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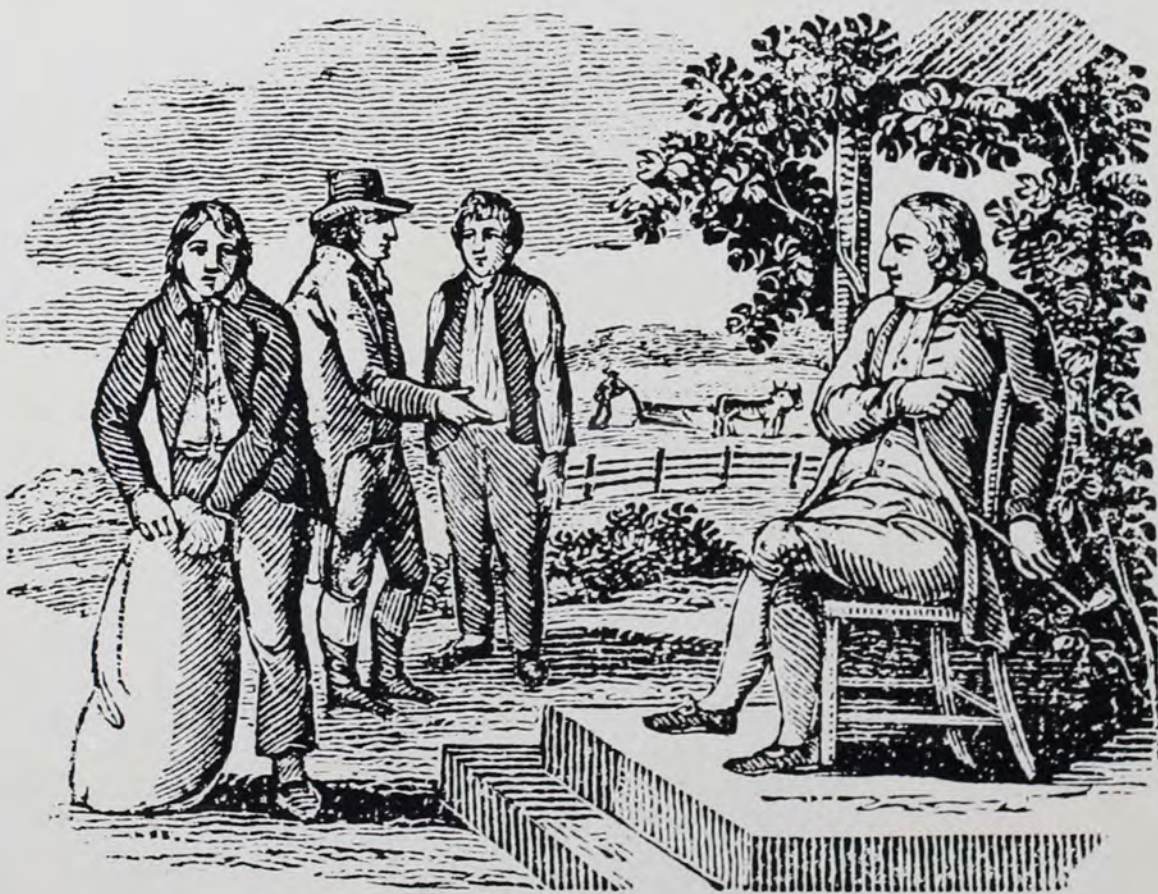
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Pennsylvania FOLKLIFE

SUMMER 1973



American Farmers

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"American Farmers" (1822), from W. R. Lynch, The World Described (New York and Baltimore, 1822).

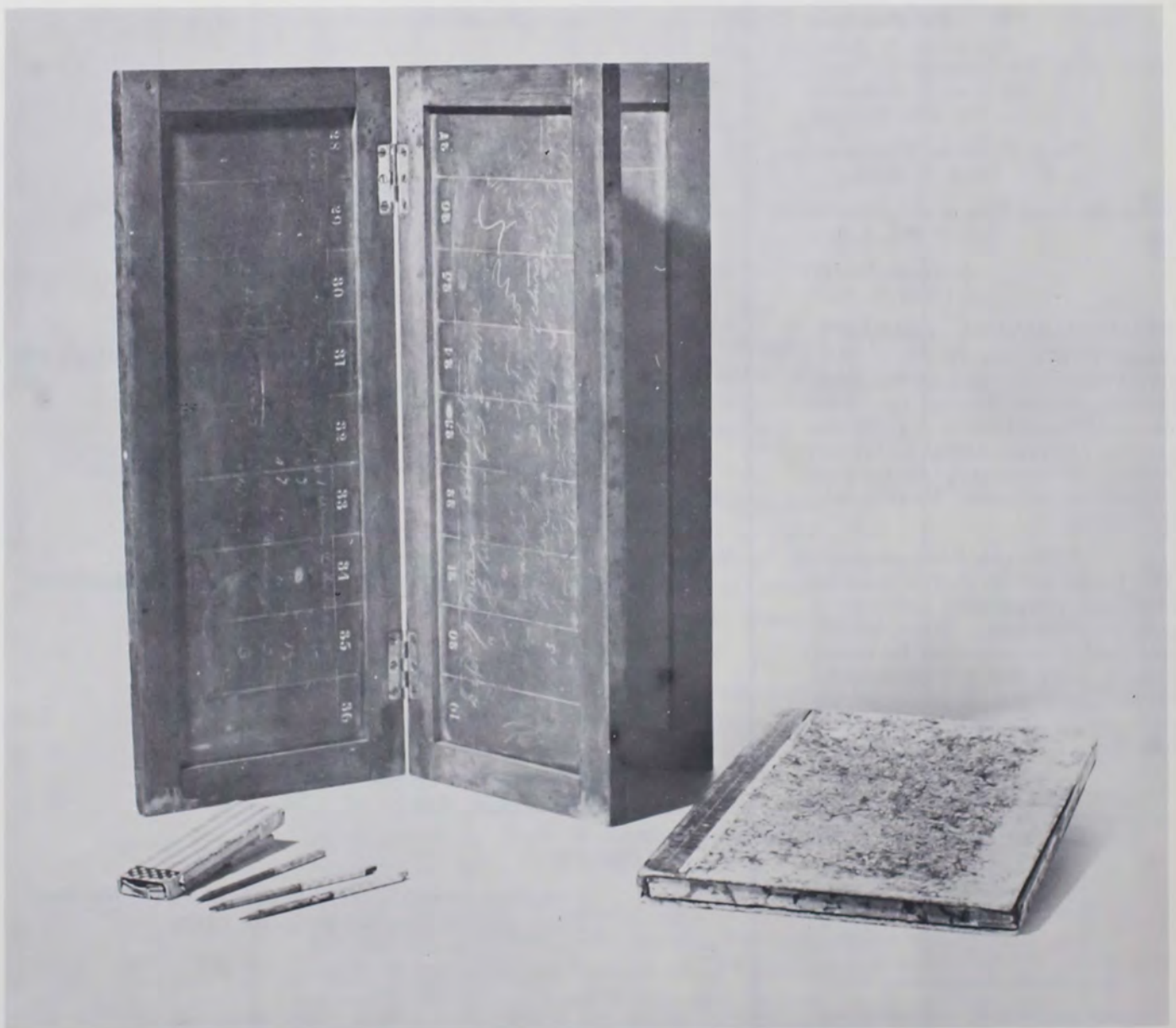
Let's Talk About



By EARL F. ROBACKER

It might seem that of all the materials man has utilized for artistic purposes, slate might well stand somewhere close to the bottom of the list, along with anthracite coal, for instance, or sawdust, or scrap iron. It is not lovely in itself, nor does it possess the quality of rarity. It is heavy, frangible, dull in tone, and lack-

ing in such esthetic possibilities as a native capacity to take a high polish or to be fashioned into sophisticated shapes or forms. It is, in brief, a stubborn and unlikely medium for the worker who wishes to turn it into something which is a pleasure to the eye. One says "wishes" with recognition of the fact that the day of



Hinged three-part school-type slate; slate pencils and the original red, white, and blue box in which they were marketed; a one-part slate with heavy cover of paper, made to look like a book.

Except as noted, objects shown are from the Robacker Collection. Photography by Bryden Taylor, Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania.

ornamental slate has largely passed—long enough ago, in fact, that the antique shop is ordinarily the only place in which the researcher is likely to come upon it.

Slate which has been turned into an object in which the ornamental supersedes the utilitarian is a somewhat highly localized commodity. In fact, the total industry, in which ornamentally treated slate plays but a minor role, is a localized one. In Pennsylvania, the only place in which objects of fancy slate have thus far been reported, much of the industry is concentrated in the counties of Carbon, Lehigh, and Northampton, with only occasional smaller enterprises farther afield. The over-all slate business has seen more active times than it is experiencing at the present; as a matter of fact, so many competing materials have successfully edged into what might be called legitimate slate-product territory that one keeps his fingers crossed when he con-



A slender 30-inch blackboard pointer of slate, with the wooden box in which it was kept. (The carriages are extraneous — but worth pointing at!)



Blackboard stencils came in sets. Held against the blackboard and tapped carefully with a chalk-laden eraser, they provided an outline which the pupils filled in with white or colored crayon.

siders the possibilities of needed future repairs on a slate roof, for instance.

The corollaries of such a condition are inevitable. With a lessening demand for slate, fewer trained workers are needed; in the course of time, the older artisans pass from the scene, and few if any younger men have been trained to take their places. It follows, too, that the man who once used to fool around in his home workshop with a piece of slate to see what he could do with it as an exercise in art is about as close to extinction as the old-time roofer or slate pencil-polisher.

Perhaps there never was an actual genre for this unconventional art. If one judges by what he is able to glean from the sons—or more often grandsons or great-grandsons—of the slate artists, any after-factory hours spent in slate furbishing were purely original

ventures. The operators were self-taught, and the products were original with their creators, except as one man might try to outdo another, now and then. Except for a semi-occasional oral reference, perhaps something an antiques dealer picked up at the time he acquired a given piece, little information is available. Now and then there appears to be a momentary ray of hope: "This piece was made not too far from here," says the dealer. "They say those old fellows over there turned out quite a bit of it, once."

"Old fellows over *where*?" demands the customer, who feels that at last he may be on the way to some concrete information.

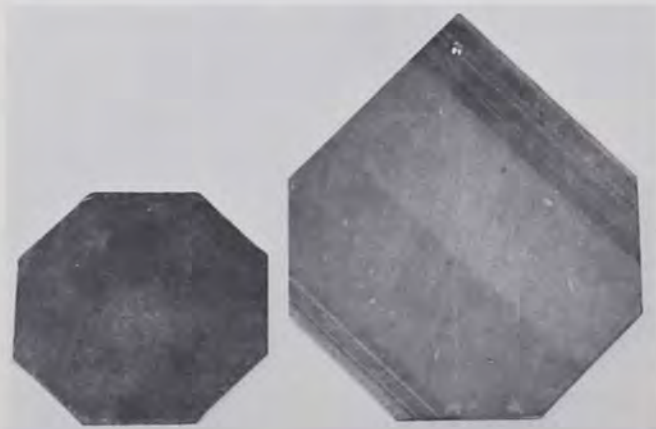
"Over toward the Slate Belt, I hear," says the dealer.

The customer thinks of the territory in Pennsylvania commonly referred to as the Slate Belt, and there come to mind such places as Slatington, Northampton, Walnutport, Bangor, Pen Argyl, and Wind Gap; and also, out of the territory-proper but on the periphery, Snydersville and Kresgeville, in Monroe County, and



Small, symmetrically shaped slabs like these served as covers for stoneware pots or jars. In a refrigeratorless day, they made stacking possible in a cool place – often the springhouse.

Kneading "boards" of slate. Often these were polished on only one side. Some were drilled for hanging; others were not.



the Delaware Water Gap area, on both the Pennsylvania and the New Jersey sides of the river. That's a biggish territory to be referred to as "over there." Now and then one comes upon a bit of promotional "literature" issued by a slate concern somewhere in the Belt but, as one might suppose, such printed matter is produced to call attention to the virtues of the company product. As for the individual and his home workshop, what he did on his own time was purely his own concern, at least as far as the dissemination of information was concerned. The customer may leave the antique shop with the piece of his choice, but he is little further ahead in his background information than he was when he entered.

One piece of informative material should perhaps be noted, not for anything it has to do with ornamental slate but because it does pinpoint a number of one-time enterprises which have vanished without leaving a trace. (Even a quarry, in the course of time, can disappear from the sight of man.) This study is the Historical Base Map Narrative, Part I, by Francis R. Holland, Jr., compiled in 1967 for the Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area of the National Park Service.

A starting point in any examination of slate or slate products must take note of the fact that, at the hands of a skilled workman with the proper tools, slate will split into sheets of uniform thickness. This thickness may vary from little more than an eighth of an inch to several inches. Thin-splitting slate is fine for roofing purposes, and roofing slates in many quarries constituted the major, sometimes the sole output of the place. Rough slates have a pleasing texture but, in the interests of uniformity and convenience in handling, most slates go through a planing process. The rough-textured colored Granville slate of Vermont, combined with plain gray slate, has made many a pleasing lobby or entrance floor in public buildings—and, with modifications as to thickness, attractive roofs on dwellings of impressive size or caliber.

Making slates for school use was a leading early industry. One of the first Pennsylvania school slate makers, James M. Porter, Jr., of Upper Mt. Bethel Township, Northampton County, on the upper fringe of the Pennsylvania Dutch Country, had a three-story slate factory in 1809 at the Delaware Water Gap. It is said that this enterprise was capable of producing 360,000 slates a year. Since a good many early school slates were simply unframed slabs, and since the record gives no clue, we do not know whether Porter's slates remained in their pristine state or went elsewhere for the framing process.

According to the fragmentary, often contradictory, information available, the first person in the Delaware Water Gap region known to perform the complete op-



Pen-and-pencil holder. The groove for the pencil was machined, as was the hole in which the pen was inserted. The dog is obviously the work of a skilled craftsman.

eration—sawing the slate to size, planing it, and framing it—was one Samuel Snyder, who had a well-established school slate factory in Smithfield Township in 1826. Edward Hawk was manufacturing school slates in Monroe County's Polk Township in 1855, and is reputed to have continued operations as least into the 1880's. Actual records for all these enterprises, however, tend to be on the subjective side, and it is safest not to make a flat statement about any. What is significant here is confirmation of the fact that school slates, now no more than curiosities one finds in an antique shop, were once major items of manufacture.

If the picture is less than clear on the making of school slates (and the term seems to include both wall blackboards and the individual objects the students were expected to use), it approaches actual confusion in the case of the various operations which gave the little village of Slateford, on Route 611, just north of Portland, its name. Just how many enterprises there were in this vicinity, and how often they reorganized, changed hands, and took on new identities becomes a matter more of speculation than of fact, since records are either scanty or missing, and with the passing of time the memories of men come to be less and less reliable.

One operation of some interest in the Slateford neighborhood, however, was a small enterprise which was established in a most unlikely-seeming place—high up on the slopes of Mt. Minsi, south of the Delaware Water Gap. Somehow, one expects to be able to look

down into a slate quarry, but on Mt. Minsi one climbs up and up to the spot, which is now in the Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area. The quarry itself is worked out, but piles of slag and refuse indicate that once it was a flourishing operation. Its last known product was slate pencils, which were made and polished there about the turn of the century.

Neither tax nor property records give us a clue as to just when the place, known now as the Slateford Farm Quarry, took shape. The land was first occupied by one Samuel Pipher, who operated a tavern at the foot of the mountain in 1789. The land (there is a surprising amount of flat land on Mt. Minsi, which looks like a completely precipitous crag from the highway below), 1200 acres in extent, was used for farming. Then in the *late* 1860's, with slate needed everywhere in the post-war expansion, a combination of interests formed the New York-Delaware Water Gap Slate Company. With subsequent changes in ownership, it remained in existence until early in this century. As a spot destined now for visitation in the National Park Area, it has a chance of coming into its own as a scenic attraction.

Among the various objects which may be picked up by the antiques collector, school slates—used in some up-country Pennsylvania schools well into the present century—seem to have an almost universal appeal. A "single" slate was usually framed in maple or cherry, with the added embellishment of a red wool binding which, however, seldom survived the first year's use.



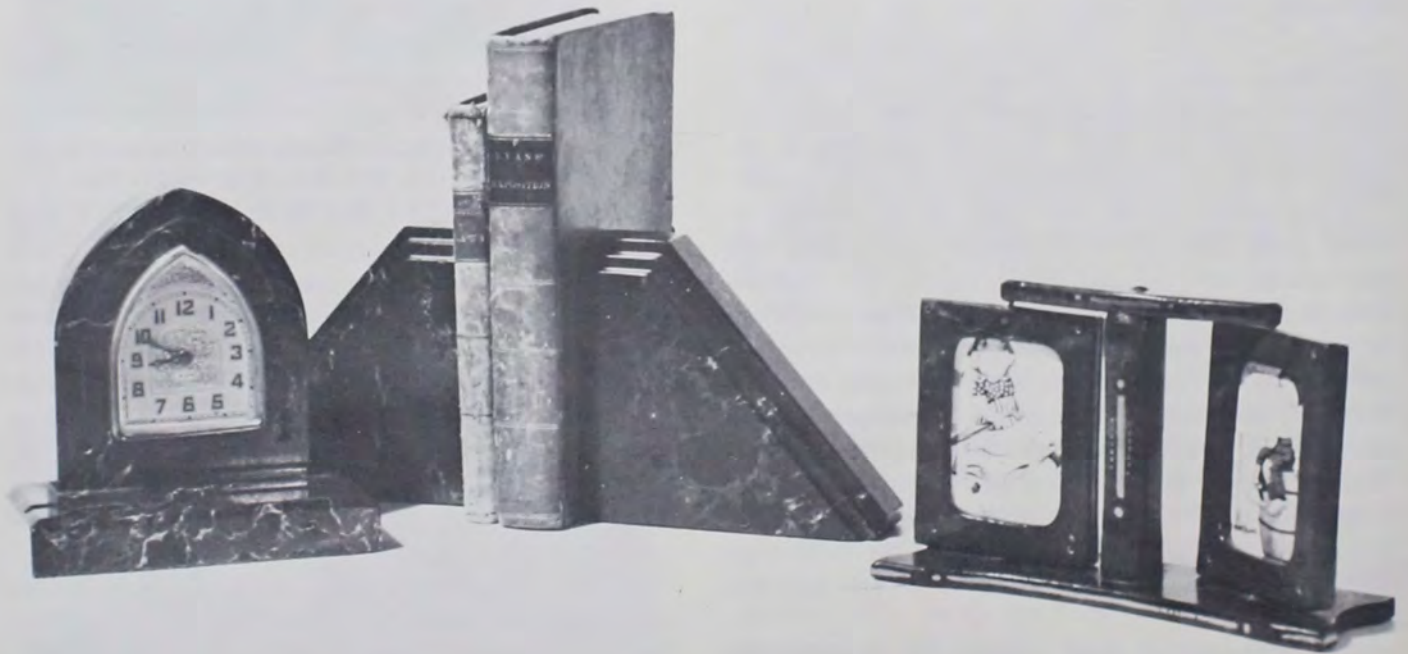
Chip-carved wall plaque, drilled for hanging. Sand-blasting is one of today's substitutes for the slower hand techniques, but does not give the same effect.



Pieces of architectural molding. Because of their great weight and their breakability, such pieces were usually sawed into short sections at the quarry.

Pencils to accompany these slates were usually about six inches long, and came in red, white, and blue boxes holding a dozen. The squeaking of pencil on slate, in the hands of the youngest students, was a sound which could be matched in pitch and intensity only by the beginning violinist.

More challenging to the searcher is a double slate—two slates, each with its own frame, the two hinged together so that the whole arrangement could close flat and take on the appearance of a book. Still less frequently found is the *triple* frame. Such slates may or may not actually have been intended for children's use. Such as have survived have sometimes been per-



Clock case, book ends, and swinging picture frames are among the small slate objects made, by the use of paint, to resemble a more expensive medium — in this case, dark marble.



Three-part "screen" intended to conceal the fireplace opening during the summer. The decorations, in deep pastels, are in oil. — Courtesy of the National Park Service.

manently scored in checkerboard-like squares. A seemingly reasonable surmise is that some may have been used in country stores for day-time purchases, the notations then being transferred to the ledger at the storekeeper's convenience. A still further elaboration of the multiple slate exists in the hinged doubleton which is protected by a wallpaper-covered cardboard frame.

The blackboard was a very special job. Whereas the slate for the individual student might be a cheap, occasionally somewhat shoddy, affair the wall slate was

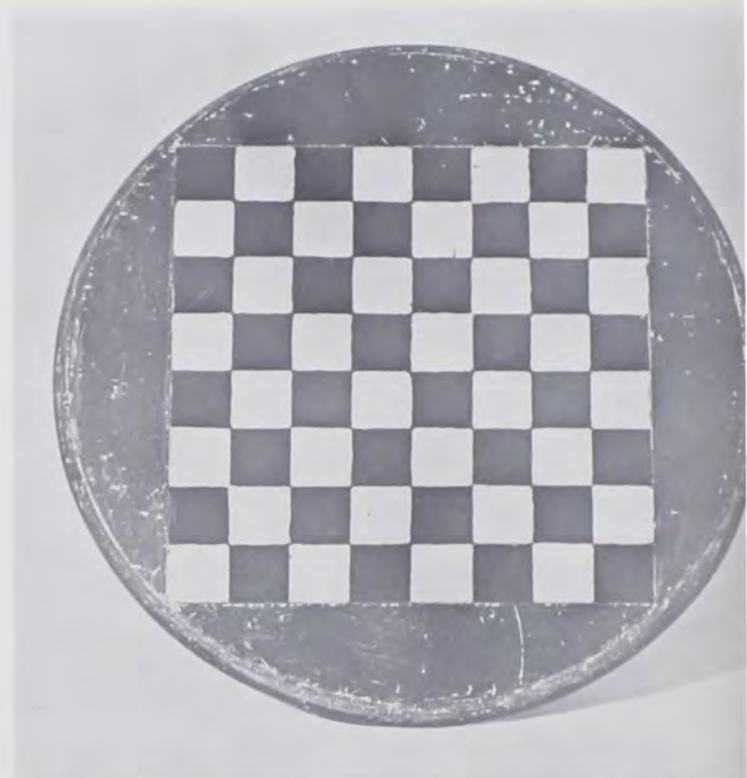
sawed, shaved, and then carefully polished. Properly installed, such blackboards were very durable, some of them serving several generations of students. Their longevity was partly owing, of course, to the fact that soft crayon was used on them, rather than the gritty pencils which were provided for individual student use. Next to the act of installation, often by inexperienced hands, the greatest threat to their tenure of usefulness was their transportation by horse and farm wagon over the rough roads in pre-motor vehicle days.

Sawed and polished with comparable care were various types of architectural moldings used not only around doors and windows but as special finishing touches, both exterior and interior, in buildings—often public buildings. While they were durable if not subjected to friction, these moldings could be easily broken. Door sills of slate, subjected to hard usage, wore down in surprisingly short time. Molding was usually sawed in short sections, which were then cemented together. Door stops, sawed and polished in the same way, were not uncommon. Today's collectors, failing to find bona fide door stops, have been known to substitute short sections of architectural molding to suit their purpose.

Other utilitarian pieces include kneading boards and pot covers. For no ascertainable reason, kneading boards—round, rectangular, and polygonal, all with variously shaped handles—achieved sudden popularity a few years ago, with the result that they have become scarce. Generally speaking, while these have been sawed with geometric perfection, one ordinarily finds them planed on only one side. In sizes larger than 12 to 15 inches in diameter they tend to be unpleasantly cumbersome, but they have a virtue in that moist dough does not cling to slate as it does to wood. Contrary to popular belief, slate will not discolor even the whitest dough.

Similarly shaped pieces, but smaller in size (some are no more than six inches in diameter), were made as covers for pots, especially the topless redware and stoneware crocks and jars so widely used by our forebears for butter, apple butter, lard—and sometimes cooked left-overs.

Up to this point we have been talking of objects the charm of which lies either in their straightforward



A simple painted checkerboard – but in a startling color combination: black and white against deep lavender. The squares here are painted only, not scribed and painted.

functionalism or in their severely clean-cut lines. Slate has other possibilities, however, one of which is the ability to assimilate a kind of graining which aims to imitate the texture of marble. At its simplest, this grained slate is likely to be a combination of the natural gray-black background of the slate and fine lines of



An elaborate over-mantel slab on which the worker has brought a battery of techniques to bear: scribing, marbling, flat painting, and chip decoration. – Collection of Frank and Carolyn Kerr

white or light gray veining. Once the veining has been applied, the surface—sometimes but not always with a coat of clear varnish added first—is buffed to a high gloss. Slate with this treatment was popular for tea wagon tops, the tops of stands intended to hold flower or fern jardinieres, small game tables, coffee tables, etc. In a day when massive solidity was an accepted virtue in home furnishings, slate-topped objects were *de rigueur* in well equipped dwellings. Today's homemaker would find a great many of them both cumbersome and top-heavy.

Equally impressive and even more massive in their Victorian splendor or near-splendor were fireplace mantels, sometimes polished to ebony blackness, and decorative over-mantel slabs which range from the naive to the accomplished in execution. Above an actual marble fireplace, a houseowner might place a mirror or a painting; above the pseudo-marble slate fireplace hung or stood what was often the slate artisan's ultimate effort—a plaque with floral, foliated, or geometrical decoration carefully held within exactly scribed lines, and brilliantly colored. Some plaques tended to be overcrowded as to decoration, but there is an undeniable charm even in those in which conventional artistic principles have been ignored. A slate worker who had the time, the patience, and the skill to go all out on this kind of decoration would sometimes tackle the entire framing for the fireplace, not just a plaque to place above it.

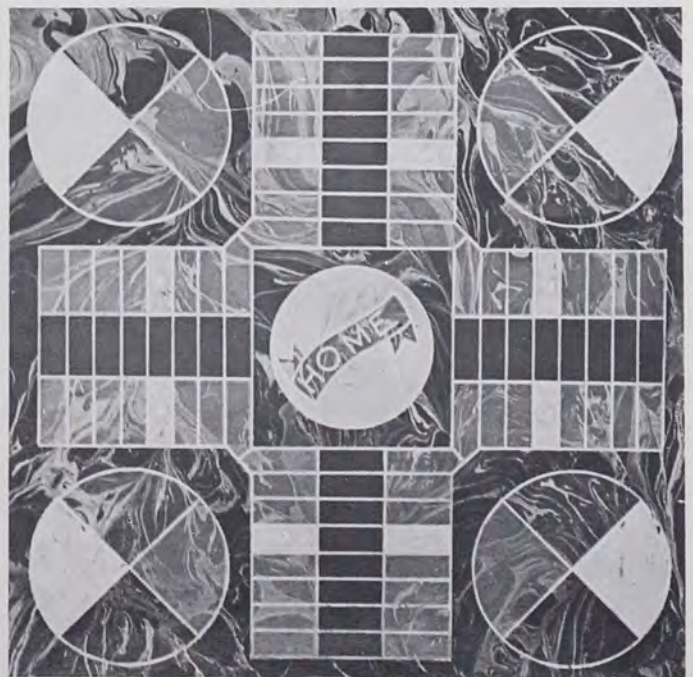
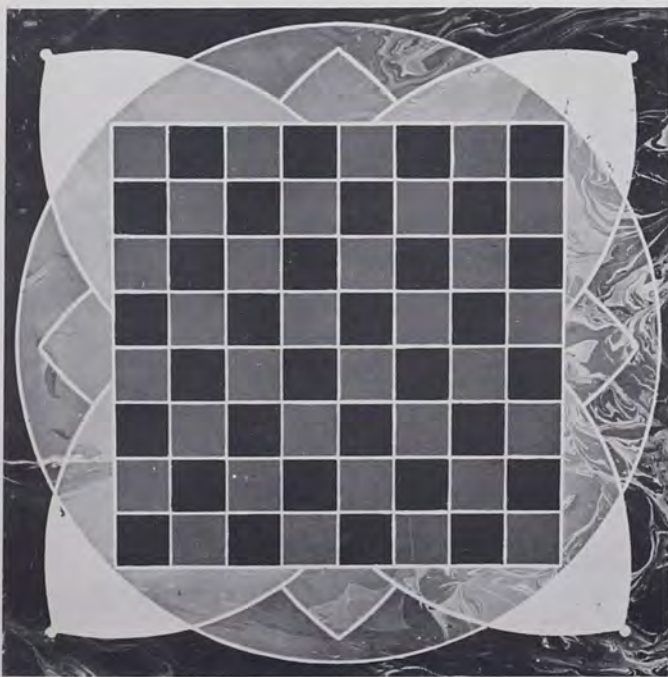
As one might expect, beauty-conscious Victorians found in slate a fitting surface for painting in oils.

A three-part fireplace shield ("screen" might be an apt term, since the idea was to stop the eye of the beholder short of the blackness of the flue) in this technique is shown on these pages.

Among the more attractive, if less commonly found, decorated slate pieces are game boards, oftenest checker boards, though parcheesi boards were also popular. The lines creating the squares (checkers) or oblongs (parcheesi) were graved with the utmost precision, after which the pigment, usually a durable oil point, was applied with equal care. Borders ranged from simple to elaborate, utilizing such techniques as the simple marbling indicated above; a more elaborate marbling involving the use of more than one color; graved lines; and carefully applied gold-leaf decals. Most game boards were rectangular, but rarely a round one is seen.

Multi-colored rather than single-toned marbling was applied to a variety of small objects. Bases for statuettes, cases for small clocks, book ends, and picture frames, among others, received this treatment. Now and then a large picture frame is found—so heavy that chain rather than picture wire was needed to suspend it. The Victorian passion for making a material of one kind look like something else is particularly evident in slate; it is all but impossible, in some cases, to tell that what looks like onyx, for example, is actually marbled slate.

Slate carving is so appealing that one wishes either that there had been more practitioners or that more pieces of what practitioners there were would come



The checkerboard-parcheesi board combination was a popular one. The marbling here, against red, green, and yellow, is competent but the intended effect was probably artistic rather than realistic.

to light. Two pieces are shown here—one in a kind of chip-gouging technique and the other in the sculptor's method of carving, smoothing, and polishing. In each case, it is not unlikely that the artist drew his inspiration from a model, but there is no question as to his mastery of an unusual medium.

One should perhaps point out that objects of sand-

blasted slate are being offered in gift shops in the Slate Belt—offered legitimately as new objects, not as antiques. The design in the new pieces is created by the use of a template or stencil, and the resultant object is so studied in its precision that it could hardly be mistaken for handwork. Horses and eagles seem to be favored designs.



The most expertly done checker-parcheesi combination known to the writer. While a great many colors have been used, they are in soft tones and have been carefully juxtaposed, not only in the marbled insets but in the solid-color and mottled sections. — Collection of Vernon and Elsie Mack

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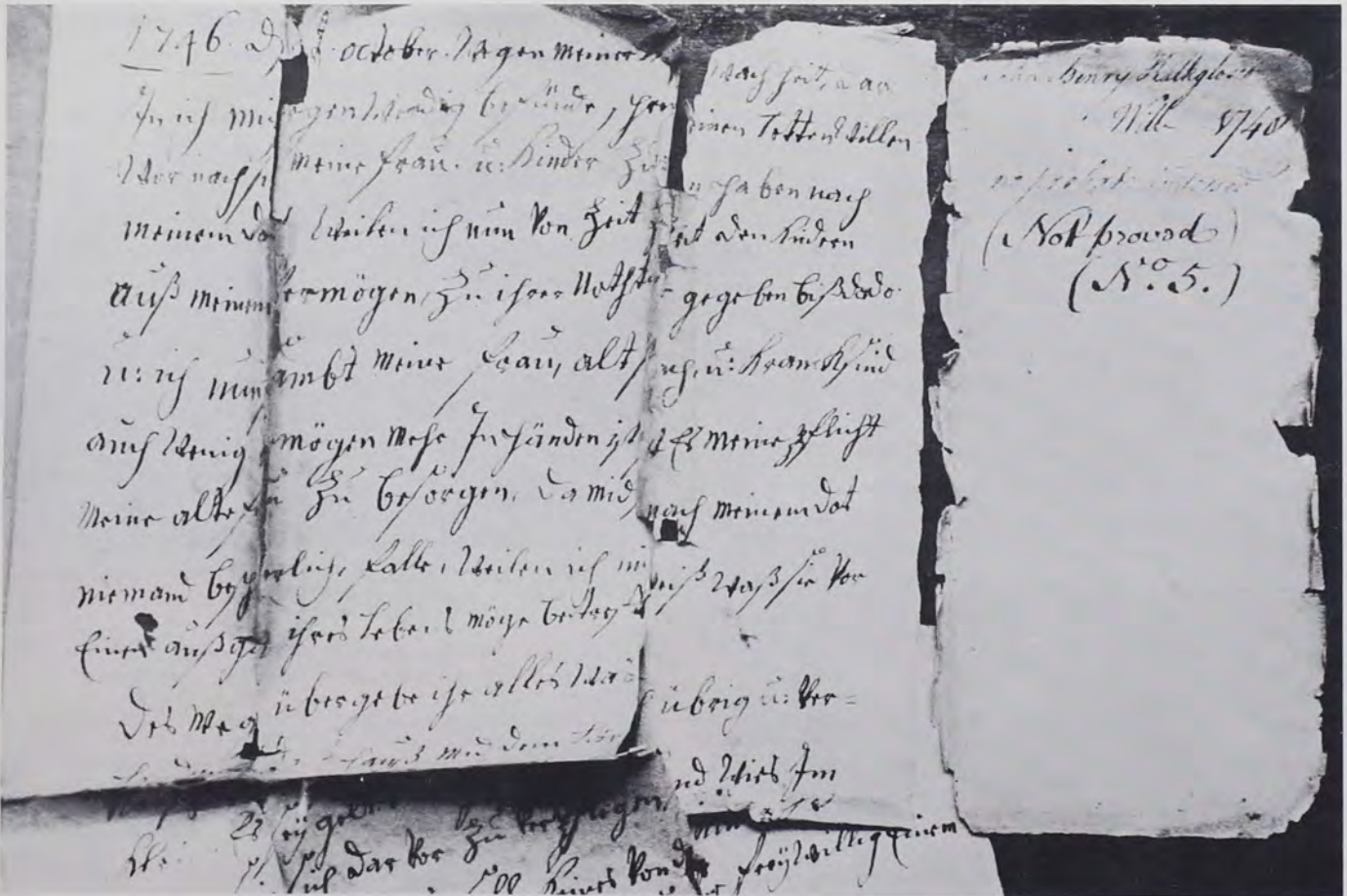
Ephrata Cloister Wills

By GUY HOLLYDAY

In 1746 the aged John Henry Kalkgläser, because of the weakened condition in which he found himself, made out a will. To his aged wife he left almost all his possessions, for, he states, in times past he had given his children their share and it was now his duty to see that his wife would not become a burden to anyone. Only two exceptions were made in the bequest to Frau Kalkgläser. His stocking loom John Henry left to his grandson whom he had been raising for his slothful son Jacob. A codicil to the will, written by the witnesses, declared that the decedent had willed a copper kettle to the Cloister: "Auch ist in unserer Gegenwart von dem sterbenden Bruder Kalckgläser verordnet worden, dass nach seinem tod sein großer Kupferner Kessel soll an die Gemeinschaft in Ephrata vermacht seyn und eingehändigt werden."

According to a deposition made by Agnes Kalkgläser in 1749 the copper kettle was given up by the Cloister when her son Jacob insisted on keeping it (Y-2, p. 126). At the end of her description of how she disposed of John Henry's bequest, Agnes states that the total amount she gave away, mostly to her three children, was fifty-

¹A translation of Kalkgläser's will is to be found in book Y-2, p. 125, in the Registry of Wills in the Courthouse, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the office in which all but one of the other wills used for this article are located. Because it was not probated, the original will—the earliest one we have found by a member of Conrad Beissel's Seventh Day Baptists at Ephrata—is not recorded in the books for English-language wills. Indeed, even probated German wills appear in these books only in the briefest form. All wills of persons associated with the Ephrata Cloister that we have found in Lancaster County are listed at the end of this article. Wherever original wills were available we have used them rather than the will books. All translations from available German-language wills are the writer's.



This will of Johann Henry Kalkgläser is the earliest Cloister will in the Lancaster County courthouse. As the outside flap to the right indicates, it was not probated.



"Arbeite und hoffe" – the motto of the Ephrata Cloister (Sachse, I, 257).

six pounds. Of this amount only two pounds was given to the church.

John Henry Kalkgläser was one of the leaders of the Church of the Brethren at its founding in Germany at the beginning of the 18th Century.² He came to America with Alexander Mack in 1729 and when the latter died in Germantown in 1735 Kalkgläser was recognized as leader of the remaining faithful (Sachse, I, 223). In 1739, however, he moved to Ephrata. If we read between the lines of his will we see that John Henry's children, in addition to not joining the Cloister,³ were not to be depended on to support their mother. Unlike Kalkgläser's testament, later wills of householders (married members of Beissel's group) frequently assigned to one or more children the task of caring for

²Julius Friedrich Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1708-1742: A Critical and Legendary History of the Ephrata Cloister and the Dunkers* (Philadelphia, 1899), p. 49—hereafter referred to as "Sachse, I." The second volume, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1742-1800 . . .* (Philadelphia, 1900), we shall refer to as "Sachse, II."

³The only Kalkgläser other than John Henry mentioned in the manuscript lists of Beissel's followers, discussed below (page 20), is an old sister Kalkgläser who died in 1758. It is of course, possible that other Kalkgläser were members of Ephrata and that their identity is concealed from us by use of Cloister names.

the testator's widow and almost always made large bequests to the children.

How typical Jacob Kalkgläser was in his determination to keep John Henry's only bequest to the Cloister, we do not know. That relatives of members of the Cloister did attempt to get some share of bequests to the celibates is suggested by a formula common to Ephrata wills, which appears for the first time in the testament of Peter Showmaker, drawn up in 1771: "I order that my Executor . . . shall pay unto each of my natural Kindred one English Sterling ["one English Shilling sterling," as in later wills?], provided they demand it within six Month's Time after my Death, and I hereby exclude them and their heirs from all farther Right to my Estate or any Park thereof for Ever." Writing in 1791, Brother Obed (Ludwig Höcker), whose will is given in full below, simply urged that no one be told about his testament.

More important evidence of the separation between the householders and the Cloister is the number of families who were a part of Beissel's Seventh Day Baptist church but willed nothing to the celibates. In many wills of members of these families the only discernible link to the Cloister is the name of one of the celibates as witness, executor or translator.⁴ In other cases even these evidences are lacking, but if the testator died in Cocalico Township and his death date coincides with that given in the Ephrata registers, we may be reasonably sure of the decedent's identity.⁵

That there was a division between celibates and householders is not news. One of the chief struggles delineated in the strife-packed chronicle of the Cloister, the *Chronicon Ephratense*, involved these two groups.⁶ The astute Israel Eckerling, Prior Onesimus, recognized early the necessity of making the householders and their property an integral part of the Cloister. He devised an abortive scheme whereby they would all draw up divorce papers, come live with the celibates, and give their possessions to the Cloister (*Chronicon*, pp. 158-159). Just as divisive was the quarrel over Beissel's title. If we may believe the *Chronicon*, the main struggle was between the householders who insisted on calling him Brother Friedensam and the solitary who declared he should be called Father Friedensam (pp. 113ff.).

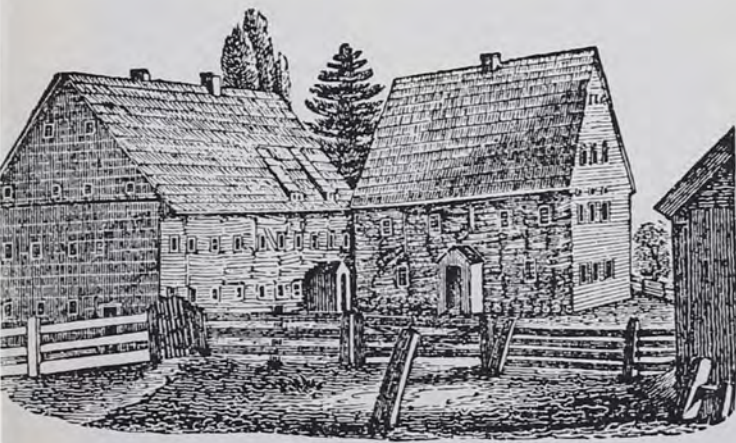
⁴The translation of the will of Adam Faas bears the name of Peter Miller as translator. Faas does not appear in any Ephrata name lists.

⁵Such is the case with the Jacob Martin included in the list of testators given below. A Dr. Sebastian Keller who died in 1808, the year of death of one Bastian Keller in the Ephrata death registers, however, we have not included. His will indicates no connection with Ephrata and the doctor was from Rapho, not Cocalico Township.

⁶We refer the reader to the translation by J. Max Hark: *Chronicon Ephratense: A History of the Community of Seventh Day Baptists at Ephrata, Lancaster County, Penn'a*, by "Lamech and Agrippa" (Lancaster, 1889). The *Chronicon*, as we will refer to it hereafter, was first published in German on the Cloister press in 1786. Copies of the original are rare.

What the wills show us that is not so clearly seen anywhere else is the financial consequences for the Cloister of the separate existence of the householders.

The picture of generosity is not all negative, however, nor is there a decline in bequests to the Cloister until after the end of the 18th Century when few celibates were left. Sachse has recorded the major bequests that fall in the last third of the century: in 1773 Peter Shoemaker left two hundred acres to the Cloister, in 1783 John Mayley left his joiner's tools and all his other possessions, in 1787 Christian Eckstein willed forty acres of land, and in 1796 Christian Bollinger left twenty-five pounds for the holding of a love feast (II, 416ff.). What Sachse does not record is a suggestive passage in the Shoemaker will. The strife described in the *Chronicon* centers around the figure of Beissel, but Peter Shoemaker's will indicates that dissension continued after the death of the founder of Ephrata: ". . . in case the single Brethren at Ephrata . . . should die away, or if a Division should happen between them and the Sisterhood at Saron in Ephrata, then I ordain and appoint that the said Land shall be the Property of said Sisters for Ever . . ." The only other bequests to the Cloister of such magnitude were those of Peter Klopp and John Henry Hagemann in the 1750's who left thirty and fifty pounds respectively. Of the six benefactors only Shoemaker and Hagemann were not Cloister Brothers.



Oldest known woodcut of Ephrata Cloister (Sachse, I, 31).

Another sign of friction is to be found in the will of Peter Klopp. We cannot tell, however, whether it refers to followers of Beissel or to persons not associated with the Cloister. Klopp admonishes his relatives not to object to his generosity toward the Cloister: "N.B. auch ist dieses meine nochmalige bitte an meine Erben dass sie sich kein beschwerde machen obengemeldete 30 Pfund an die arme in Ephrata ab-

folgen zu lassen: sich erinnerende, dass ich hiemit mein Andencken bei meinen geliebten Brudern und Schwestern nach meinem Tod stifte, welchen Trost sie mir Verhoffentlich nicht missgongen werden."

A number of other persons also made bequests to the Cloister. In his will probated in 1765 John Merckel left "unto the Society of Annabaptist or otherwise called Dunkards in full the Sum of Three pounds pennsylvania Coin . . ." (B-1, p. 631).⁷ Compared to the land, tools and one hundred pounds Merckel gave to his sons, this bequest is typically modest. Jacob Heaffly (will probated: 1775) and Elizabeth Bollinger (1800) both left money to the poor in Ephrata. Elizabeth Eckstein (1796) left a small sum to the Sisterhood of Sharon in Ephrata and as late as 1819 the will of John Frederick directed that "a love feast agreeable to the custom of the society of Epharta shal be held for me and the expenses thereof to be paid by my Executor . . ."

More revealing than these general grants are bequests of specific property to stated persons, thus revealing relations among various members of the Cloister.⁸ Most bequests of books are disappointingly vague. Henry End, however, wills that his executor, Brother Michael Miller ". . . Shall Soon after my Death take the Berlenburger Bible, which now is in my Possession, and deliver it into the Hand of the Inhabitants of Zion for their Property, in my Remembrance, as a Mark of my great Affection to them." Samuel Eckerling mentions excerpts from the 17th-Century German mystic Jacob Böhme: ". . . der Bruder Johann Adam Kelb, soll den Auszug von Böhmes Schriften haben."

Space does not permit us to tell in detail who gave what to whom, but a few of the more important or typical cases may be cited. Samuel Eckerling was a doctor by profession and had lived with the Ephrata Germans in Virginia. His medicines and Virginia lands he left to Ezechie Sangmeister who had lived with him in the South. Sangmeister willed the same plus his own lands to the Kelps, Jonathan, Johan Adam and Cath-

⁷The manuscript lists of Beissel's followers cite a Brother Martin Merckel who died in 1771. John, who does not appear in these lists, and whose will does not allude to Martin Merckel, was presumably a relative of the latter. According to the *Chronicon* John left the Cloister in about 1740 with Henry Good and others because of Beissel's extravagant building plans (p. 127).

⁸None of the three major sources of inside information on the Cloister give us reliable details of this kind. The *Chronicon* and reports by visitors tell us about the leading figures of the Cloister, the daily routine and the more sensational events. Eighteenth-century reports on the Cloister have been published by Eugene E. Doll and Felix Reichmann: *Ephrata as Seen by Contemporaries*, Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, Volume XVII (Allentown, 1954). Ezechie Sangmeister's diary, on the other hand, deals primarily with personal affairs and intimate relations. It was published, however, in Ephrata in 1825 under the title *Das Leben und Wandel des in Gott ruhenten und seligen Br. Ezechie Sangmeisters . . .*, and, as Felix Reichman has shown, is at least in part a fraud (*The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXVIII (1944), 292-313).



Andreas Fahnestock (1781-1863) sketched while preaching in the Saal at Ephrata (Sachse, II, 370).

erine. By the time he made his will Johan Adam Kelb had sold the lands. Another bequest shedding light on holdings remote from Ephrata is Dietrick Fahnstick's [Fahnestock] 1776 grant to his sons of a grist mill and saw mill in Bermudian Township, presumably at the Ephrata subsidiary near York, Pennsylvania. The most interesting reference to the Bermudian settlement, however, occurs in the 1791 will of Brother Obed, reproduced below, for it indicates that at this late period there were still believers at the settlement who would come to Ephrata.

The will of Jacob Funk mentions the largest number of Brothers and Sisters. It is valuable for this reason and because of its date, 1797, a period from which we have little information on the Cloister. To his sisters Efiginia and Sophia, Funk left silver spoons, to his nephew Daniel Funk, his Virginia lands. His clothes the testator left to "the so called Brethern as Moses Ash, Lebrecht Treas, John Frederick, and John Gorgas." Of these four, only John Frederick executed a Lancaster County will, and the names of none of them are included on Ephrata registers.

Jacob Funk also left money to "... the Sisters that live together in one house little Barbary included ...," and to the following widows: Juliana Gorgas, Martha Simons, Salome Gorgas, Schweitzer Anna, Catherine

Neagly, Brentle and Spirra. Presumably these widows were living in the spacious frame sisters' house of Saron still standing at the Cloister today, and were the Ephrata "poor" mentioned in wills at this time.

Some of the most touching relations are revealed not so much through bequests as through expressions of gratitude. Anna Landes declared: "The Residue of my Estate . . . I give and bequeath to Brother Jacob Neagly for his great services he has done me during the Time of my sickness" (C-1., p. 557). John Mayley added a codicil to his will in which he gave his house clock to his "beloved Brother" Peter Miller (Sachse, II, 418). Expressions of affection and trust are often applied to the person(s) named as executors.

One reason for searching for Ephrata wills was the hope of shedding light on the perplexing question of the identity of various Brothers and Sisters. The chief list of identifications is that compiled by Sachse (I, 309ff.). But how reliable is it? At the beginning of his will Jacob Funk states "I order that my Two Sisters Efigenia and Sophia Ech Shall have a Silver tea Spoon . . ." Does Funk mean natural sisters—members of his family—or spiritual Sisters? Since Elizabeth Eckstein's will of this same period refers to a sister Sophia Funk, Jacob surely meant the former. Sachse does not name either of these Funks in his identifications of Sisters, and the Sisters Efigenia and Sophia he identifies with other persons (I, 310-311). These latter identifications may, of course, be correct, for the worldly name was often changed upon joining the Sisterhood. But if so, what were the Cloister names of Jacob Funk's two sisters?

Sister Keturah is identified by Sachse with Elizabeth Eckstein. According to the death registers Keturah died in October, 1797. Elizabeth Eckstein's date of death is not given in the registers, but she died in 1796 or before, because in that year her will was probated. Barbara Eckstein did die in 1797, but in August, according to the death registers, not October. Catharina Hagemann is identified by Sachse with Sister Eugenia. According to the death registers, however, Eugenia died in April of 1796, whereas the will of Catharina was made and probated in the following year. Finally, Sachse lists Sister Melania as dying in 1784, citing a broadside entitled "Ein Denckmahl aufgerichtet zum heiligen Andencken der H. Jungfrau und Schwester Melania in Saron, als sie den 11ten September, 1784. Ein Erbauliches Liebesmahl for die gemeinshafft gehalten" (II, 468). Below, however, we quote the will of a Sister Melania from the year 1813. It is possible there were two Sisters by this name in the Cloister, but it is more likely that the misleading punctuation in the above quotation caused Sachse to think that the love feast was in honor of the death of Sister Melania rather than that the song was in her honor and the love feast was held *by* her.

When we look at the Ephrata wills as a whole it is striking how few were left by Brothers and Sisters.⁹ Sachse lists Cloister names for seventy-seven male and seventy-six female celibates. Of these one hundred fifty-three persons about a dozen left wills. To be sure, many Brothers and Sisters left Ephrata before dying, but the *Chronicon* names many who did die at the Cloister and most of these, including Beissel, died intestate. That there was a reluctance on the part of Beissel's Seventh Day Baptists to draw up testaments is indicated by a remark in the earliest Ephrata will that was probated.¹⁰ Peter Klopp apologizes for even having made a will, stating he has done so in order that his family may know what to do with his possessions: ". . . damit meine Erben wissen, wie es nach meinem Tod soll mit meiner Verlassenschaft gehalten werden . . ."

⁹The exact number of Brothers and Sisters may never be known. Indeed, the very definition of Brother or Sister presents a problem. What about married persons who gave up their families to live as celibates at the Cloister, or those persons who left the Cloister? Presumably at the time such persons lived as celibates either on the grounds at Ephrata or in nearby cabins, or anywhere else so long as they remained faithful and celibate they were considered Brothers and Sisters.

¹⁰John Henry Hagemann's will was probated first, but drawn up later than Peter Klopp's.

For most celibates who died without making a will we have no intestate records,¹¹ indicating either that the friends of the deceased had an aversion to the secular authorities, an aversion expressed often in the *Chronicon*, or that their possessions were so inconsequential that no relative demanded that an inventory be taken or the value of the goods be estimated for the filing of an intestate bond.¹² In some ways Ephrata's poverty was a blessing.

Most of the Ephrata wills do not make exciting reading. We have already cited most of those that are of greater interest, but a few deserve to be recorded at length either because of the personality of the author or because of the information they contain about the Cloister.

One might expect that little of the personality of a testator would be revealed in his will. The wording of many provisions is fixed: for having one's debts paid, for the execution of one's burial, for the exclusion of one's (natural) kindred from the inheritance, and so on. Furthermore, the length of a will is dictated large-

¹¹We find no intestate records, for instance, for any of the Brothers identified by Sachse (I, 307ff.).

¹²We have searched the inventories of Ephrata wills and found little of interest that is not revealed in the testaments. (The inventories found are noted in the list of wills at the end of this article.)



Conrad Beissel's House, Ephrata Cloister - a drawing by Isaac L. Williams, 1879.

ly by the extent of one's goods and the number of legatees. It is striking, therefore, to note the degree to which the wills of Ezechie Sangmeister and Peter Miller reflect the turgidity and simplicity, respectively, commonly associated with these two men. The will of Brother Obed, the schoolmaster of the Cloister, named Ludwig Höcker, is interesting because of its intensely personal tone. It is the only will found, that clearly was written by the testator himself.

The will of Sisters Mel(1)ania and Lucia is particularly valuable for what it tells us about the Cloister in the last full year of its independent existence. It is interesting also in that none of the three Kelps are mentioned. Because it is so long and contains insignificant details we shall not quote it in full. The will of the two Sisters is located today at the Cloister in Ephrata. It was never probated and thus is not recorded at the Courthouse in Lancaster. Are there perhaps other unprobated Cloister wills yet to be found?

I. *The will of Peter Miller, successor to Conrad Beissel:*

I Peter Miller Inhabitant of the brothers' house at Ephrata do hereby proclaim my last will and testament

this second of February, 1794, as follows: My natural relations [Freunde] I hereby exclude from all right and claim to my legacy. Brothers Kenan and Benjamin I hereby recognize as my executors ["Vormünder"—an uncommon usage]. After my death they are to have charge of the cashbox of the Brotherhood which I have had in my possession. They will collect debts and use the money in the best interest of the house and of the Brothers dwelling therein. And besides these Brothers no one is to have any right to this money.

My clothes and household goods they are to divide between them and among the Brothers as they see fit.

If I leave any other money behind it is to be divided equally between the Sisters Sara and Melania in Saron. Sister Marta is to receive all my firewood.

As a witness whereof I have placed my name and seal. Peter Miller.

II. *The will of Ezechie Sangmeister:*

Inasmuch as I, Ezechie Sangmeister, in Ephrata in Cocallico Taunschip, in Lancaster Caunty, in the Province of Pensylvania am rather old and weak, but nevertheless, thanks be to God, still of sound mind, I do hereby make and declare my last will and testament, and that in the following manner and form.

Item. Firstly, I commend my soul into the hands of my blessed Creator. I place my trust in the mercy of my blessed Savior Jesus Christ and hope for the forgiveness of all my sins and the resurrection of the true believing children of God. My lifeless body I commend to the bowels of the earth, and that in all tranquility, without delay or ceremony, there to rest until the great day of our Lord Jesus Christ. And that with which the Lord has blessed me in this temporal existence I dispose of as follows:

Item. First I direct that after my death all just debts shall be paid for from my estate.

Further, I direct that the right and part of the house in which we now live, along with my books, household effects, and carpenter's tools shall go to the two brothers Jonathan Kölb [Kelb, Kelp, Kelpius] and Johan Adam Kölb.

Furthermore it is my will that the apothecary along with all its paraphernalia, including all medical books, shall be for the use of the community, under the care and supervision of Sister Chatarina Kelpius.

Further it is my will and I direct that the land which I have in Verginne consisting of two hundred twenty-two acres, which has a second piece adjoining it of one hundred forty acres as the deeds show—both pieces lie on the North Revier of the Schanendor in Verginne.¹³ And these two aforesaid pieces of land I give and will be the three brothers and sisters, Johan Adam



Sketch of Ephrata Cloister Nun, from flyleaf of hymnal dated 1745 (Sachse, II, 190).

¹³The North Fork of the Shenandoah River where Sangmeister and Anthony Hollenthal once lived? See: Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville, 1969), p. 62.

Ich Peter Miller Prior des im Ephyra Cloister
 nach seiner Geburt, den 27. März 1794
 meines Catholischen Willens und Testamentes auf die Weise
 folgt. Mein Nachlass soll ich mit
 und vor allem Recht und Richtigkeit zu meinem Nachlass
 steht. Die beiden Töchter und Söhne sollen
 sein für meine Nachkommen. Die sollen nach meinem
 Willen sein, die ich in meinem Testament, unter dem
 Namen einfordern, Geld zum besten des Klosters und der
 Brüder sein zu verwenden. Und so soll die
 Sache sein nach dem Recht an dem besten Geld sein.

Mein Willen und Erbteil sollen für mich sein und
 die anderen Sachen nach gut befinden und sein.

Wenn ich noch etwas Geld zu mir habe, soll es gleich
 unter in zwei Theilen sein. Der eine soll in
 in dem Kloster sein.

Und wenn ich noch etwas haben soll die
 Mönche sein.

Das ist der Inhalt des Briefes, den ich
 Namens und
 Peter Miller
 Peter Miller

This is the brief, simple will of Peter Miller, Beissel's successor as prior of the Ephrata Cloister. The infirmity of its author is shown by the shaky signature.

Psalm XC. 5.

Du lässest sie dahin fahren wie einen
Strom/ und sind wie ein Schlaf;
gleich wie ein Gras/ das doch bald
welch wird.



Psalm XC. 12.

Lehre uns bedencen/ daß wir sterben
müssen: auß daß wir klug werden!

Mortality Symbol, Ephrata Cloister (Sachse, II, 210).

Kölb, Chatarina Kölbin and Jonathan Kölb, with the proviso that each of these three heirs shall have equal share in the aforesaid land.

And I grant them herewith my full right with all legal rights, along with everything that has been made and constructed on said land, with all buildings, to these three brothers and sisters; item Johan Adam Kölb, Chatarina Kölb, and Jonathan Kölb, for them and their heirs and assigns for ever.

Item. I order that in case one or another of my natural relatives should lay claim to something, then to each one who makes such a claim one English shilling shall be given, and no more.

And finally I name and declare and institute the two brothers item Johann Adam Kölb and Jonathan Kölb, in Ephrata, as my executors for this my last will and testament, and in so doing I renounce all and every will and testament which previous to this time have been made, be they verbal or written, and recognize this and no other as my last will and testament. As a witness whereof, I Ezechiel Sangmeister have placed below my own signature and seal today the sixteenth of September in the year of our Lord, one

thousand seven hundred and eighty-two. Ezechiel Sangmeister.

III. *The will of Ludwig Höcker, Brother Obed:*

Because I am very weak and perceive that I am losing strength and thus do not expect to live much longer, so I now make my last will. I did not expect things to turn out as they have. There is considerable money available. If we had all remained alive we could have used it. The family room [Stube] needs a new floor, the farmyard a new fence, and there are other matters that would have cost a lot. Also, I never thought that my beloved daughter¹⁴ would die before me, so I had made plans that after my death she might be provided for and not be a burden on others. Now things have gone against my wishes and after her death I prayed to God fervently that he should permit me to live longer so that everything might be taken care of and things given to the poor, following after the life of poverty of Jesus Christ. But since everything has turned out otherwise I must prefer God's will to mine and leave this work to others. I have reconciled myself with my fate and renounced this life and everything is to be left to the community in Ephrata, and the Sisters Eugenia, Iphigenia, Zenobia and Sophia are to be put in charge of everything. Next to my corpse, bread and wine shall be distributed and a love feast held. To this all Brothers and Sisters on the Bermudien and the Antitum shall be invited.¹⁵ Look upon all this as divine providence, and indeed it is nothing but that. I have always shared our possessions with the poor and always found that the more generously I gave, the greater was the blessing. And because we always lived communally, take now all our possessions. I do indeed wish to depart and be with Christ, but had it pleased God, I would have preferred he had granted me a longer life so that everything might be done to become like Christ. Now I must proclaim the Lord's will be done, and take leave of you all and ask that you pray to God He may be gracious to me. By me Brother Obed a member of the community of Ephrata.

P.S. Keep this a secret among you. You need not give my relatives anything—except my cousins the wife of Disler and the wife of the son of Johannes Gacklich. Give each two dollars. They live where formerly Massa was. They visited us and were kind. None of the others did so. Br. Obed.

(On the inside recto, apart from the rest:)

This is my last will, and just as we always shared everything in Ephrata so shall it be now with our possessions. But you may give of it to those who have need.

¹⁴Sister Petronella, according to Sachse the instructress in fine needlework at Ephrata (II, 203f.). She died in 1791.

¹⁵In 1752 Jacob Kimmel took a group from Ephrata and settled on the Bermudian Creek in York Co. In the 1760's Beissel established a subsidiary to Ephrata on Antietam Creek in present-day Franklin County, Pennsylvania. See: Sachse, II, 270 and 360ff.

Since Petronella died I have made gifts almost daily in the hope that I might God might [sic] be favorable toward me and grant me a longer life, so that I might give away everything except my necessities.

IV. The will of Sisters Mellania and Lucia:

In the Name of God Amen. We Sister Mellania and Sister Lucia so Called in the Monastical Branch of the Society of Seventh day Baptists at Ephrata Alias Barbara Bremin & Catharina Fultz only survivors of the Sisterhood in Sharon at Ephrata Cocalico Township in the County of Lancaster And State of Pennsylvania have Lived in the Monastical branch of the Society after the Mode of the poor Life of Jesus Christ upwards of Fifty years each. both Being Very Old & Weak & Declining in Health and Conceiving that we Can not live much longer but we Say that the Lords will be done. we found it incumbent on us for Different Charitable Reasons to make this our Last will and Testament Respecting the Affairs of our Comunion in form following. to wit. first we Recommend our Souls into the hands of the Almighty God who gave

Will of Sisters Mellania and Lucia (1813). Original in Ephrata Cloister Museum.

In the Name of God Amen We Sister Mellania and Sister Lucia so called in the Monastical Branch of the Society of Seventh day Baptists at Ephrata Alias Barbara Bremin & Catharina Fultz only survivors of the Sisterhood in Sharon at Ephrata Cocalico Township in the County of Lancaster And State of Pennsylvania have Lived in the Monastical branch of the Society after the Mode of the poor Life of Jesus Christ upwards of Fifty years each. both Being Very Old & Weak & Declining in Health and Conceiving that we Can not live much longer but we Say that the Lords will be done. we found it incumbent on us for Different Charitable Reasons to make this our Last will and Testament Respecting the Affairs of our Comunion in form following. to wit. first we Recommend our Souls into the hands of the Almighty God who gave it through Jesus Christ our beloved Redeemer and order our beloved Brethern & Sisters to bury our Bodies after the Mode of the Sisterhood in Sharon. Second we give & bequeath to our beloved Sister Barbara Heiper who has lived in communion with the Sisterhood at Ephrata upwards of Twenty five years during which time she attended & Nursed many of our departed Sisters and has Rentered every Assistance to us in her power. to wit the use & Possession of our Stone House and the Stove now standing in the House, All our Washing Tubs . . . the Clock now Standing in our Room, one Iron Washing Kettle, the sum of Five Pounds to be paid to her annually out of the Residue and Remainder of the Money which Shall Remain after our Decease in the Hands of Jacob Kimmel Jun. & Abraham Königsmacher which arose out of the sale of part of the Mountain land Endowed to us by Peter Shoemaker for our Support, and a Sufficient quantity of Firewood annually cut for her on the Societies wood Lands, and as much Meal or flour to be delivered to her from time to time out of the mill belonging to the Society as Shall be Sufficient for her Bread and as much Preveledge in our Garden as Shall be Necessary for her use all and every the Above Mentioned we give unto her during her Natural Life or as Long as She Shall Live in the Cloistered branch of our Society. but in case She Should die or depart from Ephrata it is our will that the Same Shall be for the use of the Society in Common we also give unto her for her Sole use two Iron potts, one pan, one Table . . . we also give unto her and Catharina Simmony Jointly our Cow which we possess & shall have a Right to pasture their Cow on the premiss belonging to the Society as fully as we our selves had. and it is our will that the Managers of our Society & their Successors . . . [provide fodder for the cow]. Third It is our Will & Desire that the Elders and Managers of our Society & their Successors Shall Maintain & Support Catharina Simmony a Member who has Lived in Communion with the Monastical Branch of the Society of Ephrata from her Childhood (but unfortunately a lunatic) . . . fifth [fourth] It is our will that Jacob Konigmacher for the unwearied Attendance he paid to us and to every Sick Member of the Communion at Ephrata and the immense quantity of Medecines furnished by him for Twenty years past Shall be Ample Recompenset and paid out of the Residue of the Money which arose out of the Sale of the Lands endowed to us by Peter Shoemaker for our Support as he Never Received an Adequate Compensation for his Trouble. fifth we give and bequeath unto Abraham Königsmacher & Jacob Kimmel Jun. & others the Elders & Managers of our Society & their Successors who shall annually be Elected according to the Articles of Associa-

it. through Jesus Christ our beloved Redeemer. and order our beloved Bretherin & Sisters to bury our Bodys after our Decease in a Christian like Manner after the mode of the Sisterhood in Sharon.

Second we give & bequeath to our beloved Sister Barbara Heiper [Keiper?] who has lived in communion with the Sisterhood at Ephrata upwards of Twenty. five years during which time she attended & Nursed many of our departed Sisters and has Rentered every Assistance to us in her power. to wit the use & Possession of our Stone House and the Stove now standing in the House, All our Washing Tubs . . . the Clock now Standing in our Room, one Iron Washing Kettle, the sum of Five Pounds to be paid to her annually out of the Residue and Remainder of the Money which Shall Remain after our Decease in the Hands of Jacob Kimmel Jun. & Abraham Königsmacher which arose out of the sale of part of the Mountain land Endowed to us by Peter Shoemaker for our Support, and a Sufficient quantity of Firewood annually cut for her on the Societies wood Lands, and as much Meal or flour to be delivered to her from time to time out of the mill belonging to the Society as Shall be Sufficient for her Bread and as much Preveledge in our Garden as Shall be Necessary for her use all and every the Above Mentioned we give unto her during her Natural Life or as Long as She Shall Live in the Cloistered branch of our Society. but in case She Should die or depart from Ephrata it is our will that the Same Shall be for the use of the Society in Common we also give unto her for her Sole use two Iron potts, one pan, one Table . . . we also give unto her and Catharina Simmony Jointly our Cow which we possess & shall have a Right to pasture their Cow on the premiss belonging to the Society as fully as we our selves had. and it is our will that the Managers of our Society & their Successors . . . [provide fodder for the cow].

Third It is our Will & Desire that the Elders and Managers of our Society & their Successors Shall Maintain & Support Catharina Simmony a Member who has Lived in Communion with the Monastical Branch of the Society of Ephrata from her Childhood (but unfortunately a lunatic) . . .

fifth [fourth] It is our will that Jacob Konigmacher for the unwearied Attendance he paid to us and to every Sick Member of the Communion at Ephrata and the immense quantity of Medecines furnished by him for Twenty years past Shall be Ample Recompenset and paid out of the Residue of the Money which arose out of the Sale of the Lands endowed to us by Peter Shoemaker for our Support as he Never Received an Adequate Compensation for his Trouble.

fifth we give and bequeath unto Abraham Königsmacher & Jacob Kimmel Jun. & others the Elders & Managers of our Society & their Successors who shall annually be Elected according to the Articles of Associa-

tion of our Society all the Residue of our Personal Effects also all our Possessions Rights priveledges immunities & Estate which we have had in Ephrata as the Survivors of the Monastical branch of the Society of Seventh day Baptists in Communion at Ephrata in Trust for the express purpose of Perpetuating & Supporting Religion Charity & Education among the Heads of Families of our Society a[nd] their Successors in Common. And lastly we Constitute our beloved Brother Jacob Kimmel Jun & Jacob Königacker Executors of this our Last will & Testament. In Witness Whereof we have hereunto Set our Hand & Seals this tenth day of September in the year of our lord one Thousand Eight Hundred & Thirteen. Sister Mellania alias Barbara her X mark Bremin [.] Sister Lucia alias Catharina her X mark Fultz.

Before concluding let us consider briefly the difficulties encountered in locating wills. One of the chief problems involved in locating Ephrata wills is that of obtaining the names of persons who were at any time associated with the Cloister. We have used the following sources: 1. An eighteenth-century Ephrata manuscript now located in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and entitled "Register Vor die Brüder und Schwester die in und ausser Ephrataer (Gemeinschaft) gestorben sind." 2. Brother Obadia's manuscript diary now located in the Sachse Collection at the Seventh Day Baptist Historical Society in Plainfield, New Jersey. 3. The two volumes on Ephrata by Sachse, especially his recording of the Ephrata death registers (II, 485-517). 4. Eugene E. Doll and Felix Reichmann's *Ephrata as Seen by Contemporaries*. 5. J. Max Hark's translation of the *Chronicon*. 6. Klaus Wust's *The Virginia Germans*. 7. Lists of Ephrata hymn writers found by the author. 8. The Milton Heinicke Collection at the Historical Society of Cocalico Township in Ephrata, Pennsylvania, and 9. Persons mentioned in Ephrata wills.

The most valuable of these sources are the manuscripts because they restrict themselves to members and associates of the Cloister and because they provide many death dates. The second major problem in locating Ephrata Cloister wills, however, arises from the fact that the manuscripts give just the first names—the Cloister names—of most Brothers and Sisters. Only in a few cases do the two manuscripts, when used together, provide the information necessary for looking up the will of such persons. Brother Obadia's diary, for instance, reports that a Brother Andreas died in 1744. The Death Register reports that one Andreas Erlenwein died in this year. The Death Register lists a Chrisostomus Gorgas who died in 1766. Brother Obadia lists a Brother Chrisostomus and identifies him as Joseph Gorgas with the foregoing death date.

A third difficulty concerns the many instances where no first name is given in the manuscript lists. Women



Page of music manuscript, Ephrata Cloister (Sachse, II, 316).

are often identified solely by the name of the husband; occasionally a Brother is listed by his last name only. For such cases there is a valuable reference work: Eleanor Jane Fulton and Barbara Kendig Mylin's *An Index to the Will Books and Intestate Records of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania 1729-1850 . . .* (Lancaster, 1936).¹⁶

At this point a word must be said about the process of looking up persons who may have had a will recorded in Lancaster County. The indices at the Courthouse are arranged as follows: All persons whose family name begins with the same letter are to be found in the book under that letter. Within this book testators are arranged alphabetically according to the first letter of the first name. Persons having the same initial of both first and last name are then listed together in chronological order, according to the date of the recording of the will.

If one lacks the death date of a testator one must look all through the list of persons having his same initials. The *Chronicon* mentions, for instance, a certain John Graff (p. 24). Between 1729, when Lancaster County was founded, and 1814—the year in which the Cloister lost its autonomy, and the cut-off date for our study—eight persons of this name (and variant spellings) had wills recorded in Lancaster—none of them mentioning the Cloister.

A more serious problem is posed if the first name is missing rather than the date of death. In this case one would have to look through twenty-six first name lists under the known death date. If one knows neither the first name nor the death date the Courthouse records are almost useless. In both of the foregoing cases Fulton-Mylin with its arrangement according to the last names and then by date of recording of the will, regardless of the first name, is far more useful.

¹⁶Hereafter: Fulton-Mylin.

The fourth problem involved in looking up Ephrata wills, however, reveals one great advantage of the Courthouse indices over Fulton-Mylin: the varied spellings for a single name. Names like Meyer, Groff, Bear, Mayley, and especially those with a vowel change such as Nägly or Höffly may each be spelled a number of ways. To the user of the indices in Lancaster, however, this poses no difficulty.

A similar problem which the Lancaster indices also solve surprisingly frequently is the practice of translating names. Ephrata's Henrich Guth is listed as Henry Good—in the same place he would be if his name were given the German spelling. But are there any Klopps listed as Raps or Knocks, or Eichers listed as Acres, Zinns as Tins, etc? We have not found any. A problem similar to this is posed when the sound of the first letter may vary. The Bette(n)koffers of the Ephrata registers undoubtedly belong to the family listed in the indices as Pettekoffer—although we located none from Ephrata.

There is still another problem with names, and this time one that Fulton-Mylin is helpful with. The will of John Henry Hageman lists S. Ludwig Hoecker as a witness.¹⁷ This is undoubtedly Ludwig Höcker, Brother Obed, who did not use this first name in signing his own will so that the will indices omit it, just as they do that of (John) Peter Miller. In like manner Heinrich Sangmeister became Brother Ezechiel at Ephrata and signed his will as Ezechiel Sangmeister. In the light of this it is possible there are other Ephrata wills listed under middle names, wills that we have consequently not located.

The least vexing problem involved the occasional discrepancy between the date of a person's death and the date his will was recorded. For the Ephrata wills we have found, we know the year of death of twenty-seven persons. In four cases the wills were probated in the year following the person's death. In one case, that of Henry Good who died in 1754, there was a three year delay. In the other twenty-two cases the year of death and year of probate coincided. From this it may be seen that in general one need look in the will books no farther than the year following the death of a decedent to find his will.

In conclusion we present a list of the Ephrata Cloister wills and inventories that we have found, hoping thereby to spare others tedious searching at the Courthouse. Name spellings given below are those of the signature on the original document. Where this was not available we have used the spelling in the will books. Except where stated to the contrary, the date given is the year in which each will was probated. The location(s) of recording in the Courthouse will books are given in parentheses; the books X-2 and Y-2 containing trans-

lations of German wills are placed last. Symbols used are listed in the following order: "O" indicates we have seen the original will, "X" that the testator could not write and signed with his mark. "I" signifies that we inspected the original inventory, "G" indicates that the original will was in German, and "T" that we located a contemporary translation for it.¹⁸ Although we have sought to obtain all original documents available, there are quite likely some we have missed.

- 1748 (date of inventory) *Johan Henrich Kalkgläser* (not recorded), O, I, G, T (Y-2, p. 125).
 1749 (date given in Y-2) *Agnes Kalkglosco* [*Kalkgläser*], (Y-2, p. 126).
 1754 *Johan Henrich Hageman* (B-1, p. 61), O, G (X-2, p. 292).
 1754 *Peter Klopp* (B-1, p. 72), O, I, G (X-2, p. 377).
 1755 *Henry End* (J-1, p. 46).
 1757 *Henrich Gut* (B-1, p. 162), O, I.
 1765 *Peter Gehr* (B-1, p. 508).
 1765 *Johanes Merckel* (B-1, p. 631), O.
 1773 *Peter Shoemaker* (C-1, p. 257), O, X.
 1775 *Jacob Heaffley* (C-1, p. 204), X.
 1776 *Dietrick Fahnestick* [*Fahnestock*] (C-1, p. 337), X, I.
 1776 *Jacob Graff* (C-1, p. 339).
 1776 *Johannes Müller* (C-1, p. 359), O.
 1778 *Henry Miller* (C-1, p. 560).
 1779 *Anna Landes* (C-1, p. 557).
 1782 *Samuel Eckerling* (D-1, p. 73), O, I, G, T (Y-2, p. 111).
 1783 *Hanss* [*John*] *Meyle* (D-1, p. 341), O.
 1784 *Jacob Kimel* (E-1, p. 153), O, I.
 1785 *Michael Miller* (E-1, p. 276).
 1785 *Ezechiel Sangmeister* (E-1, p. 165), O, I, G, T (X-2, p. 17).
 1787 *Christian Eckstein* (E-1, p. 424), O.
 1787 *Adam Faas* (—————), O, I, G, T (Y-2, p. 154).
 1790 *Jacob Martin* (—————), (X-2, p. 472).
 1793 *John Hoeffly* (F-1, pp. 486), O.
 1796 *Christ[ian] Bollenger* (J-1, p. 12), O.
 1796 *Elisabeth Ecksten* [*Eckstein*], (I-1, p. 116), O, I, G (X-2, p. 108).
 1797 *Barbra Eckstine* (G-1, p. 88), O, I.
 1797 *Catharine Hageman* (G-1, p. 129), O, X, I.
 1797 (inventory date) *Peter Miller* (not recorded), O, I, G.
 1798 *Jacob Funk* (G-1, p. 331), O, I.
 1798 *Jacob Sprigel* (J-1, p. 253), O, X, I.
 1800 *Elizabeth Bollinger* (G-1, p. 612), O, X.
 1801 *John Landes* (H-1, p. 111), O, I.
 1804 *Jacob Keller* (H-1, p. 500), O, I.
 1805 *Petter Fanstock* [*Fahnestock*] (H-1, p. 622), O, I.
 1807 *Joseph Heffley* (I-1, p. 233), O, I.
 1808 *Christian Luther* (I-1, p. 319), O, I.
 1810 *Conrad Wever* (K-1, p. 356), O, I.
 1813 (date of will) *Barbara Brem* and *Catharina Fultz* (not recorded), O.
 1815 *Jonathan Kölb* (M-1, p. 127), O.
 1818 *Chatarina Kölb* (M-1, p. 128), O.
 1818 *Johann Adam Kölb* (M-1, p. 128), O, I.
 1819 *John Frederick* (M-1, p. 347), O, X, I.

¹⁸The writer is indebted to Miss Carol Longabaugh of the Registry of Wills in Lancaster County Courthouse for obtaining most of these original documents.

¹⁷The will books record this as Simon Ludwig Hocker (B-1, p. 61).

A Blacksmith's "Summerkich"

By WILLIAM WOYS WEAVER

In his survey of the buildings on Pennsylvania-German farmsteads,¹ Amos Long has emphasized that the summer kitchen (*die Summerkich*) was certainly more than just a kitchen. They served a multitude of functions, often doubling in the role of wash-house, dairy, or even as a smokehouse. The Christian Hauser kitchen in Lancaster County's West Lampeter Township,² is typical of the combination smokehouse-summer kitchen that evolved in central Lancaster County at the close of the 18th Century.

The evolutionary process that produced this and similar kitchens is itself an interesting one, based on nearly a century of Germanic culture in the area.³ Within that context, the Hauser kitchen may be viewed as a product of a rather distinctive folk-culture in a time of extensive Anglicization—a side-effect, no doubt, of the many complex social changes precipitated by the Revolution.⁴

The Hauser summer-kitchen is built along a lane leading to a cluster of buildings, some dating from the mid-18th Century.⁵ The predominant structures are the barn, built in the so-called "Sweitzer" fashion,⁶ and

¹Amos Long, "The Pennsylvania German Family Farm," *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society*, VI (1972).

²Located along the western side of Houser Road, between Rockvale and Pioneer Roads in West Lampeter Township.

³For a discussion of the early architecture of this area, refer to: William Woys Weaver, "Weizenthal and the Early Architecture of Neu-Strassburg: Swiss Plantations in the Province of Pennsylvania." Unpublished Master's thesis, The School of Architecture of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville. A resume of this thesis appeared in the April, 1973 issue of the *Schaefferstown Bulletin*, C. Richard Beam, editor.

⁴Anglicization proceeded unevenly from one county to the next. For example, the difference between contemporary architecture in Lancaster and Berks Counties is often quite striking, the Berks County structures being far more architectural than those of Lancaster, and strongly Palladian by the late 18th Century. Undoubtedly, part of this is due to a difference in social values dictated by religion, affluence, and outside stimuli, some of which may be directly attributable to the Revolution. Unfortunately, the effects of the Revolution on the German culture in Pennsylvania have not been much investigated, but one may find the subject discussed to some degree in: Henry A. Pochmann, *German Culture in America. Philosophical and Literary Influences 1600-1900* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957); and Ralph Wood, *The Pennsylvania Germans* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943).

⁵The historical Germanic farm is treated in such works as: Hildegard Dolling, *Haus und Hof in westgermanischen Volksrechten* (Munster, 1958); Otto Gruber, "Von neuen Bauernwerk, Haus und Hof deutscher Bauern, und vom alemannischen Bauernhaus," *Mein Heimatland*, XXIX (1942), #1, pp. 39-56; and G. Romberg, "Über Bauern-Hof und-Haus," *Mecklenburg*, XXI (1926), pp. 115-117.

⁶Charles H. Dornbusch, "Pennsylvania German Barns," *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, XX (1958); Alfred L. Shoemaker, *The Pennsylvania Barn* (Kutztown, Pa.: The Pennsylvania Folklife Society, 1959).

a two-story log dwelling believed to date from 1745-1750. This house was probably built for Hans Hauser, son of settler Ulrich Hauser, who in turn left the property to his son, Christian, for whom the kitchen was built.

The Hauser farm was originally part of a larger patent rented by the Weber (Weaver) and Guth (Good) families from 1711 to 1717,⁷ at which time 500 acres were purchased jointly by Johannes Weber (c. 1683-1755) and Ulrich Hauser (d. 1754),⁸ both of Germantown.⁹ In 1720, after selling 100 acres to Johann Funk (later of Massanutten in Virginia),¹⁰ the Hauser farm consisted of some 140 acres of the original 500. This land remained in the family until quite recently.

⁷That is, rented from Johann Rudolphus Bondeli, a Bernese patrician who was instrumental in settling the Swiss at Lancaster in 1710. He sold the property by a deed dated 13 October 1717. Philadelphia County *Deed Book E*, X, 400-403. The deed was registered on 31 October 1717.

⁸Lancaster County *Will Book B*, I, 51.
⁹Coverage of the settlement of Weizenthal is discussed in: William Woys Weaver, "Johann Anton Weber and His Family: Swiss Colonists," *Mennonite Research Journal*, XIV (1973), #1, pp. 1 and 11.

¹⁰In 1726, Johann Funk emigrated to Massanutten in Virginia with the Jakob Stover colony. See: Harry M. Strickler, *Massanutten, Settled by the Pennsylvania Pilgrim 1726. The First White Settlement in the Shenandoah Valley* (Strasburg, Va.: Shenandoah Publishing House, 1924).



Figure 1. Oldtime blacksmith at work.



Figure 2. South facade of the Hauser summer-kitchen.

Christian Hauser (9 December 1767—23 September 1849)¹¹ was a Mennonite farmer-blacksmith and proprietor of several prosperous farms in West Lampeter Township. The kitchen-smokehouse was built for him about 1812 by his son-in-law, Daniel Weaver, a house-carpenter who was active in Strasburg Township during the first half of the 19th Century.¹² Certain unusual structural improvisations suggest that Daniel was perhaps rather young and inexperienced when he undertook the project.¹³

¹¹These dates were taken from Hauser's gravestone, now located in the burial ground at Longenecker Reformed Mennonite Meeting in West Lampeter Township. Hauser, with his wife Elizabeth, had originally been buried in the Weaver family burial ground along Rockvale Road. Twenty-one marked graves were moved from that private cemetery to Longenecker's about 1937.

¹²Not much is known yet about Daniel Weaver, except that he was a son of John and Ann (Landis) Weaver of Lampeter and Manheim Townships. He was a great-grandson of Johannes Weber who settled Weizenthal.

¹³Typical stone and timber construction used by the Germans is discussed in: H. Wiedhaas, "Aufgaben und erkennbarer gegenwertiger Stand der Forschung uber in Holz und Stein Kombinierte Baukonstruktionen in Altertum," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitung der Hochschule fur Architektur und Bauwesen* (Weimar), IV (1956/7), 149-166, 235-247, 317-328.

Measuring roughly 19 x 24 feet, with 18-inch limestone and sandstone ashlar walls, the Hauser kitchen carries no datestone or any other datable inscription. But several original moldings indicate that 1812 is a

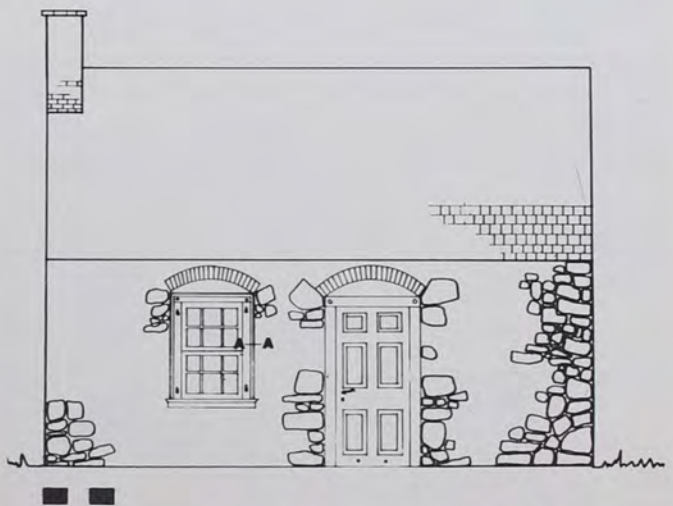


Figure 3. Elevation of the North facade of the Hauser kitchen. Drawn by W. Weaver.

fairly acceptable date for construction, especially if one allows for a cultural lag in styles of moldings then in use among the Swiss-German element at Lancaster.

The window surrounds are typical of those commonly in use in the mid-Atlantic area between 1775 and 1800. The kitchen door, however, dates from a much earlier period (1730-1740). Its moldings, in fact, are similar to moldings on the shutters of the Musselman house (1739) in the Village of Strasburg some five miles away. One suspects that this door was pilfered from an earlier house on the property, perhaps from the first house built for Ulrich Hauser, now long since demolished. The fact that the present door has been trimmed two to three inches at the bottom would certainly suggest that it was once salvage material.

The exterior of the Hauser kitchen bears no peculiar Germanic features. The same is true of the interior first floor. It would seem that by 1812, Anglo-American and German-American vernacular cultures—in architecture at least—had fused into a more generally Pennsylvanian style. But one might question whether the Hauser kitchen was in fact a blend of two cultural types, or merely a form of some Germanic prototype so simplified that it has become nothing more than a shell of its former state. Whatever the case, the Hauser kitchen is basically a stone cabin rather like stone cabins found in many Western folk-cultures, consisting of a single room with a cooking fireplace at one end. Not surprising, the Hauser kitchen is oriented on an East to West axis, that is, with an entrance on the North and South facades, like so many early 18th Century houses in the Lancaster area. As a matter of fact, it would have been possible to live in this structure under the conditions rural people were accustomed to in 1812. Yet it is interesting to see the cabin form used here as an out-building with a specific roster of functions, only underlining the adaptability of this particular architectural genre.

It is not easy to page through the multitudes of German-language books and articles on vernacular architecture and discover exact parallels with vernacular types in this country. Inevitably, one discovers certain simplifications or alterations in the American

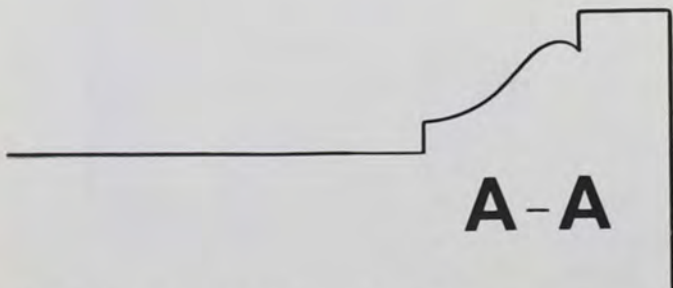


Figure 4. Profile of the molding from the window surround at A-A in Figure 3.



Figure 5. Detail showing the early 18th-century door on the North facade of the Hauser kitchen. Note the antique thumb-latch.

forms, especially when compared with specific German or Swiss structures. However, there are often exceptions, a house here, a barn there, where a whole panoply of Europeanisms has been transplanted quite intact. This is always a delight for Americans, and perhaps (with the aid of European scholarship) the least difficult to understand.

The rather nebulous quality of the Hauser kitchen's architecture presents a problem in accurately defining the origin of this type of structure. But buildings of this sort do indeed appear in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria.¹⁴ The form is primitive and related to

¹⁴W. Munch. *Niederbergische Steingaden und Wehrspeicher*. Dusseldorf, 1967. Also useful are: Torsten Gebhard, "Kasten und Speicher," *Heimat und Volkstum* (München), XVI (1938), #16, 241-246. Konrad Huber, "Über Histten- und Speichertypen des Zentralalpengebietes. Eine Sache- und Sprach geschichtliche Untersuchung," *Romantica Helvetica* (Erlenbach-Zurich), XIX (1944). C. Kuntzel, *Scheunen, Speicher, Schuppen* (Berlin, 1942). Walter Laedrach, *Der bernische Speicher* (Bern, 1954), Berner Heimatbücher #57/58. Hermann Phleps, "Der Speicher, der vornehmste Bau des germanischen Hofes," *Deutsche Volkskunde*, #1 (1939), 92. Max Wahren, "Backen und Backhauser in Berner Gebieten," *Schweizer Volkskunde*, LII (1962), #2, 17-22.

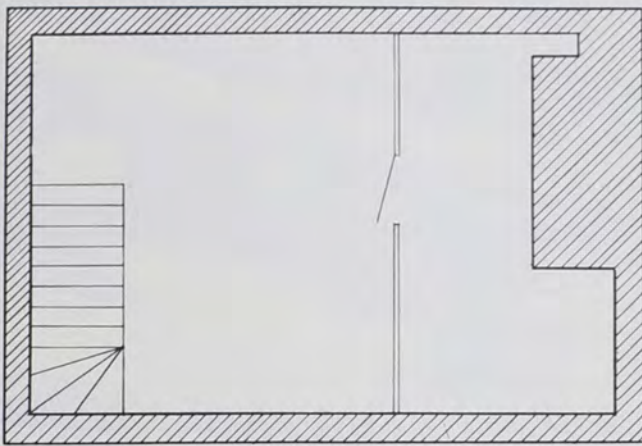


Figure 6. Plan of the attic, showing the Rauchkammer, or smoke-chamber, on the right. Drawn by W. Weaver.

mountain cabins with cultural roots going far back into ancient Germanic history. The late Richard Weiss of Switzerland believed, quite credibly, that the primitive stone cabin was a product of enculturation during and shortly following the Roman Imperium.¹⁵ It should be remembered that ancient (unromanized) Germanic architecture was largely an architecture of wood inspired, as Hermann Phleps has suggested, by prehistoric boat construction.¹⁶

In keeping with its primitive background, the Hauser kitchen is quite plainly finished. On the first floor

¹⁵Richard Weiss. *Hauser und Landschaften der Schweiz* (Erlenbach-Zurich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag, 1959).

¹⁶Hermann Phleps, *Alemannische Holzbaukunst* (Wiesbaden: Frank Steiner Verlag, 1967). I refer specifically to Alemannic architecture because Lancaster County's Swiss Mennonite families were largely of Alemannic origin.

there is a large cooking fireplace located on the East gable end. Plank floors are used throughout, and the walls are thickly plastered and whitewashed. A winding staircase leading to the garret is enclosed with a wall of random-width, beaded planking. The door, which stands at the foot of the stairs, is particularly noteworthy for its fine iron hinges and a handsome wrought iron latch that is similar to one on a cupboard in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

Perhaps most interesting, however, is the garret smokehouse (*Rauchkammer*) built into floor space measuring 9 x 15 over the fireplace. Such garret smokehouses, or smoke chambers, were common Germanic features in the Lancaster region from the earliest period of settlement, but it was not until the late 18th Century, and particularly during the early 19th, that the German element began building separate (or attached) structures for smoking meat. For this reason, the Hauser smokehouse is again something of a cultural compromise, for while still an attic configuration, it has been relegated to a building other than the main house. One might consider it a transitional phase between the Germanic smokehouse in the attic of a dwelling, and the smokehouse that stands by itself as a separate out-building.

A partition wall constructed of three layers of staggered, 1-inch planking separates the smoking chamber from the rest of the attic. Smoke entered this chamber through a square hole cut in the chimney stack—now filled with brick rubble. The interior walls of the chamber are covered with split, oak lathing to which a thick layer of plaster has been applied. Projecting



Figure 7. Looking East toward the partition wall of the Rauchkammer.



Figure 8. Detail of the hooks and hickory rods in the ceiling of the Rauchkammer.

through the plaster from the rafters are pairs of wrought-iron hooks arranged 40 inches apart in rows running down both roof inclines at 10-inch intervals. These hooks support hickory rods, 44 inches in length, from which were hung the various meats being smoked. Curiously enough, similar hook arrangements have been observed in the ceiling of the arched root cellar at the nearby Johannes Weber house (1724/1729). The function there was also for hanging foodstuffs, thus indicating that this practice was not a late development, but rather an older vernacular form with roots, perhaps, in German Europe.

The use of attic smoking chambers, the hooks and hickory rods, are only a few of the interesting Europeanisms that were once part of the Lancaster scene, and certainly in the case of the Hauser kitchen, somewhat old-fashioned, even for 1812.³⁷ Old-fashioned or not, the presence of the garret smokehouse only further

underlines the adaptability of the primitive stone cabin. In fact, many of these kitchens were in reality all-purpose structures. This is evidenced as much in courthouse papers and general farm-lore tradition, as by the architecture itself.³⁸

In view of the rapid disappearance of this interesting species of out-building, and the miserly amount of data we have concerning others like it, there is much work to be done. Hopefully, the Christian Hauser kitchen will serve as a guideline for further investigation of this challenging subject, and thus provide us with a more complete picture of our ever fascinating Pennsylvania German folk-culture.

³⁷By 1812, contemporary agricultural journals were promoting more improved methods for smoking meat.

³⁸It is known, for example, that Christian Hauser kept many of his smithy tools in his kitchen, even the cider press when it was not in use. Some mention of these items may be found in Hauser's will. Lancaster County *Will Book U-1*, 777.

Pennsylvania German Astronomy and Astrology VI: Astrological Philosophy

By LOUIS WINKLER

GENERAL ASTROLOGY

Definitions of astrology vary not only with the era of interest and the people concerned, but they also depend on whether the person making the definition is a believer or not. The definition of astrology chosen here is guided by the findings of this writer and the fact that this writer does not advocate astrology. Accordingly astrology is concerned with the supposed influences of extraterrestrial bodies on the earth which have no scientific explanations, as well as omens, divinations, and determinations of appropriatenesses as they are deduced from observations of celestial bodies.

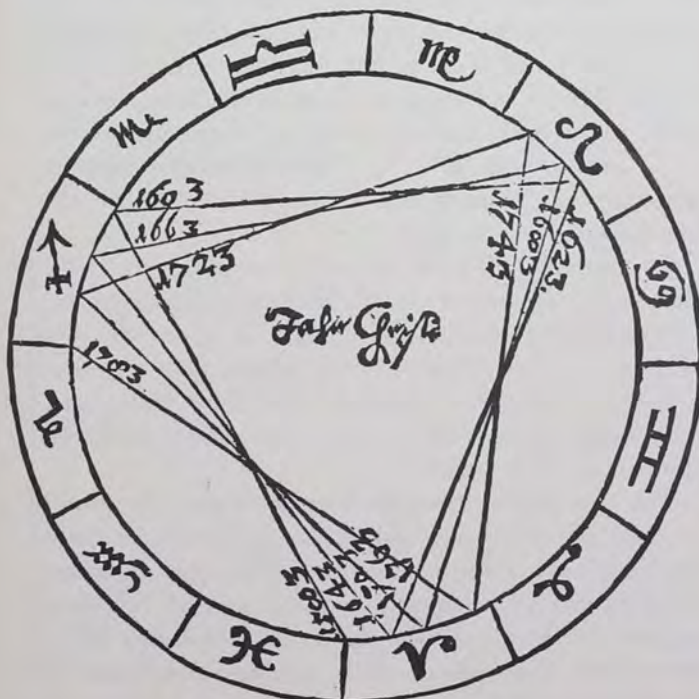
Often there are events occurring here on earth which can be correlated in time with various specified astronomical events. Before these correlations can be classified as astronomical or real events, rather than astrological events, a physical explanation is necessary. In this way ocean tides, for example, which are correlated with the position of the moon, are real effects because of the soundness of the theory of gravitation which explains the correlation quantitatively and qual-

itatively. In the relatively few cases where physical explanations might be used to explain correlations it is best not to classify the event astronomically or astrologically until definite proof exists one way or the other. For our purposes in this article phenomena will be treated as either purely astronomical or astrological.

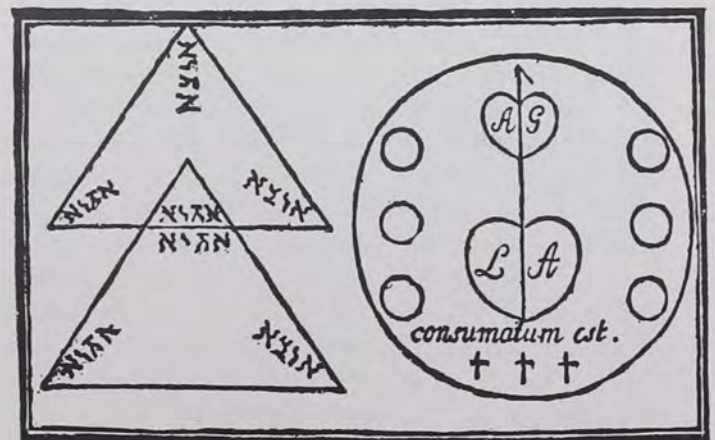
The origins both of astrology and astronomy are ancient. The astrology practised by the Pennsylvania Germans was a carryover from the astrology practised in Germany. Thus a better understanding of the astrology as practised by the Pennsylvania Germans would require a study of Medieval German astrology.

For the most part the practise of astrology was an art form which required some astronomical understanding. Most astrologers were self-styled and probably modified their approach to conform to the needs, interest, and ability of the clientele to pay for his services. The astronomical knowledge for the most part related to the dynamics in the solar system. An astrologer would frequently have to know the apparent positions of the planets, moon, and sun. If he were not able to read almanacs and hundred year calendars he might have to make his own telescopic sightings. Knowledge of the dynamics of the solar system would also allow him to locate and anticipate the motion of known comets.

One of the interesting characteristics of astrology is that there have always been believers and disbelievers.



Astrological chart from Ephrata manuscript (Sachse, II, 92).



Fire charm from Ephrata (Sachse, II, 374).

Birth record of Veronica Licht, born 1767, indicating zodiacal sign under which the child was born. Donald A. Shelley, *The Fraktur-Writings or Illuminated Manuscripts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Allentown, Pennsylvania, 1961), Illustration No. 33.



Many scholars have indicated that with more education the belief in astrology would wane. This writer sees no evidence of this. Interest in astrology appears if anything to be of interest to people at all times. Any spectacular astronomical events such as comets, meteor showers, supernovae, or man's landing on the moon, seem to heighten interest in both astronomy and astrology, at least for a while. One reason for people believing in astrology is that in general it cannot be disproved. Since astrology can be so complex and astrologers can relate astronomical phenomena to any and all phases of life on earth it may be comforting to believe that astronomical phenomena beyond our control are responsible for outcomes rather than ourselves.

PERSONAL ASTROLOGY

In Article I of this series the motion of the planets, sun, and moon within the signs of the zodiac was discussed. When a person is born the sun appears to be in one of the twelve zodiacal signs. This stellar constellation becomes the person's horoscopic sign and according to the astrologer the person has all the numerous characteristics and traits that are associated with the sign. These traits vary from one horoscope to another. How they are arrived at, other than by traditional adoption, is not understood by this writer. As anyone knows who has read horoscopes, the traits are so general and numerous that very different people can see themselves in the horoscopic descriptions.

One of the fundamental indicators that Pennsylvania Germans were believers in astrology was that the as-

tronomical sign under which many people were born was indicated on their birth certificate. An example of this is shown in the beautifully illuminated Taufschein for 23 November 1767 shown above. It is certain that the zodiacal sign indicated by ". . . im Zeichen des Schützen . . ." is astrological in nature rather than astronomical since the sun does not appear to be in the constellation of Sagittarius or the Archer on the birth date. Further the mythological figure is indicated in the birth certificate rather than the stellar constellation. The facts that some birth certificates have no place for a birth sign or many just leave the phrase ". . . in the sign of . . ." incomplete also suggests that not all Pennsylvania Germans believed in the significance of birth signs.

An example of a horoscope is found in the 1832 issue of *Der Gemeinnützige Landwirthschafts Calendar*: "Children who are born in January or under the sign of Aquarius, are Saturn-like in nature, pale in color, proud and arrogant, envious, able, have dark eyes, start much, bring little to end, and would rather be alone than with people."

This is a curious example since horoscopes are usually given for just a sign rather than a month or both. Here we have ambiguity too since Aquarius (January 21 - February 19) is mostly in the month of February. Apparently there are two choices of horoscopes for a given birth date. Since dark eyes are mentioned in the horoscope this writer wonders whether people with light eyes believe the horoscope.

When we start to consider the planets in personal astrology the real complexities start to enter. First, each person with a given birth sign is automatically assigned one of the five planets, or the sun or moon as a governing body. Because the sun and moon are apparently prominent they only correspond to one specific birth sign, but the five naked eye planets each correspond to two birth signs. In this way the twelve signs are distributed among the seven bodies which appear to move relative to the signs of the zodiac. While each person has a sign and ruling body he is also subject to the influences of the other six bodies in numerous other ways. Each of the seven bodies rules everything on earth for a year and once every seven years. All the seven bodies also rule simultaneously and particularly at birth. At the moment of birth the positions of the planets relative to the horizon (in sections called "houses") determine various aspects of his social life such as wealth, dwelling, death, marriage, respect, dignity, friendship, and sorrow.

Since the science of celestial mechanics is so precise it is possible to locate the precise position of the seven bodies which move relative to stars for any time in the past or future. Generally the most important arrangement is the one at the moment of birth. From a knowledge of the geographic location of one's birthplace it is possible to determine which houses the seven bodies are in at a given epoch. Conventional charts

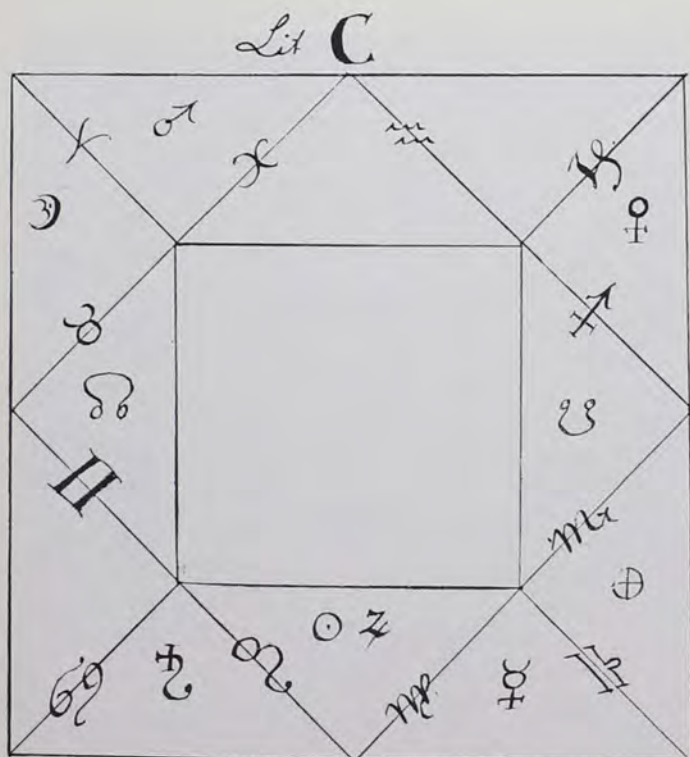
with the arrangements of the seven bodies relative to the signs of the zodiac are shown in documents known as horoscopes.

To give the reader an idea of the enormous complexity of the influences of just one planet, Mars, a small sampling of the factors governed by Mars is taken from a Hundred Year Calendar:

Mars is "... hot and dry, humorless, hot tempered, a masculine planet and is a harbinger of war and diverse discord: it governs military affairs, alchemists, blacksmiths, locksmiths, and all handicrafters . . . the left ear, the bile, kidneys . . .". When Mars is the reigning planet "there is good wine . . . there are unusually many grasshoppers and few fish . . . Spring: is commonly dry, inclement and cold, with frost until May 1st . . .". Mars of course also influences vegetables, animals, birds, and even "iron and lodestone".

Thus by considering a person's sign and ruling body, the ruling body of the year, the seven bodies at the time of birth and throughout the year or day or hour, almost anything could be explained or even contradicted. Since the supposed effects cannot be proved or disproved the believer continues in his beliefs and the disbeliever continues in his.

Even though personal astrology existed in ancient times beliefs along the same lines are still evident today. For example there is an enormous market for various types of horoscopic and general astrological lit-



No 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Tabula

1	Aquif.	Amisio	Salvia	Triticia	Quat. D.	Caed. D.	Albus	Pubus
2	☉	☽	☿	♁	♂	♆	♃	♄
3	♈	♉	♊	♋	♌	♍	♎	♏
4	♐	♑	♒	♓	♈	♉	♊	♋
5	Direct	Retrog.	Retro.	Retro.	Direct	Retro.	Direct	Direct
6	Terra	Ignia	Aerea	Terrea	Terrea	Ignia	Aerea	Ignia
7	Occid.	Meridi	Oriz	Occid.	Occid.	Meridi	Septent.	Meridi
8	Bona	Mala	Bona	Mala	Bona	Mala	Bona	Mala
9	Fixa	Mobilis	Fixa	Fixa	Fixa	Mobilis	Fixa	Mobilis
10	Masculina	Masc.	Masc.	Foemina	Foem.	Masc.	Foemin.	Masc.
11	Diurna		Diurna	Nocturna	Noctur.	Diurna	Noctur.	Diurna
12	Intrans	Exiens	Intrans	Intrans	Exiens	Intrans	Exiens	Intrans
13	Calida	Calida	Calida	Frigida	Frigida	Calida	Humida	Calida
	Humida	Sicca	Humida	Sicca	Sicca	Sicca	Humida	Sicca

Astrological samplings from the Lehman Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

erature. Some personality qualities of astrological origin are even well integrated into the English language. People's dispositions are sometimes related to the sun, moon, or planets visible to the unaided eye. The adjectives sunny, moony (or even monster and lunatic), mercurial, venerable, martial, jovial, and saturnine refer to the sun, moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, respectively. Even the words "disaster" and "catastrophe" refer to the Greek word for star, *aster*, and the word "consider" refers to the latin word for star, *sideris*.

SOURCES OF ASTROLOGICAL LORE

It has been discussed somewhat in previous articles in this series that almanacs were the best popular source of astrology. The amount and type of astrological material within these almanacs varied from almanac to almanac and within a given almanac series. It is virtually impossible to find an almanac without some astrology. The variable type of astrology present in almanacs may have been a reflection of the varying pressures put upon the publishers by the readers.

Among the most regular of the astrological literature in almanacs were the various annual intrinsic properties of one of the seven bodies and the designation of the ruling body. Other areas which nearly always received annual attention were that of timber cutting, blood-letting, and cupping. These activities for some reason unknown to this writer are governed by the moon, par-

ticularly the constellation in which it appeared. See Figure 5 of Article I of this series for examples of specific advice concerning timber cutting, blood-letting, and cupping.

Interestingly enough, horoscopes did not appear in the 18th, or regularly in the early 19th Century. The *Americanische Stadt und Land Calendar* was one of the first almanacs to include horoscopes every year for an extended time, starting in 1835.

Hundred Year Calendars were specialized sources of astrology. They provided the most complete source of descriptive material on the seven bodies and their areas of influence. Astronomical data was also available in the Hundred Year Calendars which allowed the determination of which of the seven bodies was of importance at any given time.

Many specialized publications dealing only with astrological material were also available to the early Pennsylvania Germans. Very often their content pertained to horoscopes and the influences of the seven bodies. One of the interesting general factors regarding these astrological publications was the apparent reluctance of the publisher to provide author or publisher information. In some cases there was no author, no publisher, and no date or place of publication. Of course these imprints, like nearly all other astrological publications, failed to indicate sources of their astrological information.

*Das Fortuna zu finden. Gestet man alle
 12 in dem 12 höchsten beständigen
 Figuren gestanden und dividirt sie mit 12 und
 was übrig ist nimbt man das Gest oder die
 Nummer der Hand an insonnen Das Fortuna
 gestet und folgt do in jellch ganz dem Ursprunge
 funden sind 75 puncte in dem 12 Figuren der
 12 Gesten, dividirt sie mit 12. Da bleibet Zurück
 und Das Fortuna manst folghsch im 3ten Gest
 was er zu finden in Schema Sub et.*

Zu wissen ob man recht ansetzt

1. So die Figuren in dem Gest in dem rechten Hand
 bei oder ist das so wird man von diesen puncten
 abgezogen die so groß oder eine ein 2. Man
 Complexion oder Gest, und ist im rechten Hand gestet.
2. So die Matres in dem Gest sollen e.g. 4. 10. 12.
 15. oder die Filii in dem Gest gleich sein
 die die Matres in dem Gest. So wird man auf dem puncten
 die die Matres in dem Gest.
3. So die Conjunctione, Translatione und Occupation
 im Schema zu finden.



Astrological Manuscripts, Lehman Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

THESE May Inform all Whom it might
 Concern That M^r. John Raighin of Hartsfield
 in the Province of West New Jersey, hath Lived
 with me (here under named) a considerable time, as
 a Disciple, to Learn the Arts & Mysteries of Chymis-
 try, Physick, & the Astral Sciences, whereby to make
 a more perfect Discovery of the Hidden causes of
 more occult & uncommon Diseases, not so easily to
 be discovered by the vulgar Practice. In all which
 he has been very Dilligent & studious, as well as
 in the Administration of the Medecines, & in the
 various Cases; wherein his Judgment may be safely
 depended upon, all things, so far as he follows my
 Instructions And Hope he may in all things answer
 the Confidence that may be reposed in him.
 Germantown Febr: 30. 1758. C. Witt.

Diploma in chemis-
 try, medicine, and
 astrology - given by
 Dr. Christopher Witt
 of Germantown
 (Sachse, I, 314).

Perhaps one of the most important sources of astrological information was oral tradition. Some of the strength of the oral tradition is felt in the consistency of the complex lunar astrology discussed in Article II of this series.

HOME REMEDY TEXTS

One of the more interesting sources of astrology concerns home remedy texts which specify cures for ailments of man and beast. While home remedies were very popular with the Pennsylvania Germans only a small fraction of the remedies incorporated astrology. A number of the home remedy texts apparently contained no astrology. One of the particularly popular publications was compiled by J. G. Hohman and contained remedies several percent of which contained astrology.¹ The popularity of the text is suggested by the fact that both English and German versions existed. According to the texts the remedies were obtained from old Egyptian secrets.

One of the more complex involvements found in Hohman's collection deals with a cure for fits and convulsions. According to the remedy:

"You must go upon another person's land and repeat the following words: 'I go before another court—I tie up my 77-fold fits.' Then cut 3 small twigs off any

tree on the land, in each twig you must make a knot. This must be done on a Friday morning before sunrise, in the decrease of the moon, unbeshrewedley. † † † Then over your body where you feel the fits, you make the crosses. And thus they must be made in all cases where they are applied."

One of the fairly unique characteristics found in the home remedy texts is the list of unlucky days. In Hohman's work the unlucky days were:

January 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 11, 12	July 17, 21
February 1, 17, 18	August 20, 21
March 14, 16	September 10, 18
April 10, 17, 18	October 6
May 7, 8	November 6, 10
June 17	December 6, 11, 15

This was followed up with the explanation: "Whoever is born upon these days is unfortunate and suffers from poverty; and whoever takes sick on one of these days seldom recovers health; and those who engage or marry on these days, become very poor and miserable. Neither is it advisable to move from one house to another, nor to travel, nor to bargain, nor to engage in law suits on one of these days."

The rationale or set of statistics on which the unlucky days might have been based would certainly be of interest. That the unlucky days were astrological in nature is suggested by their inclusion in with other astrological advice concerning the moon such as: "If a cow calves in the sign of the Virgin, the calf will not live one year; if it happens in the Scorpio, it will die

¹J. G. Hohman, *Der lange verborgene Schatz und Haus-Freund, oder Getreuer und Christlicher Unterricht für Jedermann* (Skipackville: A. Puwelle, 1837).

much sooner; therefore, no one should be weaned off in these signs, nor in the sign of the Capricorn or Aquarius, and they will be in less danger from mortal inflammation."

RELIGIOUS SECTS

As was mentioned in an earlier article of this series the two religious groups which appeared to be the most involved with astronomy and astrology were the Pietists and the followers of Conrad Beissel. A good example of some of the personal astrological beliefs of these people concerns Christopher Sauer, Christopher Witt, and Conrad Beissel. Sauer was a prominent citizen and publisher of the popular *Der Hoch-Deutsch Amerikanische Calender* who lived with the Pietist, Christopher Witt, mentioned in earlier articles. Among other things Sauer indicated that he had learned clock-making and occult sciences from Witt. Once when Sauer described Beissel he said "... what a remarkable combination of stars ruled over the *Vorsteher* (Beissel) and how each planet gave him its influence. From Mars, he got his sternness, from Jupiter his graciousness. Venus caused women to run after him and Mercury taught him comedian tricks."

Beissel, himself, of course was a believer too. Beissel is known to have ordered a convent built at Ephrata with the help of a hermit astrologer, Johannes Seelig.

From records kept by Peter Müller the convent's "... design was in harmony with the tenets of the Rosenkreutzer [Rosicrucians]; while with horoscope and mystical symbols, hermit Seelig of the Ridge worked out its dimension and orientation as well as the time for erecting and building."²

Still another interesting example of astrological practice at Ephrata is found in the fire ritual performed there by the membership. One of the pertinent sentences in the ritual is: "Friday in the waning of the moon between the hours of 11 and 12 at night, it required the use of a new quill, plucked from a goose at night during the lunar decline."³

According to the Ephrata residents the ritual is attributed as the reason for none of their wooden structures ever burning down.

CONCLUSIONS

A study of the astrology of the Pennsylvania Germans before the Civil War indicates that it was a very complex endeavor. Not only was the astrology personal and impersonal in nature but all bodies which moved relative to the stars were involved. The complexity was particularly evident in the case of the moon where a variety of astronomical characteristics were used and in the case of horoscopes which repeatedly involved the seven bodies. The great amount of detail, complexity, and ambiguity allowed one to relate any earthly event with some of the celestial bodies. With this type of correlation any earthly event could be attributed to the celestial bodies if the person involved believed there was a connection. If a person tried to anticipate these celestial effects he could spend a great deal of time arranging sequences of earthly endeavors so as to relate to the celestial bodies. In this way his life could be made quite complex.

One of the very interesting questions asked by some scholars is, what is the interaction, if any, between astronomy and astrology? From this writer's study of the early Pennsylvania Germans it is only possible to ascertain a small portion of the answer. Within the Pennsylvania German community it is not possible to determine whether astronomy stimulated interest in astrology or *vice versa*. It is likely, however, that there was a continuous simultaneous and mutual influence. Some astronomical developments in Europe at the time, however, did influence astrology. During the 17th, 18th, and early 19th Century great strides were being made in the field of predicting the positions of the planets, sun, moon, and comets. These advancements immediately had an effect on astrology which depended on the positions of celestial bodies because an increased precision was realized.

²*Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 104.

³J. F. Sachse, "Exorcism of Fire, Ephrata Cloister," *Proceedings of the Lancaster County Historical Society*, VII, 92.



Astronomical - astrological device believed to have been used by the early Germantown Pietists (American Philosophical Society).

Stoneware from New Geneva and Greensboro, Pennsylvania

By PHIL R. JACK and RONALD L. MICHAEL

Salt-glazed stoneware sherds were among the ceramic materials found by students participating in the first two field seasons (1970 and 1971) of historic sites archaeology at California State College. The recovery of the sherds was not unexpected, but their identification as to place and time of manufacture was impossible. We knew that a flourishing utilitarian ceramic industry had existed in the region, but little material was available concerning it. Therefore, we began to study it to determine its place in the material culture of the people. By now, we have had enough experience and enough results to warrant a preliminary report. It is time to assess our approach to see if modifications should be made or if other people have suggestions and criticisms to make. The rest of the article is a brief description of our research to this point, August, 1972.

CONCEPTS

The design of the study rests on these assumptions: (1) Almost all salt-glazed stoneware represented a traditional utilitarian industry and should be approached as such; (2) the items produced by the industry are reducible to variables which can be objectively described within certain limits, key-punched and then run through a random-access, random-sorting program on a computer; and (3) an individual piece can be analyzed to determine its place amid several aspects: development, potter, regional situation and style. Three generally independent disciplines, American history, folklore, and archaeology, have been used as conceptual sources for the study.

By using the documentation techniques of historical study, the geographical movement of the industry and several of its components can be determined. Pottery owner, pottery operator, potter and village or township location can be cited; by way of taxation evaluations, relative sizes of the potteries, socio-economic positions of the potters and the duration of the existence of the companies can be established. Chronological elements can be roughed out, especially for the potteries considered as enterprises, and often for individuals, particularly when one-man or small operations were involved. From folklore, the most useful concepts are those of the *variant*, the idea that only aspects of an item are going



Figure 1. Stoneware crock from Western Pennsylvania.



Figure 3. Doll's head, Western Pennsylvania.

to be found, and a strong emphasis on the traditional passage of learning, lore that is definable, yet varying and changing. From archaeology, we have chosen to use the concepts of tradition (an idea existing in a limited area for a long period of time), horizon (an idea spreading over a large area in a short period of time), seriation, and classification. We hope to take advantage of electronic data processing and its incomparable ability to do an enormous amount of tedious comparative work. It helps to have a workroom next to a data center manned by a congenial staff.

A good beginning for the study seemed to be a collection of stoneware housed at Waynesburg College, Waynesburg, Pennsylvania. The opportunity to study the collection and to use Waynesburg's facilities was extended to us so that we could begin our work by examining whole vessels which had been amassed by Dr. Paul R. Stewart while he was the president of the college in the 1930's and '40's. The collection consists almost entirely of items from New Geneva, Fayette County, and Greensboro, Greene County, Pennsylvania. The two towns are nearly opposite each other on the Monongahela River and are at the upper end of the river's slackwater navigation. The pottery industries at New Geneva and Greensboro spanned the last sixty years of the 19th Century, dying out about 1917. In several ways we were fortunate to be able to work with the New Geneva-Greensboro complex, for its characteristics fitted our interests in 19th Century traditional material

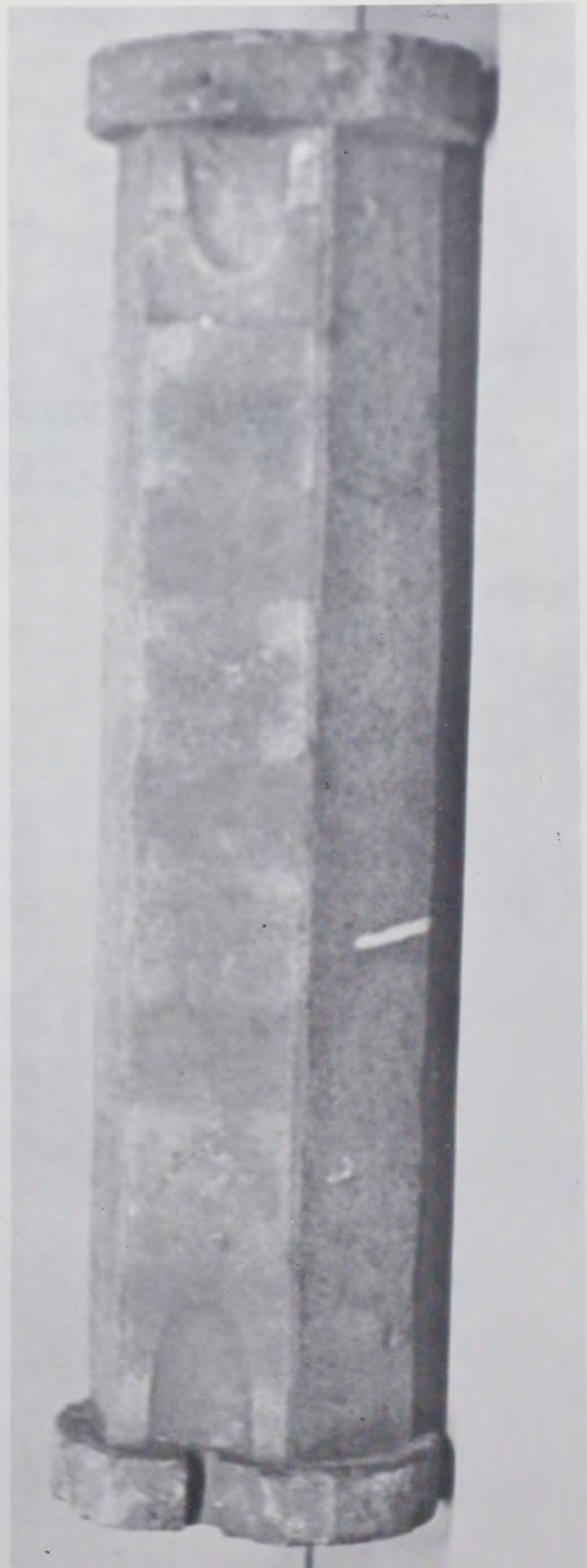


Figure 2. Ceramic water pipe.



Figure 4. Stoneware crock made by R. T. Williams, New Geneva, Pennsylvania.

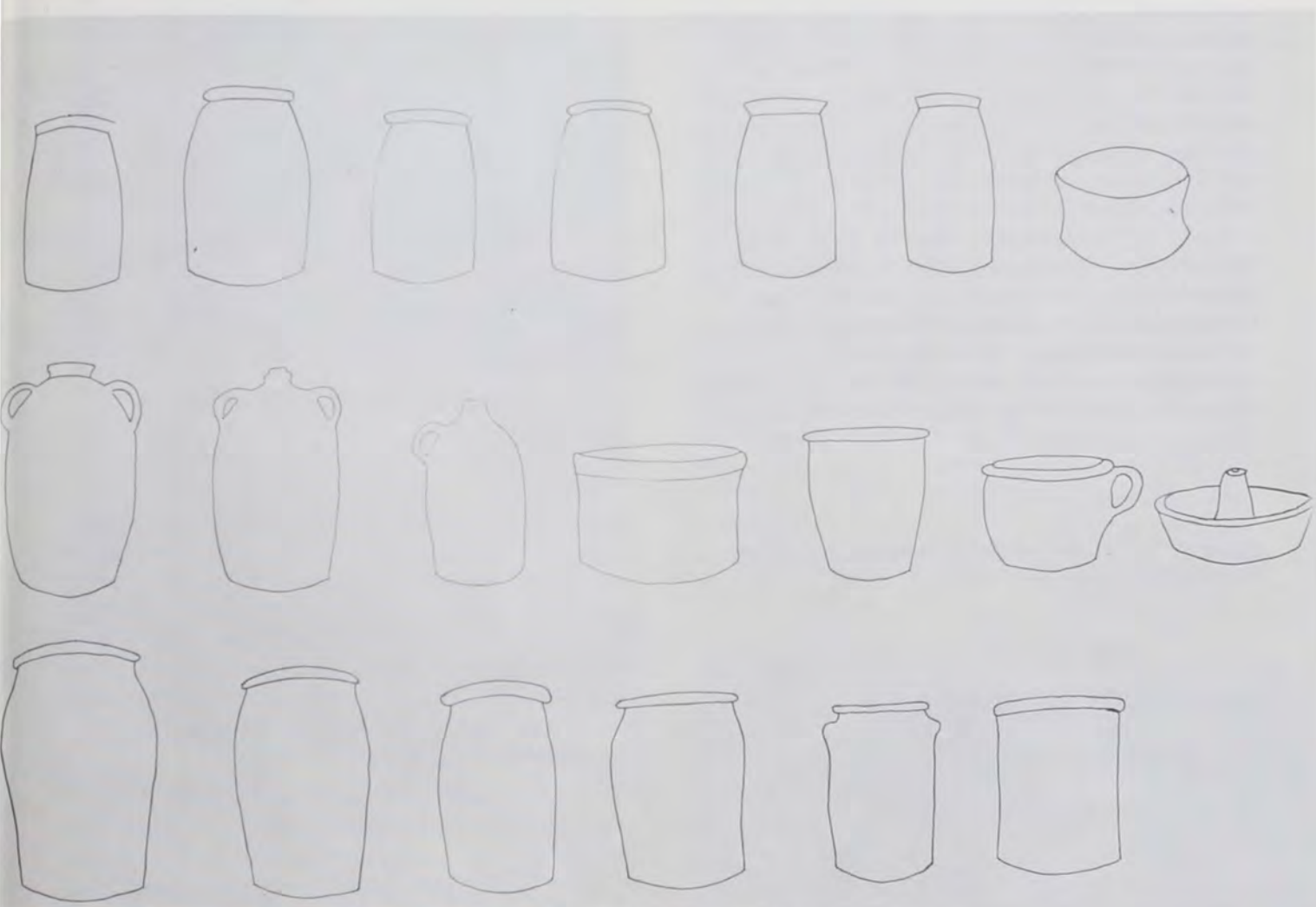


Figure 5. Range of forms of Western Pennsylvania ceramic wares.

culture, regional historical development, and historical archaeology.

Shortly after beginning to photograph the Waynesburg collection, we became aware of a rather wide range of variables with which we would have to contend. One of the first was vessel form.

STONEWARE FORMS

As elementary as it seems, a necessary distinction had to be made between (a) pieces with a vertical axis of revolution, i.e., the profile of the item does not change as it is turned on that axis (Figure 1)¹; (b) pieces with a horizontal axis of revolution, i.e., the profile of the item does not change as it is turned on that axis (Figure 2: water pipe); and (c), asymmetrical units (Figure 3: doll's head). Presumably, the vast majority of the pieces produced were of the types

¹See Anna O. Shepard, *Ceramics for the Archaeologist*, Sixth printing. Publication 609 of the Carnegie Institution of Washington (Washington, D. C., 1968), p. 228.

having symmetrical axes of revolution; for that reason, we have tended to refer to them as basic forms and to the asymmetrical items as unique forms. While we are agreed that the terms are seriously defective ones, we cannot suggest suitable alternatives. Somehow or other, "common" and "less common" do not appear to fill the bill, but they do avoid the connotation that some pieces were specific to the regional potteries or to individual workers.

A vast amount of work remains to be done with the common forms whether they be symmetrical or asymmetrical. For instance, if we are correct, and if such a vessel as is shown in Figure 4 is a variant identifiable with a region, a tradition and its development, a time and a potter or potters, then we must use objective means to explore and to demonstrate the physical limits of that shape. The vessel shown has a ratio of 1: 1.109 with respect to its greatest diameter and its maximum height. It has a ratio of 1: .777 when its greatest out-

side diameter and its outside basal diameter are considered. There are many other such criteria which can and must be used.² If the essence of traditional lore is to find an item operative with marked limits, then we should be well on our way simply by running our data and its derivatives through electronic data-processing equipment and programs. It should be possible to establish clear criteria for handling specific shapes.

There is a considerable range of forms from the Fayette-Greene County area which should be analyzed. Figure 5 shows twenty of these, sketched from photographs taken at Waynesburg. We simply do not know the uses of these pieces. In reference works, some functional names are used, but we do not have suitable evidence of these for our area. Functional names are

²Shepard, pp. 224-255.

Figure 6. Crock with circumferal ribs and incised lines – a Greensboro example by Hamilton.



Figure 7. Potter's tool for ribbing clay.

specified in price lists issued by potters, but almost never were shapes associated with the terms used.³ Also, there is always a good possibility that terms employed at different times or places meant different things. All things considered, it seems much more satisfactory to go to names taken from physical data which can be rather accurately established. The generic term "crock" is fine in many instances, but not for a detailed study of salt-glazed stoneware.

CIRCUMFERAL RIBBING AND INCISING

The New Geneva-Greensboro potters often put circumferal ribs and incised lines on their work as shown in Figure 6. The ribs and lines varied in number from one to four, and they were placed in different locations on the pieces. At times, a band can be found just below the rim, at the mid-point of the vessel's height, or at other locations. It may consist of a rib of varying characteristics formed by the potter holding a small tool against the clay as it was turned on the wheel, or it may be a variation of a shallow U-shaped gouge shaped by yet another tool. Apparently, these tools were made by the potters themselves according to what was felt to be proper, a fine place for a material culture tradition to become operative. Figure 7 depicts such a tool found in the waster pile used by potters on the New Geneva side of the Monongahela River.

RIMS

Two other physical attributes remain to be listed among the variables. The experience of archaeologists tells us that rim types are diagnostic of a ceramic tradition, and we expect to use them as an integral part of the study. Figure 8 shows a few of the rims found in a waster pile which were duplicated by first making negative plaster molds and then positive rubber

³See, for example, Lura Woodside Watkins, *Early New England Potters and Their Wares* (Hamden, Connecticut: Anchor Books, 1968), pp. 106, 147, 149, 151; Webster, *Decorated Stoneware*, pp. 208-214.



Figure 8. Rim types of Western Pennsylvania pots.

molds which were ground flat and used with a stamp pad. We feel that a study of the physical characteristics of the rims will develop into a pattern indicative of a tradition. Handles, one of which is shown in Figure 9, should receive the same sort of treatment.

APPLIED DECORATION

Decoration and its method of application constitute two large areas of investigation. Stoneware potters, in general, used these methods of decorating:

1. Incision.
2. Stencil.
3. Slip cup.
4. Brush.
5. Outlining with a quill and filling in with a brush.
6. Brushing over incising.
7. Impressing.
8. Molding a separate decorative element and applying it to the vessel.
9. Modeling a piece of clay applied to the turned item.

Of these methods, the New Geneva-Greensboro potters used all except numbers 8 and 9, molding and modeling. The outstanding decorative element used by

them was the stencil, an example of which is shown in Figure 10. In the Waynesburg collection, major tulip motifs were not found in stencil form while eagles always were. Irrespective of the tulips, stenciling was a marked distinctive characteristic; its development and related aspects remain to be explored. For instance, who cut the stencils? Did the stencil-cutters develop and use their own designs, or did they act according to specific orders from the potters? Or on order from purchasers? Did the potter or buyer simply ask for an item in generalized terms, such as an eagle, leaving the details to the artist? Was there any relationship between the stencil-cutters for the potters and the furniture, wall and floor stencil-decorators of the 19th Century? Did the New Geneva-Greensboro potters cut and use their own stencils? If the potters ordered them from outside the area, where were the orders placed? At this point, we do not have any answers to these questions.

Figure 9. Detail of crock handle.





Figure 10. Eagle Pottery crock, Pittsburgh, showing use of stenciling.



Figure 11. Floral motifs on Western Pennsylvania crockery.

Decorative color on this stoneware was obtained by using blue cobalt, although other means were used by potters elsewhere. The motifs found seem to fall within the range of this list:

- | | | |
|------------|-------------------|---------------|
| 1. Flower. | 8. Flag. | 15. Spiral. |
| 2. Tree. | 9. Stem. | 16. S Mark. |
| 3. Leaf. | 10. Vignette. | 17. Crescent. |
| 4. Fruit. | 11. Lozenge. | 18. Shield. |
| 5. Sprigs. | 12. Ellipse. | 19. Cross. |
| 6. Bird. | 13. Fleur de Lis. | 20. Star. |
| 7. Human. | 14. Arrow. | 21. Wreath. |

Absent are the ships, fish, general scenic views, houses, and animals found in other areas.⁴ There is always a temptation to jump to the conclusion that the Southwestern Pennsylvania motifs were derived from German influences in the eastern part of the state, but there are strong indications that other avenues of cultural movement have to be examined. For example, a parallel to the flower shown in Figure 11 can be seen in Harold F. Guiland's *Early American Folk Pottery*, page 238. The motif was produced in Oswego Falls, New York. Elements in Figure 12 are related

⁴See Webster, *Decorated Stoneware*, pp. 123-148.



Figure 12. Painted motifs were obtained by using blue cobalt.

to a flower shown on a butter crock from Huntington, Long Island.⁵

In a small work compiled by Elmer Smith, *Pottery: A Utilitarian Folk Craft*, several illustrations are shown which demonstrate a remarkable resemblance to New

⁵Guiland, *Early American Folk Pottery*, unnumbered color illustration, unpagged plate.



Figure 13. Undulating cobalt bands were used to decorate this Greensboro crock.

Geneva-Greensboro stoneware. The pieces shown are from Alexandria and Strasburg, Virginia, and Palatine, West Virginia. The forms shown are very close to those of Southwestern Pennsylvania variants, and the manner of decoration is identical.⁶

BLUE COBALT BANDS

Blue cobalt bands, always less than circumferal but of varying length, were popular with New Geneva-Greensboro potters. Sometimes straight, sometimes wavy, and sometimes undulating to a considerable degree, they were commonly used. Figure 13 is one example of a vessel on which such lines have been used. As with the other usages, e.g., modified fleur-de-lis (Figure 14), we are going to try to determine the patterns employed by the potters.

SUMMARY

At this time, the content, and the spatial and temporal limits of the stoneware tradition with which we have come into contact are largely unknown. At best, we have some indication of the elements involved and a plan which we hope will prove equal to the task of obtaining the desired information.

⁶(Lebanon, Pennsylvania: Applied Arts Publishers, 1972), pp. 15, 17, 23.



Figure 14. The modified fleur de lis forms part of minimal decoration on this Reppert crock with lid.

American Emigration Materials from Pfeddersheim

By ALBERT CAPPEL

Translated and Edited by Don Yoder

An inquiry from the Mennonite Historical Library at Bluffton, Ohio, to the city government of Pfeddersheim concerning the location and contents of documents entitled "Emigration Cases, 1746 ff.," mentioned in W. M. Becker, *Inventare der Gemeindearchive des Kreises Worms* (1937) gave us the occasion of searching for the documents in the city archives. We located a bundle of loose official documents some 15 centimeters thick with the inscription "Abt. XI: Auswanderung ab 1746". It contained chronologically arranged manuscript documents, most of them permissions for emigration or governmental letters concerning emigration affairs, as well as edicts and printed notices from the Electoral Palatine government and after 1816 from the Hessian authorities.

Since in those days any change of residence outside one's home community was included under the word "emigration," there are found in these paper emigrations abroad side by side with removals of individual persons out of Pfeddersheim, for example, for the purpose of marriage in a neighboring village. For a contribution to the migration history of the Palatines it appeared therefore expedient to depart from the chronological organization and to summarize the genealogically interesting documents according to emigration areas and to publish the names of the persons contained under each area in alphabetical order. In order not to extend the work too far, the in-migrations within Germany were noticed only up to the year 1830.¹ Migrations abroad, as far as they are mentioned in these documents, are on the contrary also recorded for later years.²

Some emigrants could be ascertained on the basis of official papers citing demands of creditors after a person had emigrated, or documents dealing with suspected secret emigration.

[1.] So it appears from a letter of the mayor and city council of Pfeddersheim, dated January 18, 1790, to Minheer Hermann Hendrick Damen and Company

in Amsterdam, that *Wilhelm Gradinger*, citizen and master cartwright at Pfeddersheim, had left his wife *Catharina*, nee *Hees*, as early as March 12, 1787, and contrary to the laws of the land had taken flight. According to a report coming from the man himself he had traveled to Philadelphia on the Ship *New York*,³ but since then had sent no word. The mayor requested a certified report on "residence, life or death" [*Aufenthalt, Leben oder Tod*]. The answer from Amsterdam was negative. Their advice was to direct the advertisement for the missing person to the "German Commission" [German Society] in Philadelphia.⁴

Johann Wilhelm Gradinger was born April 19, 1748, son of *Henrich Gradinger*, cartwright and resident citizen of Pfeddersheim, and his wife *Anna Barbara*, nee *Wendel*. The emigrant married on February 28, 1786, *Anna Catharina Heess*, daughter of *Christian Heess*, citizen and master blacksmith of Pfeddersheim.

The emigrants to America listed below were not found in the above-mentioned bundle of documents, but among other archival papers. See especially the publication from the Lutheran church register in *Pfälzische Familien- und Wappenkunde*, IV (1963), 359.⁵ Also the Reformed church register contains some emigration materials, as follows:

[2.] On Easter 1744 *Jörg Adam Dobeler*, aged 15, and *Johann Peter Dobeler*, aged 14, were confirmed together, "on account of their journey to America" [*wegen ihrer Reise in America*]. They were sons of *Johann Georg Dobeler*, citizen and master cabinet-maker, and his wife *Catharina Margretha* nee *Hofmann*. The parents were married at Pfeddersheim on April 30, 1727.

³The only arrival of the Ship *New York* at the port of Philadelphia listed in Strassburger-Hinke, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers*, was on September 8, 1801 (III, 109).—ED.

⁴The German Society of Pennsylvania, founded in Philadelphia in 1764, was originally an emigrant aid society, such as were founded by other ethnic groups in the colonial period, to protect emigrants from unscrupulous treatment by captains and shipping companies, and in Pennsylvania, by those who hired redemptioners to pay for their passage.—ED.

⁵For additional genealogical data on Pfeddersheim, see Albert Cappel, "Trauungen Ortsfremder im lutherischen Kirchenbuch von Pfeddersheim und Worms-Pfifflicheim," *Pfälzische Familien und Wappenkunde*, XI. Jg. (1962), Bd. 4 Heft 8, 236-237.—ED.

¹In this translation we have not included the in-migrations within Germany, 1770-1830.—ED.

²The materials on emigration to Hungary (1746-1752), Brazil (1825), Austria (1845), and France (1846) have not been included in our translation.—ED.



Pfeddersheim, from Merian, *Topographia Germaniae* (1672).

Later the pastor added to this notation: "Nothing came of their trip to America because of the war at that time between the king of Hungary with the French king on the Rhine" [*Auss der Reissen in Amerika ist wegen damaligen Kriegs des Königs in Ungarn mit dem König in Frankreich am Rhein nichts geworden*].

Whether the intentions of emigration later became actuality, cannot be stated for certain.⁶ On the contrary the following entry in the burial register of the Reformed congregation of Pfeddersheim contains a documented evidence of two emigrants:

[3.] Died at Pfeddersheim, August 8, 1820, *Anna Maria*, nee *Mayer*, from Dürkheim, widow of *Philipp Köhl*, deceased citizen here, aged 60 years and 4 months, leaving behind three sons, of whom two are in America, and three daughters. One of these sons is very probably identical with *Bastian Koehl*, aged 25, miller, from Pfeddersheim, who arrived at Philadelphia December 3, 1807, on the Ship *William P. Johnson* (Strassburger-Hinke, List 505). He was born about 1782, but his baptismal entry could not be located in the Pfeddersheim church register. Likewise the marriage of his parents was not entered in Pfeddersheim. It was not

⁶Neither of these is listed in Strassburger-Hinke. Other Doblens came to America in the 18th Century, however. *Johann Michael Dobler* (1770-1838), a native of Horrheim, Württemberg, came to this country about 1788. After working for his passage three years at Nazareth as a brewer's apprentice, he married near York a daughter of the Mennonite *Friedrich Litz* (d. 1817), and moved to Baltimore. His ancestors were Reformed Toblers from Switzerland, but became Lutheran in Württemberg. His son, *Daniel Dobler* (b. 1804), in his *Tagebuch*, 1819-1844, now in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, gives details on his ancestry.—ED.

until 1792 that *Philipp Jacob Kehl*, flour-handler of Pfeddersheim, and his wife *Anna Maria*, nee *Mayer*, from Dürkheim, had a child baptized here (*Wilhelmina*, born September 10, 1792). The married couple Kehl (Köhl) was named in 1795 as the "current tenant of the New Mill near Leiselheim" [*dermaliger Beständer der Neumühle bei Leiselheim*], when their son *Johann Nikolaus* (born October 21, 1795, died October 10, 1818) was baptized. Besides these we find two baptismal entries in the Reformed church book for (Worms-) Pfiffelgheim, of (1) *Eleonora Kehl*, baptized November 7, 1779, and (2) *Johann Konrad Kehl*, baptized February 6, 1781, whose parents, "*Philipp Jacob Kehl* and *Anna Maria*," must be identical with the parents of both emigrants. The last-mentioned *Johann Konrad Kehl* could be the second son mentioned in the above burial entry as being in America. He was named for his grandfather *Konrad Kehl*, citizen and master-baker in Pfeddersheim—born, according to his own statement, at Nierstein in 1718, died at Pfeddersheim December 5, 1800, at the age of 82. *Konrad Kehl* married, before 1752, *Charlotte Weis* of Hochheim, who died at Pfeddersheim February 2, 1802, at the age of 77. The father of both emigrants, *Philipp Jacob Kehl*, was born at Pfeddersheim, September 8, 1758.

From the Pfeddersheim court records [*Pfeddersheimer Gerichtsbuch*] comes another reference to emigration.

On court day, April 4, 1733, it was investigated what real estate of *Peter Cornelius, Balsser Bräunig, Peter Heit*, and *Elias Stricker* had been sold, what had been taken from it, and what of it paid on debts, and final-



ly how much was payable to the gracious authorities and to the City for the tithe or additional duty. According to their statement, these four persons wanted to go to America, and it followed from documents cited on the part of each that *Peter Cornelius* had to pay 3 florins 18 kreuzer, *Balsser Bräunig* 1 florin 3 kreuzer 2 pfennig, and *Elias Stricker* 3 florins 30 kreuzer. *Peter Heit's* situation had to be looked into further.

[4.] *Peter Cornelius*, legitimate son of *Johannes Cornelius*, citizen here, married, August 19, 1710, *Anna Elisabetha Fink*, legitimate daughter of the community resident [*Gemeinsmann*] *Paul Fink* at Heppenheim on the Wiese. *Johannes Cornelius* was buried at Pfeddersheim October 20, 1711, aged 60 years. The children, listed in the Reformed church book of Pfeddersheim, are as follows:

1. *Johann Peter Cornelius*, born May 2, 1711. Godfather: *Johann Peter Erlebach*, citizen of Pfeddersheim.
2. *Anna Eva Cornelius*, born August 14, 1712. Godmother: *Anna Eva*, daughter of *Paul Finck* of Heppenheim/Wiese.
3. *Anna Elisabeth Cornelius*, born September 15, 1713. Godmother: *Anna Elisabetha Cornelius*, single.
4. *Johann Andreas Cornelius*, born April 4, 1715. Godfather: *Johann Andreas Lang*, single son of *Wendel Lang*.
5. *Anna Catharina Cornelius*, born August 21, 1716, died April 1, 1718. Godmother: *Anna Catharina*, wife of *Johannes Warch* of Pfeddersheim.
6. *Susanna Catharina*, born August 21, 1719. Godmother: *Susanna Catharina Butterfass*, single.

7. *Johann Lorentz Cornelius*, born April 24, 1722. Godparents: *Johann Lorentz Becker* of Kriegsheim and his wife *Anna Elisabetha*.
8. *Veronica Cornelius*, born May 5, 1725. Godparents: *Christophorus Heller* and his wife *Veronica*.
9. *Anna Catharina Cornelius*, born August 1, 1730, died July 29, 1731. Godmother: *Anna Christina Erlebach*, single.
10. *Anna Eva Cornelius*, born March 29, 1733. Godmother: *Anna Eva Finck*, single daughter of *Paul Finck*, *Gemeinsmann* at Heppenheim/Wiese.

According to the ship's lists, *Peter Cornelius* (born 1685) arrived in Philadelphia on the Ship *Samuel*, August 17, 1733, with his wife and three children (*Elisabeth*, born 1713; *Lorentz*, born 1722; and *Veronica*, born 1725) (*Strassburger-Hinke*, List 29 A-C).

[5.] *Elias Stricker*, legitimate son of *Elias Stricker*, deceased citizen at Pfeddersheim, married (1) at Pfeddersheim January 7, 1714 (Reformed churchbook), *Catharina Barbara Ermel* (buried March 16, 1731, at the age of 43), daughter of *Johannes Ermel*, deceased, community resident [*Gemeinsmann*] at Erbes-Büdesheim. *Elias Stricker* married (2), September 4, 1731, *Maria Catharina Dilgen*, single, from Göllheim. Children of the first marriage were the following:

1. *Johann Christophel Stricker*, born October 29, 1714. Godfather: *Johann Christophel Heller*, single.
2. *Johannes Stricker*, born October 3, 1716. Godfather: *Johannes Vollmar* from Niederhessen, serving lad [*Dienstknecht*] under H. Camer-Rath *Trapp* in Pfeddersheim.
3. *Johann Philipp Stricker*, born September 29, 1719. Godparents: *Johann Philip Körper*, *Maria Ottilia Carl*, both single.
4. *Johann Adam Stricker*, born October 20, 1722. Godfather: *Johann Adam Jacobi*, son of *Casper Jacobi*.
5. *Johann Henrich Stricker*, born January 23, 1727. Godfather: *Johann Henrich Roth*, farmer [*Hofmann*] in the service of H. Camer-Rath *Trapp*.

There was one child of the second marriage:

6. *Johann Conrad Stricker*, born June 23, 1732. Godparents: *Johann Conrad Christ*, master linenweaver, and his wife *Catharina*.

Elias Stricker was confirmed at Easter 1704 at the age of 16, hence his birth can be set circa 1688. He emigrated with his wife and four children (*Johannes*; *Philipp*, aged 9; *Adam*, aged 7; and *Henry*, aged 4½) on the Ship *Mary*, landing at Philadelphia on September 29, 1733 (*Strassburger-Hinke*, List 34 A-C). On his parentage the Council Protocols include the following reference: *Elias Stricker*, cartwright, born about 1639, became citizen of Pfeddersheim in 1663, and was

¹For this family, see No. 12, below. Perhaps the *Daniel Butterfass* who arrived on the *Winter Galley*, September 5, 1738 (List 52B) was from Pfeddersheim, since on the same ship were the Pfeddersheim emigrant contingent of *Derst*, *Knab*, *Heller*, and possibly *Hoffman* (see footnote No. 8).—ED.

at that time to produce his birth record [*Geburtsbrief*]. He was twice married, (1) about 1662/1663 to the daughter of Mr. *Marx Vetter*, pastor of Dalsheim, and (2) about 1673. His second wife's name is not known, but she was 26 years old in 1681.

[6.] *Peter Heit* [*Heyd*] of Holssheim (Holzheim) in the Braunfels government and his wife *Anna Christina Boz* were married September 18, 1725, according to the Reformed church book of Pfeddersheim. Their children were as follows:

1. *Johannes Heit*, born June 9, 1726. Godparents: *Johannes Dauberlein* and wife *Anna Catharina*.
2. *Catharina Margretha Heit*, born September 26, 1727, died May 2, 1729. Godmother: *Catharina Margretha*, daughter of *Michel Boz*.
3. *Anna Christina Heit*, born February 18, 1730. Godmother: the single daughter of *Johann Philipp Hassert*, citizen and master tailor.
4. *Anna Elisabetha Heit*, born March 24, 1731. Godmother: *Anna Elisabetha Heydt*, of Pfifflichem, single.

Peter Heit ("Hite") arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Mary*, September 29, 1733, with wife and child (*Anna Elisabeth*) (Strassburger-Hinke, List 34 A-C).

[7.] *Balthasar Breuninger* married *Anna Margretha*, daughter of *Johannes Wagner*, citizen of Pfeddersheim, in November 1712, according to the Lutheran church book of Pfeddersheim. Their children were as follows:

1. *Johann Philipp Breuninger*, born February 8, 1716. Godfather: *Johann Philipp Wagner*, mother's brother.
2. *Jacob Breuninger*, born September 13, 1719. Godfather: *Jacob Jungenheimer*, stepbrother.
3. *Anna Maria Breuninger*, born March 20, 1724. Godmother: *Anna Maria*, wife of *Jacob Jungenheimer*.

Baltzer Breu[n]inger arrived in Philadelphia on the Ship *Mary*, September 29, 1733, with wife and two children (*Hans Jacob*, 13½, and *Anna Maria*, 9) (Strassburger-Hinke, List 34 A-C).

According to the property register book [*Schatzungsbuch*], *Baltzer Bräunig* was 4 years old in 1681 and son of *Andreas Bräunig* (41 years old) and his wife *Agnes*, nee *Henrich* (39 years old in 1681). The wife was buried September 10, 1728, according to the Reformed church book. *Andreas Bräunig* (*Bruning*) became citizen in Pfeddersheim in 1677, after marrying *Agnes Henrich* there in 1675. The above-mentioned godfather, "*Jacob Jungenheimer*, der Stiefbruder," was an illegitimate son of *Agnes Henrich* to *Julius Jungenheimer*.

[8.] Among the Pfeddersheim Inventories and Estate Divisions [*Inventare und Erbteilungen*], 1740-1759, is a document dated Pfeddersheim July 27, 1740, dividing up the estate of *Adam Hofmann*, who had died eight weeks previously. In it is mentioned the fact that "... the one son *Peter Hofmann* went to the New Land in 1738 and took along more than his portion of the inheritance [. . . *der eine Sohn Peter Hofmann ins Neue Land 1738 gezogen und mehr als seine Erbportion hin-*

weg (genommen) habe . . .]. From the Pfeddersheim archival documents the following family tree can be drawn up for this emigrant:

1. *Peter Hofmann*, born April 30, 1710 (Reformed church book, Pfeddersheim).⁸
2. *Johann Adam Hofmann*, citizen and master cabinetmaker, buried June 16, 1740, aged 59 years, 6 months, married September 12, 1702, *Anna Margretha*, legitimate daughter of *Ludwig Peter Wiedersheimer*, citizen and lockmaker of Pfeddersheim. The widow *Anna Margretha* was buried July 19, 1744.
3. *Georg Adam Hofmann*, citizen and cabinetmaker, was 37 years old in 1682, died 1700/1702. He was married before 1671 to (name not given), who was 39 years old in 1682.
4. *Ludwig Peter Wiedersheimer*, citizen and lockmaker at Pfeddersheim, was born circa 1654 in Bolanden, became citizen at Pfeddersheim in 1679. His wife was named *Niesenpeter*, born circa 1659, daughter of *Jacob Niesenpeter*.

[9.] Among the same files, Pfeddersheim Inventories and Estate Divisions, 1740-1759, was found a document dated Pfeddersheim, February 17, 1751, the inventory of the estate of *Catharina Hofmann*, nee *Gramm*, who died about November 20, 1740, leaving her husband, *Georg Hofmann, Sr.*, and nine children. *Georg Hofmann* married (2) *Anna Margretha*, nee *Küssel (Kust)*, born in Bibelheim. From this marriage there was one son: *Johann Michael Hofmann*. Of the sons of the first marriage there were (1) *Georg Philipp Hofmann*, who is in the New Land [*so im Neuen Land ist*], and (2) *Christian Wilhelm Hofmann*, who went to the New Land [*so ins Neue Land ist*].⁹

The birth-dates of these two emigrants are contained in the Lutheran church book of Pfeddersheim. *Georg Philipp Hofmann* was born May 18, 1716 (godfather: *Georg Philipp Feltfort* (?), miller at Asselheim). *Christian Wilhelm Hofmann* was born February 10, 1726 (godfather: *Christian Wilhelm Chelius*, son of the pastor).

The parents of the emigrants were *Georg Hofmann* and *Anna Christina*, youngest daughter of the deceased *Sebastian Gramm*: they were married before 1706.

[10.] Among the Pfeddersheim Inventories and Estate Divisions for the period 1760-1765, is an inventory dated August 6, 1762, of the estate of *Anna Elisabetha*, nee *Walter*, wife of *Michael Dillinger*, master blacksmith at Pfeddersheim, who died four weeks previously. She left, besides her second husband, three children from her second marriage:

⁸While it is difficult to identify this emigrant in the ship lists, because of the commonness of his name, it is possible that he was the *Jan Peter Hoffman*, aged 27, who arrived at Philadelphia on the *Winter Galley*, September 5, 1738 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 52 A-C), with the *Heller* family (q.v.) of Pfeddersheim. With him came a *Jurg Hoffman*, aged 37.—ED.

⁹Without exact dates of emigration, these names are almost impossible to identify in the ship lists. Can readers possibly identify their place of settlement in America?—ED.

1. *Abraham Derst*, who at the time was said to be in the New Land [so dermahlen sich im Neuen Land befinden sollte].
2. *Jacob Derst*, unknown where he is, was sent to the Netherlands [ohnwissend wo derselbe sich aufhaltet, (ins Niederland verschickt worden)].
3. *Maria Magdalena Derst*, married to Adam *Christian Schultz*.

Abraham Derst emigrated in 1743, arriving at Philadelphia on the Ship *Robert & Alice*, September 30, 1743 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 102 C). He was born at Pfeddersheim September 13, 1725, son of *Abraham Jacob Derst* and his wife *Anna Elisabetha*, nee *Walter*. The father was baptized on February 18, 1703, according to the Reformed church book, and was buried on May 5, 1739, aged 36 years, 2 1/2 months. The mother was born September 10, 1702.

[11.] In the property accounts [*Vermögensabrechnung*] of the above-mentioned *Michael Dillinger* there is mentioned an additional emigrant. This is the reference: “. . . paid to Mr. *Johannaci* for *Paul Derst* in the New Land, by whom the burial costs of old *Mrs. Derst* were paid, 10 florins, 12 kreuzer” [. . . an den Herrn *Johannaci* zahlt wegen *Paul Derst* im Neuen Land, wovon der alten *Derstin* ihre Leichkosten bezahlt worden, 10 fl. 12 xer]. This *Johann Paul Derst* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *John and William* on October 17, 1732. He was born at Pfeddersheim April 4, 1713, son of the master blacksmith *Johann Jakob Derst* and his wife *Maria Catharina*. He was therefore an uncle of *Abraham Derst* who emigrated 11 years later. In the same clan possibly belongs *Friedrich Adam Derst*, who arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *John & Elizabeth*, November 7, 1754 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 231 A-C), although his baptismal entry cannot be found in Pfeddersheim.

The family name *Derst* appears for the first time in Pfeddersheim in the year 1698 with *Johann Jacob Derst*, citizen and farrier, born at Neurath near Bacharach, according to the Reformed church book, on November 22, 1674, died at Pfeddersheim July 16, 1723. The name is derived from the place-name *Dörscheid* near *St. Goarshausen*. Cf. “*Niederderschet*” 1605, *Archiv für Sippenforschung*, 1941, p. 60. The name is today still pronounced “*Derscht*” in the Pfeddersheim dialect.

[12.] An inventory dated September 4, 1760, of the estate of *Balthasar Fontain*, citizen and master baker, who was buried May 17, 1744, at the age of 68, and his wife *Maria Catharina*, nee *Butterfass*, who died one year previously (1759). They left eight children:

1. *Maria Elisabeth*, aged 36.
2. *Anna Barbara*, at that time in Holland.
3. *Johann Peter*, at that time in Holland, and married.
4. *Leonhard*, Pfeddersheim, married.
5. *Catharina Barbara*.
6. *Johann Bernhardt*, at that time in the East Indies.

7. *Theodor Jacob*, in the New Land.

8. *Niclas*, in Holland.

The American emigrant was *Theodor Jacob Fontain*, who arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Edinburgh* on September 30, 1754 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 220 A-C). He was born at Pfeddersheim, April 13, 1736, son of the above parents.

The first bearer of the name in Pfeddersheim was the emigrant's grandfather, *Christophel Fontaine*, citizen, master-baker and member of the city council. The birthplace of *Christophel Fontaine* is unknown, but he died at Pfeddersheim 1691/1693, and married circa 1667 *Anna Maria Glatt*, daughter of the master-baker *Hans Philipp Glatt*. She was born at Pfeddersheim in 1650, and died there January 22, 1709.

[13.] In a Letter of the City Council dated July 14, 1787, is the following reference to emigration: “. . . since *Valentin* and *Johannes Becker* left here and went to America some 30 years ago and in reference to their share of their inheritance [the following persons] were summoned by order of the city council” [. . . Nachdem *Valentin* und *Johannes Becker* bereits 30 Jahre von hier weg und nach Amerika gangen und zum Bezug eines jeden Erbanteils . . . von Stadtrats wegen vorgeladen wurden . . .].¹⁰

At the division of the inheritance there were present the emigrants' sister, the widow of *Paul Derst*, citizen of Pfeddersheim, and their brother *Johann Adam Becker*.

The family of *Becker* was Lutheran. The father of both emigrants, *Bernhardt Becker*, married 1705/1706 *Anna Elisabetha*, widow of *Christophel Rothermel*. From 1707 to 1729 they had eleven children baptized, among them (1) *Georg Velten*, baptized March 9, 1712 (godfather: *Georg Velten Becker*, son of the father's brother), and (2) *Johannes*, baptized February 18, 1724 (godfather: the father's brother, *Johannes Becker*, from Steinbach).

From the ship's lists and from records in the card catalogue of emigrants at the Heimatstelle Pfalz, Kaiserslautern, Dr. Fritz Braun was able to furnish two additional emigrants from Pfeddersheim, *Simon Heller* and *Michael Knab*. For the former the following family tree can be drawn up, from the Reformed church book and the Council Protocols of Pfeddersheim.

[14.] A. *Simon Heller* was born at Pfeddersheim, June 18, 1721, godfather: Mr. *Simon Wendel*, director of the city council and his wife *Anna Sara*, grandmother. *Simon Heller* arrived in Philadelphia with his father and brothers and sisters on the Ship *Winter Galley*, September 5, 1738 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 52 A-C). He married in 1744, at Tohickon, Bucks County, Penn-

¹⁰One *Vallentin* (XX) *Backer* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *St. Andrew*, September 23, 1752 (List 181 C), with a *Philip Backer*, but without further data it is impossible to identify him with the Pfeddersheim emigrant.—ED.

sylvania, *Louisa Dietz* from Milford Township, born 1726. Their children, born at Tohickon, were the following:

1. *Johann Michael Heller*, born January 2, 1757.
2. *Anthony Heller*, born February 1, 1758.
3. *Catharine Heller*, born March 4, 1759.
4. *Anna Maria Heller*, born November 18, 1760.

Simon Heller died May 20, 1783, in Hamilton Township.¹¹

B. *Johann Christoph Heller*, born at Pfeddersheim, circa 1689, confirmed at Easter 1708, aged 18. Married before 1718 (not in Pfeddersheim) *Veronica Lavall*¹² from Erbes-Büdesheim. Their children as recorded in the Reformed church book of Pfeddersheim were the following:

1. *Catharina Wilhelmina*, born June 15, 1718, died August 9, 1720. Godmother: *Wilhelmina*, wife of *Johann Jacob Kleeberger* of Nieder Sulzheim.
2. *Simon* (above).
3. *Johann Michael* (is listed among the emigrants), born February 27, 1724; godfather: *Johann Michael Laval* of Erbisbischeim (Erbes-Büdesheim), father-in-law.
4. *Daniel*, born July 15, 1726 (godfather: *Johann Daniel Lavall*, inhabitant at Erbes-Büdesheim, brother-in-law).
5. *Johann Ludwig*, born December 31, 1728, godparents: *Johann Ludwig Fress* and wife *Wilhelmina*, married couple and members of the community at Ober Sülzen.
6. *Georg Christoph*, born April 9, 1732, godparents: *Johann Georg Heil* and wife *Anna Margretha*.
7. *Maria Magdalena*, born December 14, 1734. Godparents: Mr. *Johann Adam Strauch*¹³ and his wife *Maria Magdalena*.
8. *Ottilia*, born November 8, 1737, died May 11, 1738. Godparents: *Ottilia Schwedes*, daughter of *Johann Georg Schwedes*, master locksmith of Pfeddersheim.

¹¹This is the family for whom Hellertown in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, is named. *Christopher Heller* the emigrant settled at Seidersville, and his sons *Simon*, *Michael*, and *Daniel* settled along the Saucon Creek at what is now Hellertown. *Simon Heller* was one of the organizers and first trustee of the Lower Saucon Reformed Church. Moving to Plainfield Township in 1764, he helped to organize the Plainfield Reformed congregation, and laid out the colonial road from Wind Gap to the Wyoming Valley. He died in 1783. *Ludwig Heller* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Eastern Branch*, October 3, 1753 (List 213 A-C); he settled in Bucks County and later in Hamilton Township, now Monroe County, where he died in 1807. *Christopher Heller, Jr.*, arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Duke of Bedford*, September 14, 1751 (List 166 C). The Hellers were millers, carpenters, and wheelwrights—and community leaders, church founders, and revolutionary patriots. See *Hellertown Centennial, 1872-1972*, pp. 18-19, for an extended sketch of the original emigrant's family.—ED.

¹²Of the Lavall (Lawall) family, *Daniel* and *Johann Lutwig Lawall* arrived in Philadelphia on the Ship *Phoenix*, November 22, 1752 (List 195 C); *Johann Michel Lawall* on the Ship *Edinburgh*, September 15, 1749 (List 132 C); and *Melchior Lawall* on the Ship *Shirley*, September 5, 1751 (List 163 C). For the Lawalls of Northampton County, Pennsylvania, see A. Stapleton, *Memorials of the Huguenots in America* (Carlisle, 1901), p. 85.—ED.

¹³One *Adam Strauch* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *St. Andrew*, September 26, 1737, (List 47 A), his name appearing in the lists next after an *Andreas Heit*.—ED.

C. *Hans Jacob Heller*, born at Pfeddersheim circa 1662, was received into citizenship there in 1683, as son of the deceased *Conrad Heller*; died after 1689. He married *Anna Sara Stricker* (born circa 1665, buried October 19, 1728, at the age of 63 years 1 month). She was a daughter of *Elias Stricker*. She married for the second time, before 1699, *Simon Wendel*, born at Mörstadt 1658, died at Pfeddersheim August 30, 1721, at the age of 63 years and 4 months, master blacksmith and member of the city council.

D. *Conrad Heller* came from Switzerland, the Zurich area [*aus der Schweiz, Züricher Gebiets*]. He was received into citizenship at Pfeddersheim in 1662, died there 1666/1667. He married at Pfeddersheim in 1662 *Anna Godlieb* (born circa 1644), daughter of Mr. *Adam Schlintwein*. She married for the second time June 25, 1667, Mr. *Hans Conrad Weingartmann*, member of the council at Pfeddersheim (died 1680). She was married for the third time in 1682, to *Samuel Baum* of Göllheim, who was at the time 29 years old.

[15.] On the same ship on which the Heller Family came to America (*Winter Galley*, September 5, 1738, Strassburger-Hinke, List 52 A-C) there was another Pfeddersheim passenger, *Michael Knab (Knabb)*.¹⁴ He may be identical with the *Johann Michael Knab*, born August 10, 1716, baptized in the Reformed faith, son of *Johann Nickel Knab* and his wife *Maria Claudina* (godfather: *Johann Michael Bootz*, citizen of Pfeddersheim). His mother *Maria Claudina*, wife of Mr. *Johann Nickel Knab*, citizen and saddler in Pfeddersheim, was buried March 14, 1731, at the age of 42 years. The father, *Johann Niclas Knab*, was buried January 7, 1748, at the age of 63 years. He was first to bear the name in Pfeddersheim (see *Pfälzische Familien- und Wappenkunde*, IV, 360).

¹⁴In a lengthy sketch of the Knabb family in Morton L. Montgomery, *History of Berks County in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Everts, Peck & Richards, 1886), pp. 401-403, we are told that *Michael Knabb*, born April 17, 1717, at "Pfeddersheim (*sic*), in Pfalz, a Rhenish province of Bavaria," emigrated to Pennsylvania, "as near as can be ascertained, about the year 1737, in company with his two brothers, John and Peter, and settled in Oley Township". *Michael Knabb* married *Eve Magdalena Seltzer*, daughter of *Jacob* and *Elizabeth Seltzer* of Heidelberg Township, March 11, 1755, and died June 17, 1778, in his 62nd year. He had eight children: *Nicholas*, *Peter*, *Jacob*, *Daniel*, *Susan*, *Sarah*, *Catharine*, and *Mary*. The third son, *Jacob Knabb* (1771-1825), married *Hannah Yoder*, daughter of *Daniel* and *Margaret (Eyster) Yoder*. Their youngest son, *Jacob Knabb* (b. 1817), was a prominent newspaperman in Reading and Harrisburg, remembered particularly for his founding of the *Reading Gazette*, an English weekly, 1840-1843, and his long editorship of the *Berks and Schuylkill Journal*, 1845-1886. In 1869 his firm began publishing the daily *Reading Times and Dispatch*. He was active in local, state and national Whig and Republican politics, an advocate of public schools and city libraries, and an Episcopalian. It would be interesting to know if he visited Pfeddersheim, the Rhineland home of his forefathers, on an extended trip he made to Europe in 1878. The journey produced many travel letters which were published in the Reading newspapers. Montgomery tells us that public interest in them "grew to such an extent that he was invited to issue them in book-form, but he modestly declined to gratify this desire of many friends".—ED.

Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 30

Folk Medicine: Home Remedies



In a previous questionnaire (No. 5) we solicited information from our readers on the type of folk medicine known as “powwowing”—occult or magico-religious folk medicine, which uses magical charms or prayers and amulets in the attempt to heal the ills of man and beast. This time we are asking for materials on domestic medicine—that body of “home remedies” which mothers and grandmothers once practiced. When a person got sick on the farm in grandfather’s day, the first resort was to home remedies; last resorts were powwowing or “doctor’s medicine”. Will readers write out for us what they remember about the practice of domestic medicine in their families and communities?

1. *Practitioners.* Tell us what you remember of the practitioners of domestic medicine, i.e., who in your family had the knowledge necessary to apply the cures when a member of the family got sick? Where did he or she learn the cures? From a living tradition, i.e., from older persons in the family or community, or from manuscript or printed recipe books? If you have manuscript recipe books from your family’s past, will you let us know what type of contents they offer the researcher? If printed “doctor books” were used in your family, include the titles in your answer.

2. *Ailments.* List the ailments which involved home remedy cures in your family. If you come from a Pennsylvania German dialect-speaking family, or other ethnic background, list the dialect name for the ailment along with the English name. How were ailments graded or ranked in seriousness? How did one know when to apply a home remedy; when did one go to the powwower (if your family believed in powwowing); when did one go to the medical doctor?

3. *Context of Cure.* What sort of care did the sick person get? How much bed rest, isolation, special foods, special activities were provided for the patient? Was there, for example, a special “sick room”?

4. *Herbal Remedies.* List the special herbs which your family gathered for medical purposes, giving their names (including dialect names if you know them),

special uses, and preparation for use. We are especially interested in how the herbs were used in healing. Which ones were used for teas, for example, which were applied in other ways?

5. *Salves and Ointments.* One special type of home remedy was the home-made salve or ointment, often from a family recipe. If your family had a favorite salve or ointment—or “schmier,” as the Pennsylvania Germans put it—give us the details. Who made it in your family, what were the ingredients, how was it made, how was it stored? We will appreciate precise recipes from manuscript recipe books if you have these. Were there anywhere in your community salve manufacturers who used folk recipes for commercially marketed salve? One of these, for example, was the Malina Salve Company of Warriors Mark in Huntingdon County. We are interested in knowing of all such local salve-makers in Pennsylvania, past or present.

6. *Emetics and Enemas.* List the agencies (herbs, teas, etc.) which were used as emetics on the home remedy scene, and do the same for enemas.

7. *The Common Cold and Its Remedies.* Describe what was done in the past for colds. What was believed to be the cause of the common cold? Did the remedies applied differ from those of today?

8. *Liquor used as Remedy.* Were whiskey or brandy or other liquors used in your family as remedies for sickness? If so, how were they used and for what ailments? Was the whiskey ever used as base for an infusion of herbs to cure certain conditions?

9. *Unusual Remedies.* What do you consider the most unusual remedies or materials for remedies used in your family or community? Were such materials as, for example, urine or excrement ever used?

10. *Popular Cures.* While they are not considered “folk” remedies, patent medicines, including various bottled tonics, circulated in Pennsylvania in the 19th and early 20th Centuries. Some of them were related to home remedies in that they very probably developed out of folk-cultural recipes. Were any of these used in your family or made in your community? How were they marketed—by country stores, peddlers, medicine shows? What medicines were purchased at the country store and which ones were made at home within the family?

Send your replies to:

Dr. Don Yoder
Logan Hall Box 13
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19174



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