er uns außer seinem Schutz erklärt hat, und gegen uns Krieg führt.
 Er hat unsere Seen geplündert, unsere Küsten verheeret, unsere Städte verbrannt, und unser Volk ums Leben gebracht.
 Er ist, zu dieser Zeit, beschäftigt mit Herüberführung großer Armeen von fremden Huth-Soldaten, um die Werke des Todes, der Zerstörung und Tyrannen zu vollführen, die bereits mit solchen Umständen von Grausamkeit und Treulosigkeit angefangen worden, welche selbst in den barbarischsten Zeiten ihres Gleichen nicht finden, und dem Haupt einer gestifteten Nation gänzlich unanständig sind.
 Er hat unsere auf der hohen See gefangene Mitbürger gezwungen die Waffen gegen ihr Land zu tragen, um die Henker ihrer Freunde und Brüder zu werden, oder von ihren Händen den Tod zu erhalten.
 Er hat unter uns häusliche Empörungen und Aufrände erregt, und gestrebt über unsere Grenz-Einwohner die unbarbarischen wilden Indianer zu bringen, deren bekannter Gebrauch den Krieg zu führen ist, ohne Unterscheid von Alter, Geschlecht und Stand, alles niedermegewehlt.
 Auf jeder Stufe dieser Drangsalen haben wir in den demüthigsten Ausdrücken um Hülfe und Erleichterung gesuchet: Unsere wiederholten Bittschriften sind nur durch wiederholte Beleidigungen beantwortet worden. Ein Fürst, dessen Character so sehr jedes einen Tyrannen unterscheidendes Merkmal trägt, ist unfähig der Regierer eines freien Volks zu seyn.
 Auch haben wir es nicht an unserer Achtbarkeit gegen unsere Britische Brüder ermangeln lassen: Wir haben ihnen von Zeit zu Zeit Warnung ertheilt von den Versuchen ihrer Gesetzgebung eine unverantwortliche Gerichtsbarkeit über uns auszuüben.

Wir haben ihnen die Umstände unserer Auswanderung und unserer Niederlassung allhier zu Gemüthe geführt. Wir haben uns zu ihrer angeborenen Gerechtigkeit und Großmuth gewandt, und sie bey den Banden unserer gemeinschaftlichen Verwandschaft beschworen, diese gewaltthätigen Einriffe zu mißbilligen, welche unsere Verknüpfung und unsern Verkehr mit einander unvermeidlich unterbrechen würden. Auch sie sind gegen die Stimme der Gerechtigkeit und Blutsfreundschaft taub gewesen. Wir müssen uns derothalben die Nothwendigkeit gefallen lassen, welche unsere Trennung ankündigt, und sie, wie der Rest des menschlichen Geschlechts, im Krieg für Feinde, im Frieden für Freunde, halten.
 Indem derothalben Wir, die Repräsentanten der Vereinigten Staaten von America, im General-Congress versammelt, uns wegen der Redlichkeit unserer Befinnungen auf den allerhöchsten Richter der Welt berufen, so Verkündigen wir hiemit feyerlich, und Erklären, im Namen und aus Macht der guten Leute dieser Colonien, Daß diese Vereinigten Colonien Freye und Unabhängige Staaten sind, und von Rechtswegen seyn sollen; daß sie von aller Pflicht und Treuegebeheit gegen die Britische Krone frey, und losgesprochen sind, und daß alle Politische Verbindung zwischen ihnen und dem Staat von Großbritannien hiemit gänzlich aufgehoben ist, und aufgehoben seyn soll; und daß alle Freye und Unabhängige Staaten sie volle Macht und Gewalt haben, Krieg zu führen, Frieden zu machen, Allianzen zu schließen, Handlung zu erichten, und alles und jedes andere zu thun, was Unabhängigen Staaten von Rechtswegen zukömmt. Und zur Behauptung und Unterstützung dieser Erklärung verpfänden wir, mit bestem Vertrauen auf den Schutz der Göttlichen Vorsehung, uns unter einander unser Leben, unser Vermögen und unser geheiligtes Ehrenwort.
 Unterzeichnet auf Befehl und im Namen des Congresses,
John Hancock, Präsident.
 Bescheiniget,
 Carl Thomson, Secretär.

Im Congress, den 4ten July, 1776.

Beschlossen, Daß das Kriegsamte bevollmächtigt werde, eine Anzahl Personen die selbster nöthig finden wird, in Arbeit zu nehmen, um Hütten für das Beste Land zu machen; und zu dem Ende sich bey den respectiven Ausschüßes-Comissionen und Sicherheits-Räthen oder Comiteen der Vereinigten Americanischen Staaten, oder den Ausschüßes-Comiteen der Counties und Städte so dazu gehören, zu melden, wegen der Namen und Wohnplätze solcher Personen die in vorgemelter Manufactur erfabren sind, und wegen der Plätze in ihren respectiven Staaten wo die besten Feuersteine zu bekommen sind, mit Rücksicht davon.

Auf Verordnung des Congresses,
 John Hancock, Präsident.

Kriegs-Amt, Philadelphia, den 6ten July, 1776.
 Alle Personen in den Vereinigten Americanischen Staaten, welche dem Congress Nachricht geben können von einigen Quantitäten von Feuersteinen, oder von Personen die das Flintenstein machen verstehen, werden ersucht sich in Person oder schriftlich bey der Kriegs- und Zeug-Comission, am Kriegs-Amt, in der Markt-Strasse, nahe dem Eck von der Vierten-Strasse, zu melden. Alle Zeitungen drucken in den verschiedenen Staaten werden ersucht diese Anzeige einzurücken.
 Richard Peters, jun. Secretär.

In einer Conferenz der Abgeordneten im Congress für die Staaten von Newyork, Neu-Jersey und Pennsylvanien, der Sicherheits-Comitee von Pennsylvanien, der Ausschüßes- und Wahrnehmungs-Comitee für die Stadt und Freyheiten von Philadelphia, und der Stadt-Officiers von den fünf Battalions gemeldeter Stadt, ic. am Staatshause zu Philadelphia, den 5ten Tag July, 1776, vermöge folgenden Schlusses des Congresses, näml.

Im Congress, den 4ten July, 1776.
Beschlossen, Daß die Abgeordneten von Newyork, Neu-Jersey und Pennsylvanien eine Comitee seyen, mit der Sicherheits-Comitee von Pennsylvanien, der Ausschüßes-Comitee von der Stadt und Freyheiten von Philadelphia, und den Stadt-Officiers von den Battalions gemeldeter Stadt und Freyheiten, sich zu unterreden über die besten Mittel zur Unterstützung der Colonien von Neu-Jersey und Pennsylvanien, und daß sie bevollmächtigt werden Expressen zu senden wo es nöthig ist.
 John Hancock, Präsident.

Thomas MacKeon, Vorfiger.
Beschlossen, Daß es den Conferirenden scheint, daß alle Ausschüßes-Comiteen von Pennsylvanien (ausgenommen die Westmoreland, Bedford und Yorkshires) welche mit Waffen und Küstungsstücken versehen werden können, alsobald er sucht werden sollen auf schleunigste nach Trenton (ausgenommen die Militz für Northampton County, welche geradeswegs nach Neu-Braunschweig marschiren wird) in Neu-Jersey zu marschiren, und daß gemeldete Militz so lang im Dienst bleiben, bis die fliegende Armee von zehn tausend Mann zusammen gebracht werden kan sie abzudisken, es sey denn daß sie eher vom Congress entlassen werden.
Beschlossen, Daß die Militz-Companien weise nach dem Sammel-Platz marschiren.
Beschlossen, Daß besagte Militz in Continental-Sold genommen werde, und eben dieselbe Erbauung, Unterhalt und Nationen, wie die Continental-Gruppen empfangen, von der Zeit an da sie anfangen zu marschiren, bis zu ihrer Zurückkunft zu ihren respectiven Wohnplätzen.
Beschlossen, Daß diejenigen von den drei Battalions Pennsylvanischer Truppen, die jetzt noch in der Provinz sind, beordert werden sogleich nach Neu-Braunschweig, in Neu-Jersey, zu marschiren.
Beschlossen, Daß die Sicherheits-Comitee dieser Colonie so viel Zellen anschaffe als sie kan für gemeldete Militz.

Beschlossen, Daß die Ausschüßes-Comiteen, ic. in den verschiedenen Grafschaften einen guten Kessel anschaffen für jede sechs Mann, und allen mbalichen Preysland leisten damit gemeldete Militz wohl bewaffnet und ausgerüstet werde, und mit der größten Beschleunigung marschiren.
 Thomas MacKeon, Vorfiger.
 Im Congress, den 5ten July, 1776.
Beschlossen, Daß die Ausschüßes-Comiteen für die verschiedenen Grafschaften in der Colonie Pennsylvanien angewiesen werden, solche Truppen, die sie für die fliegende Armee aufbringen können, zu beordern nach Trenton zu marschiren, des gestrigen Schlusses sic nach Philadelphia marschiren zu lassen, ungeachtet.
Beschlossen, Daß dieser Congress die vorübergehende Schlichtung höchstens genehmiget, und dem guten Volk von Pennsylvanien anempfehet, selbige zu vollziehen, mit eben der löblichen Bereitwilligkeit, welche sie bisher gezeiget haben in Unterstützung der benachtheiligten Rechte und Freyheiten ihres Landes.
 Auf Befehl des Congresses,
 John Hancock, Präsident.

Als am 5ten März im Oberparlament von England vorgeschlagen wurde, den König vermittelst einer anrede zu bitten den marsch der Hirschen, Hanauischen und Braunschweigischen Völker durch gegenbesche aufzuhalten, und zu verordnen sogleich alle feindlichen Kräfte in America einzuziehen, und den grund zu einer glücklichen und dauerhaftesten wiedereröffnung zu legen zwischen den getrenneten theilen selbigen gerüttelten Reichs; so entstanden darüber viele läufige für- und gegnerische, in welchen der Herzog von Cumberland seinen sinn folgendermaßen äußerte:
 My Lords,

Ich pflichte der vorgeschlagenen anrede von Herzen bey. Ich denke der edle Herzog [von Richmond] welcher selbige vorgeschlagen, hat dadurch den klarsten beweis von pflicht gegen den König abgelegt. Ich hoffe die partey die ich jetzt nehme werde nicht ausaleat werden als begte ich die geringste unbedeutigkeit für meinen freyden. Es ist die unüberlegte aufführung seiner staatsdiener die ich anlaue. — Ich leider! sollte ich denn die zeit erleben zu sehen daß Braunschweiger, ehmalis Befreiter der Freyheit, nun gebraucht werden die Colonisten zu unterjochen und die landesfürstlichen rechten von America zu vernichten! — Aber ich fühle ich werde eifrig; ich will daher innehalten etwas mehr von der obhandenen sache zu sagen. //

Providenz, den 22 Juny.
 Letztern Mittwoch langten die durch Capitain Middle aus den neuen transportschiffen von Schottland genommene Officiers hier an, und sind bey der nach einem ort von sicherheit im lande geführt worden; ein gleiches hat man mit einer anzahl zum Britischen freyden gehörenden Officiers, welche seith einiger zeit hier in verhaft gewesen, gethan.
 Newyork, den 3 Jul.

Letztern Sonntag nahm eine von unfern freyfabrern auf der Südseite von Long-Island eine große zu Bermuda gebauete Klupe von Halifax mit verhängungs-werkzeugen, ic. geladen, und nach diesem ort bestimmet; es bestimten sich an bord derselbigen eine anzahl fuchtlinge von Robert Auchmutz, lehrterice Admiralitäts-Richter zu Boston, und bruder des Ehren-Doctors Auchmutz von dieser Stadt.
 Philadelphia, den 9 Jul.
 Durch ein von Charleston in Süd Carolina hier angekommenen Herrn vernahmen wir, daß zwischen dem 7ten und 9ten Juny, ein 50 canonis

Second page of the Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote. Note that The Pennsylvania Evening Post puts advertising next to the text of the Declaration, but Miller fills the second page with news that is pertinent.

perfully scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow citizens taken captive on the high seas to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare is an unrelenting destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDANT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great-Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that, as FREE AND INDEPENDANT STATES, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which INDEPENDANT STATES may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

Signed by ORDER and in BEHALF of CONGRESS,
JOHN HANCOCK, President.
Attest. CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

TO be SOLD, the brigantine TWO FRIENDS. She is a prime sailer, but three years old, and carries nine hundred and fifty or a thousand barrels of flour.

The schooner MAKY ANN. She is a prime sailer, but four years old, and carries four hundred and fifty barrels of flour.

The schooner is loaded and ready to go, and will be sold with her cargo, or alone. She has an inventory suitable and complete. The brig may be fitted for sea with a very small expence, and the schooner requires none. Both vessels are very good, but any gentleman inclining to purchase may have them viewed by proper persons. Inquire for Mr. JOHN PARRY, on board the brig, at Vine-street wharf.

TO be SOLD, a Quantity of very fine TIMOTHY HAY of this year's growth. Inquire of the printer.

A FEW Hogsheds and Barrels of JAMAICA SUGAR, of the best quality, to be sold by DAVID SPROAT.

HYNS TAYLOR, UPHOLSTERER, in Second street between Market and Arch streets (late from Saint James's, London) begs leave, by this method, to inform his friends and the public in general, that he makes up all kind of furniture in the newest fashion, viz. dome, tealer; drapery, Venetian, Gothic, canopy, four-post and couch beds, also field and camp beds, all sorts of mattresses, Venetian and festoon window curtains, and every other article of household furniture, on the most reasonable terms.

AMELIA TAYLOR, MILANER and MANTUA MAKER, makes up all sorts of milanery goods, viz. childbed linen, childrens robes, jams, frocks, vests and tunics, gentlemen's shirts, stocks, gloves, and all kind of needlework, in the very neatest manner.—For sale, some fine Holland shirts full trimmed.

N. B. Part of a house to be let, with good cellars, &c.

TO be LET, a Lot of good Grass Ground, in Spring garden, containing near four acres, with a commodious Brick Houe, two stories high, four rooms on a floor, Barns, Stables, Smoak Houe, Garden, and two Pumps of good Water, lately occupied by William Shipley. For farther particulars inquire of David Pancoast, in Fourth-street, between Race and Vine-streets.

ISAAC HAZLEHURST has for sale, at his store in Water-street, the fifth door above Market-street, COFFEE of the best quality, Muscovado SUGARS in hogsheds, tierces and barrels, MOLASSES, CINNAMON, POWDER BLUE, and a few hogsheds of exceeding good Jamaica SPIRITS five years old. June 15, 1776.

ASILVER FACED WATCH, larger than the common size, maker's name James Gerrard, London, No. 1919, was LOST out of the subscriber's house on the ninth inst. It is supposed to be stolen by a person in company with two others, who were known to pass by early that morning. Any person who shall have it offered to him for sale, is desired to stop it, and on delivering it to Joseph Steward in Hanover township, Burlington county, New-Jersey, or to the printer, shall have FOUR DOLLARS reward.

TO be SOLD, by Attmore and Hellings, at their store on the wharf, a few doors below Chestnut-street, Bar Iron, American blister, spring, and square Steel, sheet and rod Iron, Bake Plates, Iron Tea Kettles, Dutch Ovens, Pots, Kettles, and Skellets. Tea at the price limited by Congress, loaf and brown Sugars, Molasses, French Brandy, Fyal Wine, Nutmegs, Spermaceti and Whale Oil, Mackarel, &c. &c. &c.

MUSCOVADO SUGAR and COFFEE in hogsheds, excellent HYSON TEA in quarter chests, PIMENTO, CHOCOLATE and PEPPER, Madeira WINE, in pipes and quarter casks, and a few quarter casks of choice French BRANDY, to be sold by Samuel Garrigue, jun. and Co. in Market-street, near the London Coffee-houe.

A QUANTITY of INDIGO to be sold by James Gallagher, in Front-street, the corner of Spruce-street.



Weaving the linen

AN OVERVIEW OF FLAX AND LINEN PRODUCTION IN PENNSYLVANIA

by Donald Graves & Michael Colby

Flax farming and domestic linen production were vitally important activities in Pennsylvania's colonial economy. Yet, by the end of the Civil War both were virtually non-existent in the Commonwealth: the industry had gone from home-centered craft to commercial manufacture to extinction. In examining the history of this demise, one can see three distinct trends at work: a change in the farm ideal; the rise of domestic cotton; and the importation of cheap foreign linen.

The first trend — from home-centered craft to commercial manufacture — illustrates a major change in the aims and expectations of the American farmer. The major colonial agricultural goal was to produce a sufficient supply of food and clothing consistently, year after year, primarily for home consumption. As one scholar noted, "at the beginning of the nation's agricultural development, land was abundant and labor was cheap. Capital inputs such as farm machinery, fertilizer, and food for the farmer's family were relatively modest, and most of them were produced on the farm. Farmers

created their own power in the form of physical work of family members and of animals raised on the farm."¹ In short, the ability to meet the needs of food, shelter and clothing were in their own hands, and the Pennsylvania German colonists, in particular, *sought* self-sufficiency and independence; it was not simply that hardships made any other course impossible, as might be supposed.

Yet, with increasing demands for food from towns and cities unable to produce their own, came the idea that farmers could produce a surplus of food, sell it, and purchase an increasing array of consumer goods (often imported) that could not be farm-made. It meant, of course, linking the farm to outside economic conditions, and this was not altogether opposed by farmers, but it marked a major change in the purpose of farming. The farm ideal was no longer sufficiency, but surplus and affluence,² as illustrated in the following account of a farmer's "setting out" of his three daughters':

In 1780, when the first daughter married, she was permitted to take the best wool and flax and make for herself gowns, coats, stockings and shifts. She was also allowed to buy some cotton and make it into sheets. Two years afterward his second daughter married. For her setting out the mother went to town and purchased a calico gown, a calamanco petticoat, a set of stone teacups, a half-dozen pewter teaspoons, and a tea-kettle — things that had never entered this farmer's house before. Three years later the third daughter married. She had to have a silk gown, silk for a cloak, a looking glass, china, tea-gear, and other finery.³

This first change — from home to factory — was relatively gradual; the second change — from linen to cotton — was much more rapid. An attempt will be made to explain these changes by examining, chronologically, flax production from the settlement of the Swedes to the end of flax as a major crop. The emphasis is on farm production (especially its machinery) and the way in which it was affected by cultural and economic factors off the farm.

THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Flax production in the Delaware Valley began with the Swedish settlement at Fort Christiana. Earlier Dutch trading forts had probably depended completely on New Amsterdam for clothing, aside from perhaps making their own buckskins. Fort Christiana was also dependent, at first, on supply ships from Sweden, but, by the 1650s (less than twenty years after its settlement by Peter Minuit) flax was being raised, spun, and woven by its women.⁴

In due course the English came to power in the region, and although he advised prospective colonists to bring "English woollens and German linnens"⁵ (as well as other textile goods) with them, Proprietor William Penn foresaw, in 1681, in his *Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America*, not only the need for his colonists to raise the raw materials for their textiles, but also that Pennsylvania's temperate climate was excellent for the growth of flax. He also knew that professional craftsmen would be necessary, and encouraged their immigration, noting weavers and tailors among them. In his 1685 tract "Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey," Thomas Budd not only mentioned the attributes of the Delaware Valley for raising flax, but also urged the creation of a public store house for flax where it could be processed at a nominal charge. He was also the first to propose a public school system where students would be taught to spin and knit, as well as to read and write. (This foreshadows the later Moravian schools where students were instructed in this fashion.)

Penn had placed his hopes for linen production on the Huguenots, but it was the Germans, under Pastorius, who became the first major flax producers in the colony.⁶ Those thirteen German families were primarily



GERMANTOWN SEAL

linen weavers, and Pastorius' three-leaf clover design for his "Germanopolis" symbolized the importance of linen:

Still on the town-seal his device is found
Grapes, flax and thread spool on a three foil ground
With Vinum, Linum and Textrinum wound.⁷

In the first year of their settling, Penn was able to note that the Germans were already raising flax and hemp.⁸ To encourage production he offered a premium for the first piece of woven linen; Abraham Op den Graeff petitioned the council for it, saying he had made "the first and finest piece of linen cloth."⁹ Pastorius would later write that he felt the prosperity of Germantown was due to flax raising, spinning and weaving. He added that he hoped increased prosperity from "this little plant [would alleviate] the poverty and want of many."¹⁰

That the industry was important to the commerce and desire for self-sufficiency of the colony can be seen in the measures taken to insure its growth and protect its prices. William Penn, as proprietor and governor, was present at a meeting of the Provincial Council when "a law [was] proposed to Encourage making of Linnen Cloth."¹¹ Dated November 17, 1683 (old style), this is the earliest known political act affecting flax in Pennsylvania. Just two months later, the council, again with Penn present, passed a bill "for hemp & flax, Linnen & Wool, on Cloth. Linnen & Woollen Cloth to have a price set upon it by ye County Court, ye hempt at 5d the pound, and ye flax at 8d the pound."¹²



Sowing the flax

Penn also established regular fairs (the first in 1686) to furnish a market for linen, wool and other goods. Establishment of these fairs was incorporated into Philadelphia's charter, which called for twice-weekly markets and major fairs in May and November.¹³ The growth of such business opportunities caused an expansion of specialized trades: professional spinners charged two shillings per pound of flax, and weavers got ten-to-twelve pence per yard of linen, half-a-yard wide.¹⁴ Of course, such divisions of skill were not yet possible in rural areas where, by the 1730s, farmers were making

nine-tenths of their wearing apparel, primarily from flax and wool:¹⁵ "On every farm they cultivate enough flax and hemp and also raise what sheep they need for making their linen and cloth."¹⁶ The quality of this cloth was generally thought to be "coarse but serviceable."¹⁷

Inevitably, Philadelphia's growing population and division of labor demanded more textile goods than the farmer's goal of self-sufficiency could provide; this was fine with England who wanted all the colonies dependent upon her for finished products. Indeed, a 1732

FLAX FARMING: FACTS AND FOLKLORE

The most efficient flax planting methods and greatest yields were of much concern and the subject of much debate among farmers, especially when premiums were at stake. Traditionally, Pennsylvania German farmers planted flax and oats at the same time; both matured quickly so other crops could be planted.¹ Fertilizing was common, especially the use of sheep and chicken manure.² Lime — there were abundant deposits in southeastern Pennsylvania — was thought to be essential as well, and one to three bushels per acre was the amount commonly used.³ By the late 1700s, a mixture of plaster of Paris (gypsum) and ashes was often used as a top dressing, after the plants appeared.⁴ One “recipe” called for a bushel of salt (often used at this time to enrich the soil), a bushel of plaster of Paris, and two bushels of unleached ashes, sown broadcast over an acre.⁵ This top dressing not only fertilized, but helped to control worms and insects as well.

Rich bottom land was thought best for flax, especially if seasonally flooded: witness Egypt’s historic success raising flax along the Nile. Drained, marshy land was also recommended.⁶ Crop rotation was essential, and probably each farmer had his own particular schedule. The following rotation was said to be used by a “gentleman of much experience in [flax] production”:

1. Oats after the grass or clover; 2. Flax immediately followed by rape manured with two cwt. of guano and two cwt. of plaster of Paris; 3. Potatoes or turnips well manured;
4. Wheat sown in the spring with clover and rye-grass;
5. Hay and clover; 6. Grazing; 7. Oats; 8. Flax and winter vetches [plants of the bean or pea family]; guano as before stated;
9. Turnips well manured; 10. Barley sown with rye grass and clover; 11. Clover and hay; 12. Grazing;
13. Oats should follow a potato crop. Except on very poor soils a better crop of flax will be produced after grain than grass. If the old lea (grass ground) be broken up and potatoes planted, followed by a grain crop, a very fine one of flax may be obtained in the ensuing year.⁷

It was common to get a ton or more of rough flax from one acre. A Massachusetts farmer, John Prince, won a \$20 premium in 1821 for getting 609 pounds of dressed fiber and 11 bushels of seed from one acre. He plowed, then harrowed the land; sowed, then lightly harrowed again and rolled it; ashes and plaster of Paris stopped attacking worms.⁸ After dressing the flax by hand, only 20% was usable and only half of that was spinnable for textiles.⁹ The other half was used for stuffing bed ticks, as wadding in muzzleloaders, and for rope and twine. Of the spinnable 10%, 6% would be coarse tow and 4% fine fiber. Out of two thousand pounds of rough flax, 80 pounds or less would be available for fine linen.¹⁰



Harvesting the flax

report to the English Board of Trade stated that all of Pennsylvania’s clothing was imported from Great Britain.¹⁸ Yet times changed, due in part to British economic measures like the Sugar Act which were designed to monopolize American exports and imports. Even many who preferred English clothing began to see that economic dependence led to political slavery. Soon after passage of the Stamp Act, a market was opened in Philadelphia for the sale of home manufactured goods.¹⁹ Said, with patriotic pride, to be “superior to any from Britain [were] superfine”²⁰ cloths sold at Philadelphia’s Coffeehouse. And, threatened “with abject contempt [were those] found so dead to all warm emotions of the heart”²¹ as to wear British-made clothing.

But it took more than household manufactures to meet this greater demand, and England became increasingly worried that products manufactured in the province would replace British goods. Governor John Penn was asked to investigate the matter and, in a 1767 letter to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, admitted that a manufactory



Breaking the flax

was set up about three years ago in this City, by private Subscriptions, for the making of Sail Cloth, Tickings, and Linnens; But the Persons concerned have already sunk money by their Project, for the high Price of Labor will not allow any of the Articles to be made at so cheap a rate as those of the same Quality and Goodness, manufactured in England, are sold for by the Retailers here; they have, therefore, lately resolved to discontinue that undertaking.²²

By the mid-1770s, however, the colonies were listening to what Benjamin Franklin had first said almost twenty years before: “We are like the separate Filaments of Flax before the thread is formed, without strength, because without connection, but union would make us strong, even formidable.”²³ In consequence, in 1775, the Continental Congress approved a resolution calling for an end to all trade to and from Great Britain. In 1768, individual colonies had passed such resolutions with varying success, but this time it became a national cause, and “the first measures of the patriots aimed to establish their independence on the basis of the productive industry and laborious arts of this country.”²⁴

Manufacturing of all kinds was encouraged, household and factory alike. Philadelphia, the wealthiest city in America in 1774, became the champion of homespun.

A joint stock company, the United Company of Philadelphia for Promoting American Manufactures, was formed to produce cotton, linen, and wool. Located at Ninth and Market streets, it was the first of its kind in this country. A major purpose was to hire the poor, and over 400 women were employed in spinning and other occupations “who would otherwise have been destitute.”²⁵ It was also one of the first to use a spinning jenny, invented by Hargreaves in England in 1770, and jealously kept from foreign competition.²⁶ (Other machines were also invented at this time in Britain; machines which would later take textile production out of the home altogether: the power loom; an improved spinning machine called the mule jenny; and the steam engine, adapted to the spinning and carding of cotton.²⁷ Yet it took decades and a political revolution before the effects of this technological revolution were known to Pennsylvania.)

As the colonies prepared for rebellion, the Continental Congress urged the provincial assemblies to promote textile production, and General Washington sent agents from colony to colony to buy linen and other cloth. In Philadelphia, on July 5, 1776, the Council of Safety noted that: “It will be necessary to collect a considerable quantity of Old Linnen for bandages and lint, as the Militia of the Province is immediately to be called into service.”²⁸ Lint — made by picking linen fabric apart and teasing it into balls — was used to cover wounds, since it would not cause infection as cotton did. (Lint was used for the same purpose in the War of 1812 and the Civil War, vastly diminishing the types and amounts of linen available from those periods today.)

THE NEW NATION

Although the loss of imports hit urban areas the hardest, after the war Philadelphians were not alone in releasing a pent-up demand for European goods: many farm families were ready too. To match this demand there were stockpiled British goods not sold during the Revolution — these flooded American markets with cheap prices and cheap credit, helping to change the farm ideal from sufficiency to surplus, as previously noted. The result has already been seen in the aforementioned farmer’s “setting out” of his three daughters:

Up to 1780, this farmer had never spent more than ten dollars a year for clothing and household supplies. Nothing to eat, drink or wear was purchased, as his farm provided all the necessities. It was his belief that the hard times (of the late 1780’s) were caused by the drifting away of the people from their mode of living in 1780. The wheel and loom had come to be used only for the purpose of exchanging the substantial cloth of flax and wool for gauze, ribbon, silk, tea and sugar, instead of providing textile fabrics for the family’s own use.²⁹

Yet economic laws are often as inexorable as natural law, and when it came time to pay the bills, many couldn’t, causing a collapse of the import trade until the

economy improved and credit loosened again. Such alternating cycles of easy and tight credit are ancient features of America's economic scene. When credit was easy, people preferred ready-made clothing; when credit tightened, and it took more and more money just to purchase staples — let alone ribbons and silk — people were chastised for their unpatriotic ways, and many women once again got out their spinning wheels to prove they were good citizens. Men, too, felt the need to demonstrate national loyalty; patriotic duty, for example, struck 100 young men in Washington County, and they resolved "that in paying their address to the young ladies they would give most marked preference to such as clothed themselves in homespun and made use of articles grown in their own country."³⁰ In the same vein, it was noted with approval that "there are many farmers in Pennsylvania. . .worth more than \$50,000, who hardly expend 10 dollars a year for foreign articles of clothing. . .and their daughters are required to make homespun goods, beyond the family wants, as will furnish themselves with such imported things as they desire to have. The present pinching times are doing wonders for the good of the country."³¹

The next downward economic swing took place in the early 1800s. President Jefferson's Embargo and Non-Intercourse act were designed to keep America out of the Napoleonic conflict engulfing Europe. The result was "an advance in the price of foreign goods [which] forced a multitude of families to resort to their own labor to supply many of life's necessities."³² Hard times continued until the end of the War of 1812, which was followed by the usual postwar depression, beginning in 1819. Again, "the only thing left for these people was to fall back upon the old stand-by, the family factory, just



Combing the flax

Because flax was such an important crop, there were traditions concerning its proper planting, as well as for predicting the size of the crop. Long icicles before New Year's were said to indicate long flax the next year, but it was *die Fastnacht*, or Shrove Tuesday, that was the major portender: "*Wanns diser schnehot usd: Fasenacht gebts langer flax sell jor.*"³¹ (The length of flax is indicated by the depth of snow on Shrove Tuesday.)

Fastnacht kuchen — raised doughnuts made only on that day — contained flax seed to insure a good crop: "To neglect the making of those cakes on this day would cause failure in the flax crop. In some cases, to help secure good long flax, an abundance would be baked and freely dealt out among friends and neighbors."³²

Flax was planted early because it could survive light frosts, and because early planting kept out most weeds. It is said that "the most successful growers in the United States sow when the leaves are so far developed as to give the woods and forests a tinge of green. Abundant experience has established the value of this rule for all parts of the country."³³ In southeastern Pennsylvania this was usually around Easter, with Good Friday often the actual day of sowing. The story is told of a farmer named Frey who always planted his flax on that day. Said he: "And one year when *Karfreidawg* came on a Sunday, *un no hot's kenner gevva.*"³⁴ (Nothing grew.)

Because tall flax was most desired for its lengthy fibers, a short crop was often derided: "A woman was pulling flax when a man passing by said to her: '*Eir Flax is over kartz.*' '*Yah ar is,*' *hut sie g'sawt,* '*Awer mier henous gamocht ar dete fer Kintter Glaider mocha.*'"³⁵ ('Your flax is indeed short.' 'Yes it is,' she said, 'But we decided you would make children's clothing out of it.')

Another man complained that his business was doing as poorly as a bad crop of flax: "My business is *wie'm Honnes sei flax; aer hut g'sawt sei flax is kortz ovver aer shtade din.*"³⁶ ("My business is like John's flax; his flax is short and spread thin.")

One farmer learned a basic law of labor — that people work much harder when paid by the piece rather than by the day — when he hired a laborer to brake flax in return for a daily wage. He heard the brake going slowly up and down, and it seemed to be saying: *Beym T-a-g-e-l-o-h-n, beym T-a-g-e-l-o-h-n.* (By the day, by the day.) Then the farmer decided to hire the laborer to work by the piece for each bundle of flax broken. Now the brake went much faster, and seemed to say: *Bey dem Stück, Bey dem Stück, Bey dem Stück, Stück, Stück.*³⁷ (By the piece, by the piece, by the piece, piece, piece.)

as their forefathers had done when faced with like conditions following the Revolutionary War.”³³ At that time, Alexander Hamilton had reported:

There is a vast scene of household manufacturing which contributes more largely to the supply of the community than could be imagined. Great quantities of coarse cloths, coatings, serges, and flannels, linsey wooleys, hosiery of wool, cottons and thread, coarse fustians, jeans, and muslins, checked and striped cotton and linen goods, bed ticks, coverlets and counterpanes, tow linens, coarse shirtings, sheetings, toweling, and table linen, and various mixtures of wool and cotton, and of cotton and flax, are made in the household way, and in many instances, to an extent not only sufficient for the supply of the families in which they are made, but for sale.³⁴

By the 1810 census, Pennsylvania’s household manufacturing accounted for almost three million dollars worth of flax products alone, with an additional two million dollars worth of mixed cloth. Cumberland County produced the most, followed by Berks and York counties.³⁵ By 1818, inexpensive East Indian goods had “almost entirely given place to a domestic substitute actually made in the family; and the importation of Irish linen had been most seriously checked by the greatly increased cultivation and manufacture of flax in the immediate vicinity of Philadelphia.”³⁶ Individual family production could indeed be impressive: the W. C. Terrel family was granted a premium by the Philadelphia

Agricultural Society for the greatest amount of textile goods made by one family — 1,600 yards.

This was truly the greatest moment for homemade textiles, but Pennsylvania’s textile factories were already catching up. Samuel Weatherhill, one of the first managers of the United Company of Philadelphia, later started his own wool and cotton manufactory, supplying the Continental Army during the Revolution. By 1782, he was selling “Jeans, Fustians, Everlastings, Coatings, etc.”³⁷ Weatherhill was also a founder of the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts (1787). Its goals included providing work for the poor, promoting Pennsylvania industry through the use of premiums, obtaining advanced European and American technology, and increasing the self-sufficiency of the country as a whole.

To implement its goals, the Society offered a gold medal worth twenty dollars for the “most useful engine or machine, to be moved by water, fire, or otherwise, by which the ordinary labor of hands in manufacturing cotton, wool, flax, or hemp, should be better saved than by any then in use in the State; and also for raising and cleaning the greatest quantity of hemp, flax, or cotton; for the best specimens or patterns of printed linens or cotton goods stained within this State.”³⁸ The Pennsylvania Legislature offered an award as well for a machine to make cotton rolls for spinning. Having



In the Lehigh Valley, in the fall of 1757, a young girl named Margaret Frantz was washing flax in a stream when she was carried off by Indians. After seven years

she returned home, knowledgeable in Indian healing arts. (Pennsylvania Women in History: Our Hidden Heritage, p. 115.)



Rippling the flax

FLAXSEED AND ITS USES

Flaxseed was a major Pennsylvania export. The Irish preferred American seed to their own. Thomas Penn had an agent in Dublin in the 1740s selling flaxseed for him, which the Irish would raise, process, then ship back to America as linen.¹ America's restrictions on importing goods from Great Britain, in 1774, especially hurt this Irish trade, which the Continental Congress exempted from the restrictions the next year.² By 1779, 92 ships left Philadelphia with flaxseed bound for Dublin alone.³ During that period, over a hundred thousand bushels were exported each year.⁴

What seed wasn't exported or kept for the next year's crop was processed to make oil. Bethlehem was pressing oil three years after its first flax crop.⁵ In 1786, Lancaster had four oil mills within 10 miles of town,⁶ Bucks County had at least five mills, and the Sumneytown area of Montgomery County still had seven mills in 1860.⁷ By 1818, it could be said that "Pennsylvania probably grows more flax than any state in the Union,"⁸ and out of 800,000 gallons of linseed oil made in the country, 500,000 gallons was produced in Pennsylvania.

The cakes left from pressing were fed to livestock. With a high protein content, they were a good supplement and made for glossy hides. The seed was also fed directly to cattle. One farmer used a bushel of seed mixed with two bushels of bran and fed it along with hay. He found it to be the cheapest and best way of fattening his animals. Another farmer made flaxseed jelly (produced by boiling a quart of flaxseed in six quarts of water for ten minutes), mixed it with the liquid produced by steeping hay in water, and fed the concoction to his calves; he claimed it fattened them better than milk.⁹ An Englishman suggested that British farmers would do well to feed American flaxseed to their livestock, thus improving their quality while at the same time giving America a marketable export it could purchase British goods with.¹⁰

Flaxseed oil was also an early light source. A will in the Berks County Courthouse says: "*Wan dass öhl von ihrem flax nicht hinlänglich ist sie in lichter zu versehen so muss er ihr zwo quart öhl geben.*"¹¹ ("If the oil of [the widow's] flax doesn't provide her with enough light, [her son] must give two additional quarts of oil.") A contract specifying what a son would do to provide for his parents included the following: "*Und ein halben Acker Flachs muss er säen und roppen und heimfahren und brechen, und er muss dem Alten das Licht stellen fur das ganze Jahr, so lang als sie leben.*"¹² ("He has to

made it clear early on that the greatest manufacturing profits were expected to come from raising cotton in the South and processing it in the North, the Society financed the construction of cotton carding machines and spinning jennies. Within half-a-year of getting its first looms, more than 4,000 yards of cotton goods had been produced, along with 2,000 yards of linen and tow, which had been spun by hand.³⁹

England was not pleased by these developments. To keep her textile trade, American prices for British imports were often lower than for the same goods sold in London. There was also the continuation of laws preventing textile machinery or workers from leaving the country, but leave they did and, combined with American financing, started the first serious threat to British manufacturing. To combat this, the British would buy American machines and have them shipped



Spinning the flax

During the 1850's, a Quaker man in Bucks County still insisted his wife make linen suits for him, long after cotton had become cheap, because cotton was produced by slave labor and he refused to support it.

to England to prevent their being used. Cotton seed was even bought and burned to prevent its being raised and the product used in American factories.⁴⁰

Pennsylvania in return prohibited its machinery being taken out of the state. Through "An Act to Assist the Cotton Manufactures of this State," it rewarded the inventor of a cotton carding machine. The Act also permitted the state to buy shares in the cotton manufactory of the Pennsylvania Manufacturing Society to help increase production. Although the manufactory was burned in 1790, it was only a temporary setback, for various kinds of cotton machinery were being made in

Philadelphia, and textile manufacturing was becoming increasingly important in Lancaster, Berks, and York counties. Samuel Slater's inventiveness and New England's water power had made it the most important cotton center in the country (the number of mills there increased from 15 to 62 in 1809 alone), yet consumer demand and Pennsylvania's perseverance made it — and Philadelphia in particular — a major cotton supplier. By 1860, Pennsylvania was second only to Massachusetts in the total number of cotton mills, having 185 to its rival's 217. One Manayunk factory alone produced five million yards of cotton goods a year. The entire



Weaving the linen

country was producing over 422 million pounds of cotton a year; an output with a worth second only to the worth of the production of iron.⁴¹

With the rise of cotton, the fortunes of flax can be put into perspective. In colonial times cotton was more expensive because it didn't grow well in Pennsylvania and it was time consuming to remove the seeds from the bolls. Cotton was used, if at all, in finer clothing.⁴² Flax and wool were the primary fibers because they could be raised, processed, woven, and sewn right on the farm. Flax was a staple of household manufacturing and the number of estate inventories listing flax, flaxseed and flax equipment indicates its broad use.⁴³

Because of this, the change from flax to cotton did not happen quickly or without protest. The Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, formed in 1785 and again the first of its kind, worked for decades to improve flax production and processing.

sow a half-acre of flax, pull it, cart it home and brake it. And he must provide his parents with light for the entire year, as long as they live.") The light would come from the flaxseed he grew for them. The oil would probably be burned in a Betty lamp.

In the 1820s, a flammable gas, useful for lighting, was made from flaxseed oil.¹³ However, as happened so often with flax, this never proved practical when faced with the competition, in this case whale oil and, later, kerosene.

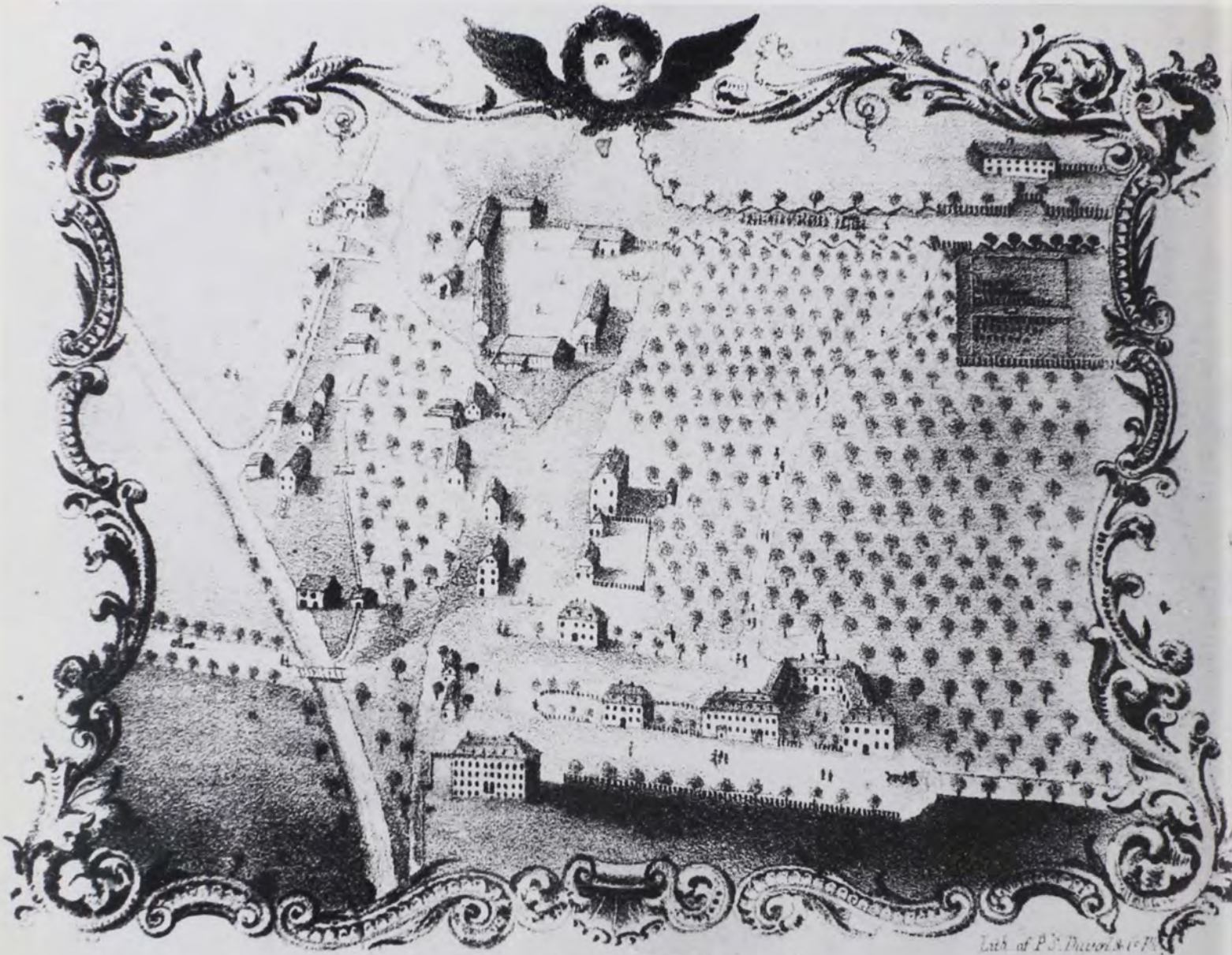
FLAX AND HEALTH

Linen was used for bandages long after cotton had taken over its market in other areas because it wouldn't infect wounds like cotton did.¹ In addition, flaxseed was said to help dysentery, diarrhea, diseases of the urinary tract, coughs, colds and rheums.² It was made into poultices and teas or simply put in the eye to get rid of redness. (A flaxseed was often put under the eyelid to relieve sore eyes.) A poultice of bread, milk, flaxseed and cornmeal was put on old sores that had resisted other remedies.³

Flaxseed produces an "emulgent tea, said to be equally effective in soothing, healing properties, as the Slippery Elm."⁴ One recipe said to "take a pint of flax seed and boil in a quart of water to the quantity of a pint; then strain through a cloth and take a quarter pound of *kandel zucker* — rock candy, boil a little and then take a lemon cut up and boil again; then keep in a cold place."⁵

A cure for coughs and colds instructed: "Take a large teacup full of flax seed, a quarter pound of raisins, two ounces of stick liquorice and two quarts of water; boil till reduced to one quart; add $\frac{1}{4}$ pound of pounded sugar candy; before taking, add one tablespoon of old rum and a tablespoon of the best white wine or vinegar; take a half pint warm before bed — the cold will be cured in 2-3 days."⁶ This was considered an infallible cure, to be used as needed. A teaspoon of flaxseed syrup, taken before retiring, was also said to be effective for enuresis.⁷

External applications included the following: "For stitches in the side and pain at the spleen . . . boil flaxseed, chamomile, mallow herb, and white lily root — of each a handful. Put all in a calf's bladder and lay as warm as bearable on the afflicted side."⁸ Flaxseed also worked for hemorrhoid sufferers: "Take equal proportions of raw flaxseed oil, catnip tea leaves, celandine leaves, jimson weed leaves. Fry leaves in the flax seed oil



Bethlehem, 1755.

Drawing of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania in 1755. Courtesy of the Historic Bethlehem, Inc. Collections.

It offered premiums for improved machinery, and carefully inspected new equipment and processes.⁴⁴ The work of the Society was reported not only to its members, but in newspapers and magazines such as the *American Farmer* (begun in 1819) as well. Through them, farmers were kept abreast of the latest farming

experiments, news, and machinery. The adaptation of machines to farm usage was important. Burgiss Allison of Philadelphia invented an 1812 jenny which drove 10-15 spindles and took up little more room than a spinning wheel, but it only spun cotton and wool. Improved carding machines and looms with flying shuttles also

improved home productivity. Frequently several families joined together in buying these machines. Jennies cost \$10-\$50; the carding machine was \$60. Jefferson said of these machines: "We have reduced the large and expensive machinery for most things to the compass of a private family, and every family of any size is now getting machines on a small scale for their household processes."⁴⁵

But flax processing in general remained a tedious, time consuming job. Traditionally, farm families did the work themselves.⁴⁶ Yet when farms became more prosperous from their increasing emphasis on productivity and affluence, itinerant laborers and skilled flax dressers were often hired to do much of the work. James Green of Goshen, New York, dressed 101 pounds of flax in one day; this was said not only to be a "good day's work," but also the most ever heard of by the editor for one man to do.⁴⁷ Laborers pulling flax frequently got a dollar a day for pulling a quarter acre; however, one man in Bucks County recalled a "female on Lackatong Creek of whom it was said she could pull an acre of flax and drink a quart of whiskey in a day, and wade the creek at night to her home."⁴⁸

Flax mills became a popular way to have flax dressed. John Witmer and John Groff, in the Paradise area of Lancaster County, charged 4½ cents a pound to scutch, and 5½ cents per pound to scutch and clean, flax.⁴⁹ The Friendly Institution of Burlington, New Jersey, charged 9 cents a pound to hatchel (or comb) flax in 1828. A communal and charitable society, the Institution would hatchel, spring water clean, and weave linen for 12½ cents a yard.⁵⁰ One flax mill near Elizabethtown, New Jersey, offered \$15 a ton for retted or unretted flax.⁵¹ Mills drastically reduced the cost of dressing flax, for hand dressing often accounted for one-third of the final cost, while mill dressing reduced that to a tenth.⁵² Many farmers took advantage of these mills, thus breaking the connection between home grown and home processed goods. The farmer could now be solely a producer of raw goods, with the processing being done by others. He became a link in a chain of dependency. It was specialization in the name of production.

Many machines came on the market in the early 1800s to help flax work from sowing to dressing. Many of these machines had been invented first in Great Britain and she refused to allow them out of the country, wanting to protect the linen industry as she had tried to protect the cotton industry in the late 1700s.⁵³ Even Napoleon was interested, offering a million francs "to the inventor, in any nation whatever, of the best machine proper for spinning flax."⁵⁴ Flax at that time was the prime material in his empire and he, like the English and Americans, believed "that the only obstacle in the way of their uniting cheapness of price to perfection of workmanship results from the imperfecton of the flax machines."⁵⁵

at boiling heat for one hour and bottle. When cold, apply where needed."⁹

One of the more unusual remedies using flax was for a bee sting in the foot that nothing else would help: "Bind a double linen thread on a toad's foot, on the same side as the sore foot, without handling the toad with the bare hands or damaging it further than to cut off its foot, which is to be tied on the sore leg and left there until it falls off. This has also proven good for horses."¹⁰

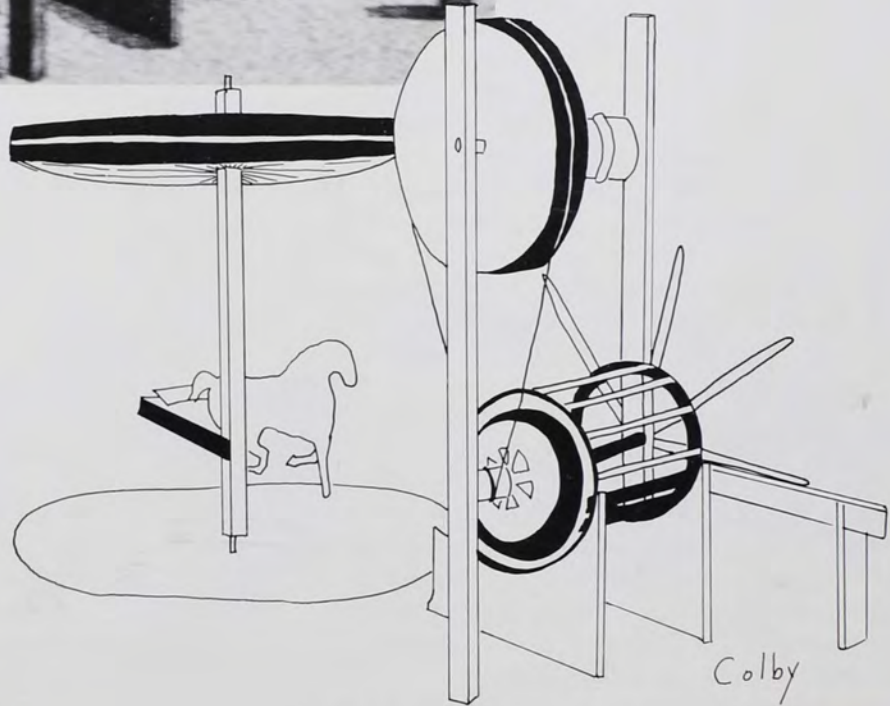
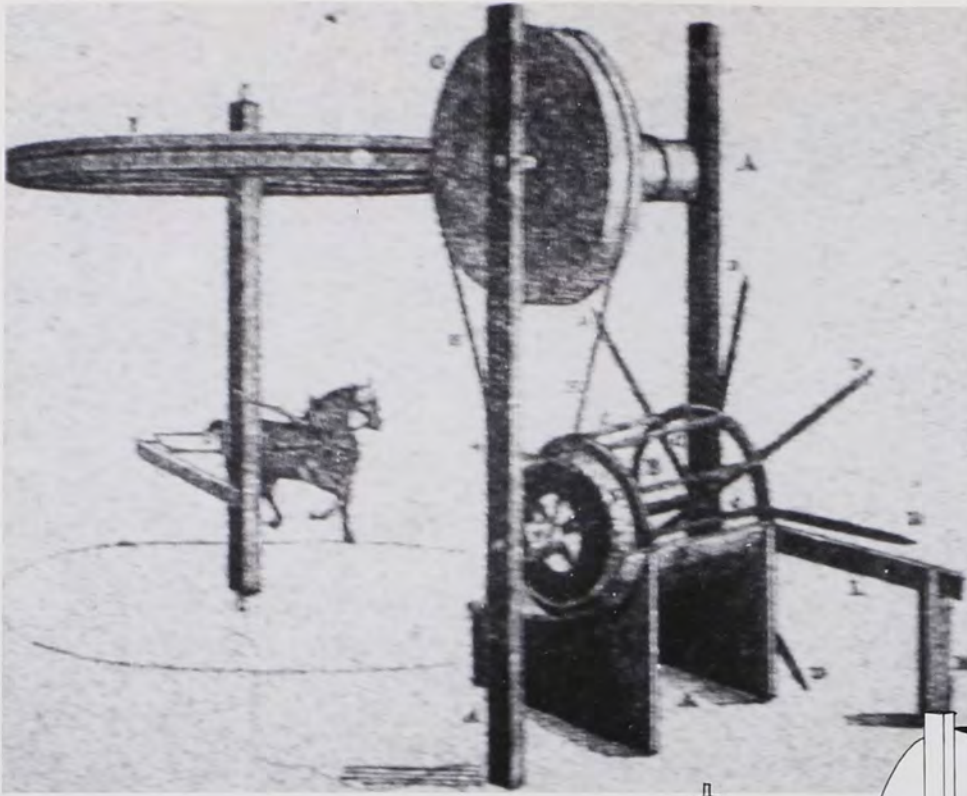
FLAX PRODUCTION IN BETHLEHEM

Bethlehem was settled in December, 1741, as a religious commune to support the missionary work of the Moravians among the Indians. Within a few years, the General Economy included Bethlehem and Nazareth, eight miles to the north, as well as several smaller settlements: Christiansbrunn, Gnadenthal, and Friedensthal.

The first crops, planted in the spring of 1742, included oats, wheat, rye and flax.¹ Probably lacking sufficient tools, the Single Sisters combed that first flax crop at a Swiss farm on the south side of the Lecha, or Lehigh, River.² The Single Sisters were part of the Economy's living arrangements in which men and women were housed in separate buildings, typical of German communal settlements.

Flax was raised on the hillside fields that sloped to the river, on an island below the village (where a flax brake house was later built), and probably in the basin of the Monocacy Creek.³ In addition to the brake house where the Brethren worked, a flax store house and a bleaching yard were later located nearby.⁴ There was also a flax-seed oil mill (three in fact — the first mill was replaced and the second one burned), another bleaching yard, and a dye house along the Monocacy.⁵ Until the early 1800s, linseed oil was a profitable commodity for the Economy.⁶

Fiber processing of all kinds was a lifelong task: Children ages three and four picked cotton seeds in Nazareth, those five and six learned to knit, and by seven they were spinning.⁷ The Single and Married Sisters also spun as did the elder Brethren when they could no longer work in the fields. Weaving the spun linen yarn and wool was important and overseen by Sisters Spangenberg and Cammerhof, wives of the Economy's leaders.⁸ By 1747, 3,000 yards of linen were



A flax brake. Using a brake of his own device, a man in 1822 broke 156 pounds of flax in two hours with a wooden implement weighing eight pounds. (*American Farmer*, IV, p. 270) "This method of breaking flax leaves more of the Shives in the lint than our common brake does, but it makes less Tow from the Swingle."

A horse powered flax brake, ". . . a machine of small dimensions, simple construction, and exceeding durability, invented by Mr. Rodman Goodsell, of Oneida county, New York. With this machine, driven by one horse, a man will break, hatchel, and dress clean enough for the Distaff 100 lbs. per day. . . The price of each machine is \$100." (*American Farmer*, IV, p. 270.) In 1823 the Pennsylvania Agricultural Society deemed Goodsell's machine successful in comparison with other machines. 15 pounds of flax were broken in four-and-a-half minutes, scutched in seven minutes, left entirely without shives, obtaining two pounds of very fine flax. (*American Farmer*, V, p. 126.)

The Philadelphia Agricultural Society tested many machines by American and British inventors, such as a broadcast sower (pushed like a wheelbarrow) which sowed an acre of flax or grain an hour. An English machine, supposed to prepare flax without retting (rotting), was considered too costly and complicated for practical use. The Society then offered a premium for a flax machine of the best construction to be presented by January, 1822.⁵⁶ Chapman and Rawley most likely won the premium with a machine that broke flax without retting. Considered "one of the most important machines in Pennsylvania"⁵⁷ when shown at the First Philadelphia Agricultural Exposition in 1822, it could be purchased at the agricultural warehouse near the Pratt Street wharf (at the sign of the wheat fan) for \$18-\$50.

Another machine invented in 1822, but by Anthony Day, also broke and cleaned unretted flax; and it incorporated a bleaching process as well. When operated by one man and three boys, this machine — powered by a horse — could clean one ton of flax a day with a yield of 500 pounds of bleached fiber; twice the amount retting would produce. Mr. Day said his process cost less than six cents a pound, including the cost of seed. Combing the flax for spinning would add an additional two cents per pound. A committee studying the machine found the flax fiber to be as white, and soft, and fine as silk.⁵⁸

Retting (rotting) — necessary to dissolve the natural "glue" that holds together the two parts of flax straw, the outer layer and the inner fiber — was considered the bane of flax processing because of its unpredictability: "It is out of the power of any man to tell the exact number of days it will take to water or dew-rot flax."⁵⁹ The result was a very natural desire on the part of flax producers to by-pass the retting process. It was, in fact, the reason that "no subject . . . excited more interest [prior to 1823] . . . than that of 'preparing' and 'dressing flax and hemp' — It has been vainly imagined that both might be done with machines without being compelled to resort to the tedious and disgusting process of previously rotting them."⁶⁰ (By 1860, steam and acid treatments would replace the "tedious and disgusting" water and dew rotting process.)

By the 1820s, even flax spinning machines were available. Pennsylvania and New York had 300 machine-driven spindles in 1821; they were spinning flax for thread, twine, and bed ticking. As these factories took over production, inventors found little demand for "machines [for farmers], simple, cheap, readily repaired, and easily worked."⁶¹ In fact, now that machines were able to do more and more of the flax processing, doing the work by hand (or even doing it on the farm at all) was looked down upon as "a servile occupation fit only for slaves and laborers."⁶² The flax grower and processor had become two different people, and what had once been a sign of independence was now

made in a year, but much was needed: "Our Brethren and Sisters require three to four shirts [each] annually, on account of the intense heat and the heavy labor."⁹ (The 70 babies in the nursery also required much linen.) By the 1750s, 10-12,000 yards were woven yearly by six linen weavers working in the Brethren's House.¹⁰ With the addition of the fulling mill, it was possible to say that "both Sisters and Brethren are clothed from our own cloth."¹¹

A store was built in 1753 to meet outside demands for Moravian products. Linens offered for sale included: coarse woven linen, fine linen, hemp linen, double-sided linen, bed cover linen, Osnabrig coarse linen and half linen. From June, 1758 to May, 1759, over 4,500 yards were sold. In return for such goods, flax and flaxseed were often taken in exchange.¹² The oil mill's capacity was more than the Economy itself produced.

Flax was also raised at Nazareth and its outlying settlements. West of Nazareth was Christiansbrunn (Christian's Spring, named for a son of Count Zinzendorf, the founder of Bethlehem), a community for the Single Brethren. Begun in 1748, by 1764 it had a grain mill, brewery and flax house. Six to seven acres of flax were grown there in a typical year. In 1760, Brother Weber brought a loom from Bethlehem, and his weaving was later continued by another Brother. In 1765, a new laundry and bleaching yard were ready for the Brethren and boys who lived there.¹³ Friedensthal and the Moravian Rose Inn also raised flax, but generally less than two acres.¹⁴

When the Single Sisters moved to Bethlehem from Nazareth, it's said they walked the entire distance, singing hymns and carrying their spinning wheels.¹⁵ A Moravian woman told the authors that her grandmother's grandmother spun flax in Bethlehem then rode horseback to Nazareth with her linen yarn so a weaver could make her wedding linens.¹⁶

In 1788, a baggage train of the Continental Army, 700 wagons in all, camped on Moravian fields on the south side of the river. Split rail fences, buckwheat, hay, and 100 bundles of flax laid out to dew rot were all destroyed. An itemized bill, sent to the Continental Congress, asked 18 pounds 15 shillings for the flax loss. It is not known if the bill was paid or not.¹⁷

Even before the Revolution, the Moravians, like other German communal settlements, were affected by changing times and changing ways. The General Economy was modified in 1762, beginning a long transformation from commune to private enterprise. Demand for flax products also declined. By the 1800's the oil mill was grinding grain, not flax seed.¹⁸



Dyeing the linen

demeaning; indeed, it was even the “greatest objection to extensive flax culture.”⁶³ All that was needed now for a complete factory takeover was a power loom, then America could compete with Europe for the world linen market.

Yet even with such a loom, that dream was destroyed by two things. First was the increasing demand for cotton at the expense of linen. The Philadelphia Agriculture Society even asked the inventor of the cotton gin, Eli Whitney, to devise a machine that would “do for flax what [his] gin did for cotton.”⁶⁴ Farmers wanted flax to help Pennsylvania compete with

Southern cotton. The arguments were good: there was more usable flax per acre than cotton and the remaining chaff and harl could be fed to cattle. But there was no way to compete with complete mechanization and slave labor. Even when good flax machinery was available, the price of domestic linen wasn’t enough to make it worthwhile as a cash crop. Pennsylvania farmers turned away from fiber production to accommodate “the unexampled demand for breadstuffs and other food.”⁶⁵ The capitol structure of farming was becoming “fixed to produce large surpluses of specialized crops.”⁶⁶



Scutching the flax



SCUTCHING

Scutching — the process which removed the broken pieces of stem from the flax fiber — was not an arduous task and in Pennsylvania the work was often done by women and children. A story is told of New Englanders passing through Pennsylvania German country, in 1788, who were surprised by this fact. The day they passed Reading, two girls of the traveling family were perched on top of the carriage when it drove into a stable-yard where the horses were to be fed. Immediately the girls “burst into one of their wildest laughs at the sight of two honest old German women busily employed in swingling, or, as they called it, skutcheling flax. It is a kind of work, which, in New England, is always done by males. It was the first time they had seen it performed by women, and seemed to them so ridiculous, that their mothers could not check their risibility till they had enjoyed a hearty laugh. The old women were quite vexed to be thus made a subject of sport, and, in quite an angry tone, told them, as they were going to the backwoods, it was more than likely that, before they died, they would have to skutchel flax themselves, in that country. The girls remembered this retort, and were a little more quiet for a while.”⁸³

Ye belles and beauties of today,
give little thought or heed
How maidens toiled in the long ago
for the clothes they were in need;
How in the fields in Summer time,
beneath the broiling sun
They toiled, while in the Winter time
the linen thread they spun.⁸⁴

The dream for extensive flax production was also destroyed by cheap foreign linen that undercut American prices. Even in the 1700's, high American labor costs had made European linen a better buy.⁶⁷ In the 1820s the United States was importing more linen than it was making. An article in the *Philadelphia Democratic Press* urged farmers to grow more flax and hemp, saying too much was being imported from Ireland and Russia, that it was in the country's interest to raise more of its own crops. Even the U.S. Navy was using Russian sail ducking, saying American dew retting weakened the fibers.⁶⁸ To counteract such imports, Pennsylvania's pro-Jackson legislators helped pass the Protective Tariff of 1828, specifically covering the state's flax and hemp.⁶⁹ It was a rear guard attempt.

Flax was trapped between imports and factory made cotton. By 1808, cotton from Slater's Rhode Island mills was already being sold in Lancaster and other Pennsylvania communities.⁷⁰ By 1814, cotton was cheaper per pound than flax.⁷¹ "When the price of the ordinary brown shirting was reduced from 42 to 7½ cents a yard between 1815 and 1830, there was little inducement for one to labor all day at the loom to weave four yards of such cloth. The housewives could no longer compete against a system which made it possible for one man tending three or four power-loom to turn out from 90-160 yards a day."⁷² Just as household manufactures gave way to cotton, so did the linen factories.

By 1861, it was obvious that "the manufacture of linen goods has made but little progress in this country. As a household industry, the manufacture of flax is less extensive than formerly, its use having been in a great measure superseded by that of cotton."⁷³ In that year, only seven flax mills were left in New York, and just three in Massachusetts. Lepanto Mills in Solebury, Bucks County, lasted until 1860.⁷⁴ Cotton now accounted for two-thirds of all clothing; over 36 yards per person per year.⁷⁵

Flax production in 1850 had been almost eight million pounds of finished fiber, with 550,000 bushels of seed. Seed production increased to 600,000 bushels in 1860 due to its use in paint, but the amount of dressed fiber fell to less than four million pounds. Estimating that it took almost eight-and-a-half million pounds of flax to produce the seed that year, four-and-a-half million pounds of flax was simply not used. "This practice of saving the seed and rejecting the fiber was only a recent but natural development considering the profitability of the seed with little market for the fiber."⁷⁶

Curtailment of Southern cotton to Northern factories during the Civil War brought a brief resumption of household manufacturing and flax production. While it's true that, in 1862, the young Moravian women at Lititz may have "lately reintroduced the use of the spinning wheel as a pleasant recreation for their leisure

hours,"⁷⁷ it's equally possible they needed to because of war shortages. The U.S. Department of Agriculture in 1863 appropriated \$20,000 "for investigations to test the practicality of cultivating flax and hemp as a substitute for cotton."⁷⁸ Regardless of the results, when the war ended, cotton resumed its place in textile manufacturing.

THE END OF AN ERA

Attempts were made to process flax so it could be carded and spun like cotton, a process called fibrilization. Fibrilized flax was used to make twine, to stiffen the heels of shoes, and for half-linen, half-cotton yarn in carpet weaving.⁷⁹ But this use for flax was small and only possible in factories. On the farm, almost all clothing was now factory made, with the exception of some knitted-work and sewing. Flax brakes, combs, and scutching boards, if kept at all, were relegated to the barn. Small pots of flax may have been kept for medicinal purposes, but the days of self-sufficiency were gone. The transformation from household to factory linen, and from linen to cotton was complete. As one man proudly described the change: "The modern trend is to let our heads save our backs, then to spend our leisure and surplus energy in more enjoyable and more healthful exercises than that of working over a flax brake or at a spinning wheel."⁸⁰

Yet there undoubtedly were many good things lost in the change from self-sufficiency to dependent affluence. The act of household textile manufacturing "harnessed together in the productive process all the members of the family, young and old, male and female. It concentrated attention upon the interests of the family, as a group, rather than upon the interests of the individual members."⁸¹ Indeed, not only the family, but

the social life of many communities also centered in the system of family manufactures. It was in the social gatherings connected with spinning, carding, and fulling that the people, young and old, found wholesome enjoyment. The spinning, carding and fulling bees, the spinning societies and contests, all gave the people opportunities to satisfy their social instincts and desires. Furthermore, the socializing effect, upon both the individual and the community, of the give-and-take necessary to support the system was also very great. Everyone had to do his part in the support of the family or neighborhood. Since most of the work was done in the home or on the farm, the system produced a home-bred, home-living, and a home-loving people — a people who found both their employment and their pleasure in their own or their near neighbor's home.⁸²

For better or for worse, the passing of this way of life really did mark the end of an era.



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²For a more detailed look at this process, see Berry (above) and the chapter on American farming in Jerome Blum, ed., *Our Forgotten Past* (London, 1982).

³Rolla Milton Tryon, *Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860* (reprinted New York, 1966), pp. 126-27. A rural clergyman described it this way: "Thus calico and silk and sin/By slow degrees kept coming in." Stevenson Whitcomb Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture, 1640-1840* (Harrisburg, 1950), p. 416.

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⁵Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884* (Philadelphia, 1884), p. 150.

⁶J. Leander Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures from 1608-1860* (reprinted New York, 1966) I, 216.

⁷John Greenleaf Whittier, *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim and Other Poems* (Boston, 1872), p. 72.

⁸Bishop, I, 316.

⁹Scharf and Westcott, p. 153.

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¹¹From *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Jo. Severns & Co., 1852), I, 93.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹³Bishop, I, 315-16.

¹⁴Scharf and Westcott, p. 70.

¹⁵Bishop, I, 336.

¹⁶Theophile Cazenove, *Journal*, ed. Rayner Wickersham Kelsey, (Haverford, 1922), p. 34.

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²⁰Francis Little, *Early American Textiles* (New York, 1931), p. 80.

²¹*Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.

²²From "Minutes of the Provincial Council," in *Colonial Records* (Harrisburg, 1852), IX, 354.

²³"Frankliniana: Three Short Pieces," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXV:2 (1951) 197.

²⁴Bishop, I, 379-380.

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 381-87.

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 397.

²⁸From the "Minutes of the Council of Safety," recorded in Philadelphia on July 5, 1776, *Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1852), X, 632-33.

²⁹Tryon, pp. 126-27.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 285.

³¹*Ibid.*

³²*Ibid.*, p. 278.

³³*Ibid.*, pp. 282-83.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 131.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 172.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 283.

³⁷Bishop, I, 398.

³⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 405-07.

³⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 405-08.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 395, 409.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, pp. 409-10, 415; II, 148, 464; III, 53.

⁴²Ellen J. Gehret, *Rural Pennsylvania Clothing* (York, 1976), p. 25.

⁴³The inventory of Peter Penebacker, August 1, 1770, includes a flax hackle, "witened thread" (probably linen), a flax brake, spinning wheel (separate mention is made of wheels for cotton and wool, so this one is probably a flax wheel), and five yards of flax linen. "Pennypacker's Mills," *Bulletin of the Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania*, XXII:3, pp. 217-220. The 1745 inventory of Claus Johnson, "late of ye Township of Skepack & Perkyominy," includes two looms, ten yards of linen, four pounds of indigo, a "furnace for Dying Blue" and "four Bushells of flax seed." Ralph L. Johnson, "Leaves From Footnotes of History," *The Perkiomen Region*, XII:1 (1934), pp. 18-21.

⁴⁴Bishop, I, 416.

⁴⁵Tyron, pp. 277-78.

⁴⁶Alice Morse Earle, *Home Life in Colonial Times* (New York, 1933), pp. 166-67.

⁴⁷*American Farmer*, III, 43.

⁴⁸Hubert Schmidt, *Flax Culture in Hunterdon County, New Jersey* (Flemington, 1939), p. 7.

⁴⁹*Paradise Hornet*, November 16, 1822, II:78, p. 1.

⁵⁰"Notes & Queries," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXI:3 (1897), p. 347.

⁵¹Schmidt, p. 9.

⁵²*American Farmer*, III, 124.

⁵³*Ibid.*, II, 399.

⁵⁴"Communications" *Chronicle of the Early American Industries Association*, II:2 (1937), p. 24.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*

⁵⁶*American Farmer*, III, pp. 123, 165.

⁵⁷*American Farmer*, IV, p. 128.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, III, 413-14. Another English machine was tested by the Society, but worked so poorly it was thought useful only to keep people occupied, rather than for efficiency. This machine, invented by Bundy, was considered only "fitted for Bettering Houses [for orphans] and for the improvement of Prison discipline, converting involuntary labours into certain profits." *American Farmer*, III, 206-07. Bundy later displayed an improved model that used water or steam power, and it was not uncommon for a machine to be adaptable to human and horse power as well. George Rapp's Economy in western Pennsylvania was using a steam powered flax break in 1824. *American Farmer*, VI, p. 404.

⁵⁹John Wily, *A Treatise on the Propagation of Sheep* (reprinted Williamsburg, 1981), p. 35.

⁶⁰*American Farmer*, V, 90.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, III, 125, 206.

⁶²*Ibid.*, V, 90.

⁶³*Ibid.*, III, 124.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, II, 399; III, 124, 206.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, III, 109, 124.

⁶⁶Blum, p. 190.

⁶⁷Bishop, I, 339.

⁶⁸*American Farmer*, III, 375, 413-14; VI, 363; II, 399: "The great consumption of our country of articles of which flax is the material, has been made exclusively subservient to the productive labour and wealth of foreign countries; and deriving all the benefits of that consumption, they have studiously encouraged the growth of flax, and protected the manufacture of it by large bounties."

⁶⁹Herman Hailperin, "Pro-Jackson Sentiment in Pennsylvania, 1820-1828," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, L:3 (1926) p. 231.

⁷⁰Carlton O. Wittlinger, "Early Manufacturing in Lancaster County: 1710-1840," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society*, LXI:3 (1957), p. 113.

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⁷²Tryon, p. 267. For a description of patented industrial flax machines of the mid-nineteenth century, see John Titus, "Flax: Its History, Culture, Importation, Exportation and Consumption," *The Merchant's Magazine*, II (1863), pp. 179-91.

⁷³Bishop, II, 467.

⁷⁴"Mill Index to Bucks County," Bucks County Historical Society Library; unpublished manuscript.

⁷⁵Titus, p. 357.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 190-91.

⁷⁷A. L. Shoemaker Folk Cultural Files, Pennsylvania German Archives, Myrin Library, Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa.

⁷⁸Titus, p. 469.

⁷⁹Bishop, III, 317.

⁸⁰Schmidt, p. 10.

⁸¹Fletcher, p. 427.

⁸²Tryon, p. 6.

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⁸⁴Thomas J. B. Rhoads, "The Linen Towel," written Sept. 28, 1892, at Boyertown, Pa., and later reprinted in 'S Pennsylvanisch Deutsch Eck, *The Morning Call* (Allentown, Pa., June 18, 1966).

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³Joshua Gilpin, "A Tour from Philadelphia in 1809," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, L:1 (1926), p. 66.

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⁵Titus, p. 108. He also gives another recipe here which includes salt, epsom salts, and bone dust.

⁶One farmer raised flax on reclaimed salt marsh opposite Newark, N.J., liming in the spring but not manuring: *American Farmer*, III, 357.

⁷Titus, p. 110.

⁸*American Farmer*, III, 336.

⁹The remaining 80% could be put back on the field as compost or used as feed, especially if the crop was raised only for seed.

¹⁰Titus, p. 105.

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¹²Theodore W. Bean, ed. *History of Montgomery County* (Philadelphia, 1884) p. 337.

¹³Titus, p. 107.

¹⁴Shoemaker Files

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¹⁷Ibid.

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²Homer Calkin, "American Influence in Ireland, 1760-1800," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXI:1 (1947), pp. 104-05.

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⁵Informant Y

⁶Bishop, I, 415.

⁷From an article in *The Record*, Berks County Historical Society

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⁸*American Farmer*, III, 116.

⁹Ibid., p. 43.

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¹Ishbel Ross, *First Lady of the South* (New York, 1958), p. 176.

²*Pennsylvania German*, X:6 (1909), p. 276.

³Shoemaker Files.

⁴*Pennsylvania German*, X:6 (1909), p. 276.

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⁶*American Farmer*, I, 343.

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³*Buildings of Bethlehem's Past*, unpublished manuscript, Historic Bethlehem, Inc., 1982.

⁴From a 1766 map of Bethlehem in the files of Historic Bethlehem, Inc.

⁵George Vaux, "Extracts from the Diary of Hannah Callendar," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XII:4 (1888), p. 452.

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¹⁰Ibid.

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¹²Ibid., p. 70.

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¹⁴William C. Reichel, "Friedensthal and Its Stockaded Mill," and "A Red Rose," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, II, pp. 20, 298.

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A CIVIL WAR SOLDIER'S TALE

by Paul McGill

Some two decades after the Civil War, ex-soldier Adam J. Greer — a former sergeant who had served four months in Company F of the 126th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers — was standing in the Altoona, Pa., depot when a west-bound train pulled into the station. A large man — apparently a stranger — stepped off the train and shook the Sergeant out of his reverie by presenting himself as a man Sergeant Greer believed dead and buried twenty years earlier. The story the large man told, however, was even more startling than his sudden reappearance.

There exists, in many cultures, a great tradition of the soldier, or war tale: a folktale transmitted orally from generation to generation, and from culture to culture, it undergoes many transformations along the way. The specific facts of the story may fall away during repeated retellings until merely a kernel of the truth survives; or the facts may be embellished until the story attains epic proportions. In either case, the result is an unverifiable popular tale. A succinct description of the process has been given by B. A. Botkin: "From camp, bivouac, battlefield, and hospital, stories passed into the letters of soldiers, doctors, nurses, chaplains, and the reports of war correspondents, becoming living lore and legend for the folks back home. Told and retold, campfire tales ultimately became folk history."¹

War tales have always held a special appeal and fascination for mankind because of the bizarre and exciting events which they recount. In the United States, the war between the North and the South has become the most written about conflict, undoubtedly because Americans fought Americans. In many cases it was brother against brother, and repercussions of the feelings which resulted persist even today. Despite romantic fascination with these stories, those who actually served maintained no illusions about the real tragedy of war. While all wars are fought by young men, the Civil War had youths under sixteen who managed to enlist. Innocent, idealistic, hot-blooded young men, often with visions of grandeur, they discovered what war really entails after enduring months of cold, wet, illness, vermin, dirt, and death.

Given these conditions, it is not surprising that some soldiers — bitter and disillusioned — deserted. The majority, however, continued to fight. Though often homesick and unhappy, they endured their lot, living and dying as best they could under the circumstances; circumstances which bred strange — sometimes romantic — occurrences such as the one I write about. I classify my Civil War story as an unverifiable popular tale for two reasons: originally, it was orally transmit-



Captain Cornelius McClellan

ted; and, it contradicts what official accounts do exist. Nevertheless, I believe that the folk history I am about to recount is more accurate than the official record; such records deal with so many people they are bound to be impersonal and often times inaccurate. But this account results from the interaction of two people actually concerned in the events.

In 1980, while rummaging through the cluttered attic of my great-aunt's house in Butler, Pa., my parents and grandmother discovered a bundle of brittle letters packed away among some old military memorabilia. Several years later, I found them lying on a shelf in a closet and looked them over. Most concerned Harley McClellan, my great-grandfather, who served as a private with the Fifth Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry during the Spanish-American War. One, however, was apparently a copy of a letter written by Harley's father, Captain Cornelius McClellan,² from Mifflintown, Pennsylvania on August 26, 1898, to a friend in Indiana, Pennsylvania. The letter — which follows below — concerns a tale from the "War of the Rebellion" which was told to the Captain by a friend.

Mifflintown, Pa., August 26th, 1898

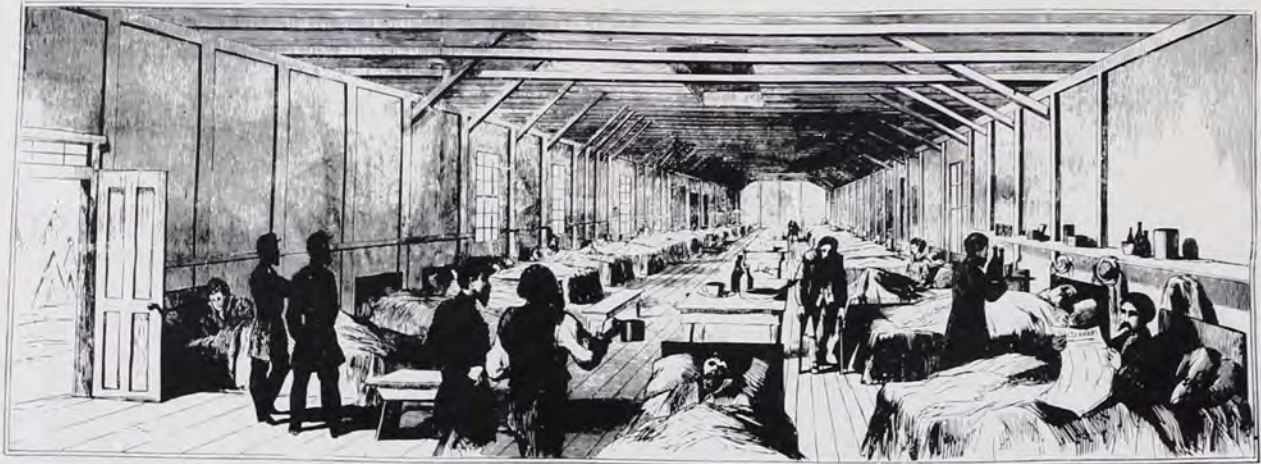
J.N. BANKS, ESQ.,

Indiana, Pa.,

Dear Comrade:-

In pursuance of your request when I last saw you at Mifflintown, I have put in writing the information I received about Sergeant Mayne of Co.F. 126 Regt., P.V. in addition to what is contained in the History of the Regiment given in Bates' History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, Vol. 4, Page 127.

In July, 1862, after the retreat of Milroy down the Shenandoah Valley in June of that year, a young man came to my place of business at Mifflintown, said he had been a member of an Ohio Regiment and wanted to talk to me about military matters, I having been Captain



A Civil War hospital

of a military company at the breaking out of the Rebellion. He was an entire stranger to me, but after some conversation with him, I discovered he had some knowledge of military matters.

In August of that year, John P. Wharton of Port Royal, Juniata County, began to raise a volunteer company for the service. This young man enlisted under the name of Frank Mayne, and on account of his knowledge of military matters, was appointed a Sergeant. The Company afterwards became Co. F. of the 126 Reg., Penna. Vol.

While the Company was at Camp Curtain, Harrisburg, Penna., William Fitzpatrick, a friend of Sergt. Mayne, enlisted in Co. F. The two messed together and were fast friends. In August, while the regiment was in Camp at Clouds Mills, Va., Fitzpatrick took sick and was taken to the Hospital at Alexandria, Va. It was thought he had smallpox, and when he arrived at the Hospital, he was placed in the smallpox ward. On August 24th, Sergt. Mayne got leave of absence to visit Fitzpatrick at Alexandria. He had a suit of citizens clothing and took it with him under his blouse.³ He did not return and was reported as a deserter. Fitzpatrick was reported as having died. (See Bates History, Penna. Vol. 4, Page 127.)⁴

Story of William Fitzpatrick⁵ told to Adam J. Greer, Sergt. Co. F. 126 Regt., P.V. some twenty years after the war, as narrated to me by Sergt., Greer.⁶

Greer said, -“I was standing in the Depot at Altoona leaning against a post, when the Fast-line coming West rolled into the Depot. A large man got off the train, approached me and said, ‘Are you not Sergt. Greer of Co.F. 126 Regt.? P.V.?’ I said, I am. The stranger said ‘Do you know me?’ I said, No. He said, ‘Well I am Fitzpatrick of Co. F.’ I replied, I guess not, Fitz is dead. He replied, ‘He is not dead, he stands before you.’ I asked, how is this, you were reported dead? He said, ‘Well I will tell you, -When Frank Mayne came to see me, I was walking around the Hospital camp and when we were out walking, they brought a smallpox patient to the

Hospital and put him in my bunk. My name was on the bunk. That night the patient died and was burried [sic] the next day.’ I was reported to Captain Wharton as having died. The afternoon Frank came, he proposed that we desert, and went from Alexandria to Washington and bought me a suit of clothes. We both had money, having received a bounty of fifty dollars from Juniata County when we enlisted. We left the day the man placed in my bunk was buried. We went West and joined, (my recollection is he said) an Illinois regiment. We were both wounded at the Battle of Chickamauga.’ I then inquired, what became of Frank Mayne? He replied, ‘Well Frank Mayne and I are married and live on a large farm in Illinois; she is the mother of five stalwart boys; I am on my way home from Washington where I have been looking after my own and my wife’s pensions.’ I said, well what part of Illinois do you live in? He replied ‘That I will never tell you.’ The train then started, he bid me good-bye and that was the last I saw of him.”

This story was put in writing by Sergt. Greer. I do not have the paper containing his account of it from which to refresh my memory, but give it from my recollection of his narration of the occurrence to me.

Yours, very truly and fraternally,

Capt. Cornelius McClellan⁸

Although primarily a literary account, the story comes from an oral source. It probably underwent at least slight modification since, as Captain McClellan admits, he did not have Sergeant Greer’s written account before him to help “refresh his memory” about the events in question. Greer’s story provides some additional — as well as some contradictory — information not mentioned in the first, and official, documentation of the events. This first documentation is in the Bates’ *History* mentioned by Captain McClellan in his letter. The relevant passage from that book is contained in Judge Rowe’s *Sketch of the Regiment*, part of which follows below:



Federal Rout at Chickamauga (painted by James Walker; Office of Military History, Department of the Army).

¹Before we follow the regiment from Washington, a bit of romance connected with its history is to be chronicled. William Fitzpatrick, of Western Virginia, loved or was loved by Frances Day. Fitzpatrick enlisted in Company F, from Juniata county, and went to war with the One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Regiment. In a short time he fell ill, and on the 24th of August, 1862, whilst the regiment lay at Cloud's Mills, he died in the hospital at Alexandria. On the day he died, Frank Mayne, a Sergeant of company F, unaccountably deserted. When he enlisted he was a stranger to all the men of that company, but in a few days he had so ingratiated himself with his comrades and officers, as to be promoted to Sergeant. He was not heard of any more while the regiment remained in service. But long after, in the far West, a soldier, wounded badly in a great battle, could not conceal her sex, and Frances Day then told how she had followed Fitzpatrick into the army, and became herself a soldier and a Sergeant in the One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania Volunteers; of her desertion upon her lover's death, and the abandon and despair which led her again to seek the ranks of the army. To verify her story letters were written to the officers of company F, at Mifflintown, and thus the mystery of the Sergeant's desertion was dispelled.²

The two accounts contain not only differences, but some striking similarities as well. The engagement at Chickamauga was indeed considered a "great battle": sixty thousand Union, and sixty-two thousand Confederate, troops fought there. Also, when the battle took place, in 1863, America's frontiers were still largely unpopulated, and Chickamauga, Georgia, could be considered in the West. Furthermore, Rowe's "great battle" took place, he claimed, after the 126th Regiment was disbanded. The 126th mustered-out on the twentieth of May, 1863: the Battle of Chickamauga was fought in September of that same year.

Bates' *History* records that both William Fitzpatrick and Frances Day died.³ Greer challenges this, and the possibility that both survived certainly does exist. During the Civil War, hospital records were sometimes inaccurate. Even today doctors occasionally perform operations on the wrong patient, and during the Civil War it was not considered unusual for mixups — like that

which is claimed happened to Fitzpatrick — to occur. No particulars of Frances Day's death are given, which suggests the historian did not have an adequate amount of information about her. This, too, was not uncommon; indeed, it might be expected from a battle in which more than nine thousand Union soldiers were killed and almost ten thousand were missing.

I personally believe that William Fitzpatrick and Frances Day did survive; that on the 28th of August, 1862, the Army buried an unknown soldier under William's name in the Military Asylum Cemetery of Washington, D.C. If they did, it may well be that descendants of the two are alive and well today.

ENDNOTES

¹B.A. Botkin, ed., *A Civil War Treasury*, (New York: Promontory Press, 1962), p. xviii.

²Captain Cornelius McClellan was a captain at the outbreak of the Civil War and enlisted two companies. He served as captain of Company E, 101 Regt. Penna. Vol. from Mar. 23, 1865 to June 25, 1865.

³A blouse was the term for the service coat or tunic worn by members of the U.S. Army.

⁴*Sketch of the Regiment* quoted in Samuel P. Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers: 1861-65*, 5 Vol., (Harrisburg: B. Singerly, 1869-70), Vol. IV, pp. 127-128. —hereafter cited as Bates' *History*.

⁵Fitzpatrick's tale contains two basic motifs. The first is a return from the dead. Sergeant Greer was probably disconcerted when the large man stepped off the train and proclaimed himself to be Fitzpatrick of company 'F' when Greer knew perfectly well that 'Fitz' had expired from smallpox back in '62. The other motif is a combination of Type K1810.3., "Lover disguised as other knight in order to reach sweetheart" and K1837.6., "Disguise of woman as a soldier." Quotations from Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957), Vol. IV, pp. 429 and 440.

⁶Sergt. Greer served originally as a corporal in Company F with Frank Mayne. There is no record of his promotion in Bates' *History, Penna. Volunteers*, Vol. IV. He served from Aug. 9, 1862 until Dec. 24, 1862, when he was released on a surgeon's certificate.

⁷The records in Bates' *History, Penna. Vol.* Vol. IV, p. 139, show that the man was actually buried four days after he died.

⁸I am in possession of this letter and can be contacted by writing to: Paul McGill, 2179 Parkdale Ave., Hermitage, PA 16148.

⁹Bates' *History*, Vol. IV, p. 139.



Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker



*Pennypacker's Mills, historic home of Governor Pennypacker
General Washington's headquarters, Sept. 26-29, Oct. 4-8, 1777.*

SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER'S TRANSLATION OF THE HASLIBACHER HYMN

Introduction by Nancy K. Gaugler

INTRODUCTION

Historian, antiquarian, lawyer, and politician, Samuel W. Pennypacker was governor of Pennsylvania from 1903 until 1907. Of Pennsylvania German origin, he did not speak the dialect, but was self-taught in German (and several other languages).¹ In *The Autobiography of a Pennsylvanian*, Pennypacker tells how this came about:

I never had any instruction in German. After I had been admitted to the Bar, Dr. Oswald Seidensticker, of the University of Pennsylvania, one day told me that George M. Wagner, a hardware merchant on Callowhill Street near Fifth Street, had the manuscript account book of Francis Daniel Pastorius, kept in 1702, and in it was an account with Hendrick Pannebecker. Eager to know what it contained, I went to examine the book, but being written in German script, I was unable to read it. At Mrs. Foster's boarding house I had an old German friend named C. Louis Scherer. I led him up to the hardware store, but the

script was two centuries old; he was matter of fact and absolutely devoid of imagination and he could not read it. I determined not to be baffled in that way, bought a German Grammar and Dictionary and went to work, and at the end of about a year I went to the store and made a copy of the entry.²

Governor Pennypacker also made translations of German hymns, including the Haslibacher hymn reprinted below. Of it he said:

The Haslibacher hymn written in the sixteenth century and published in the *Ausbund*, a hymn book of the Mennonites which has gone through eight editions in America and is still used among the Amish of Lancaster County, always made a strong impression upon me because of its dramatic power and simplicity. It has many of the features of the ballad literature and of the *Nibelungenlied*. I translated it from the German when at Harrisburg, in the midst of my first session of the legislature, as a sort of relief from the onerous pressure of new and difficult official duties. The translation preserves the rhyme, meter and versification, and to a certain extent maintains the spirit of the original.³

AUSBUND

Selection from the end of the Introduction [Vorrede]

Aber wie dem allem, wann es nicht Nacht und dunkel würde, wer wollte wissen, was Tag wäre? Und wenn solche Verfolgung unterm Namen Christi (darin sie Gott zu dienen vermeinen) nicht geschähe, wie würde dann die Schrift erfüllet? Welches alles dem gottesfürchtigen Leser mit unpartheyischem Gemüth zu erwagen, hie anstatt einer Warnung, in der Kürze Christlicher Meinung, heimgestellt ist, mit Betrachtung, dass man in allen solchen Sachen kein fleischlich noch irdisch Lob, sondern vielmehr mit Christo eine Dornenkrone denket davon zu dringen.

DAS 140. LIED

Erin schön geistlich Lied von dem Hasslibacher, wie er vom Leben zum Tod ist gerichtet worden.

Im Ton: "Warum betrübst di dich mein Herz."

1. Was wend wir aber heben an,
Zu singen von ein'm alten Mann,
Der war von Hasslibach,
Hasslibacher ward er genannt,
Aus der Kilchöri Summiswald.
2. Da das der lieb Gott zu thät lan,
Dass er wurd hart geklaget an,
Wohl um den Glauben sein,
Da hat man ihn gefangen hart,
Führt ihn gen Bern wohl in die Stadt.
3. Und da er nun gefangen ward,
Gepeinigt und gemartert hart,
Wohl um sein Glauben schon,
Jedoch war er beständig g'seyn,
In seiner Marter, Angst und Pein.
4. An ein'm Freytag, thut mich verstahn,
Thäten die G'lehrten zu ihm gahn,
Wohl in die G'fangenschaft,
Fingen zu disputiren an,
Er soll von sein'm Glauben abstahn.
5. Der Hasslibacher auf der Stätt
Sie überdisputiret hätt,
Da sprach er bald zu ihn'n,
Von mein'm Glaub'n thu ich nicht abstan,
Eh will ich Leib und Leben lahn.

Collected Hymns

Selected from the end of the Introduction

But how, from all else, if there would be no night and darkness, would a person know what day was? And if such persecution in the name of Christ (whereby they presume that they serve God) had not happened, then how would the Scripture be fulfilled? And who of all these God-fearing readers with impartial disposition, see hidden here a warning in the brief Christian intention, with a view that man, in all such things should assume no human nor worldly praise, but should intend all the more, with Christ to put on a crown of thorns.⁴

HYMN

A beautiful spiritual hymn concerning Haslibacher, how he was led from life to death.

In tone "Warum betrübst du dich mein Hertz." [To the tune of "Why do you grieve, my heart?"]

From the archaic German in the *Ausbund*, a Mennonite Hymn Book published in Switzerland about 1620 and in Pennsylvania reproduced eight times.

Translated into English verse by Samuel W. Pennypacker, March 8th, 1904.

1. We sing in such way as we can
The fate which happened an old man.
He came from Haslibach.
Haslibacher was he called,
Out of Kilchori Summiswald.
2. The dear Lord suffered it to be
That he was punished grievously
Because of his belief.
They caught him at his home, I learn,
And took him to the town of Berne.
3. And there in prison he was cast,
In pain and torture was held fast,
Because of his belief.
But pain and torture did not scathe
And steadfast kept he to his faith.
4. On Friday, as I understand,
The learned priests who ruled the land
Went to his prison cell,
Began to argue that he ought
To yield the faith he had been taught.
5. The Haslibacher listened long
While they disputed hard and strong,
Then made this quick response:
"I will not my belief resign,
While life is in this body mine."

6. Und da es nun am Samstag war,
Die G'lehrten gingen aber dar,
Redten ihn heftig zu,
Du musst von deinem Glauben stahn,
Oder man wird dein Haupt abschlan.
7. Gar bald er ihn'n zur Antwort gab,
Ich steh nicht von mein'm Glauben ab,
Ich halt ihn festiglich,
Dann mein Glaub ist vor Gott so gut,
Er wird mich han in Schirm und Hut.
8. Und wie es war am Samstag Nacht,
Ein Engel Gottes kam mit Macht,
Zum Hasslibacher hin,
Sprach, Gott hat mich zu dir gesendt,
Zu trösten dich vor deinem End.
9. Weiters thu ich dir zeigen an,
Von deinem Glauben thu nicht stahn,
Darauf bleib steif und vest,
Dein Glaub der ist vor Gott so gut,
Er hält dein Seel in guter Hut.
10. Ob man die schon wird dräuen hart,
Man woll dich richten mit dem Schwerdt,
Erschrick di nicht darob,
Ich will an deiner Seiten stahn,
Kein Schmerzen wirst dardurch empfahn.
11. Und da es an dem Montag war,
Die G'lehrten kamen nochmal dar,
Zum Hasslibacher hin,
Fingen mit ihm zu reden an,
Er soll von seinem Glauben stahn.
12. Wo nicht, sagten sie ohne Spott,
Morgen musst du leiden den Tod.
Der Hasslibacher sprach:
Eh ich von meinem Glauben stahn,
Eh lass ich mir mein Haupt abschlan.
13. Hört wie es am Montag zu Nacht,
Der Hasslibacher hart entschlafft,
Bis um die Mitternacht,
Da traumet ihm es seye Tag,
Man wolle ihm sein Haupt abschlag'n.
14. Der Hasslibacher wacht darob,
Da war es bey ihm heiter Tag,
Ein Büchlein lag vor ihm,
Ein Engel Gottes zu ihm sagt:
Lies du was in dem Büchlein staht.

6. Upon a Saturday again
Appeared anew these learned men
And angrily they spoke:
"If now this faith you do not doff
You soon will have your head cut off."
7. The answer came both short and quick:
"To my belief I mean to stick,
I hold it steadfastly,
If God approves, naught can alarm
And he will save me from all harm."
8. And that same Saturday at night
An Angel of the Lord with might
To Haslibacher came,
And said: "The Lord me here did send
To strengthen you to meet your end."
9. "To give you help that will avail
If in your faith you do not fail
But stand both fast and firm.
That faith is pleasing to the Lord.
He holds your soul in good accord."
10. "Although you will be driven hard
And then must perish by the sword,
Be not thereat alarmed,
There I shall be right at your side
So all the pain you may abide."
11. While Monday's hours were passing o'er
The learned men came still once more
To Haslibacher's cell,
And what they wanted was in brief
He should surrender his belief.
12. "If not," said they with the same breath,
"Tomorrow you will suffer death."
Then Haslibacher said:
"Before my own belief I scoff
You may indeed cut my head off."
13. That Monday night in darkness deep
The Haslibacher lay asleep.
About the midnight hour
He dreamed it was all light, and they
Had come to take his head away.
14. The Haslibacher then arose,
A brilliant light did all disclose,
A book before him lay—
An Angel of the Lord then spoke:
"Read what you find in this dread book."

15. Da er das Büchlein lesen thät,
Fand er dass es darinnen steht,
Man werd sein Haupt abschlan,
Drey Zeichen werd Gott sehen lahn,
Dass man ihme unrecht gethan.
16. Und da ers ausgelesen hat,
Da wurd es wieder finster Nacht,
Gar bald er wied'r entschlief,
Und schlaft bis an den heitern Tag,
Dass man zu ihm ins G'fangniss kam.
17. Da wünscht man ihm ein guten Tag,
Gar bald er ihn'n gedanket hat,
Darnach sagt man zu ihm,
Das Göttlich Wort er hören soll.
Sonst müsst er ess'n das Henkermahl.
18. Von mein'm Glaub thu ich nicht abstahn,
Das Göttlich Wort ich selber kann,
Mein Sach befehl ich Gott,
Es ist mein'm Herz ein ringe Buss,
Wann ich unschuldig sterben muss.
19. Ins Wirthshaus führt man ihn fürwahr,
Man stellt ihm Ess'n und Trinken dar,
Den Henker neben ihm
Dass er soll in ein Grausen komm'n,
Und noch vom Glauben gar abstohn.
20. Der Täufer sprach zum Henker gut,
Nun esst und trinkt, seydt wohl zu Muth,
Ihr werdet heutigs Tags
Hinrichten mein unschuldig Blut,
Ist aber meiner Seelen gut.
21. Er sprach auch, Gott wird sehen lan
Drey Zeichen, das thut wohl verstahn,
Die wird man sehen bald,
Wann ihr mir schlaget ab mein Haupt,
Springts in mein Hut und lachet laut.
22. Das ander Zeichen wird geschehn,
Das wird man an der Sonnen sehn,
Aufs dritt habt fleissig Acht,
Die Sonn wird werd'n wie rothes Blut,
Die Stadel-Brunn auch schwitzen Blut.
23. Der Richter zu den Herren sagt,
Auf die drey Zeichen habet Acht,
Und sehet wohl darauf,
Wann nun diss alles soll geschehn,
So g'schicht es eurer Seelen weh.
15. He found as then he turned to look
This marvel writ within the book,
"When they cut off your head
Three signs will God disclose to view,
To show the wrong done unto you."
16. And after he had read it all,
Again the night did 'round him fall,
Again he fell asleep,
And never did he wake once more
Until they oped his prison door.
17. They bade to him a pleasant morn.
He thanked them with no touch of scorn.
And then to him they said:
"You first the Godly word shall hear
Then eat a meal, the last while here."
18. "From my belief I do not part,
The Godly word is in my heart,
My cause I give to God,
My soul is darkened by no lie
And innocent I wish to die."
19. Then to an Inn they took their way,
Good meat and drink before him lay,
The headsman by his side,
That he should be in sorest dread
And from his faith be thus mislead.
20. The Mennist to the headsman spoke:
"Your meat and drink my courage woke,
You will upon this day
Pour out an innocent man's blood,
But this is for my soul's great good."
21. He further said: "God will you show
Three signs that you may easily know
And every man can see;
My head cut off will lie awhile
Then leap into my hat and smile."
22. "The second sign will be as clear
And on the sun itself appear.
Now to the third give heed;
The sun will be as red as blood,
The Stadel Brun be a red flood."
23. The judge turned to the lords, indeed:
"Do you to these three signs give heed
And see if they occur,
If all of this should happen so
Your souls may yet encounter woe."

24. Und da das Mahl nun hat ein End,
Man wolt ihm binden seine Händ,
Der Hasslicher sprach:
Ich bitt euch Meister Lorenz schon,
Ihr wollt mich ungebunden lohn.
25. Ich bin gutwillig und bereit,
Mein Tod mich heftig wohl erfreut,
Dass ich von hinnen soll,
Aber Gott woll erbarmen sich,
Die zum Tod verurtheilet mich.
26. Da er nun auf die Richtstatt kam,
Sein Hut von seinem Haupt abnahm,
Und legt ihn für die Leut,
Euch bitt ich Meister Lorenz gut,
Lasst mir hie liegen meinen Hut.
27. Hiemit fiel er auf seine Kney,
Ein Vater Unser oder zwey
Er da gebetet hat,
Mein Sach ist jetzt gesetzt zu Gott,
Thut jetzt nur eurem Urtheil statt.
28. Darnach man ihm sein Haupt abschlug,
Da sprang es wieder in sein Hut,
Die Zeichen hat man g'seh'n,
Die Sonne ward wie rothes Blut.
Der Stadel-Brunn thät schwitzen Blut.
29. Da sprach ein alter Herre gut,
Des Täufers Mund lacht in dem Hut,
Da sagt ein grauer Herr,
Hätt ihr den Täufer leben lahn,
Es würd euch ewig wohl ergahn.
30. Die Herren sprachen insgemein,
Kein Täufer wir mehr richten wend,
Da sprach ein alter Herr:
Wär es nach meinem Willen gahn,
Den Täufer hätt man leben lahn.
31. Der Henker der sprach mit Unmuth:
Heut hab ich g'richt unschuldig Blut.
Da sprach ein alter Herr,
Des Täufers mund hat g'lacht im Hut,
Das bedeut Gottes Straff und Ruth.
32. Der uns diss Liedlein hat gemacht,
Der war ums Leb'n in G'fangenschaft,
Den Sündern thät ers z'Lieb,
Ein Herr ihm Federn und Tinten bracht,
Er schenkt uns das zu guter Nacht.
24. The meal had now an end at last.
They wished to bind his two hands fast.
The Haslibacher spoke:
"I pray you Master Lorentz so
You me permit unbound to go."
25. "Prepared and ready I can be,
My death in truth rejoices me,
And I am full content;
And God will mercy still bestow
On those themselves who mercy show."
26. As he was to the scaffold led,
He took his hat from off his head,
Right there before the crowd.
"I pray you Master Lorentz that
You let me here put down my hat."
27. Then down he fell upon his knee
And offered prayers up two or three,
And longer yet he prayed.
"What cause is mine the good God sees,
Do with me now whate'er you please."
28. The headsman then cut off his head,
It leaped into his hat and bled.
The signs could all men see.
The sun became as red as blood,
The Stadel Brun ran a red flood.
29. Then said an aged man thereat:
"The Mennist's mouth laughs in his hat."
Then said an old gray man:
"If you had let the Mennist live
It would you lasting welfare give."
30. The lords together whispered then
"No Mennist will we judge again."
An old man spoke aloud:
"If as I wished it had been done,
The Mennist had been left alone."
31. The headsman said in saddest mood,
"To-day have I shed guiltless blood."
Again the old man spoke:
"The Mennist's mouth laughed in the hat,
God's punishment will follow that."
32. He who this little hymn has made
Is for his life in prison laid.
To sinners sends he love;
A man brought pen and ink to write
He sends to you a last good night.

PENNYPACKER RENDERS PASTORIUS

In October, 1903, the people of Philadelphia celebrated the 220th anniversary of the landing of the first group of Germans in Pennsylvania under the leadership of Francis Daniel Pastorius. After the daylight celebrations in the Germantown district the crowds gathered in the Academy of Music to hear two great orators pay tribute to the early founders of the colony. The Rev. Julius Hofman of the Zion's Lutheran Church in Baltimore delivered a scholarly oration on the general subject of the German pioneers in America. He spoke in German. Then came the turn of the Honorable Samuel W. Pennypacker, Governor of Pennsylvania, himself one of the descendants of the early settlers of Germantown.

Judge Pennypacker was an erudite scholar and during the course of his long and useful life he graced many a platform before audiences interested in academic matters. But on this occasion he was in a jovial mood and he mixed so much levity with the pearls of wisdom that he had his audience laughing and applauding throughout most of his speech.

In serious vein the governor discussed the life and work of the great scholar Pastorius. He pointed out that the leader of the first German group was at home in Latin, Greek, Holland Dutch, French, Spanish and German. Lamenting his own shortcomings linguistically the Governor read some of the poems which were found in Pastorius' Diary. The audience, of whom many were first-generation German immigrants, laughed at the peculiar intonations and pronunciations that the Pennsylvania Dutch Governor gave to the lines of German Poetry.

Unabashed Pennypacker continued to read the lines of one of the German poems. Some of the audience wondered whether he really knew what he was reading

because it was a clever sophisticated little love poem which Pastorius had written and the sentiments were ardently expressed. To the amazement of his audience the Governor of Pennsylvania then announced that "during the political *Donnerwetter* at Harrisburg" he had found time to translate the poem into English and would they bear with him while he read his translation? Here it is, worthy of a Horace or a Sir John Suckling!

Come, Corinna let me kiss thee;
Come, my dearest, to me here.
I would know why joy should miss thee
I would have thine answer clear.
Smiling sweetly, said she "No",
Then demurely yielded so.

"Stay here near me, O my treasure,"
Cried I, "run not off so far;
Let us try love's luring measure
While our lives the richest are."
Sighing deeply, said she "No",
Then demurely yielded so.

Raise thy head and let me kiss thee;
Not a man shall ever learn
How with longing I caress thee,
How my lips to thine do turn.
Then she trembled and said, "No",
But demurely yielded so.

Often since, where'er I wander,
Whether far or near the way,
O'er the lesson do I ponder
From Corinna learned that day.
"No" is sometimes backwardness—
"No" is sometimes meant for "Yes."

—Arthur D. Graeff

(In Preston A. Barba " 'S Pennsylvawnisch Deutsch Eck" *Allentown Morning Call* 15 Feb. 1947.)

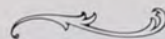
ENDNOTES

¹Pennypacker also read French, Dutch, Spanish and Latin.

²Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, *The Autobiography of a Pennsylvanian* (Phila., 1918), pp. 144-145.

³*Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁴Translation by William T. Parsons.





William Hunter, Sr., 1795-1879.



Sarah Marilla Range Hunter, 1800-1878.

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MRS. SARAH HUNTER

Introduction by Harry E. Chrisman

My mother, Gertrude Bernice Hunter Chrisman, late of Scottsbluff, Nebraska, descended from the Pennsylvania Range and Hunter families. She was always very proud of her Revolutionary War ancestry. Mother was always known as "Berna" among her friends and relatives, and was always called that by our father, Henry Eugene (Gene) Chrisman, a rancher and cattleman. Berna came to Nebraska as a child of eighteen months with her parents, Flora and Lyle Hunter. She had been born in or near Atlantic, Pa., August 8, 1877. She died at age 86, on May 30, 1963.

Berna's great-grandmother was Sarah Marilla Range (1800-1878). She married William Hunter who was born in Westmoreland County, Pa., December 25, 1795. William was the son of Poland and Nancy Ann (Simpson) Hunter, both born in Ireland. Poland Hunter settled on an island in the Allegheny River, opposite the present town of Tionesta, Pa.

Sarah Marilla was the daughter of John Jr. and Nan-

cy (Myers) Range, and the granddaughter of John Range Sr. John Range Sr. (1744-1827) came from an area about seven miles northeast of Gettysburg, between the towns of Hunterstown and New Oxford, on Little Conewego Creek, where a large mill (built in 1747 and still standing) owned by Deabolt Shollas gave employment to several men of the community. Range there met and married Shollas's daughter, Matelane. Range was a veteran of the Revolutionary War, a lieutenant of the 4th Bn., York County Militia. For his war service he secured a land warrant taken out in the name of his eldest son, Shollas. The warrant, number 511 dated May 15, 1785, included 258 acres, which John Range examined in 1808; in 1816 he moved his family to the property which is the site of present-day Tionesta, Pa.

When John Range, Sr. settled on his property, quarrels broke out between him and Poland Hunter, and it has been reported that in a physical struggle between the

two, Range bit Hunter's fingers. Hunter, according to the legend, returned a few days after the initial fight, showed his bandaged hand to Range, shook his undamaged fist and, from his canoe, shouted: "Faith and be Jesus, I'm comin' over to let ye bite off me ither hand if ye cares to try it." Eventually the two men smoothed over their quarrel, and Hunter's son married Range's granddaughter, Sarah.

John Range, Sr. gave the town of Tionesta the ground for the large town square where today the county court house is located; on the lawn there, erected by one of the women's groups of the area, is a large stone marker commemorating this gift. This is, I believe, more than enough about my mother's relationship to the Hunters and Ranges. My mother wrote up her own life story in a book titled, *When You and I Were Young, Nebraska!* It details her early life as a pioneer child in the (then) Nebraska wilderness, where her mother could, and did, fire from her open window and bag an antelope for their dinner. Wild game was plentiful, in 1878-9-80, in central Nebraska (Custer County), but her parents came without money or equipment, and had a most difficult struggle for survival. Her father eventually "proved up" on a good homestead in what was called the cedar canyon. He was later a deputy sheriff of Custer County, Nebraska.

As the following account will make clear, Mother and her parents were simply following a family pioneering tradition. This autobiographical sketch is taken from a Tionesta (Pa.) *Vindicator* Print, which is undated, but from the evidence of the following paragraph (taken from the title page) apparently appeared sometime in the early 1900s:

The life of Sarah (Range) Hunter as here recorded by herself, is also the story of the average pioneer families who settled in this region shortly after the Revolutionary War. Although the period of time which has elapsed between Mrs. Hunter's girlhood and the present day is scarcely more than a century, conditions and manners have changed more in that period than during any other five centuries of the world's history.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MRS. SARAH HUNTER

BY HERSELF

I was born in Harford county, Maryland, the 27th day of March, 1800. My first recollection was when I was about four or five years old when my father took me to a meeting; about that time we were having great revivals and the impressions that were made upon my mind have never been forgotten. I remember well the first time I was ever at a funeral. It was when a child was buried. The next day an incident happened which I will narrate, as it shows the impressions that were made upon our youthful minds. Our Wood, while at work,

cut his toe off and mother said we must go and bury it. With great care my little brother and I rolled the toe up in cloth and with sorrowful hearts we carefully placed it in the earth.

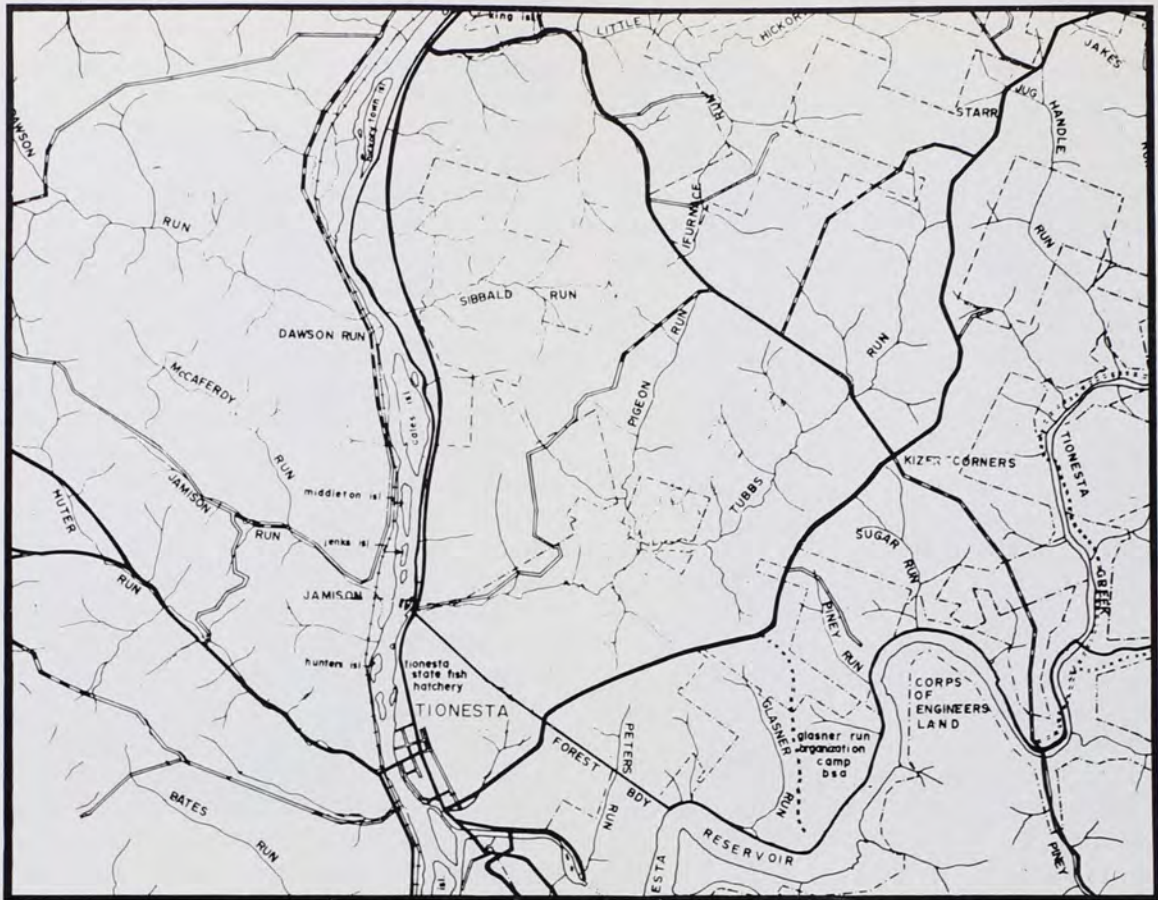
In 1807 my father took me to Baltimore. The distance was about 30 miles. While there I got some watermelon and enjoyed myself very much. After our return my father made a vendue and sold off his property and we left our old home for a home in the backwoods. There were six of us — father, mother and four children. It was then we gathered up the few articles of furniture and packed them upon our old wagon and started out for a pioneer life in the wilds of Pennsylvania. We endured three weeks of tedious travel ere we reached our destined home, which, when reached, was three miles from a cleared field back in the dense forest, in the county of Venango, Richland township, now known as part of Clarion county. It was on the seventh day of October, 1807, that we rested from our journey in the place destined to be our new home.

The next in mind was something to shelter us from the weather. Our wagon being a covered wagon we took out the few articles we had taken with us and lived in the wagon until we could build a house. In one week we had a house. It was built of logs and covered with split clapboards. The floor was laid with split logs, the flat surface being laid up. Our bedsteads were made of forked poles set up and small poles laid cross ways. The next was our commencement in life. My father was a poor man, and after our journey and the erection of our cabin, was obliged to sell the old wagon to procure provisions for his family that winter. Our best horse also died a few days after we moved. Although far back in the woods, we were not out of the reach of misfortune. In our new home, away from all the refinements of those days, we were deprived of the privileges which were enjoyed by many in other places. Preaching did not reach us for four years after our settlement in the woods. Although that was in my childhood days, yet I never forgot my great Creator and often knelt in secret prayer to Him who had so kindly watched and cared for us and may say in the language of the divine:

"Thy mercy heard my infant prayer,
Thy love, with kind fraternal care
Sustained my childish days.

Thy goodness watched my repining youth,
And formed my heart to love thy truths,
And filled my lips with praise."

In February after 1808 a little incident occurred which I will here relate: My mother was boiling sap and I was sitting under a tree with my little brother Henry in my arms; while sitting there a tree fell, striking him from my arms and he was taken up for dead. The next spring my father hired some land and raised some flax, which my mother worked into clothing for the family. In those



Tionesta, Pa., on the upper reaches of the Allegheny River. Hunter's Island is directly across from the present-day Tionesta state fish hatchery.

days the idea of going to the store for the necessary articles of clothing was little thought of. Stores then were not so plenty as now and people who started out for a home in the backwoods had no money to purchase their few articles of clothing at the store, therefore we were obliged to raise and make our own. My father was a miller and was always used to working in a grist mill and therefore had much to contend with in trying to work out a home in the woods, which others, who had been used to farming, would not have. He would often come in when chopping and say to mother, "Mam, I want you to come and tell me which way this tree is going to fall."

That year we raised very good crops, enough to last us through the next winter. Also that year I had a sister born that I thought a great deal of. I have already told you how we had to do for clothing. The next is what we did for shoes. My mother said it was no shift to want, so she cut the tops off father's old boots and took flaps off the old saddle and sent to the shoemaker and borrowed some tools and made herself a pair of shoes. About this time my grandfather came to visit us and was pleased with the looks of the country and he concluded he would take his family and settle near us, therefore he moved his family and several other families came with him and in a short time the dark woods began to give way to the axe of the settler and the inventions began to develop themselves.

About this time a saw mill was built and we commenced to get boards, which made our homes quite comfortable. At this time my father bought two cows, paying \$15 for one and \$16 for the other, making quite a difference in the price then to the price now.

When my little sister was a year old, my mother and her father and brother went to Maryland on horseback, which place they reached in seven days and intending to return in seven weeks, but owing to the conclusion of some relatives to return with them they remained three months, in which time I, of course, was presiding housekeeper, which consisted of doing the work for father and four children. I milked the two cows, churned the butter and did the cooking, took care of my little sister, and the neighbors would often come in and say that everything looked so neat and clean. I have told you we had to wear home made linen and I will tell you how I washed. As I had no soap, I would rub them with my hands and I had a small bag of ashes which I boiled with the clothes; then I would iron and give the children clean clothes every Sunday.

By this time our neighbors had commenced to mark out roads. The roads were marked by taking an axe and blazing or cutting the bark off on one side of the tree. Our neighbors were kind and in flax-pulling time they would unite and help each other pull flax. In 1809 I went to school three months. In 1810 my brother James was

born. Also this year one of my father's best horses was bitten by a snake and lived but a short time. After it died this left him again with but one horse, but having a pair of two-year-old steers he would yoke them up and hitch the horse before them and have me ride the horse, which made quite a team, but as I did not know which way haw or gee was he tied a red string around my thumb so I could tell. When my brother James was very sick and came near dying at this time, Rev. Jacob Grover preached at my grandfather's, a distance of about two miles from my father's. My mother took James to the meeting and had him baptized and from that time he soon regained his health. The preacher also gave him a small rattan riding whip, which the little fellow considered a very nice plaything and which from his speedy recovery to health impressed my father with the idea that this little whip possessed a great healing efficacy and was highly prized by him. Whenever any of the children were sick he would immediately give them this whip, believing in so doing they would soon be restored to health.

The 15th of October after, I remember, was a very pleasant day; we were digging potatoes. On the night following we had a severe snowstorm, the snow falling a foot deep and did not go off until the next March, which prevented us from digging all our potatoes, and during the winter the deer came and pawed most of the remaining potatoes up. In 1812 I had another sister born. In 1813 the circuit preacher found his way to our house and preached. He was from the Baltimore conference. Also in June of this year my mother was bitten by a copperhead snake, but it did not prove serious. In August following my father was drafted to go to Erie, but the day after my mother was again bitten by a snake, which prevented father from going. In January, 1814, my father was drafted again and taken to Erie, leaving us to do the best we could. We had sheep and wool, so I learned to spin. We also had geese which supplied us with feathers, so we could make beds, therefore we were able to get along quite comfortably.

A little incident occurred when I was 12 years old which I will relate here. My uncle went out and killed a large bear and he told me if I would pull the fur out of the bear's skin and spin it and knit him a pair of stockings and mittens he would give me a dollar a pair, which offer I accepted, and upon presenting him with the stockings and mittens I received the two dollars, which was the first money I ever earned. In 1814 I had a brother born, also in this year I, with eight others, joined the M. E. church in Richland. In 1815 my brother John was badly bitten by a snake while carrying water in the field, but not fatally. In 1816 my father made up his mind to sell and move up the river. Accordingly he came up and hired what is known as the Winter Island in Tionesta and sowed it with oats. Some time after old

Mr. Hunter sent his son William Hunter down to tell father he must weed his oats. Accordingly father prepared to go and when nearly ready to start young Hunter wanted to know if Sally could not go with them. Father consented and we three started out horseback to perform the necessary work. After our return young Mr. Hunter paid us another visit. Everything being satisfactory we struck the bargain and were married the sixth day of August, 1816. The next day we started on horseback to visit his folks, who were living about 35 miles away. And now the thought comes home, "I must paddle my own canoe." My parents were well pleased with the match and gave me a very good setting out, which consisted of a three-year-old colt, a cow, two sheets, a feather bed and a chair. In February we concluded we would go to housekeeping. Accordingly we built a slab house. It contained one door, a fireplace and one window. We built it upon the west side of the river, the same place where George Hunter's house now stands. There we commenced housekeeping and cultivated what is now known as Hunter Island. At that time large quantities of lumber were transported down the river in rafts at times of high water, at which times my husband acted as pilot and on his return would often bring me home various articles of merchandise. I remember the first calico dress I received. My husband purchased it in Pittsburgh and paid 50 cents per yard for it.

In August of the same year our daughter Jane was born. In 1818 David Hunter built the grist mill on the same site where now stands the Hunter grist mill. During that time I boarded and did all the work for the hands employed on the mill. On February 12 of the same year I went to a prayer meeting in Tionesta, a distance of three miles, and there I gave my heart to the Lord and promised Him if He would forgive me I would never forsake nor leave Him and my mind is the same now. It was there in 1819, April 10, John Hunter was born. In those days we raised flax and wool, which material I worked into clothing for the family. In 1820, June 14, Ann Hunter was born. We still lived in the old house and cultivated the island. In 1822, March 8, Margaret Hunter was born. In 1823 we bought 100 acres of land for which we paid 200 bushels of corn in installments of 50 bushels a year. We moved on our new place the next spring and there we enjoyed ourselves much better than we had before. We had but one mile to go to church and many a pleasant meeting we had that year. On October 5 of this year William Hunter was born. In 1824 the first steamboat came up the river and we got on it and took a ride. This year under the smiles of a kind providence our crops were very good and we were prospered in our labors. In 1825, June 9, George Hunter was born. In 1826, November 25, Sarah Hunter was born. In 1828, May 7, Mary Hunter was born. In

1829 death sent its sorrows to our hearts. Two of my brothers were laid in the church yard; one by disease and the other while entering his house, which stood near the creek, was accidentally struck in the back by a bullet that was fired at some ducks on the creek, and lived but a few days.

In 1830, December 9, Martha Hunter was born. Also in this year Mr. Hunter sold his property and went back to live with his father and mother. He also bought the mill property for which he paid \$1,100, the payments to consist of 100 bushels of corn and \$25 cash each year until the same was paid. Also this year disease visited us. Myself and nine children were sick with the measles. In 1832, May 11, Harriet Hunter was born. In 1833, November 5, Nancy Hunter was born. In 1834 death entered our circle and took from our midst one whom we loved, our little Nancy. In 1835, February 11, James Hunter was born. In 1836, September 3, Hannah Hunter was born. In 1838, July 8, Ellen Hunter was born. In 1841, April 22, Moses Hunter was born. In this year October 5, Father Hunter was laid away in the church yard at the good old age of 82 years, leaving us the large island for taking care of him during the last years of his life. In 1841 we built us a two story house and moved into it in December. In it we had plenty of room for our family and the preacher as long as we lived there. In 1842, April 22, Isaac Hunter was born. We have now had the poor man's blessing and by this time my girls were large enough to help me and I put them to spinning. They all stayed at home and we all worked together. In 1843 I procured a loom so I did my own weaving and considerable for other people. Also in this year we built a large barn. In 1844 our boys built a saw mill, the timber of which they rafted to Pittsburgh, in which place we often procured our groceries. In 1845 and 1846 nothing particular occurred. The boys kept the mill running steadily, pressing onward, doing the best we could. In 1847, September 18, death with its icy hand took from our midst our little son Isaac, throwing its mantle of sorrow over all of our hearts. In this year Rev. John Abbott was our circuit preacher. Also in this year we made some improvements on our property. We took down the old grist mill and erected in its stead a new three story mill at the cost of about \$5,000, which may serve as evidence that through our persevering industry, we had steadily advanced in financial matters.

In 1849 and 1850 our accumulations were used in relinquishing the mill obligation incurred for its erection. I went into the grist mill and helped what I could, besides attending to other household duties, and we were blessed and prospered. In 1852, December 26, death again entered our midst, filling our hearts with sorrow and our home with gloom, taking from our circle our daughter Harriet, yet in due obedience to high heaven I could say with reverence to Him:

“Though cast down we are not
forsaken,
Though afflicted, not alone.
Thou didst give and thou hast
taken,
Blessed Lord, thy will be done.”

Time elapsed rapidly and we progressed favorably, each trying to do his part. In 1859 the great oil excitement broke out and spread in all directions. Our son George put down a well and was very successful. Also in this year we had very high water which came into our house, so that a canoe was run through our kitchen. In 1860 the oil excitement was still raging and our boys still worked their well. In 1861 Moses Hunter went into the army, leaving us to await his return for three long years. In 1864 we sold our land property which consisted of the island and land bordering on the shore. For our island we received \$3,500 and that upon the shore we received \$11,000. We then purchased a farm in Erie county, to which place we moved on December 26, 1864, bringing with us our money, \$45,000, besides personal property consisting of cows, sheep and horses. We came to Richard Gregory's, whose kind hospitality we enjoyed for three weeks and for which they will ever have our grateful thanks, and as this closes this brief sketch of one who, under a kind providence, has been permitted to contend with the hardships and privations incidental to the first settlers of western Pennsylvania when the early pioneer laid the axe to the lofty trees that frowned upon him, and built their lowly cabins, and who in her old age is able to look back through the dim vista which comes up between the present and the past, and recall incidents of those early days, and see flowers spring up sending forth their fragrant odors where in her youth the dense forest reared itself and resounded to the axe of the settler and with heartfelt thanks to God for his kind care and protection, she expresses in the language of the divine:

“And now in age and grief, thy
name,
Doth still my languid heart
in flame,
And bow my faltering knee.
O, yet this bosom feels the fire,
This trembling hand and drooping
lyre
Have yet the strain for Thee.”

That a due appreciation may be felt by her children for the advantages which they enjoyed and a regard for Him who directs and cares for us all is the earnest wish of

SARAH R. HUNTER.

Attached to Preceding Sketch

Mrs. Sally Hunter, born March 27, 1800, converted and joined the church in 1812 and married in 1816, was the mother of 16 children, grandmother of 71, great grand-mother of 26. She was a faithful and devout Christian and died happy in the Lord, March 6, 1878, after an illness of only a few days. Her aged and infirm husband, William is just waiting to follow her.

IRA D. DARLIN.

Last Will and Testament of John Range

In the name of God, Amen. I, John Range, of the Township of Allegheny, County of Venango and State of Pennsylvania, being old and infirm, though sound of mind, thanks be to God for his mercies, calling to mind the mortality of the body, and immortality of the soul, do hereby make null and void and of no effect all wills made previous to the date hereof, and do hereby make and establish this my last will and testament in manner following, to-wit: My soul I commit to Almighty God who gave it and my body to the earth to be buried in manner like christian burial. In the first place I give, devise and bequeath, after the payment of my just debts, to my loving and affectionate wife, Matelane Range, my bed and bed clothes and all other articles which is in them, also two hundred dollars in money, also the book called the Confession of Faith, also my large Bible, and to have a decent maintenance out of my estate. The remaining part of my personal estate to be divided in manner following, viz: My daughter Elizabeth, that was intermarried with Jacob Shriber, to get one hundred dollars less than an equal share of my personal estate, because she has received one hundred dollars. I give, devise and bequeath to my son, John Range, one dollar and no other part of my estate. I give, devise and bequeath to my son, Sholas Range, one dollar and no other part of my estate. I give, devise and allow my daughter Mary, that was intermarried with William Gilbreath, to get one hundred pounds less than an equal share of my personal estate, because she has received one hundred pounds. My daughter Susan, who was intermarried with John Gallegar, to get an equal share of my personal estate. My daughter Ann, who was intermarried with John Begart, to get an equal share of my personal estate. I give, devise and bequeath my real estate to my son, James Range and his heirs and assigns forever, to-wit, the tract of land on which he now resides, also an equal share of my personal estate, and my gin and the implements thereunto belonging. I do constitute and appoint James Allender, Esq., and my son James Range, my Executors. Done this seventh day of March in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven.

JOHN RANGE, SENIOR

Witnesses present, Alex'r Holeman, John Range.



Earl F. and Ada Robacker

IN MEMORIAM:

Earl F. Robacker, 1904-1985

Earl F. Robacker had a long and distinguished career as author, educator, and folk art expert. Listed in *Who's Who In America*, he was the recipient of many honors, the most recent of which (October, 1983) was a Certificate of Commendation presented by the American Association for State and Local History for his contributions on the history of the Pennsylvania Germans.

The author of six books on Pennsylvania German literature and antiques, Dr. Robacker and his wife, Ada, had an association with *Pennsylvania Folklife* that went back to the early days of the Society. Together they were for many years the magazine's antiques experts, and contributed literally dozens of scholarly articles to its pages. In addition, Dr. Robacker gave a daily lecture on folk art at the Society's Kutztown Folk Festival for thirty years.

Other groups also benefited from his expertise: In 1979, for example he was commissioned by the Reader's Digest Association to write the accompanying historical background for each of the four commemorative United States postage stamps on Pennsylvania painted and decorated tinware. But it seems fitting that his last published article, "Johann Adam Eyer: 'Lost' Fraktur Writer of Hamilton Square," appeared in an issue of our magazine (Spring, 1985). As a relative newcomer to the Society, it was my only contact with Dr. Robacker, but we had such a delightful correspondence while the issue was in progress that I feel as though I, too, have lost a personal friend.

Nancy K. Gaugler

As student and professor in the field of Pennsylvania German culture and history, it was my good fortune to have opportunity to collaborate and to study with Doctor Earl F. Robacker. Like Arthur Graeff and John Birmelin, he was a gentle person. Thorough in his scholarship, Robacker studied at East Stroudsburg University and New York University where he learned fundamentals, but where he also brought some of himself into the cooperative learning in which he excelled.

His formal writing includes books on *The Literature of the Pennsylvania Germans*, *Pennsylvania Dutch Stuff* and numerous related items. His style was incisive and clear; his examples and suggestions were always pertinent; his teaching manner was a revelation.

In my capacity as director of the Pennsylvania German Studies Program at Ursinus College, I was delighted when, in 1976, Earl and Ada Robacker agreed to teach a demonstration course in Pennsylvania German Antiques and Folk Art. Our classes were not large, but included a teacher, an undergraduate student, and a visiting scholar from the University at Heidelberg, West Germany. Robacker's special talent was that he was equally successful in teaching each of them at a level the individual pupil could understand.

It is always sad to note the loss of such irreplaceable individuals, yet most of all, I am reminded of the words of St. Paul: "He was a good man." *Haarlich rutscherei*, Earl.

W. T. Parsons



Dr. Robacker's unfinished 1985 Christmas card, a tribute to Johann Adam Eyer, the fraktur writer who was the subject of his last published work.

Oldes un Neies



Old and New

BOOK REVIEWS

Van der Zee, John. *Bound Over: Indentured Service & American Conscience*. NY: Simon & Schuster, 1985.
Trommler, Frank & Joseph McVeigh. *America and the Germans*. 2 v. Philadelphia: University of Penna. Press, 1985.

Among books which have appeared in 1985, two are especially related to the Pennsylvania Germans: van der Zee's *Bound Over: Indentured Servitude & American Conscience* is the first of these. This reviewer is familiar with the subject, having researched three hundred servant and apprentice indentures in colonial and early national Pennsylvania. I find some distressing interpretations and a negative author's evaluation here.

His major premise is overflowing with possibilities: that those who reached the shores of British North America in the course of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries became participants in the subsequent struggle for American Independence. It is true that here they were able to own land, an impossibility had they remained in Europe. Van der Zee introduces many statements illustrating his theme.

In examining the institution of indentured servitude, van der Zee uses examples which build a picture of oppressive work, harsh masters and a limited horizon — often true. Repeated references to indentured servitude shortcomings associate it with "slavery" or "voluntary slavery." It was not.

But under English law, the main component was basic assumptions of contract law. In short, the legal indenture provided assurances and guarantees for *both* contracting parties, master and servant. Obviously the major advantages accrued to the master, but it was in servant rights that one finds a key too often overlooked. As the law was applied in Colonial Pennsylvania, a model province without doubt, a servant's rights and expectations were specified in the contract just as assuredly as were the master's.

Moreover, a servant could (and in some specific instances, did) bring charges against a master who failed to live up to contract. Certainly servants from the German states, absolutely unfamiliar with English law, found it hard to credit that they, too, had rights. Compared with essentially feudal law from the Rhineland, it was a revelation. By English contract law, the time to be served *must* be spelled out. If it was not, the contract had to be rewritten and clarified.

This in no way limited the degree to which service to the aforesaid master took priority, nor does it alter the fact that, in service, they remained unfree workers. But they never suffered the lifetime service which was so unfortunately imposed upon black slaves after 1664.

It is not strange that American folk and formal attitudes about indentured service have been unpleasant,

to say the least. The custom has been erroneously associated with chattel slavery. In the historical process of denunciation of this economic institution, the very worst aspects are cited by van der Zee. Specifically, for Pennsylvania he cites Mittelberger, who was not only opposed to German settlement in the Quaker province, but whose book was subsidized by the Duke of Wuerttemberg so as to discourage emigration to America. We do not hear from the 98% of the migrants who sent back for other family members to join them and encouraged friends to come over also.

In a fashion which became a part of the immigration process, fellow countrymen came down to the wharf to help find money to pay captains whenever they heard of the arrival of another ship from Rotterdam. For many, it was a form of repayment for what indentured service had allowed them to do as earlier arrivals.

* * * * *

A second newly published item is Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh's, *America and the Germans*. It contains the collected works of German and American scholars who took part in the Tricentennial Celebration of German Settlement 1683-1983, of the University and the Society of German-American Scholars from 4 to 7 October 1983, in the City of Brotherly Love. In twelve parts the two-volume publication examines immigration, language, ethnicity and the relations between people of the two countries in the twentieth century.

From the initial session on immigration realities and expectations, which I chaired, German and U. S. American scholars had a look at the special relationship which has existed for three hundred years. In addition to that, in over forty essays which follow, new interpretations bring to each reader materials he can identify with, but also items which arouse his objections. It is a thinking person's book. The one item conspicuously missing is the presentation by Karl Carstens, President of the Bundesrepublik, whose talk did fit well into the subjects of the conference and also of this volume of cultural survey.

Congratulations to the sponsoring organizations on their diligent search for appropriate speakers. How often have we heard the promise that "papers will be published," only to find a disappointing melange of unrelated items of unbalanced quality in the final tally. Not here, for this is verily the cream of the crop.

William T. Parsons, Ph. D.

Pennsylvania German Archivist

TRANSLATION SERVICE OFFERED

Every so often we receive requests for aid in translating German script into English. Anyone in need of such a service can write to: Isaac Clarence Kulp, 828 Main Street, Harleysville, PA 19438. Mr. Kulp will provide a fee schedule and references upon request.



PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SUMMER COURSES — 1986

Ursinus College Summer School courses in Pennsylvania German topics will be available between 27 May & 21 August 1986. Session A begins on 27 May; Session C on 11 July; Session D: 4 August. Credit or audit. Individual students learn from Pennsylvania German professors. Subjects include local history, folk crafts, art and music, and other folk cultural items. Visits to available personalities, locations and events. Credits as indicated.

PA GER 310. PA GERMANS AND RELIGION

SESSION A

Dr. MARTHA KRIEBEL

An examination of the variety of religious denominations in the Pennsylvania German tradition. Relations between German Reformed (Fancy Germans) and Mennonites (Plain). Attitudes of the folk toward religion. Transition from traditional to twentieth century forms and institutions. Three hours per day. *Three semester hours.*

P G 424-5. SEMINAR: PA GERMAN FOR TEACHERS

18 Jun—1 Jul

BARRY FLICKER

Theories and examples of classroom use of Pennsylvania German materials: holidays and festivals; music and arts; games and programs; events and resources; dialect sayings and poetry. Enrichment data for history and folk culture classes.

Three hours per day. *Two semester hours.*

P G 422. FIELD SEMINAR: DUTCH COUNTRY PHOTOGRAPHY

2-9 July

Dr. WILLIAM PARSONS

Scenic tours into the Pennsylvania Dutch country and demonstrations of art photography of the land, artifacts and monuments in southeastern Pennsylvania. Special effects in folk cultural depiction; comparison photography and news shots.

Six hours per day. *One semester hour.*

*P G 211. PENNSYLFaanisch DEITSCH: The Dialect

SESSION C

Dr. EVAN S. SNYDER

Introduction to the dialect for neophytes and Old Dutchmen. Sayings and aphorisms. Demonstration use of *Pennsylfaanisch Deitsch* and comparisons to English and Standard German. Song and festival dialect celebrations. Learn to know what *Deitsch* is. *N.B.* Course minimum size is 7 students.

Three hours per day. *Three credits.*

P G 305. PA GER CRAFTS: WOODWORKING

SESSION D

HOWARD KRIEBEL

Examination of the craft and craft worker in the Lehigh and Perkiomen valleys. Recognition and appreciation of antiques in wood. Reproductions of antique objects; special attention to construction, finish and care of wood furniture and artifacts. Antique and modern tools for wood craft use.

Three hours per day. *Three credits.*

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37th Annual

Pennsylvania Dutch

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The Kutztown Folk Festival is sponsored by the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, a nonprofit educational corporation affiliated with URSINUS COLLEGE, Collegeville, Pennsylvania. The Society's purposes are threefold: First, the demonstrating and displaying of the lore and folkways of the Pennsylvania Dutch through the annual Kutztown Folk Festival; second, the collecting, studying, archiving and publishing the lore of the Dutch Country and Pennsylvania through the publication of PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE Magazine; and third, using the proceeds for scholarships and general educational purposes at URSINUS COLLEGE.



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