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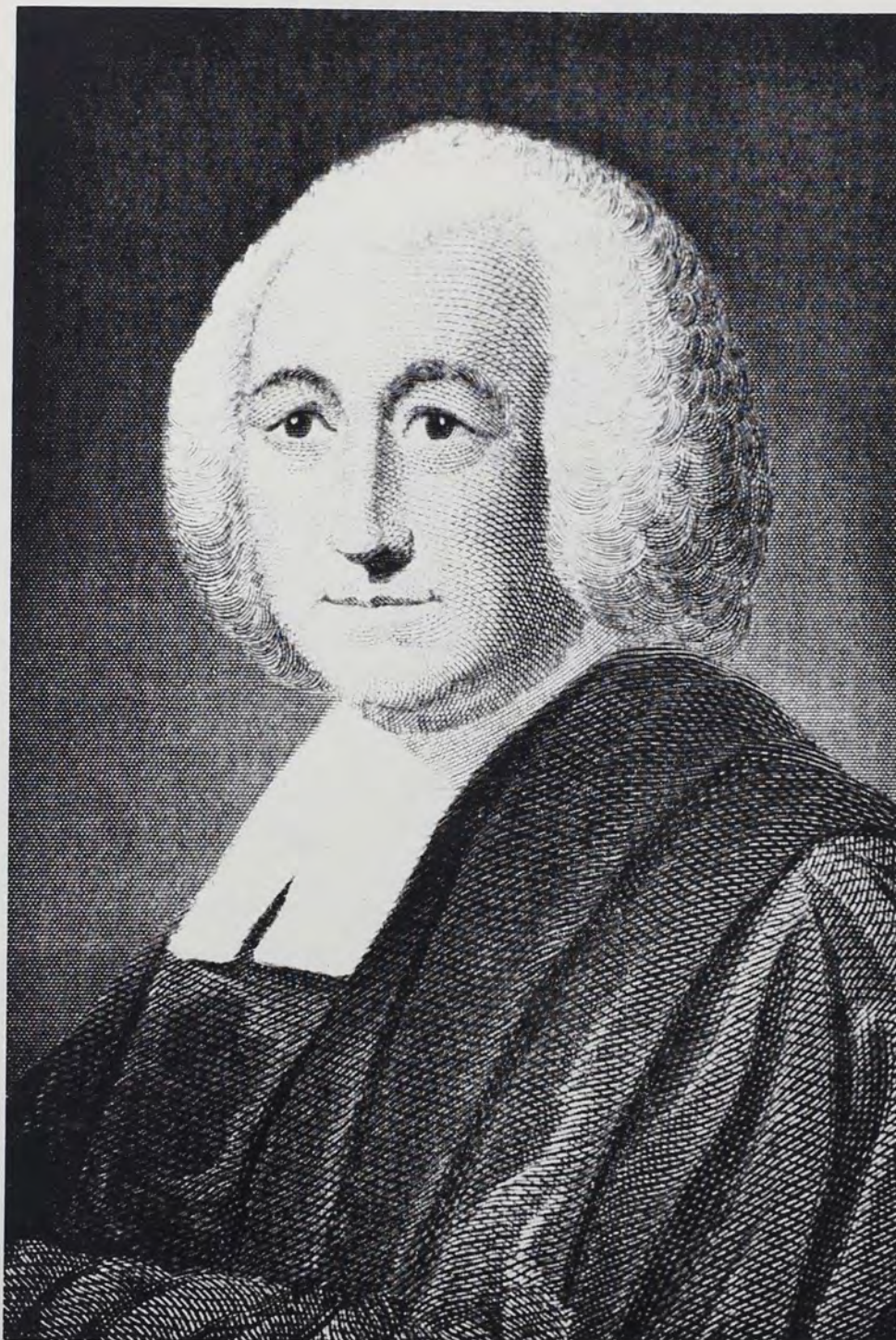
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Don Yoder, Donald F. Durnbaugh, Mac E. Barrick, A. Russell Slagle, Ronald L. Michael, Ronald Carlisle, and William T. Parsons

Pennsylvania **FOLKLIFE**



SPRING 1976



The Pennsylvania Germans and the American Revolution

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Contents

- 2 The Pennsylvania Germans and the American Revolution**
DON YODER
- 18 The Blooming Grove Colony**
DONALD F. DURNBAGH
- 23 The Salebill**
MAC E. BARRICK
- 32 The Schlegel Family and the Rosicrucian Movement**
A. RUSSELL SLAGLE
- 39 A Log Settler's Fort/Home**
RONALD L. MICHAEL and RONALD C. CARLISLE
- 47 Pennsylvania Dutch Studies at Ursinus College, 1976**
WILLIAM T. PARSONS

Contributors
(Inside front cover)

THE COUNTRY SALE
Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 43
(Inside back cover)

COVER:

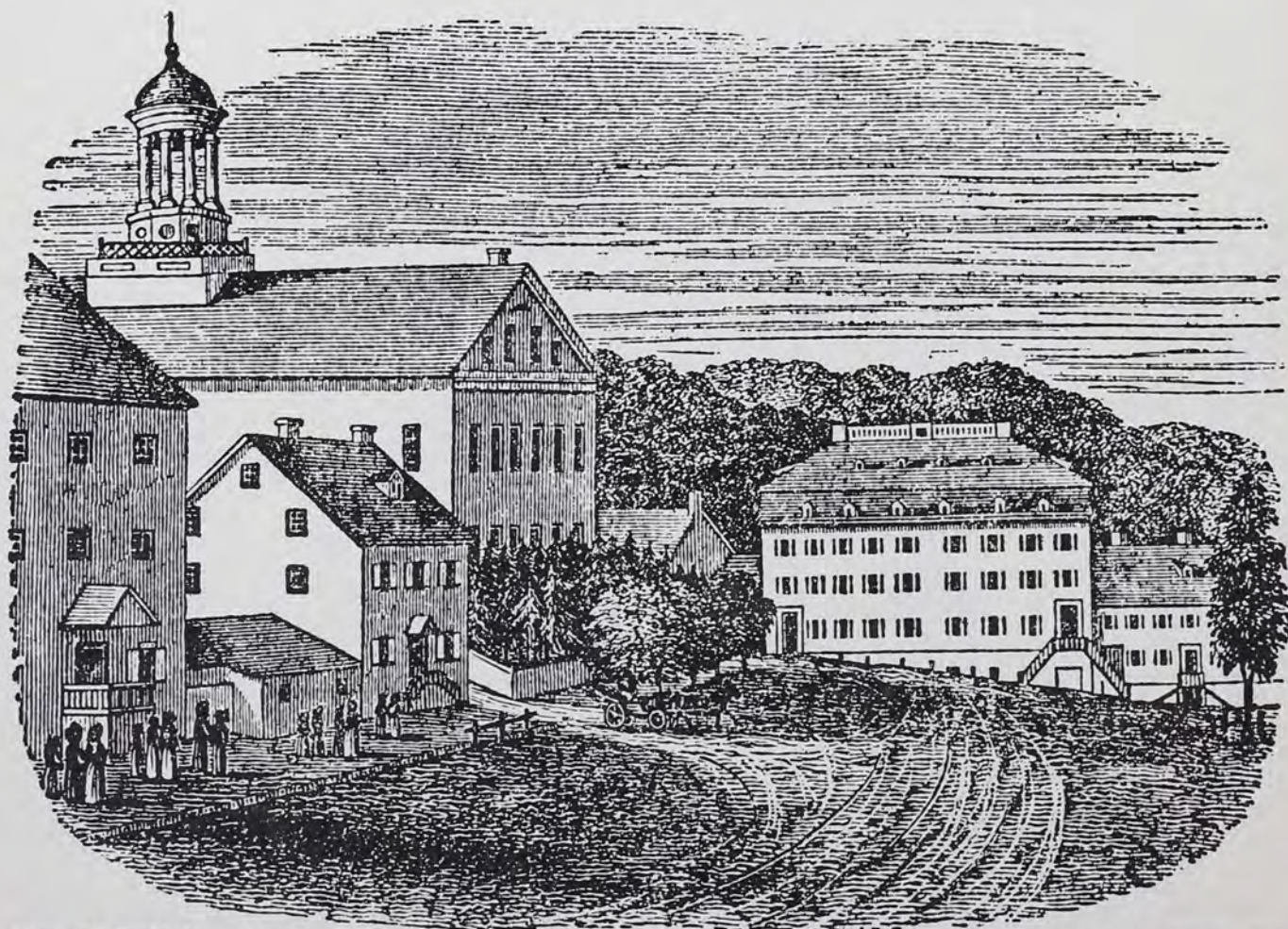
The Reverend Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1711-1787) was the organizer of Lutheranism in Colonial America. His Journals provide extensive details on Pennsylvania German reactions to the American Revolution.

THE PENNSYLVANIAN GERMANS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

By DON YODER

By 1775 the German population represented in Pennsylvania one-third of the colony's population, an easily identifiable ethnic entity, an important political weight, and a growing economic force. In the British colonies the German population was scattered in linguistic and

cultural enclaves from Nova Scotia on the North to Georgia on the South, and represented, after the British Isles contingents, the largest white segment of the population. While Pennsylvania had the largest concentration of German-speaking people, Maryland, Vir-



View of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, showing Moravian church and revolutionary hospital. From Sherman Day, Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1843).

ginia, the Carolinas and New York had significant German settlements. I will limit this paper to the Pennsylvania scene, (1) to the reactions of the Pennsylvania Germans to the Revolution and (2) its effects upon their culture, ethnic identity, and later development. I will attempt to keep the focus upon the religious life of the Pennsylvania Germans, dealing with the reactions of the official religious organizations, their leadership, and their membership.

The term Pennsylvania German culture is an inclusive term for what was actually a collection of loosely related subcultures sharing a common language and some common cultural elements. These subcultures can be distinguished from each other on the basis of religion. The principal division, cutting a distinct line through the Pennsylvania German culture, was that between church and sect, between *Kirchenleute* and *Sektenleute*. At no time have these seen eye to eye on any question of religion or politics, and the Revolutionary period was one which exerted particular strain upon their relationships. The church people were in the majority and included the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. The sectarians included the Moravians, Mennonites, Amish, Brethren (Dunkers), Schwenkfelders, and Seventh-Day Baptists (Ephrata Cloister). (In addition, the period of the Revolution saw the development of a new third category of Pennsylvania German religion, the revivalist sects which began in the 1770's with the so-called United Brethren.)

For such a heterogeneous group of colonists, its reaction to and the effects of the Revolution upon it were necessarily complex. Some reactions and effects were shared with other Anglo-American religious groups. The peace sects, for example, faced much the same problems as their mentors the Quakers, wrestling as they had to with the problem of pacifism and Americanism. The church groups divided, as did their Anglo-American counterparts, into pro-revolutionary and active pro-British elements, with a spectrum of types in between ranging from moderate loyalism to indifference.

The format of my discussion will be as follows:

1. The Reaction of the Church Groups to the Revolution.
2. The Reaction of the Sectarians to the Revolution.
3. Active Tory Elements and Hessian Mercenaries among the Pennsylvania Germans.
4. The Effects of the Revolution Upon Pennsylvania German Culture.

1.

First let us look at the reaction of the so-called "Church people" (Lutherans and Reformed).

While many of the Lutheran and Reformed clergy were sympathetic to the American cause, and some few

were outspoken in its favor, both ecclesiastical bodies, the Lutheran ministerium and the Reformed coetus, were cautious in their references to the war. The Reformed were still reporting yearly to the Reverend Fathers of the Holland Synods, and dependent upon them for a supply of new ministers from Europe. The Reformed coetus in 1777 lamented the "sad war" and prayed that God would "make our Fathers and brethren in Europe mediators and conciliators between the kingdom of Great Britain and America, so that the desired sun of peace may soon shine for the welfare of His whole church".¹

If the official bodies were slow to support the revolutionary cause, some individual congregations did take positive action. In 1775 the vestries of Philadelphia's Lutheran and Reformed churches published a joint plea to the Germans of New York and North Carolina, reporting the formation of German companies of sharpshooters, ready to march wherever needed, and urged similar action among the Germans outside Pennsylvania.²

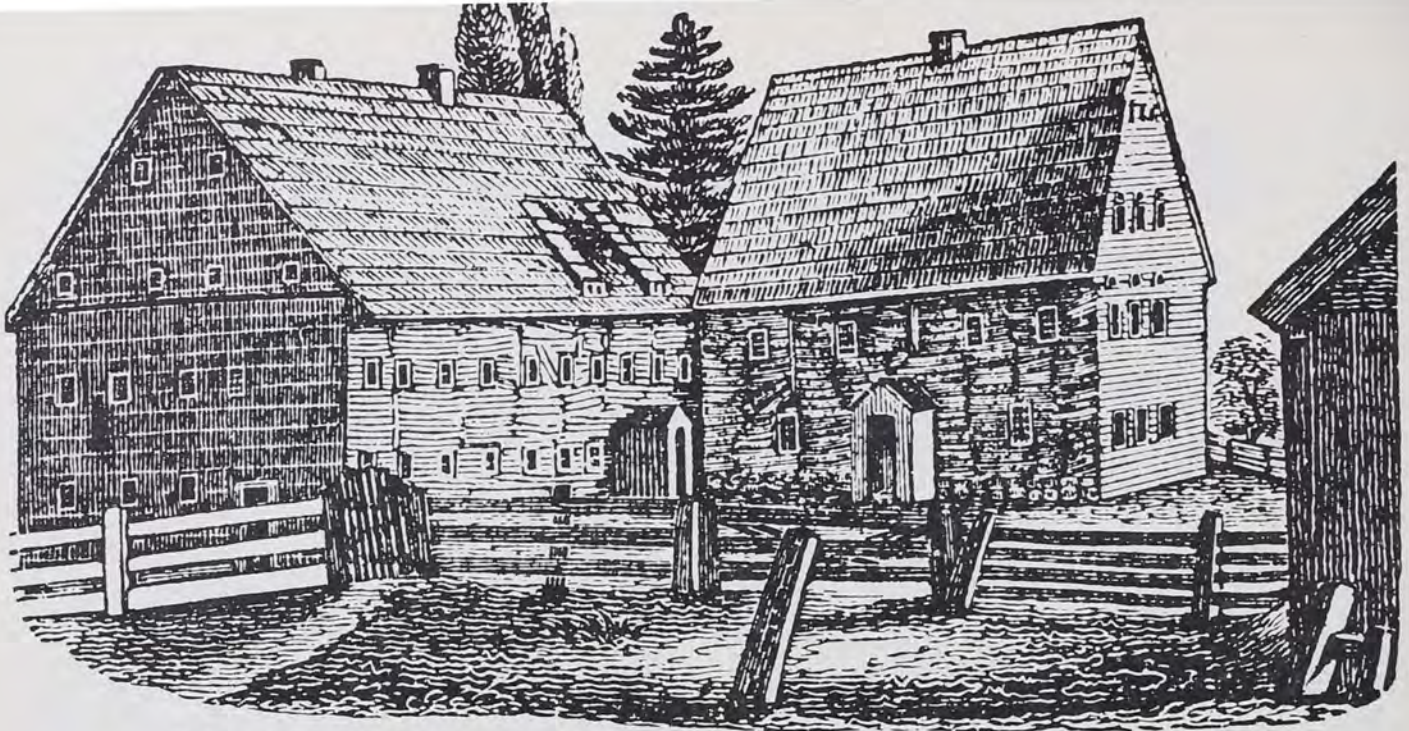
For the reaction of the Lutherans to the war, and the most detailed personal picture of Pennsylvania German life during the Revolution, we can turn to the Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg.³ The common belief that he was a marked "patriot" during the war, repeated in all the filiopietistic histories of the Pennsylvania Germans and of the Lutherans, is not borne out by the contemporary sources, particularly his journals. Professor Tappert, in analyzing Muhlenberg's stance in regard to the Revolution,⁴ speaks of him as a "studied conservative" who occupied middle ground between Whig and Tory. While he ceased publicly to pray for the King after July 4, 1776, he did not take the new oath renouncing allegiance to the King (1777), to whom he was subject by virtue of his birth in Hannover as well as his American naturalization of 1754. His closest Halle colleagues in the ministry—his son-in-law Kunze in Philadelphia and Helmuth in Lancaster—seem to have shared the same opinion, that the role of the ministry during the war was preaching repentance. His sons on the other hand, American born but Halle-educated—Frederick Augustus and John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg—to his great disappointment, partially abandoned the ministry for

¹*Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania 1747-1792* (Philadelphia, 1908), p. 365.

²Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (Boston, 1909), I, 287, citing Rosengarten, *The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia, 1890), p. 29.

³*The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, tr. by Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, particularly Volume III (1777-1787), Philadelphia 1958.

⁴Theodore G. Tappert, "Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and the American Revolution," *Church History*, XI:4 (December 1942), 284-301.



Ephrata Cloister, which served as hospital during Revolution. Print from Sherman Day (1843).

politics and military service during the war. As Tapert summarizes the father's position:

Throughout the Revolution Henry Melchior Muhlenberg pursued a thorny path of exceedingly difficult neutrality. But his outward neutrality concealed the conflict and heart-break within. When the war began he had Tory leanings without being a Tory in the full sense of the word. As the war progressed he seems by almost imperceptible degrees to have become somewhat reconciled to the cause which two of his sons embraced, but his doubts and fears and misgivings were never absent. There is no doubt that the anxieties caused by the war helped to make him a broken, old man, an 'inutile pondus,' a 'fifth wheel on a wagon,' and 'peevisish like an old hysterical woman'. But he had already served his church and his country well and earned the retirement which the war as well as his waning strength forced upon him.

Because of his neutral stance, Muhlenberg was often the target of spiteful and malicious rumors, some of which he reports in his journals. "In spite of all this," he wrote in 1777, "there have never failed to be some jealous persons who have nourished the people's suspicion that in my correspondence with the royal court chaplain I would betray their liberty and would eventually introduce the tithe and taxes for [the support of] the clergy here".⁵ How difficult it is, he continues, "for upright preachers to exist between the two towering walls of two embittered contending parties. They are squeezed by both sides."⁶ "Unruliness has gone so far that the basest man can ruin an innocent acquaintance whom he does not like. All that is necessary is that he point his finger and whisper in some one's ear, 'That man is a rebel [or this man is a *Tory*], and revenge and

ruin will follow without impartial investigation, judgment, and legal procedure".⁷

Among the Reformed clergy the same range of clerical reaction existed, from reticence to speak out on the war, to outspoken revolutionary activity, pro-war sermons, and military chaplaincies.⁸ (It would be a neat correlation with the theories about European types of Protestantism if one could prove that the Reformed—in a sense following their Calvinistic counterparts in the Anglo-American world, the Presbyterians and the Dutch Reformed—showed more activist pro-revolutionary attitudes than did Pennsylvania's Lutherans, but their records appear actually quite similar.)

When we come to the laymen of the churches, all the denominational histories and the county literature agree in pointing to the widespread support of the Revolution by the church laity. From these we get the delightful picture of Pennsylvania German companies marching to New England in 1775 chanting the German couplet:

*Kleiner Geörgel, Kaiser, König
Ist für Gott und uns zu wenig!*⁹

⁵Muhlenberg, *Journals*, III, 104.

⁶Even the question of army chaplaincies was debated by some of the churchmen. Muhlenberg reports a statement that "since the science of warfare has been perfected to the degree it has attained today, its leading representatives regard it as absurd and preposterous to call upon the Lord of Hosts and petition Him for help in the fashion in which Moses, Joshua, David, and other God-fearing generals in olden days used to do." "God should remain neutral," said one commander here in the French war, who rebuked a chaplain for praying for God's blessing and help". To which the good pastor adds, "The outcome of this curious war will show whether the Lord God is neutral or if his government of things great and small is dependent on the whims of men" (*Journals*, III, 99, November 9, 1777).

⁷Arthur D. Graeff, "The Pennsylvania Germans as Soldiers," in *The Pennsylvania Germans*, edited by Ralph Wood (Princeton, N.J., 1942), p. 230.

⁸Muhlenberg, *Journals*, III, 102.

⁹Muhlenberg, *Journals*, III, 104.

And equally attractive in the ethnic literature is the story of the Berks County church with the German inscription over the door promising, from all those who enter and leave, "loyalty to God and the King". A pro-revolutionary Reformed elder is said to have taken a chisel, and according to the present version of the story, struck off the hated name as he cried out, "*Nau muss der verdammt Keenich raus!*"¹⁹

But it isn't so simple as the popular histories would have it. Obviously the "church people," unlike the sectarians, had no religious scruples against bearing arms, and the large number of German names on the army and militia rolls, and among the officers, attest to a relatively widespread support of the Revolution by the laity of the churches. However, as recent emigrants the church groups did not share the antipathy to Britain that their neighbors the Scotch-Irish showed; indeed they were grateful to Britain for land opportunities and wider liberties than they had ever enjoyed under their counts and margraves in Europe. Furthermore, some churchmen were loath to break the oath of allegiance

¹⁹William J. Kershner and Adam G. Lerch, *History of St. John's (Hain's) Reformed Church in Lower Heidelberg Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania* (Reading, Pennsylvania, 1916).

Paul Wallace's book on the Muhlenbergs gives reactions to the Revolution from the standpoint of one leading Pennsylvania German family.

The
 MUHLENBERGS
 of
 PENNSYLVANIA

by
 PAUL A. W. WALLACE



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which they had taken when they arrived at Philadelphia on the emigrant ships."²⁰ Hence it appears that there was a considerable body of Germans, apart from the pacifist sects, who were tentative, or hesitant, about the Revolution. While not active Tories, they undoubtedly added some weight to Timothy Pickering's statement that Pennsylvania was "the enemy's country"²¹ and Curwen's thought "that the Quakers and the Dutchmen had too great regard for ease and property to sacrifice either on the altar of an unknown goddess of rather doubtful divinity".²²

2.

The sectarian reaction to the war was likewise a complex one.

The Moravians were in a sense a special case among the sectarians. With their international connections, their friends at the court in England, they had benefited by the special act of parliament in 1749 "for encouraging the people known by the name of the *Unitas Fratrum* or United Brethren, to settle in his Majesty's Colonies," with the privilege of making "a solemn affirmation in lieu of an oath," exempting them from military service, and acknowledging them as "an ancient Protestant Episcopal Church".²³ A peaceful and non-political people, they were cautioned by their bishops to refrain from political discussion, hence their policy seems to have been one of conservative loyalty to the proprietary government and the Crown. As an international organization, they also felt not called to help make or unmake governments.

Obviously the Act of Parliament of 1749 was voided by the revolutionary government here. With the new government, the call for militia, and the test acts, the Moravians were caught in a dilemma of conscience, as were the other pacifist groups. Johannes Ettwein, the outstanding leader of American Moravians during the revolutionary period, on June 29, 1776, wrote an open letter to all Moravian congregations in Pennsylvania:

To remain quiet and wait for the help of the Lord has been our way up to now. We shall observe this way of life as before, even in consideration of the Convention. We do not see how we can as Brethren be active in changing the government under which we have enjoyed so much that is good . . . We ask you therefore: Be patient in this time of trouble; let yourselves not be misled

¹⁹For these oaths, see William J. Hinke, ed., *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* (Norristown, Pennsylvania, 1935), I, Introduction.

²⁰Claude H. Van Tyne, *The Loyalists in the American Revolution* (Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1959; New York, 1902), p. 102.

²¹Curwen, *Journal*, p. 26, cited in Van Tyne, p. 102.

²²Preston A. Barba, *They Came to Emmaus: A History* (Emmaus, Pennsylvania, 1959), p. 106. I have based my account on this recent and extremely thorough congregational history of the Emmaus settlement, based on the congregational diaries. See "Emmaus in the American Revolution," pp. 106-133, and "The Post-Revolution Years," pp. 134-164.

away from the simplicity in Christ. We can in truth say: We do not understand these things, and why should we, to please others, do things contrary to our hearts? This would be contrary to our glory in Christ.

He closes with the thought that “every one knows that the Brethren are an obedient and loyal people and subject to that government which has authority over us. For we believe with our hearts where government is, it is from God, and whoever resists it, resists God’s orders”.¹⁵ While this is a Moravian statement, it could have been written by any of the other sects, and indeed, many Pennsylvania German churchmen would have found it acceptable.

The Moravians had opportunity to serve the American cause in peaceful ways. In 1776 the general hospital of the continental army was moved to Bethlehem, and other Moravian congregations aided the effort. The majority of the membership refused army service. While the clergy advised their members not to join the armed forces, some dozen men did join the American army from one Moravian town, Emmaus. These were, significantly, not mentioned in the Emmaus Diary, nor, significantly, were they excommunicated for doing so.¹⁶

The most striking Mennonite reaction to the war was the so-called Funkite Schism.¹⁷ The documentary sources on Mennonite (and Amish) reactions during this period have not been fully researched, but from the existant materials it appears that the Mennonites, like the Moravians and Brethren (Dunkers), were quite agitated over the test acts and the question of paying war taxes to the revolutionary government. Christian Funk, prominent Mennonite preacher in what is now Montgomery County, at first, like many other Mennonites, leaned toward the royalist side. In his memoirs¹⁸ he recalls expressing his opinion in 1776 “that we could not interfere in tearing ourselves from the king . . . that he was the head or protector of Pennsylvania . . . and that we ought to submit to the three acts, for that we acknowledged ourselves a defenceless people and neither could institute or destroy any government . . .” He also informs us that “the Congress and the American government was re-

¹⁵Barba, pp. 110-111, translated from the original in the Emmaus Archives.

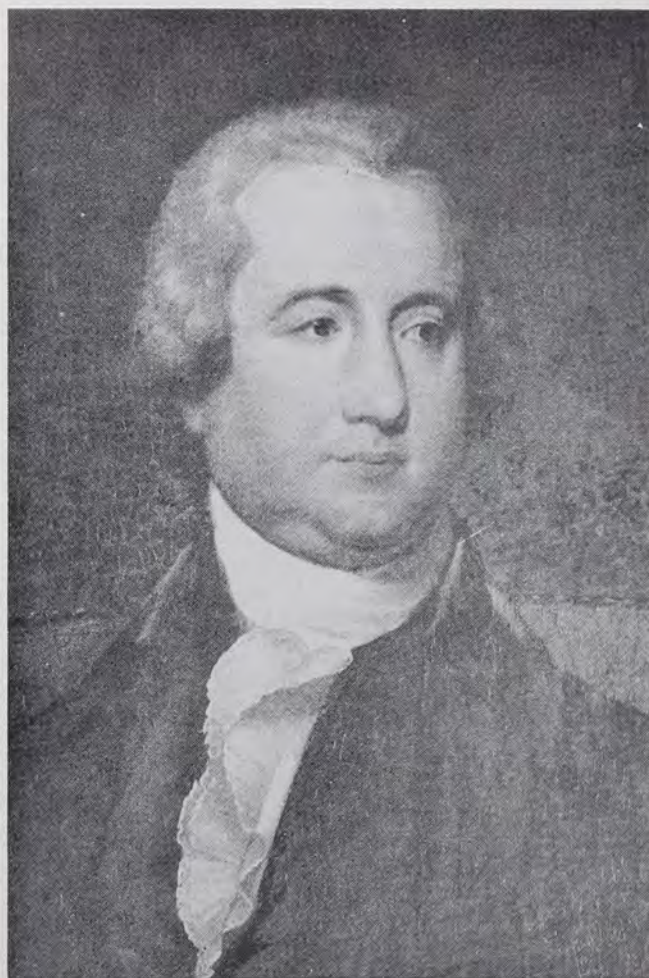
¹⁶Barba, pp. 128-133.

¹⁷For the relation of the Mennonites to the Revolution, see in particular Wilbur J. Bender, “Pacificism among the Mennonites, Amish Mennonites and Schwenkfelders of Pennsylvania to 1783,” *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, I:3 (1927), 23-40, I:4 (1927), 21-48. For the Funkite Schism, see *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, “Christian Funk” (II, 421), and “Funkites” (II, 424).

¹⁸The quotations are from Bender, citing Christian Funk, *A Mirror for All Mankind; or instructive examples from the life and conduct of Christian Funk, a faithful minister of the word of God, among the Mennonites, during and many years after the American Revolution*, translated from the German (Norristown, Pennsylvania, 1814). The memoirs were written in 1809.

jected as rebellious by my fellow ministers under the idea that Congress would soon be overpowered”. When the Pennsylvania constitution was circulated and he saw its guarantee of liberty of conscience and its support of the noncombatant conscience, he came to the conviction that the Mennonites should cease denouncing the American government as rebellious. The test came in 1777 with the special levy of war taxes. His ministerial brethren said that Mennonites should not pay it, Funk disagreed. Funk by this time had taken the affirmation of allegiance to the new government, and was urging other Mennonites to follow. His colleagues expelled him, and he organized a “free congregation”—a small schismatic group which continued into the 19th Century.

The Brethren were adamant on the test oath. In 1778 their General Meeting decided that should any member take it, he must recall it before a justice and give up his certificate, and then apologize before the church. If not, he is to be “deprived of the kiss of fellowship, of the council, and the breaking of



Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg supported the Revolution and became the first speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress in 1789.

bread, until he becomes obedient again".¹⁹ The annual meeting of 1779 gives us further rationale on the test oath. It appears that the Brethren like the Mennonites were not yet sure that the new government was legal.

Inasmuch as it is the Lord our God who establishes kings and removes kings, and ordains rulers according to his own good pleasure, and we cannot know whether God has rejected the king and chosen the state, while the king had the government; therefore we could not, with a good conscience, repudiate the king and give allegiance to the state. And it seems to us that all those who have done so have committed a fault, on account of which we could not break bread with them, but bear with them in love.²⁰

Undoubtedly the tensions between churchmen and sectarians were increased due to misunderstandings over the sectarian war position. For example, April 3, 1777, was declared a day of fasting, prayer, and repentance by the Continental Congress. Muhlenberg expressed his distaste for sectarian noncompliance with these comments:

This time it was quiet in the city—and also in the country, it is said. Only a few members of sullen sects declared that their consciences were oppressed if they were expected to observe a day which was appointed only by men. They opened their merchandise and huckster shops for business, but they were not strong enough to suffer for the sake of their consciences, for some half-grown zealots came along and, at the bidding of their own opposite conscience, hurled stones into the shops, as a result of which the shops were soon closed.²¹

In July, 1777, reporting the new militia law he comments:

All at once more tender consciences were discovered in the state than had ever before been noticed, inasmuch as many especially among the sects appealed to their tender consciences and refused to obey and mocked and ridiculed others who obeyed the government, a collector appointed by the government was obliged to take several armed men of the militia and begin to collect the fines.²²

He reports also the case of the "strange" tender conscience of one pacifist recusant who hit the collector with a plowshare.²³ And when the Philadelphia Quakers were transported to Virginia, he comments that the Quakers protest that they are suffering for Christ's sake, but they do after all reject and mutilate his order of salvation and the means of grace.²⁴

Sharper attitudes toward the sects were expressed

by laymen. Philip Marsteller, writing from Lebanon to President Reed, June 10, 1780, observes that "many of the wealthy Mennonites and others who live in the neighborhood of Lancaster, Manheim and Conostogoe, drive Flocks of Cattle over the Mountains in the Spring Season, to the great Distress of the poor Inhabitants; Those men undoubtedly have them to spare, otherwise they would keep them on their farms, and therefore [they] ought to be taken from them . . ."²⁵

Muhlenberg in his journal mentions the overzealous actions of some of the local "patriots". As happens in every civil conflict, some of these used their position to settle personal grudges. One of the most unpleasant examples on record is that of Col. John Wetzel, County Lieutenant of Northampton County.²⁶ A defector from the Moravians, he used his authority to make his pacifist ex-colleagues an object lesson. In April 1778 he arrested 12 Moravians, on trumped-up charges. The arrests were made, according to a Moravian historian, "not at Bethlehem nor even at Nazareth, but in Wetzel's own neighborhood at Emmaus, where it could be done more easily and with less likelihood of immediate interference from higher quarters".²⁷ These men were marched through the countryside like criminals, "with much show of guard and restraint". After several weeks imprisonment, they were finally released, but threatened with another arrest if they did not take the test oath. Most of them, says Levering, were "worried into doing so".



Continental Currency signed by Adam Hubley of Lancaster.

¹⁹Donald F. Durnbaugh, ed., *The Brethren in Colonial America* (Elgin, Illinois, 1967), p. 352.

²⁰Durnbaugh, p. 353.

²¹Muhlenberg, *Journals*, III, 28, April 3, 1777.

²²Muhlenberg, *Journals*, III, 61, July 24, 1777. The bracketed materials were added by the editors from the fuller version of the Journals in the Halle Documents. Words in italics are words which were in English in Muhlenberg's German original.

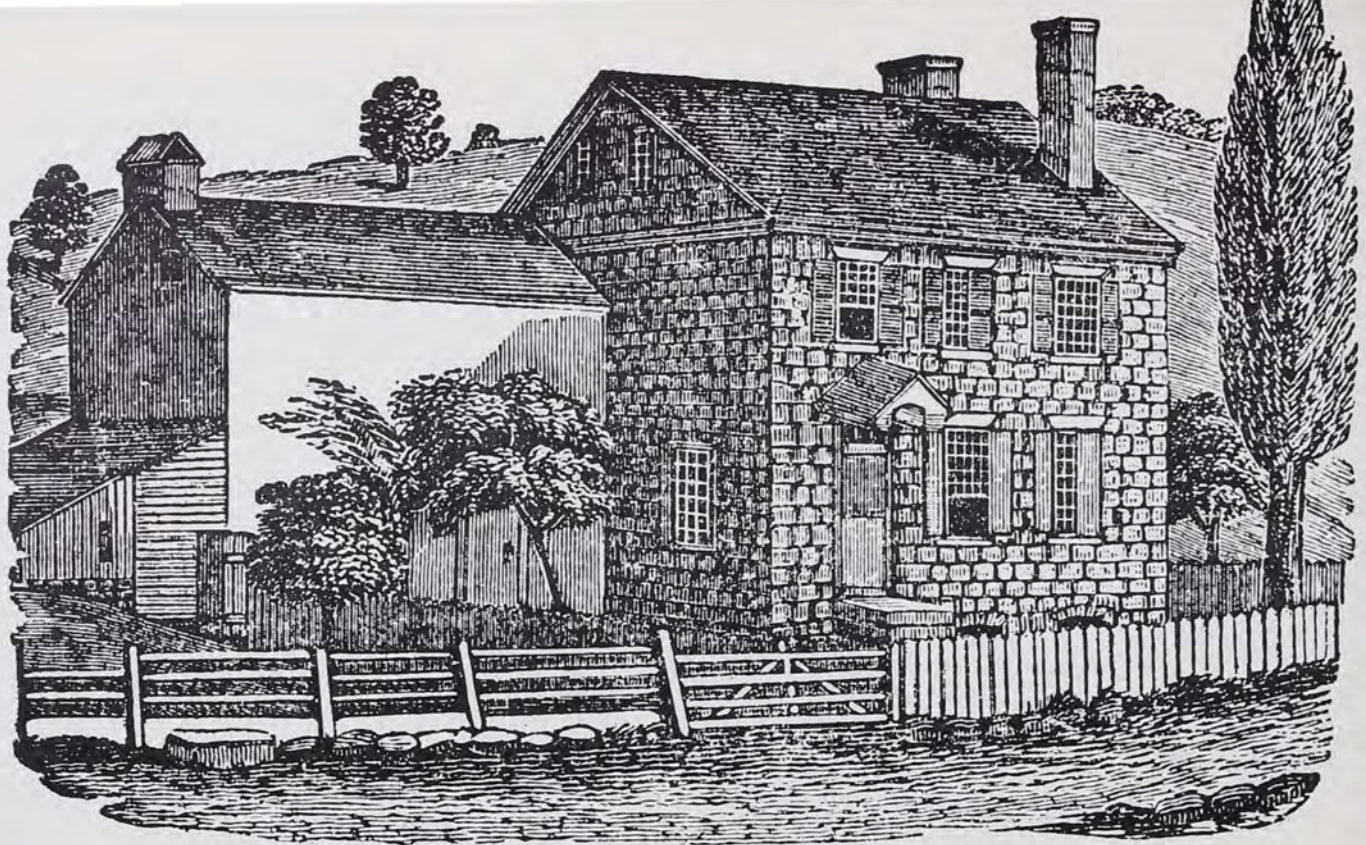
²³Muhlenberg, *Journals*, III, 61, July 24, 1777.

²⁴Muhlenberg, *Journals*, III, 75, September 16, 1777.

²⁵*Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, VIII, 329.

²⁶Barba, pp. 120-121, from Joseph M. Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1741-1892* (Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1903), pp. 498 ff. See also the material on Wetzel from the Emmaus Diary, in Barba, p. 124. Wetzel also appears to have had a grudge against the Schwenkfelders.

²⁷Levering, pp. 498 ff., cited in Barba, p. 120.



Washington's Headquarters at Valley Forge. From Sherman Day (1843).

Occasionally but rarely we find reports that the churchmen honored the "tender conscience" of the sectarians. One such tradition has come down through the Mennonite world, relating how an independent Reformed minister named Heinrich Hertzell befriended the non-resistant Amish, who, refusing to bear arms or to serve in the army, were arrested and imprisoned at Reading. Hertzell intervened in their behalf, pleading that "these people had fled from Europe to escape military service, and that they could not now be expected to do what their conscience forbade them to do in Europe". The prisoners were released, but taxed to hire substitutes.²⁸

If one effect of the Revolution was to separate sectarian and churchman, another was to draw the sectarians closer to one another.²⁹ What had been through most of the colonial period a suspicious, warring group of rival sects now saw a common danger and reacted to it in joint meetings, petitions, and shared sympathies. Particularly cordial were the relations between Mennonites and Brethren during the war. On November 7, 1775, the two groups united to petition the General Assembly to ease the tension that had broken out between Associators and pacifists in Lancaster County. The petition, showing a nice sense of history, prays for

²⁸*Mennonite Yearbook and Almanac for the Year of Our Lord 1908*, cited in William J. Hinke, *Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania and Other Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by George W. Richards (Philadelphia, 1951), p. 398.

²⁹See particularly Donald F. Durnbaugh, *The Brethren in Colonial America*.

a continuance of the liberty of conscience which had first been granted by Penn. It promises also, as the state wishes, that as noncombatants, the two sects will be "helpful to those who are in need and distressed circumstances . . . it being our principle to feed the hungry and give the thirsty drink."

We have dedicated ourselves to serve all men in every thing that can be helpful to the preservation of men's lives, but we find no freedom in giving, or doing, or assisting in any thing by which men's lives are destroyed or hurt. We beg the patience of all those who believe we err in this point.

Finally the two groups declared themselves as "always ready, according to Christ's command to Peter, to pay the tribute, that we may offend no man, and so we are willing to pay taxes, and to render unto Caesar those things that are Caesar's, and to God those things that are God's . . ."³⁰

For the sects, then, the Revolution was the first great test on American soil of their pacifist principles.³¹ While evidently most Mennonites and most Brethren, because of their pacifism, did not serve in the army, those individuals who did were excommunicated and lost to the group.

3.

While most of the older denominational histories naturally play down the active Tory element in their

³⁰Durnbaugh, *The Brethren in Colonial America*, pp. 362-365. The quotation is from p. 364.

³¹See Roland H. Bainton, *Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace: A Historical Survey and Critical Re-evaluation* (New York, 1960).

past, exalting the "patriots," there was a recognizable active Tory minority both in clergy and laity among the churches, and even among the sects. Among the Tory clergy on the Lutheran side was Hausihl (Houseal), and on the Reformed side, Zubli of Georgia and Kern of New York.³² There were also active Tories among the laity.³³

The Tory problem was a sticky one for the churches, even and perhaps especially on the congregational level. In several instances ministers resigned their parishes because of Tory elements in their congregations. One such example is Stahlschmidt:

I acted with extreme caution, so as not to give offense to the royalists in my congregation (near York), but where such a party spirit reigns, it is impossible for a minister's political sentiments to remain long unconcealed. An order was issued by the American government to march against the enemy, which produced such confusion that I could not do otherwise than advise them to yield as much as possible to present circumstances, because it was incumbent upon us to be obedient to the existing authorities in all things, not contrary to conscience. Those who vented their rage against the Congress were dissatisfied with me, especially one royalist who went about among the congregation and stirred them up against me. The confusion increasing to the highest pitch, I perceived it best to resign my charge.³⁴

Among the sects too there were Tories. Powerful in shaping opinion among the sectarian world were the Brethren Sauer family, the Germantown publishers.³⁵ Their newspapers had had wide influence among the Germans, whom they attempted to line up with the Quaker party versus the Presbyterian-Anglican coalition. For decades the Sauers had sounded the alarm against a state church establishment, which appeared to be the goal of the latter party, and against military action in the American wars. The loyalism of the earlier Sauers was based on loyalty to the Crown in recognition for religious freedom and prosperity in the new world. Christopher Sauer III (1754-1799) continued the conservative loyalism of his father and grandfather, but during the Revolution became an

activist Tory, aiding the British army and publishing a Tory newspaper in New York in 1782-1783.

Sauer's open letter to the Germans of Pennsylvania and neighboring states (1780),³⁶ urging them to remain loyal to the British, is one of the extreme Tory documents from the Pennsylvania German world. In it he plays up the confusion existing because of the war, contrasting with it the security, peace, prosperity and unity under the British. A trap is being set for the Germans by the rebels, he insinuates. "Under the fictitious name of Liberty you have been brought to the edge of the precipice . . ." He is especially hard on New England for fomenting the rebellion:

The sly New Englanders were unquestionably the first to wave a red flag. As rebels, they were driven out of their fatherland many years ago, and the poison of rebellion had perpetuated itself in their grandchildren. Before the outbreak of the rebellion they sent men of keen minds into all the provinces to investigate the feelings of the leading people. Indeed, they even sent out preachers (not as apostles of the truth in the name of the Lord but rather in the name of the arch-rebel, Satan) to scatter from the pulpit the poison of rebellion to the innocent. And unfortunately, many of our German preachers defiled the pulpit with the poison of rebellion and washed their hands in innocent blood! All truths in foreign newspapers and other publications from England were suppressed, and the mouth of truth was thus stopped and a fountain of lies was opened instead.

Sauer's ultimate threat was the following:

Your future condition will be a three-fold slavery: the French will give you wooden shoes for your tanned or untanned hides, the Spanish will erect monasteries for priests in your best area, whose

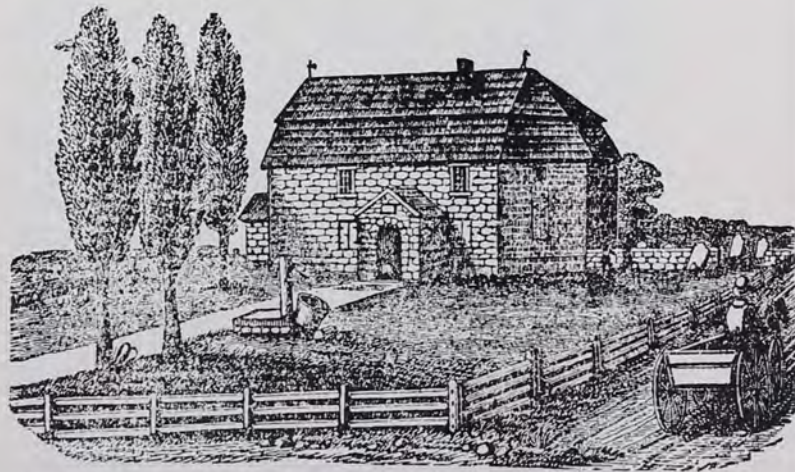
³⁶*Zuschrift an die Teutschen in Pennsylvanien, und benachbarten Provinzen* (New York, 1780). This extremely pertinent document, which is not listed in the major American imprint bibliographies, was discovered by Dr. Durnbaugh in London (Bundle 102/882, Class 13, Audit Office Records, PRO London). See translation in Durnbaugh, *The Brethren in Colonial America*, pp. 408-419.

³²For biographical details on the Lutherans, see Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, IX; for the Reformed, Harbaugh, *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, and Hinke, *Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations*.

³³The county history literature, particularly the publications of the local county historical societies, contains articles on local Pennsylvania German Tories. For some of these, see Emil Meynen, *Bibliographie des Deutschtums des kolonialzeitlichen Einwanderung in Nordamerika* (Leipzig, 1937).

³⁴John Christian Stahlschmidt (1740-1825) was in America from 1770 to 1779, during which time he served several Reformed congregations. The quotation is from his autobiography, *Die Pilgerreise zu Wasser und zu Lande* (Nürnberg, 1799). See Harbaugh, *Fathers*, II, 252-283; also Hinke, *Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations*, pp. 201-207.

³⁵For the latest discussion of the Sauer family in relation to the Pennsylvania Germans and the Revolution, see the full account in Durnbaugh, *The Brethren in Colonial America*, pp. 377-423, on which the following account is based.



The Augustus Lutheran Church at the Trappe in Montgomery County, headquarters of Pastor Muhlenberg. From Sherman Day (1843).

inhabitants you would have to support as useless members of human society and the Congress will treat you as renters, to whom you would have to deliver two-thirds of your harvest annually.

It is no wonder that Sauer left for Nova Scotia and then for England. In 1784 we find him in London petitioning the throne for redress for his sufferings and property confiscation during the Revolution. But he returned to America and died in Baltimore in 1799.

One final reaction of the sectarians to the Revolution involved the migration, after the Revolution, of the Tory-minded contingent of the Mennonites to Ontario (Lower Canada).³⁷ Beginning in 1786, Bucks and Montgomery County Mennonites, later joined by some from Lancaster and Franklin Counties, began to settle areas of Ontario near St. Catharine's, Toronto, and Waterloo-Kitchener. To this day they form a considerable cultural enclave of Pennsylvania German influence. Undoubtedly economic as well as political motives operated in this migration, as the migration can also be viewed as part of the "westward movement," the post-revolutionary diaspora from Eastern Pennsylvania which settled also parts of the Midwest with Pennsylvania German churchmen and sectarians.

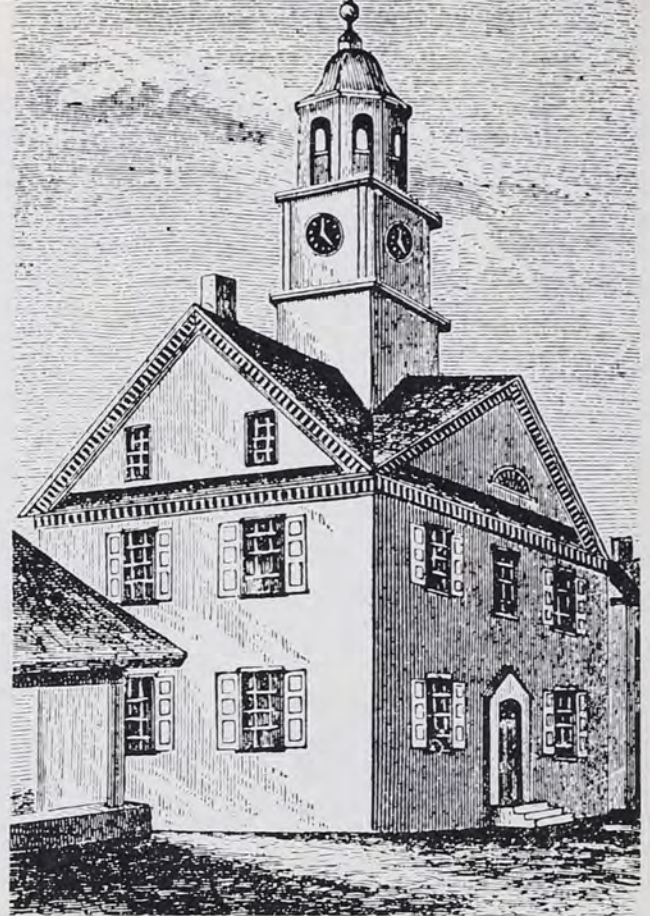
The German mercenary troops, known by the collective name of "Hessians," hired by the British king to suppress the colonial rebellion, formed another contingent of Germans whose relation to the Pennsylvania Germans in the Revolution needs to be analyzed.³⁸ The Hessians were wooed with propaganda from the Americans to desert. The British prisoner Anburey, in a letter from Frederick, December 25, 1778, notes that "it was with a view and hope that the men would desert, that Congress marched us at this inclement season; numbers have answered their wishes, especially the Germans, who seeing in what a comfortable manner their countrymen live, left us in great numbers as we marched through New York, the Jerseys and Pennsylvania . . ."³⁹ While some Germans showed a strong antipathy to the Hessians, others welcomed them as *Landsleit*, hired them for work on their farms, and attended the festivities given by the Hessian officers. On Christmas 1778 Anburey reports that "all the German maidens came to a ball given by us and danced with our officers in spite of it being Christmas and a holiday".⁴⁰ He comments, "In Pennsylvania, and in other places with German inhabitants, we lost most of our men. They were persuaded to stay behind, and the girls did their best to keep them as husbands. Even

³⁷G. Elmore Reaman, *The Trail of the Black Walnut* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania, 1957); Arthur D. Graeff, "The Pennsylvania Germans in Ontario, Canada," *Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, XI (1946), 1-80.

³⁸See particularly the list of works cited in Emil Meynen, *Bibliography on German Settlements in Colonial North America* (Leipzig, 1937).

³⁹[Thomas Anburey], *Travels Through the Interior Parts of America* (London, 1789).

⁴⁰Anburey, p. 128.



The Colonial Courthouse on Market Square in York, Pennsylvania. York was the capital of the United States in 1777-1778.

the officers were not safe from such proposals, and I know of some to whom girls offered a fortune of \$3000 to \$4000.00". Estimates on the number of Hessians who remained in America after the war range from two to three thousand.⁴¹

The American propaganda campaign for the Hessian captives almost backfired in the case of Pastor Helffenstein, Reformed minister of Lancaster, who preached to the Hessians on Isaiah 52:2: "For thus saith the Lord, Ye have sold yourselves for nought, and shall be redeemed without money." His biographer tells us that "this sermon caused a good deal of excitement and offense among the captives. On another occasion, he delivered a discourse, in the church, in the evening, on the words: 'If the Son make you free, ye shall be free indeed'—when the excitement was so great, that it was deemed necessary to accompany him home with a guard".⁴²

Along with the Hessians there came several ministers who settled here to serve the Pennsylvania churches. Although sent by the Holland Fathers, the Reformed pastor Samuel Dubbendorff arrived on a British troop ship and stayed in New York, then under the British,

⁴¹For a list of several thousand "Hessians" who remained in America after the war, see Erhard Stadler, *Die Ansbach-Bayreuther Truppen im Amerikanischen Unabhangigkeitskrieg 1777-1783* (Nurnberg, 1956).

⁴²Harbaugh, *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, II, 225.

for some months before proceeding to Pennsylvania. He first served the Germantown congregation, which he had to resign when some "patriots" in his congregation suspected him of Toryism because he had come over with the Hessians. He went to the Susquehanna frontier where he served the church acceptably for many years.⁴³ Among the Lutherans Friedrich Valentin Melsheimer, who had come to America as a chaplain with the Brunswick troops, was admitted to the ministerium in 1785 and served the Pennsylvania church as pastor and teacher.⁴⁴ And Johannes Seybert (1783-1860), the missionary bishop of the Evangelical Association in the 19th Century, was the son of a Hessian mercenary who after the war settled in Lancaster County.⁴⁵

4.

It is now time to discuss certain of the effects of the Revolution upon the Pennsylvania Germans.

The religious situation among the Pennsylvania Germans during and after the Revolution was one of "moral decline" as described and lamented in the minutes of the church bodies. The Reformed coetus complained in 1777 that "on account of the sad war, many a praiseworthy observance is omitted, especially in regard to the keeping of the Sabbath Day and Christian exercises in the families at home."⁴⁶ In 1779 the Reformed ministers reported that their churches were externally confused by the existing disturbances, and internally invaded by "vices and other irregularities" representing "the dark kingdom of Satan."⁴⁷ The coetus of 1781 saw some improvement, yet "the war still increases the vanity, and many indulge, without shame and decency, in the most abominable vices."⁴⁸ This letdown of course continued after the war. The coetal report of 1786 observed that peace had been accompanied with "the sad consequences of display in dress, debauchery and luxury".

If America were satisfied with the home-made clothing and the moderation which, because of want, were necessary during the times of the so-called Continental, or late war, how happy it would be! But there are few, very few, who do not live above their stations, so that a stranger on Sundays, or festival days, cannot possibly tell whom he meets. The faithful minister, with silent tears, grieves over hearts possessed of such extravagant pride, for all his remonstrances are in vain.⁴⁹

This situation was reflected even to a small degree within the ministry. The Reformed were particularly put upon at this time by unworthy additions to their number. In the 1780's, immediately after the war, there were several cases of what might be called "transatlantic bigamy" among emigrant pastors (Vander-sloot, Willy, and Spangenberg).⁵⁰ The Reformed Church had particular trouble with the "three Graubündtner"—Bernhard Willy, Andreas Loretz, and Peter Paul Pernisius. Willy, who had the misfortune to receive a letter from his Swiss wife after his marriage in 1786 to an elder's daughter from Muddy Creek, retired to Virginia where eventually he developed into a serviceable minister.⁵¹ Loretz, a man too old to emigrate to the New World in the first place, refused to bring his family along, and one after another was rejected, after a short time in service, by several congregations, mostly because the Pennsylvanians could not understand his heavy Swiss brogue. He returned in 1786 to Switzerland.⁵² Pernisius, described in the coetal minutes as "that hot-headed Italian," was charged with murdering a "Danish beggar" but escaped execution through the intercession of Domine Weyberg. He was finally excommunicated when he proved to be "a continuous drunkard, swearer and blasphemer, and also a digger of hidden treasures and a conjurer of the devil".⁵³ But the worst example was Cyriacus Spangenberg von Reidemeister,⁵⁴ a Prussian army officer who turned up in Pennsylvania about 1780. In 1783 he applied for examination and ordination, but was refused, "especially because his conduct, as described by those who knew him, is altogether more like that of a soldier and lawyer than a minister". Ordained by an independent minister, Spangenberg served charges in the Susquehanna Valley, Franklin County, and Somerset County. He is remembered for two gross acts—he was the third of the attempted bigamists, and he was hanged for murdering one of his Somerset County elders in an argument in the church in 1794. These characters were of course a small minority of the Reformed clergy, and Spangenberg at least was not recognized by the coetus.

Wrestling with such problem clergy helped the Reformed to positive action. We have mentioned that

⁵⁰For Frederick William Von der Sloot (1744-1803), see Harbaugh, *Fathers of the Reformed Church*; Hinke, *Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations*, pp. 407-408.

⁵¹For Willy's career, see Harbaugh, *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, II, 337-350; Hinke, *Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations*, pp. 215-218.

⁵²For Andrew Loretz Sr., see Harbaugh, *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, II, 403-404; Hinke, *Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations*, pp. 210-213.

⁵³For Pernisius, who was born in 1724, and whose Swiss name was Pernis, see Harbaugh, *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, II, 403; Hinke, *Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations*, pp. 213-215. Also the Coetal Letter of 1788.

⁵⁴For Spangenberg, see Harbaugh, *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, II, 325-336; Hinke, *Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations*, pp. 403-407.

⁴³James I. Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1725-1792* (Reading, Pennsylvania, 1899), p. 606.

⁴⁴Preston A. Barba, "Frederick Valentine Melsheimer, Father of American Entomology," *American-German Review*, XI:3 (1945), 17-19, XI:4 (1945), 17-20.

⁴⁵S[alomon]. Neitz, *Das Leben und Wirken des seligen Johannes Seybert, Ersten Bischofs der Evangelischen Gemeinschaft* (Cleveland, 1862), pp. 17-18.

⁴⁶*Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania 1747-1792*, p. 362.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 367, 369.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 372.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 406.



Colonel Samuel Miles of the Pennsylvania Line commanded German troops under Washington. After the Revolution he opened up Pennsylvania German settlements in what is now Centre County, where Miles Township is named for him.

the coetus was dependent upon the Holland Fathers for ministers—they had either to accept those sent, or ask permission to ordain Americans or those who had emigrated independently of the Holland Synods. This awkward situation led the coetus in 1785 to propose the founding of “a school in the central part of the State of Pennsylvania, in which young men might be prepared for the ministry”. The motives cited included the fact that some ministers sent from Europe “prove failures, either by bringing a stain with them, or because they cannot accommodate themselves to the ways of this country.” Secondly, many young men here would like to become ministers, and the congregations have greater confidence “in natives than foreigners who just arrived”. A third motive was the preservation of the German language. It appears that the Presbyterians, who founded Dickinson College at this time (1783)—Pennsylvania’s second institution of higher learning—had requested the assistance of their German colleagues the Reformed. “Since we had reason to fear that this might tend to suppress the German language, and even our nationality, and might be to the disadvantage of our religion, for they might accept a Reformed teacher only as a matter of form, we excused ourselves on the ground of our inability”.⁵⁵ While this abortive attempt at Presbyterian-Reformed cooperation in higher education failed, it drove the

⁵⁵*Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania 1747-1792*, pp. 403-404. The quotations are from the Coetal Letter to the Holland Fathers in 1785.

Reformed closer to the Lutherans, who had the same problems in educating native clergy and the same wish to preserve their *Deutschtum*, in the foundation of Franklin College at Lancaster in 1787.⁵⁶ These common problems would continue into the 19th Century, when several attempts were made to unite the Lutheran and Reformed synods, form a joint seminary, and promote other projects.⁵⁷ All, unfortunately both for Pennsylvania German unity and American Protestant unity, were unsuccessful.

How did the Revolution affect the ethnic self-consciousness of the Pennsylvania Germans? In dealing with the problems of ethnic identity and revolution, Dieter Cunz, in his history of the Germans in Maryland,⁵⁸ suggests as “psychological reasons” for German participation in the Revolution the fact that the Germans in Maryland were have-nots, awkward with their use of English and unfamiliar with the usages of the country, and had never been fully recognized. “What wonder,” he asks, “that the dissatisfaction that had been gathering in the hearts of the constantly slighted Germans now broke out in an elementary hatred of England?” They could now, as he puts it, repay England for never belonging, and could at the same time show the Americans that they were patriotic too. This was one way of working out the “political and social inferiority complex” of the Germans. Added to this in Maryland was the fact that the Germans, the largest non-English minority, had to pay taxes to support the established Church of England.

While the added irritant of support of the English state church was not present in Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania Germans were socially if not politically second-class citizens in colonial Pennsylvania, under attack from prejudiced neighbors, victimized by all sorts of jealousies and misunderstandings from Franklin down to their Scotch-Irish neighbors. The rivalry between the “Irish” (Scotch-Irish) and the “Dutch” was particularly strong. Riots were common at elections. For example, the election of May 1, 1776, drew forth this comment from Christopher Marshall:

This has been one of the sharpest contests, yet peaceable, that has been for a number of years, except some small disturbance among the Dutch, occasioned by some unwarrantable expressions of Joseph Swift, viz., that except they were naturalized, they had no more right to a vote than a Negro or Indian . . .⁵⁹

⁵⁶Joseph H. Dubbs, *History of Franklin and Marshall College* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1903).

⁵⁷Don Yoder, “Lutheran-Reformed Union Proposals, 1800-1850: An American Experiment in Ecumenics,” *Bulletin of the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church*, 1945; Heinz Kloss, *Um die Einigung des Deutsch-amerikanertums* (Berlin, 1937).

⁵⁸Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans: A History* (Princeton, N.J., 1948), p. 132.

⁵⁹William Duane, ed., *Extracts from the Diary of Christopher Marshall, Kept in Philadelphia and Lancaster, During the American Revolution, 1774-1781* (Albany, 1877), p. 68.

In 1777 there was a riot in Lancaster between Irish soldiers and the German citizenry, in which two Germans were killed, one a deacon of the Lutheran Church. The affair had started when a noncommissioned officer of the continental regiment stationed in Lancaster attempted to seduce a German girl.⁶⁰ (All of which, in cause and triggering of sensitive ethnic mechanisms of reaction, sounds suspiciously like the ethnic riots of today.)

The American Revolution, like all American wars, operated both as a leveling influence upon ethnic distinctions and as a stimulus to ethnic differentiation. By throwing all classes and linguistic groups together, the war Americanized the common Pennsylvania German soldier by exposing him directly to the English language and non-German culture. That this leveling had its effect on Pennsylvania politics is evident from the frank plea of a correspondent in a York newspaper in 1792, who wished, he said, to "offer some observations on a dangerous prejudice, which has been actually fomented by a few designing men—I mean the distinction of *Dutch* and *Irish*—a distinction calculated to convulse our County—to raise and perpetuate national reflections, and to separate in interests and sentiments the nearest neighbors".

What is it to me, when I am about to vote, whether the great grandmother of the candidate came from Germany or from Ireland—from the banks of the Rhine, or the Lake of Calarney—whether he and his ancestors have dined oftenest on cabbage or potatoes? . . . I don't think one of those vegetables more calculated to make an honest man or a rogue than the other. All national prejudices are the growth of a contracted mind or silly head—it raises a distinction which destroys an enquiry into the merit of a candidate.⁶¹

At the same time the postwar reaction produced a Germanizing tendency which is evident at least among the clergy leaders of the Pennsylvania German culture. Both the Reformed coetus and the Lutheran ministerium expressed their concern in the 1780's to avoid loss of the German language which they recognized as the anchor of their identity. The ultra-Germanizer appears to have been Pastor Helmuth.⁶²

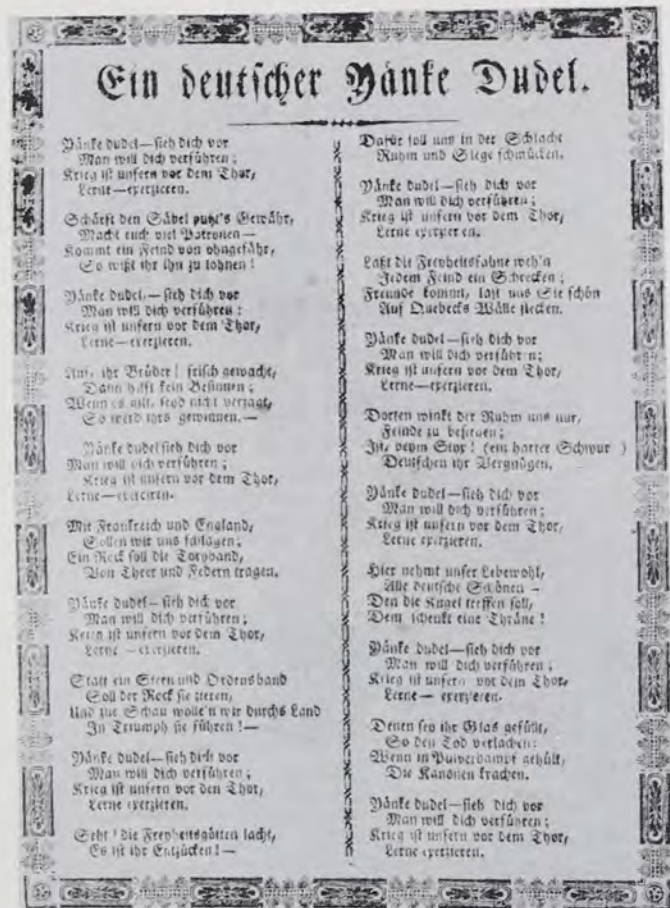
As I have pointed out elsewhere,⁶³ the ethnic consciousness of the Pennsylvania Germans has developed in stages. The radical attempts to anglicize the colonial

⁶⁰Muhlenberg, *Journals*, III, 26.

⁶¹*Pennsylvania Herald* (York, Pennsylvania), October 3, 1792, quoted in part in Alfred L. Shoemaker, ed., *The Pennsylvania Barn* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1959), p. 8, and in James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore, 1972), pp. 17-18.

⁶²See Armin G. Weng, "The Language Problem in the Lutheran Church in America," *Church History*, V (December 1936), 359-375. Helmuth is deserving of major biographical and analytical treatment which he has not yet received.

⁶³Don Yoder, "Akkulturationsprobleme deutscher Auswanderer in Nordamerika," in *Kultureller Wandel im 19. Jahrhundert*, edited by Günter Wiegmann (Göttingen, 1973), pp. 184-203.



Broadside of "Yankee Doodle" in German, Pennsylvania, early 19th Century. Don Yoder Collection.

Germans through the Charity Schools before the Revolution,⁶⁴ stirred up ethnic feelings and left a residue of suspicion that led to a movement, from inside the culture, to Germanize it, to defend and extend the use of the German language. Muhlenberg is usually portrayed as a linguistic Americanizer, using English where necessary. Some of his second-generation colleagues, Helmuth for example, were Germanizers. Helmuth in 1784 expressed the hope that "in a few years Philadelphia will resemble far more a German than an English city, and why should we not work toward hastening this time?"⁶⁵ The "ethnic prayer"⁶⁶ which

⁶⁴The Germans feared not only that the English were attempting to anglicize them but to anglicize them. The interest of the Church of England leaders in absorbing the German churches before the Revolution is a subject that deserves fuller treatment here. For a very brief overview, see Carl Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics 1689-1775* (New York, 1962), pp. 251-254.

⁶⁵W. J. Mann, Beale M. Schmucker, and W. Germann, eds., *Nachrichten von den Vereinigten Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinden in Nord-America, Absonderlich in Pennsylvania* (Allentown, Pennsylvania, 1886), II, 748.

⁶⁶"And since it has pleased Thee chiefly, by means of the Germans, to transform this State into a blooming garden, and the desert into a pleasant pasturage, help us not to deny our nation, but to endeavor that our youth may be so educated that German schools and churches may not only be sustained, but may attain a still more flourishing condition". Quoted in Henry E. Jacobs, *A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States* (New York, 1893), The American Church History Series, Volume IV, p. 338.

he inserted in the new American Lutheran liturgy of 1786 represents the same idea in heightened form and has been dealt with in very different ways by different Lutheran historians. At any rate, Helmuth was not alone in his wishes. The ministerium insisted on its remaining a German-speaking body (1781, 1805) and it was not until 1806 that the first all-English Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania (St. John's, Philadelphia) was founded after an acrimonious legal contest.

In the strategy of Germanizing, geography played an important role. The Reformed historian Dubbs suggests that the German college at Lancaster (1787) was to replace the German wing of the University of Pennsylvania, which "would be more likely to succeed if founded in a German county than if suffered to maintain a sickly existence as an annex to a large English institution". But at the dedication in 1787 the Episcopal minister appointed to the staff insulted the Germans by inveighing against "traditional prejudices in favor of languages" and suggested that "as the limited capacity of man can very seldom attain excellence in more than one language the study of English

will consequently demand the principal attention of your children".⁶⁷

If inter-ethnic tensions at the time of the Revolution helped to heighten the ethnic consciousness of Pennsylvania Germans after the war, in later stages of this development the Revolution itself becomes a central theme. By providing the central American myth, the Revolution could be used by the Pennsylvania Germans as it was by other ethnic groups in the defensive stages of their ethnic development as rallying point to prove that one is as American as one's ethnic neighbor. The earlier Pennsylvania German ethnic historians are now somewhat painful reading for their heavy-handed flag-waving. The best example is Henry Melchior Muhlenberg Richards' volume, *The Pennsylvania-German in the Revolutionary War, 1775-1783* (Lancaster, 1908), which did, as John J. Appel put it in his dissertation on ethnic historiography in the United States, attempt to prove that the Pennsylvania Germans won the Revolution.⁶⁸ The consolation is that other ethnic groups have tried to prove the same thing.⁶⁹

Enlightenment thought as a cause of revolutionary activity was relatively unimportant among the Germans as compared with the English. Cunz makes the statement that "on the whole, the Church built a watertight barrier around the souls of the average Germans, keeping out the floods of rationalistic ideas as far as possible".⁷⁰ Certainly the Pietist Muhlenberg's references to Deism in his journals are always non-complimentary. In speaking of Arnold's defection, he writes:

These pretentious deists, naturalists, etc., would be much wiser if they ceased boasting of their adequate natural religion, morality, parole, honor, etc., and whatever else goes with that kind of humbug, and turned back to the Christian religion and morality. For their fruits clearly show that they are evil and corrupt trees and one cannot expect grapes and figs from thorns and thistles.⁷¹

In praising Washington for his inculcation of Christian virtues in the army, Muhlenberg makes it clear that he believed Washington was no Deist:

From all appearances this gentleman does not belong to the so-called world of society, for he respects God's Word, believes in the atonement through Christ, and bears himself in humility and gentleness.⁷²

Bishop Ettwein, in a manuscript history of the revolutionary period, lets us know his distaste for the ration-

⁶⁷Joseph H. Dubbs, *The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1902), pp. 259-260.

⁶⁸John J. Appel, "Immigrant Historical Societies in the United States, 1880-1950," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1960.

⁶⁹My favorite example is Michael J. O'Brien, *A Hidden Phase of American History* (New York, 1919), which attempts to prove that the Irish won the Revolution.

⁷⁰Cunz, p. 130.

⁷¹Muhlenberg, *Journals*, III, 362, October 10, 1780. See also his references to "those deists and puffed-up, pretended, theological politicians" (III, 372, November 15, 1780); and to "the deists and diabolists" (III, 607, August 16, 1784).

⁷²Muhlenberg *Journals* III, 149, May 7, 1778.

The Layman's Progress

Religious and Political Experience in Colonial Pennsylvania 1740-1770

Dietmar Rothermund

Dietmar Rothermund, The Layman's Progress (Philadelphia, 1961) traces the influence of the Great Awakening in individualizing the Pennsylvania citizen and leading to the Revolutionary philosophy.

alism of the founding fathers. In the Form of Government which the Pennsylvania convention published in September 1776, "it became evident," he comments, "that the Deists predominated in authority, if not in numbers: all who held credence in God and were outspoken enemies of the king became naturalized by this instrument: Jews, Turks, and heathen were authorized to sit in the Assembly and become counselors and presidents. In the entire Constitution, neither the Christian religion, nor the Bible, nor Christ [is] referred to by a single word . . ."⁷²

In the years after the war an especial fear of the old guard of clergy was that Deist clergy might invade the American-German churches. "We live, my brethren," wrote Helmuth to the synod in 1784, "in a sad period. My heart mourns at the terrible decline of poor Christendom! I gladly declare myself convictedly an accomplice that God seems to veil his face from us and opens the door to the spirit of lies, to destroy the vineyard of Jesus Christ." Theological swine are evidently rooting up Christ's garden in Germany. The spirit of antichrist is also among the Americans like poisonous insects. "Where will we get preachers, to relieve our need? . . . From Germany? Perhaps a secret Arian, Socinian, or Deist? For everything there is buzzing full of such vermin. No, watch out! None from Germany, as it now stands . . ."⁷³

Despite Helmuth's warning, rationalism did invade the Lutheran Church, particularly the New York Synod, where the Quitman catechism of 1814 is usually cited as a crass example. Because of this as well as the lessening of sharp confessional distinctions after the Revolution, and an increase in unionist tendencies in some areas, the older Lutheran historians, judging the period from their own confessional Lutheran vantage point, have marked the period 1787-1820 as one of *Verfall*—decline or deterioration.⁷⁴ The fact that in this period the Lutheran and Reformed were drawn more closely together in movements for language preservation, school founding, and seminary education could be interpreted equally as an effect of the revolutionary philosophy of uniting separate institutions into a national American body. But, as we have pointed out, these hopes for an American-German church uniting the Lutheran and Reformed came to failure.

We have said that in general the revolutionary period was labeled, at least by the ministerial bodies, as one of moral decline. There is one important exception to this. It is a matter of some significance that in the

⁷²Durnbaugh, *The Brethren in Colonial America*, p. 345.

⁷³Quoted in A. L. Gräbner, *Geschichte der Lutherischen Kirche in America* (St. Louis, 1892), I, 530.

⁷⁴Jacobs for example, calls the period after the Revolution one of "Deterioration. A.D. 1787-1817," and includes under it a chapter on "Rationalism and Indifferentism," and one on "Some Difficult Problems" which naturally includes the language problem. Schaff also refers to the post-revolutionary era as "eine Periode der Erstarrung und Versteinerung" (*Amerika*, p. 172).

revolutionary period the first independent American-born denomination arose among the German population of Pennsylvania and Maryland. This was the United Brethren in Christ, formed through the evangelistic efforts of a group of Reformed clergy centering about the Pietist Philipp Wilhelm Otterbein (1726-1813) and the Mennonite evangelist Martin Boehm (1725-1812). While there has been an attempt to point up the Pietist lineage of the Reformed awakening under Otterbein, both this and the Mennonite revival under Boehm can be viewed equally as a belated German-language phase of the Great Awakening, and, like the Virginia awakening described for us in detail by Professor Gewehr, a transitional or bridge movement which connected the Great with the Second Awakening.⁷⁶

Martin Boehm, in practising the revivalist system which according to his own statement he picked up from the "New Lights" while on a visit to Virginia in 1761, was the first of a long series of revivalists whose work was to divide the Mennonites.⁷⁷ In a document dating from 1775-1780,⁷⁸ in which Martin Boehm is condemned by his Mennonite brethren in the ministry, the first charge against him was that "he had a great deal to do with forming a union and associating with men (professors) which allow themselves to walk on the broad way, practicing warfare, and the swearing of oaths, both of which are in direct opposition to the truths of the Gospel and the teaching of Christ". In the second place, "he also receives such persons as were under church censure, or not in good report, or who were from one reason or another not at peace". Evidently the revivalist message and appeal cut through the Mennonite disciplinary system, and those caught in the machinery and disgruntled with it must have formed susceptible material for conversion to the new movement. The significant thing here is that the war situation is also reflected, and the new revival united pacifist and non-pacifist elements.

In a similar way Otterbein's evangelism divided the Reformed Church, although he never left the coetus and synod.⁷⁹ While he was at Frederick he was violently opposed by a party who objected to his "new light" or "new measure" methods—his insistence on personal religious experience, and frequent prayer meetings in which laymen were expected to participate. Coming to Baltimore in 1774 he made that city the center of

⁷⁶On the German awakening, see John B. Frantz, "Revivalism in the German Reformed Church in America to 1850 with Emphasis on the Eastern Synod," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1961; Don Yoder, *Pennsylvania Spirituals* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1961); and Paul H. Eller, "Revivalism and the German Churches in Pennsylvania, 1783-1816," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1933.

⁷⁷*The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, I, "Martin Boehm" (p. 378).

⁷⁸John F. Funk, *The Mennonite Church and Her Accusers* (Elkhart, Indiana, 1878), pp. 43-44.

⁷⁹For Otterbein, see Harbaugh, *Fathers of the Reformed Church*; Hinke, *Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations*, pp. 71-79.

a wide program of missionary evangelism among the Germans. To enlist the laity in the work of the church, he and several ministerial colleagues organized societies or classes in various churches of South Central Pennsylvania and Western Maryland. Between May 29, 1774 and June 2, 1776 Otterbein and his "United Ministers" met in semi-annual conferences.⁸⁰ Out of this movement came the roots of the United Brethren in Christ, organized formally in 1789. It is significant that they were at first popularly called the "New Reformed". Otterbein, like Wesley, never intended a separate denomination, but before his death in 1813—to the end a member of the Reformed synod—he had ordained the new clergy and blessed the movement as one of its two "superintendents," the other being Martin Boehm the ex-Mennonite. Both Otterbein and Boehm worked closely with the Methodist bishop, Francis Asbury (1745-1816). Both the United Brethren and the Evangelical Association (*Evangelische Gemeinschaft*), founded in 1800, were, because of their close similarity to Methodism in polity and doctrine, often referred to as "German Methodists".

The awakening of the "Strabler"⁸¹—as the German revivalists were called in derision—set the faces of the Lutheran and Reformed clergy against revivalism until it would again enter both churches from within the ranks in the 19th Century.⁸² At that time Samuel Simon Schmucker (1799-1873) was to form a revivalistic wing of Pennsylvania Lutheranism, dividing the church into "New" and "Old" Lutherans, and his Reformed counterparts did the same for the Reformed. As part of this second major campaign of revivalism to win the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, the opposition was to crystallize further and produce the Mercersburg theology among the Reformed and the confessional theology among the Lutherans, this time rejecting revivalism permanently. But the attack continued on the sects. Mennonites and Brethren were also to divide into "Old Order" and "Progressive" (revivalist) wings over the question, in several stages, through the 19th Century.

This revitalizing of the German churches and sects can be looked upon as part of the Americanizing process which would gradually and not so subtly change all Pennsylvania German church institutions, like their Anglo-American counterparts, into new American forms, very different from the "old Protestant" forms that had been brought from Europe in the colonial

period.⁸³ In this Americanization through religion the Pennsylvania German culture was widely and deeply affected from the Revolution to the present day.

Finally the Pennsylvania German churches, through the impact of the Revolution, reorganized themselves on an American basis. As Humphrey⁸⁴ discovered decades ago, the Revolution produced a period of constitution-making and organization on an American territorial basis not only for the state but for the church. Of the Pennsylvania German churches with official European ties, all but the Moravians severed them by setting up independent American institutions. The Lutheran Ministerium of North America adopted a new constitution in 1781, becoming the Ministerium of Pennsylvania after 1786, when the Ministerium of New York was set up alongside it. It was at this time also that the county or district conferences were set up which have been a part of the Lutheran polity ever since. Finally the constitution proposed that each minister "earnestly endeavor to introduce into his congregations a constitution which corresponds as nearly as possible with those already in use, and which must not conflict with the constitution of this Ministerium in any point".⁸⁵

The Reformed Coetus, which reported yearly to the synods in Holland, did not immediately break its close filial relationship with Europe. The coetal letters to Holland after the Revolution, as for example that of 1785, attempt to allay any fears the Dutch might have had that the American Reformed wanted to separate.⁸⁶ Finally the letter of 1789 reported to Holland that "since the new Constitution and established government of the country bring changes with them, we notice, among other things, that the several denominations throughout the United States unite, form Classes, and then Synods. This will also become necessary for us, the German Reformed, and then the name, Coetus of Pennsylvania, would be too limited." The Coetus noted that it would "await the opinion of the Reverend Fathers," and added the cautious postscript that they hoped that this news on the union of the German Reformed churches "through the extensive American states will be most agreeable and desirable to the Most Reverend Fathers".⁸⁷

The Coetus finally declared its independence of Holland in 1791, resolving simply to report its actions,

⁸⁰These minutes were discovered by Professor Dubbs and first published by him in Joseph H. Dubbs, "Otterbein and the Reformed Church," *Reformed Church Quarterly Review*, XXXI (1884), 110-133.

⁸¹For the etymology and history of this curious word, see Don Yoder, *Pennsylvania Spirituals* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1961), pp. 96-97.

⁸²For an historical summary of these movements, see Don Yoder, "The Bench versus the Catechism: Revivalism in Pennsylvania's Lutheran and Reformed Churches," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, X:2 (Fall 1959), 14-23.

⁸³The last hold-outs versus revivalism and its concomitants the Sunday School and missionary societies and women's and men's organizations and temperance emphasis, are the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite sects of Pennsylvania and other states, who still organize their congregations in the pre-revivalist format.

⁸⁴Edward F. Humphrey, *Nationalism and Religion in America, 1774-1789* (Boston, 1924).

⁸⁵*Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States* (Philadelphia, 1898), p. 175. The entire Constitution appears on pp. 165-176.

⁸⁶*Minutes and Letters of the Coetus*, p. 404.

⁸⁷*Minutes and Letters of the Coetus*, pp. 431-432.

and particularly agreeing on the right "at all times to examine and ordain those who offer themselves as candidates for the ministry, without asking or waiting for permission to do so from the fathers in Holland". In 1792 a synodical constitution was prepared, and adopted in 1793.⁸⁸

The decades of the 1780's and 1790's also produced a new American church literature for the Lutherans and Reformed—the Lutheran hymnal of 1786, replacing the European hymnals formerly in use, and the Reformed hymnal of 1797, replacing the *Marburger Gesangbuch*. Liturgies (Lutheran, 1786, Reformed 1799) and catechisms as well as new devotional literature (prayer books) followed. The sects followed in this development of an American church literature after 1800. For example, the Mennonites produced two new hymnals for themselves, the *Kleine Geistliche Harfe* (1803) for the Franconia Conference and the *Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch* (1804) for the Lancaster Conference.

Fortenbaugh, in reviewing the development of Lutheran polity in America, makes the statement that with the constitution of 1792, "the democratic spirit of the new nation evidently triumphed over whatever old-world ideas might have been in mind with respect to ministerial subjection". Two principles stand out in the document: (1) equality in the ranks of the ministry, and (2) participation of lay delegates from the congregations in the control of the church.⁸⁹

Hence this constitution-making perhaps more than any other result of the Revolution brought American principles to bear in the Pennsylvania German churches. Philip Schaff makes that clear in his statement that there is in America "above all an independent well organized Christian local congregation, in contradistinction to the congregated masses of passive nominal Christians which are met so frequently in the European state churches". This good English principle—and word—"self-government," the basis of the republic, was also made the basic principle of the American Protestant polity. It stems, he felt, from the Reformed or Calvinistic element. In addition to "this independent vocal congregational life," he also praises the "true synodical life" of the American churches—meeting as they do on a regular basis—as an improvement on the European system. He praised for several more pages this American "practical organizing spirit, sense of order, parliamentary tact," and essential freedom from hierarchical spirit, in which the German-American churches now shared.⁹⁰

With the close of constitution-making the revolution-

⁸⁸H. M. J. Klein, *The History of the Eastern Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1943).

⁸⁹Robert Fortenbaugh, *The Development of the Synodical Polity of the Lutheran Church in America, to 1829* (Philadelphia, 1926), p. 76.

⁹⁰Philip Schaff, *Amerika*, pp. 353, 355, 356, 357.

ary period was over for the German churches of Pennsylvania, and they took their unassuming but important place among the Protestant forces of the new nation. I wish to close with three quotations which give the spirit of those times better than any secondary summary. With the conclusion of the war the Moravians, who had suffered so much for their pacifist conscience, gave their loyalty to the new government without reserve. On the national day of prayer and thanksgiving in 1795 the Emmaus congregation, at their all-morning service, "spoke of the purpose of this day and expressed our gratitude and prayerful wishes for those in authority, for our dear President George Washington, for Congress, for Governor Mifflin, to Assembly and for all the inhabitants of this land, that God our Redeemer grant us also in the future his Grace and blessings . . ."⁹¹

Glad to be free of Europe's political entanglements, and evidently proud of the republicanism of the infant nation, William Hendel wrote to his Reformed brother Johannes Helffrich, August 21, 1793:

The condition of Europe is dreadful: whether the French will be able to maintain their republic cannot be foretold. I do not believe that the united powers of Europe will be able to conquer them, but I fear they will destroy themselves. If the war continues a while longer the Palatinate will suffer greatly. Have we not every reason to regard kings and princes as scourges of the human race, or at least of the Christian Church? Did not God give Israel a king in His wrath because they had rejected Him?⁹²

And finally a word from Muhlenberg, whom we have quoted so frequently. In 1784 he notes in his journals the receipt of two printed sermons of 1779 and 1783 by his son-in-law Dr. Kunze. This is what he writes about them:

In both sermons the traces of divine governance and providence during the seven-year war in America are clearly set forth and laid upon the heart as a testimony to the present and coming generations. Plenty of histories of the Revolution *pro* and *contra* will come out. But if the authors do not understand or believe in the dominion of divine governance and providence in the whole and all its parts, they will get no further than secondary causes, the surface and shell, temporarily touching only the lower mental faculties and providing only a feckless pastime. One who reads and reflects upon the above-mentioned two sermons, quietly and without prejudice, will find in them the key to the wonderful governance and leading of God in these dark matters and will learn to behold in them the goodness and severity of God. Romans 11:33, "How unsearchable are the judgments of God and his ways past finding out." Isaiah 45:15, 16, "Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself, O God of Israel, the Saviour".⁹³

⁹¹Barba, *They Came to Emmaus*, p. 144.

⁹²Joseph H. Dubbs, *The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 265.

⁹³Muhlenberg, *Journals*, III, 587-588, April 4, 1784.

The Blooming Grove Colony

By DONALD F. DURNBACH

In 1829 a guide for prospective German immigrants to the United States described some of the places where high achievement had already been attained. Among other places mentioned by the author was the colony of "early Christians [*Urchristen*], blossoming equally in morality and prosperity, under the leadership of Dr. Haller in Blooming Croft valley near Williamsport (Pennsylvania)." Although the place name was somewhat in error, the reporter did accurately characterize the intent and the nature of the little-known Dunker colony, Blooming Grove. Though it shared its origin with the Harmony Society, the Blooming Grove colony was not to enjoy the same fame nor the financial success of the communitarians led by Johann Georg Rapp, but its story is worth telling.¹

The Dr. Friedrich Conrad Haller (1753-1828) named in the quotation was formerly a high government official [*Hofrath*] in Stuttgart, Germany. Because of his attachment to the Separatist movement led by Rapp (1757-1847), he was forced to leave his office and his country. Rapp, formerly a vine-dresser and weaver in the village of Iptingen, Württemberg, gathered a large following in the years after 1785. These persons gradually became estranged from the established Lutheran Church. At issue was the Separatists' criticism of the state churches and their distaste for the "ungodly conduct" of nominal Christian church-goers. Conflict came to a head when the dissenters refused to have their children baptized, to send them to school, and to allow them to be confirmed. For their own part, they met separately in homes and barns, refused to serve in the military, and caused scandal by working in the fields on Sunday. A liberal-minded state bureaucracy protected them for a time against the fulminations of the state clergy. However, their conscientious

objection to military service brought harsh prison sentences. In 1803 a strict government edict sharply limiting the possibility of Separatist religious practices set the seal on the decision by the Rappites to shake the dust of unbelieving Germany from their heels by migrating abroad.²

The advance party to search out the promised land was made up of Father Rapp, Dr. Haller, and two others. They arrived in the Philadelphia harbor from Amsterdam on the ship *Canton* on October 7, 1803. Immediately they began touring the mid-Atlantic area and the hinterlands for possible sites for settlement of their total group, which numbered several hundreds. One month after their arrival Rapp wrote back to Germany: "I and Haller are journeying into the backwoods; where we will get to, God knows." In February, 1804, he reported that they had been in Northeastern Ohio and had found promising land. He had sent Haller back to Baltimore to raise money for a downpayment from a friendly merchant. Yet, Rapp expressed concern because he had heard nothing from Haller for several months. He had lost contact with his colleague.³

Although the reasons for the delay in communication are not clear, it was probably because Haller had in the meantime come into contact in northern Maryland with the German Baptist Brethren or Dunkers (now known as the Church of the Brethren.) He found in them the apostolic Christian society for which he had been searching; this changed the course of his pilgrimage. According to a later statement from Henry Kurtz (1796-1874), pioneer Brethren publisher, Dr. Haller met the Brethren in the Pipe Creek congregation near Union Bridge, Maryland, was converted to their way of belief and practice, and was baptized by them with a

¹The quotation is from E. Brauns, *Practische Belehrungen und Rathschläge für Reisende und Auswanderer nach Amerika* (Braunschweig: Herzogl. Waisenhaus Buchdruckerei, 1829), p. 218. The best recent study of the colony is Russell Wieder Gilbert, "Blooming Grove, the Dunker Settlement of Central Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History*, 20 (1953), 22-39. The most complete monograph is Joseph H. McMinn, *Blooming Grove (Blumengroße), A History of the Congregation of German Dunkers who settled in Lycoming County, Pennsylvania, 1805, Together with the origin of the German Baptist Church in America, 1840* (Williamsport, Pa.: Scholl Brothers, 1901).

²The best source for the European period is Julian Rauscher, "Des Separatisten G. Rapps Leben and Treiben," *Theologische Studien aus Württemberg*, 6 (1885), 253-313. This was used extensively in the standard history of the Rappite movement, Karl J. R. Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965). See also Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Work and Hope: The Spirituality of the Radical Pietist Communitarians," *Church History*, 39 (1970), 72-90.

³Arndt, *Harmony Society*, pp. 49, 61-63.

three-fold immersion.⁴ This is corroborated by a note found in the flyleaf of a German hymnal, dated October 3, 1804. The note was addressed by Haller to a Sister Elizabeth Bonsack and explained that the hymnal was a gift. The note had been written early in the morning just prior to Haller's departure from Germantown, Pennsylvania. The Bonsack family were pillars of the Brethren church in the Union Bridge area, as members of the Pipe Creek congregation. Previous writers have stated that Haller came into contact with the Brethren in Germantown, but these facts point to a Maryland origin, followed later and naturally by relationships near Philadelphia.⁶

The upshot of this new alliance for Haller was a break with Rapp. When a large shipload (the third that year) of Württemberg Separatists arrived in Philadelphia in September, 1804, they were entertained by the Germantown Dunkers over the winter. During this time many followed Haller in joining the Brethren Church. Historians of Blooming Grove have given different motivations for the shift in plans. Some claim that Rapp's new emphasis upon the necessity of celibacy was decisive, although this teaching did not crystalize until 1807-1808. Others claim that it was the insistence by Rapp on complete sharing of goods in common. Still others say that the better-educated migrants preferred to follow the cultured Haller rather than the self-taught Rapp. Another states that it was the location

[Henry Kurtz], "Ein köstlicher Brief von Blumen-Grove," *Der Evangelische Besuch*, 7 (1859), 3:35-37.

The note is inscribed on the flyleaf of the *Sammlung von Geistlichen Liedern zum Gemeinschaftlichen Gesang zusammengetragen* ([n.p.]:1801), in the special collection section of the library of Bethany Theological Seminary, Oak Brook, Illinois. The note reads:

"Morgens 4 Uhr, als Wir im Begrif sind von hier abzureisen. Herzlich geliebte Schwester Elisabeth Bonsack, da unsre Schwester Maria dir dieses Büchlein zum Andenken an uns und unsre Gemeinschaft überschickt, so kan ich nicht unterlassen, dir gleichfalls diejenige Gemeinschaft am Licht des Herrn ins Andenken zu bringen, welche an dem nun sehr nahe bevorstehenden Tag Jesu Christi allein unsere wahre Freude bewirken kan, und welche nur durch schiefe Stellung des Augs verdunkelt wird, wobei das Herz zum Kampf un-tüchtig werden mus. Ich möchte dich also bitten dasz du doch diejenige Klarheit in deinem Gemüth bewahrest, welche den Grund in uns erhalten kann, und damit der Freue genie-sest, welche der Glaubigen Stärke ist. Glaube—dasz selbst die Liebe, wann sie rechter Art ist, und zweckmäsig sein solle, durch das Creuz und den Tod in der Gemeinschaft Jesu ihren Werth erhalte, und alles andre vergeht, was nicht durchs Creuz sich dringet. Der Herr aber, der Anfang und Ende alles wahren und göttlichen verkläre seinen Namen in deiner Seele, und lasse dich erfahren was im Hohenlied damit gemeint ist, wann es heist, dein Name ist eine ausgeschüttete Salbe, darum lieben dich die Jungfrauen. Sein Andenken wird auch mich armen bewahren, dasz ich ihm nachwandlen könne. Friderich Conrad Haller."

The genealogist of the Bonsack family, Mrs. Edith Bonsack Barnes, Elgin, Illinois, affirms that an Elisabeth Bonsack lived in Union Bridge at this time. See also H. Spenser Minnich, *Brother Bonsack* (Elgin, Ill.: Brethren Publishing House, 1954), pp. 11-13; J. M. Henry, *History of the Church of the Brethren in Maryland* (Elgin, Ill.: Brethren Publishing House, 1936), pp. 139-146.

⁴Gilbert, "Blooming Grove," pp. 26-27; John S. Duss, *The Harmonists: A Personal History* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Book Service, 1943), p. 16.

of the colony which caused the parting of the ways. Yet others claim that the reason was to be found in Rapp's dictatorial leadership.⁷ The last point gains some credence in later expressions by Blooming Grove residents who expressed keen dislike for the communitarian patriarch. In some of their wills, family members are threatened with disinheritance if they returned to Harmony (Economy) to become slaves to Rapp.⁸ Without further documentation, it is not possible to sort out completely the conflicting theories for the division. What is known is that Dr. Haller remained on a friendly basis with Rapp, as seen in the letters in the Economy archive exchanged before Haller's death in 1828. Possibly a combination of causes could be found for the division. Some later Rappite spokesmen asserted that the rival colony removed some dissatisfied elements and made for smoother relations among the followers of Rapp.⁹

A rather full record has been preserved in the diary of George Kiess, Sr. (1781-1858) of the ocean voyage which brought over the Separatists who settled at Blooming Grove. The ship *Margaret* disembarked her passengers in Philadelphia after an ocean trip of 68 days, and a total elapsed time of 101 days since they left their homes in Germany. The crossing was grueling. The diarist summed up the trip by saying that the "food was poor, the water was bad, and the beer sour." Two small children perished during the voyage and a baby was born. It has been said that the time on board was spent in intense religious discussions and that it was during this time that the difference of opinion over celibacy became acute. Some of the passengers (not of the Separatist party) proved to be very selfish, and the pious Württembergers suffered from the greed of "some persons amongst them like cannibals." A violent storm at sea which lasted three days brought not only seasickness but fear for survival. Wrote Kiess: "O God, have mercy upon us! . . . [T]he one side of the ship nearly touches the water, and the other side rises up like a mountain. A gust of wind blew my grandchild out of the cradle." They were much comforted by a night spent on the island of St. Michael in the Azores, where the local inhabitants gave them fresh fruits and vegetables.

When the ship arrived off the American coast, the travelers were delighted to observe the "fine farms, the beautiful woods and green fields and the splendid trees . . ." Kiess noted: "We sailed along the shores of the Delaware. It was a beautiful sight. We seemed to breathe in the freedom of the country through the

⁷Gilbert, "Blooming Grove," p. 27; Arndt, *Harmony Society*, p. 78; Duss, *Harmonists*, pp. 21-22; McMinn, *Blooming Grove*, p. 14; Franz Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika* (Cincinnati: Eggers and Wulkop, 1847), p. 261.

⁸Gilbert, "Blooming Grove," pp. 28-29.

⁹Arndt, *Harmony Society*, p. 78; Duss, *Harmonists*, pp. 21-22.

air, and a quiet peace and joy touched my heart."¹⁰

Those choosing to stay under the leadership of Dr. Haller remained in Germantown during the fall, winter, and early spring of 1804-1805, cared for by the Dunkers. The family names of this group of some fifty souls included: Heim, Staiger, Harmon, Ulmer, Waltz, Kiess, Jung (Young), Gross, Bühl (Biehl), Scheel, and Burghardt. Two years later they were joined in Pennsylvania by more members of the Kiess and Waltz families. In 1816-1817 another large group arrived from Germany, with the names Heim, Schafer, Wagner, Günther, Strolle, Schiedt, Kurtz, Stabler, Wolfe, and Struble. Many of these names are still found in the Blooming Grove area.¹¹

There is a tradition that Dr. Haller and a few young men went during the fall of 1804 to the Williamsport area to inspect the property which had been purchased from a Quaker land speculator from Reading, named Jesse Willits. The purchase was handled through a member of the group named Wendell Harmon (1763-1844), often called the financier. The price paid for the plot of 422 acres—approximately \$3.65 per acre—was high. In later years comparable land in the vicinity was selling for one dollar to one dollar and a half per acre. The land was located near some earlier Quaker settlements. The Germans avoided the low-lying land, fearing flooding, although it was fertile and virtually ready for cultivation, provided some drainage was laid. Instead they chose a high-lying area of hills covered by

¹⁰[Georg Kiess, Sr.], "Pennsylvania Bound," ed. Arthur D. Graeff, *S Pennsylvanisch Deutsch Eck (The Allentown Morning Call)* (July 31, 1943); Gilbert, "Blooming Grove," pp. 23-26.

¹¹McMinn, *Blooming Grove*, pp. 16-17, 28. Extensive family information is found in McMinn on pages 39-61.

massive white pine trees which grew as high as 150 feet tall. It is said that the white blossoms of the dogwood and the rhododendron, blooming when the main group arrived in late spring, 1805, occasioned the name Blooming Grove (*Blumengrofe*).¹²

Following their arrival, the party was faced with the tiresome task of clearing the lands of enough timber to make farming possible. Tales have been passed down of the wearisome labor and also of the danger from wild animals in the deeply-forested area. One large log cabin was constructed which housed several families for the first winter. Others erected rude shelters until more comfortable homes could be built. There is evidence of a high degree of craftsmanship in those log structures which are still standing, both in carpentry and hardware.

Very early, the Blooming Grove colony made provision for education and religious instruction. They had the personnel for both in their leader, Dr. Haller, who spoke and wrote six languages. He held school in his log cabin, and church services were held in his home or barn. It was customary for colony members to meet at Haller's land, perform the necessary agricultural labors, and then gather for religious observance. Haller was a millenarian and a Radical Pietist/Theosophist in theology. Two of his preserved religious writings contain statements of the expectation of the imminent second coming. His religious standing among the colonists was very high. Many years later they still referred to him with great respect as a father in Zion. A son-in-law called him a spiritual father as well as a relative by marriage. "He became their judge, law-giver, teacher, scholar, linguist, and 'physician who distinguished himself . . . in the epidemic of 1813-15.'" Although he had a strong love for children, he was very strict in his discipline. For him, "to catch a child playing meant to give it a flogging."¹³

The teaching of Dr. Haller and his successors in the ministry followed the pattern and doctrines of the 19th Century Brethren. They taught the people "to live aloof from the world and its wickedness, to abstain from the manufacture and use of spirituous liquors and tobacco, to settle their differences among themselves and not [to] go to law, nor to war, to use plainness of speech, and modest apparel."¹⁴ They probably differed from the Brethren of their time in their strong grounding in a Radical Pietism of Böhmist type (that is,

¹²McMinn, *Blooming Grove*, p. 15. It is possible that the note to Elisabeth Bonsack was written on the morning of the departure for Blooming Grove, although Haller did not state the destination of his journey. Some contend that the name Blooming Grove was given by the resident Quaker neighbors (McMinn, *Blooming Grove*, p. 29).

¹³McMinn, *Blooming Grove*, pp. 18-19, 39-41; Gilbert, "Blooming Grove," p. 29. The quotation is from Michael Bühl in a letter published in *Der Evangelische Besuch*, 7 (1859), 5:71-73.

¹⁴Quoted in McMinn, *Blooming Grove*, p. 21, from an unnamed source.



Meetinghouse at Blooming Grove, Lycoming County, Pennsylvania, erected in 1828.

following the teaching of Jacob Böhme [1575-1624]). A library of several hundred books which has been preserved reveals a heavy concentration on the works of Böhme, Gottfried Arnold, and Johann Georg Gichtel. A later statement of catechetical instruction written by one of their leading ministers is purely Böhmist in its anthropology and Christology.¹⁵

They also upheld the doctrine of the universal restoration of all humankind, a tenet held by the early Brethren but discouraged in the later 19th Century by the church's Annual Conference. In 1855 the Blooming Grove colony had a universalist book printed in Philadelphia; it was a reprint of Christoph Schütz, *Schrift-gemäszes Zeugnisz von der Wiederbringung aller Dinge*, originally published in Germany in the early 18th Century. It is the only known imprint of the colony.¹⁶

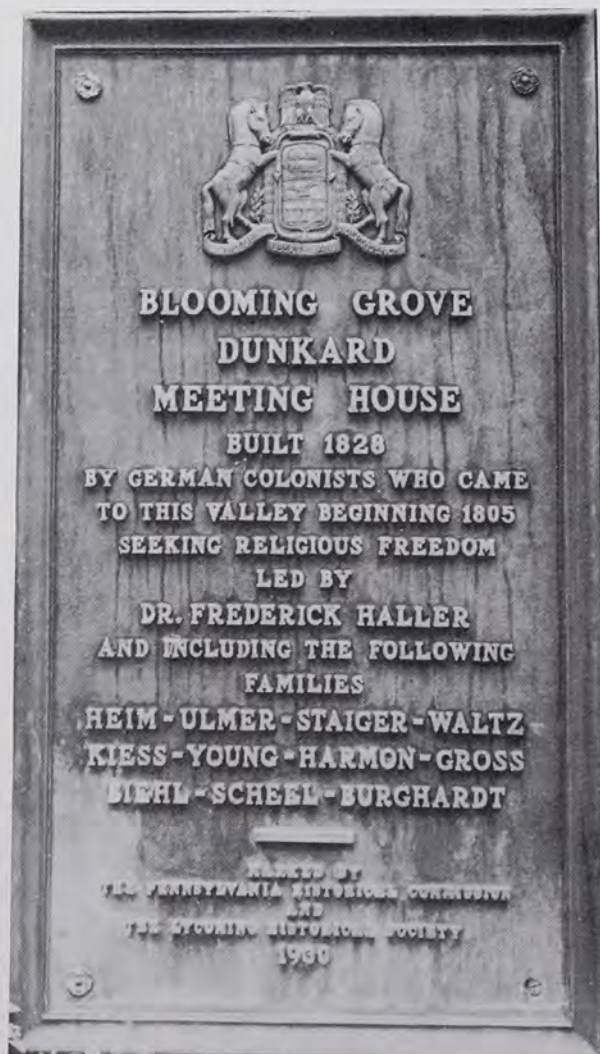
The Dunker position of non-resistance brought with it some trials, especially in 1860-1865. The chronicler reports that no volunteers for the Union cause enlisted from Blooming Grove. Yet, the conflicting claims of country and church were not easily borne. It is said that one man who was drafted, had conscientious scruples both about serving in person and about furnishing money which would be used to hire a substitute (the most common alternative). The "conflict in his mind refused to become reconciled until finally his reason became unbalanced." Others refused to fight, but were willing to pay the fines in order to remain on their farms.¹⁷

After 1828 the colony met for religious services in a large meeting house, so well built of native white pine logs that it is still standing, though covered by siding. It is thirty feet wide, forty feet long, and twelve feet high. The walls were built of immense, hand-hewn logs which stretch from one end of the structure to another. Very plain benches for the congregation and a simple table for the minister(s) were all that were installed. The sturdy believers sat for hours on the backless benches, though it is reported that nursing mothers were given places along the walls, where they could rest themselves. Small infants were placed beneath the benches when they became tired.¹⁸

Old-timers of the area spoke for years of the wonderful singing. The music was led without the use of instruments by a "foresinger" [*Vorsänger*]. It is said that "the many sweet melodious voices joined in a grand volume of praise, that was as inspiring as it was powerful." Particularly noticed was "how sweetly those Dunker women sang." Although not used in the services, musical instruments were found in the homes of Blooming Grove colonists. Christian Heim built an entire piano by himself, which has been preserved. When his mother was dying he played the piano, much to the surprise of the attending physician and to the peace of mind and comfort of the dying person.¹⁹

These men, Christian ("Christly") Heim (1799-1879) and Dr. Ernst Max Adam (1807-1880) were

¹⁵McMinn, *Blooming Grove*, p. 21; Russell W. Gilbert, "The Unpublished Autobiography of Ernst Max Adam, M.D., Settler in Dunker Blooming Grove," *Susquehanna University Studies*, 5 (April-June, 1953), 44.



Historical Commission Plaque at Blooming Grove Meetinghouse.

¹⁵C[hristian] H[eim], "Mittheilung von Blooming-Grove," *Der Evangelische Besuch*, 8 (1860), 8-9:121-127.

¹⁶Gilbert, "Blooming Grove," p. 36. For information on Schütz, see Edward W. Hocker, "The Founding of the Sower Press," *Germantown History*, 2 (1938), 6:137-154 and Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Christopher Sauer: Pennsylvania-German Printer," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 82 (1958), 327-329.

¹⁷For information on the Brethren and the Civil War, see Rufus D. Bowman, *The Church of the Brethren and War, 1708-1941* (Elgin, Ill.; Brethren Publishing House, 1944), pp. 114-156. The quotation is from McMinn, *Blooming Grove*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁸David C. Ulmer, *Brief Historical Sketch of the Blooming Grove Colony and Meeting House* ([n.p.: n.d.]); Gilbert, "Blooming Grove," pp. 29-30; McMinn, *Blooming Grove*, pp. 19-20.

the most prominent figures in the colony following the death of Dr. Haller. "Christly" Heim, the son of a founder, was perhaps the best loved of the ministers. He was an ingenious man, and is known to have written several books although no record of them has come down to the present.²⁰ Dr. Adam was an immigrant from Germany, who had many adventures in his travels subsequent to his arrival in America. He found his way to the Williamsport region, where he was struck by the appearance and conduct of the Blooming Grove Dunkers. "When I had returned to Williamsport [from a sick call], I thought that I had never met people who attracted me as much as these." He had first noticed them because of their "special dress, almost in the manner of the Quakers." He said that they were known as the "Bloominggrovers or Anabaptists." After more contact with them, he concluded that "whoever resides with you in Blooming Grove must live in Paradise." It is therefore not surprising that he decided to move to the colony. He spent the rest of his life among them, except for one long visit home to Germany in 1844 and following years. An eccentric bachelor, he insisted on eating alone and disliked women and children.²¹

Dr. Adam became a correspondent of the Dunker publisher Henry Kurtz. His articles and letters reveal a polished and cultured German style. In this literary contact he was following in the footsteps of Dr. Haller, who had a letter published in an earlier Kurtz periodical (1826).²² At that time Kurtz was a Lutheran preacher who was attempting to organize a communal settlement of German Christians in Northeastern Ohio. To popularize the idea, to gather sympathizers, and (he vainly hoped) to raise money, he began in 1825 the publication of a German-language periodical, *Das Wiedergefundene Paradies (Paradise Regained)*. Kurtz sent some copies to Blooming Grove, hoping to find support. In this he succeeded, because Dr. Haller encouraged his enterprise, subscribed to the journal, and welcomed Kurtz on repeated visits to the colony. This was the first contact known between Kurtz and the Brethren whom he so greatly influenced in later years. Kurtz joined the Brethren several years later in Ohio, became a leading member and elder, and after 1851 published the first periodical in the denomination's interest, the *Monthly Gospel Visitor*. It was in the German edition of the *Visitor* that Dr. Adam, Christly Heim, and other members of the Blooming Grove colony had letters and articles printed. On Kurtz' side, he was greatly indebted to the group for their earlier help to him; he was also eager to keep them in contact with the other Brethren, despite their isolated situation.²³

²⁰McMinn, *Blooming Grove*, pp. 58-59; Elma Heim Larimore, *Heim Family History and Record of Descent, 1736-1940* (Dawson, Nebraska: Dawson Herald, 1942).

²¹Gilbert, "Autobiography," pp. 43-45; Gilbert, "Blooming Grove," pp. 30-33.

In fact, the settlement was not in the mainstream of Brethren development and was visited only irregularly. Although the Brethren retained some feeling of responsibility for the congregation until late in the 19th Century (financial and other support was sent as late as 1892), the Brethren influence died off with the demise of some of the older members.²⁴ Some of the settlers moved to Ohio, and then to Nebraska.²⁵ Others joined a new and more aggressive denomination, the German Baptists, after visits by the Rev. Konrad A. Fleischmann (1812-1867). Some two hundred in the Blooming Grove area were baptized by Fleischmann

²²F. C. H., "An den Herausgeber," *Das Wiedergefundene Paradies*, 1 (April, 1826), 8:190-191. It reads:

"B 20. Februar 1826.

Hochzuverehrender Herr! Lieber Herr!

Ohne das Vergnügen Ihrer persönlichen Bekanntschaft erfreuten Sie mich und die hiesige kleine Gemeinde durch Zusendung einiger Hefte Ihres so betitelten "Wiedergefundenen Paradieses" unter meiner Adresse. Hierauf erwidere ich nun vorläufig folgendes. Es ist mir die Geschichte unsres gegenwärtigen Zeitlaufs so gar nicht gleichgültig, und mein Gefühl so mancher Bedürfnisse in Hinsicht auf die Sache des Königreichs Christi, bey so vielen oft in guter Absicht gewagten Versuchen, dieselbe zu erstatten, auch in meinem 78sten Lebensjahr, ob ich schon keine Aussicht habe, viel erfreuliches zu erleben, doch so gar nicht abgestumpft, dasz ich vielmehr von Herzen geneigt wäre, bey einiger Aussicht dazu mitzuwirken, so viel in meinen Kräften ist. In Hinsicht auf Ihnen—wie ich nicht anders denken kann—gutgemeinten Plan will ich aber mein Urtheil auf eine Weile suspendiren, und auf die nähere Entwicklung in guter Hoffnung warten, welches ich um so leichter werde thun können, da Sie mir Gelegenheit machen, mit dem Gang der Sache durch Ihre Monatschrift immer mehr bekannt zu werden, zu welchem Ende ich mir die Continuation der Uebersendung von zwey Exemplaren auf ein Jahr erbitte. Den Pränumerationspreis mit Zwey Thaler übersende ich Ihnen hiemit. Uebrigens wünsche ich Ihnen, da ich an der Reinheit Ihrer Absichten nicht im geringsten zweifle, den glücklichsten Fortgang Ihrer Sache auch um des Bedürfnisses der Zeit und um der Zurechtstellung so vieler misleiteten Seelen—besonders der Deutschen in America willen. Und bin willig, wenn is nöthig schiene in meinem geringen Theil mit meinen hiesigen Freunden mitzuwirken. Jedoch—der Herr kommt, ist ein wichtig Wort für Jesu Unterthanen. —Das ist unsre gemeinschaftliche Aussicht, und in vielen Dingen der Grund unsrer Hoffnung. Wir empfehlen uns in die Fortdauer Ihrer Liebe, und Ihren Plan den Händen unsres grossen Hohenpriesters. Ich aber versichere Sie meiner aufrichtigen Hochachtung und Dienstwilligkeit etc.

F . . . C . . . H"

²³See Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Henry Kurtz: Man of the Book," *Ohio History*, 76 (Summer, 1967), 114-131, reprinted in *Brethren Life and Thought*, 16 (Spring, 1971), 103-121. The articles and correspondence are: E. M. A., "Ein köstlicher Brief von Blumen-Grove," *Der Evangelische Besuch*, 7 (1859), 3:35-37; Michael Bühl, "Mitgetheilt für der Evangelischen Besuch," *DEB*, 7 (1859), 5:71-73; E. M. A., "[A Letter]," *DEB*, 7 (1859), 7:111-112; Christian Heim, "Correspondenz," *DEB*, 7 (1859), 8:125-126; H. K. [Henry Kurtz], "Ein paar Worte in Antwort an E. M. A., C. H., F. W., und andere Freunde in Bloominggrove," *DEB*, 7 (1859), 8:126; C. H., "Mittheilung von Bloominggrove," *DEB*, 8 (1860), 8-9:121-127; C. H., "Anrede an Sonntagsschüler," *DEB*, 8 (1860), 11-12:187-188; C. H., "Correspondenz," *DEB*, 9 (1861), 3:45-46; [H. K.], "Antwort," *DEB*, 9 (1861), 3:46-47, 9 (1861), 4:59-60, 9 (1861), 5:74; Michael Bühl, "Correspondenz," *DEB*, 9 (1861), 5:78-79.

²⁴G. B. Royer, ed., *A History of the Church of the Brethren in the Middle District of Pennsylvania* ([n.p.]: 1924), pp. 268-273.

²⁵McMinn, *Blooming Grove*, p. 23; G. M. Ludwig, "The Influence of the Pennsylvania Dutch in the Middle West," *Pennsylvania German Folklore Society Yearbook*, 10 (1945), 15.

Crucifixion Scene Fraktur done at Blooming Grove. It records the birth of Johannes Kiess, son of George and Dorothea (Allmer) Kiess, at Blooming Grove, on December 3, 1814. It is part of the Titus C. Geesey Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art, and is used with the permission of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.



in 1840-1841. The congregation he organized in the valley is considered to be the pioneer congregation of the German Baptists in the United States. (He was early given the privilege of preaching in the Dunker meeting house.) Congregations of Baptists dating from this missionary effort remain active to the present.²⁶

In more recent years a museum has been constructed alongside the meeting house to preserve Blooming Grove memorabilia. It contains a remarkable collection of

²⁶McMinn, *Blooming Grove*, pp. 62-67; Albert J. Ramaker, "Earliest Beginnings of Our History," *These Glorious Years*, ed. H. von Berge and others (Cleveland: Roger Williams Press, [1943]), pp. 28-29; Albert J. Ramaker, *The German Baptists in North America* (Cleveland: German Baptist Publication Society, 1924), pp. 14-18; Charles L. White, *A Century of Faith* (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1932), p. 132; *The Baptist Home Mission Monthly*, 13 (November, 1891), 11:306 (includes a photograph of surviving members of the early German Baptist congregation); O. E. Krueger, "One Hundred Years of German Baptist History in America," *The Chronicle*, 2 (July, 1939), 3:98-110.

artifacts and documents, including the large library of German-language religious books. A cemetery association keeps up the graveyard north of the meeting house, and arranges for occasional funerals in the house itself. Many descendants of the original settlers remain in the area, but no common religious service of Brethren tradition has been perpetuated.²⁷

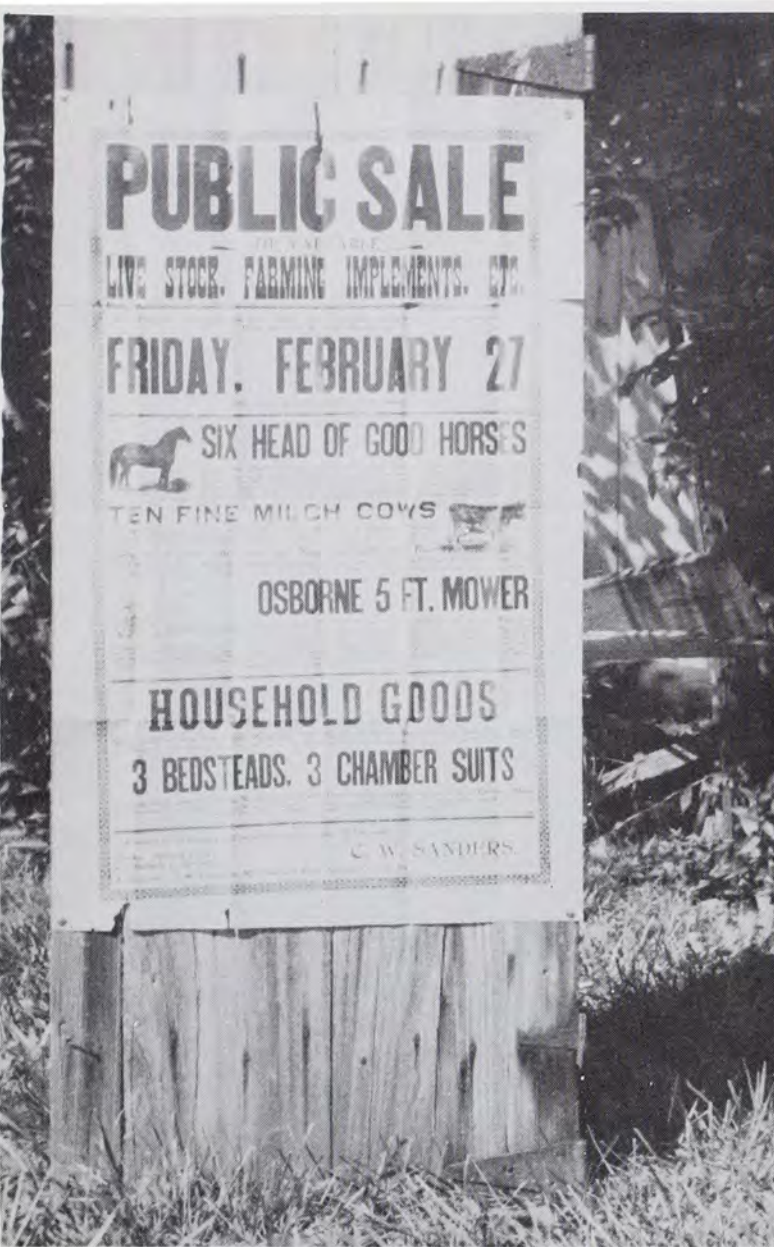
An historian of the colony has compared the Dunker members of Blooming Grove to the carrier pigeons which used to flock in great numbers to the region. The strict Dunker way of life has become as extinct as those once numerous and beautiful fowl. Today, all that remains are a strikingly simple log meeting house, a museum, many gravestones, and some descendants, from the once flourishing semi-communal Dunker colony of Blooming Grove, Pennsylvania.²⁸

²⁷Ulmer, *Sketch*.

²⁸Gilbert, "Blooming Grove," p. 39.

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Broadside poster of a Snyder County sale, Feb. 27, 1914. Printed on greenish paper, 24 x 38 inches.

Occupying a precarious position somewhere between the poster and the broadside, the salebill has generally been ignored by students of both those genres. Technically the salebill is a poster according to the definition of that word provided by Maurice Rickards:

Firstly, says the connoisseur, the poster must be a separate sheet, *affixed* to an existing surface (as opposed to those markings and images rendered directly on the surface). Secondly, it must embody a *message*; a mere decorative image is not enough. Thirdly, it must be *publicly displayed*. Finally, it must be *multipally* [!] *reproduced*; a single hand-done notice is not a poster within the meaning of act.¹

This was its original function and it still serves that purpose occasionally today, though now it is more commonly used as a handbill.

¹*Posters of Protest and Revolution* (New York: Walker, 1970), p. 6.

Most histories of posters concern themselves with artistic creations since the late 19th Century,² political/protest posters of the 20th Century,³ or historical oddities and curiosities such as proclamations, recruiting posters and the like.⁴ Among the latter one would logically seek examples of the salebill, but only one appears, the exception being an announcement of a public auction of slaves on May 18, 1829,⁵ although that auction did include "fine rice, grain, paddy, books, muslins, needles, pins, ribbons, &c. &c." Though salebills by the manner of their printing and circulation as well as their format might be considered as broadsides, they have not been examined as such. In folklore scholarship *broadside* currently is synonymous with song sheets, printed poems and ballads,⁶ so that an important reference work like Leslie Shepard's *The History of Street Literature* (Detroit: Gale, 1973) emphasizes those forms to the almost total exclusion of other types of material circulated daily on the streets.

The early history of salebills is naturally nebulous. Slave auctions occurred in Greece at the time of Homer and presumably some visual means of announcing them must have existed. The earliest auction recorded in the United States took place in New Amsterdam in 1662, but again there is no evidence of the manner of advertising it. The salebill as we know it appeared in the late 18th or early 19th Century and was an outgrowth of the earlier auction catalog.⁷ In a rel-

²E.g., Harold F. Hutchison, *The Poster: An Illustrated History from 1860* (New York: Viking, 1968); Hayward Cirker, *The Golden Age of the Poster* (New York: Dover, 1971); and John Barnicoat, *A Concise History of Posters: 1870-1970* (New York: Abrams, 1972).

³Rickards, op. cit.; *Posters of Protest: The Posters of Political Satire in the U.S., 1966-1970* (Santa Barbara: University of California, 1971).

⁴See Rickards, *The Public Notice: An Illustrated History* (New York: Potter, 1973); Martin Hardie and Arthur K. Sabin, *War Posters Issued by Belligerent and Neutral Nations, 1914-1919* (London: Black, 1920); Rickards, *Banned Posters* (Park Ridge, N.J.: Noyes Press, 1972).

⁵Rickards, *The Rise and Fall of the Poster* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971), no. 14.

⁶Cf. Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad: A Study in Origins and Meaning* (Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1962), and especially Kenneth S. Goldstein, "The Broadside Ballad," *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, 9 (1964), 39-46.

⁷For lists of early American auction catalogs, see George Leslie McKay, *American Book Auction Catalogues, 1713-1934* (New York: Public Library, 1937); and Harold Lancour, *American Art Auction Catalogues* (New York: Public Library, 1944). Cf. also John R. Bernasconi, *Inventory Work and Catalogues* (London: Estates Gazette, 1962).

salebill

HARRICK

atively inexpensive way a seller could thus make known to a wide audience of potential buyers the items he had available for sale. Salebills represented an important source of income for small town printers and these printers offered various inducements to attract this business. In 1865, for example, the Newville (Pennsylvania) *Star of the Valley* provided free listing of sales for those who had bills printed by that office, a practice still continued by the paper's successor, the *Valley Times-Star* and a few other newspapers in the area. Some printers reproduced the entire bill at no additional cost within the pages of their papers, but this practice was not widespread.

Among the earliest illustrations in many of these rural papers were woodcuts of horses and other farm animals that served double duty, appearing in newspaper advertisements announcing the availability of stud service and filling the blank spaces of poster-type salebills printed at the time. By the end of the 19th Century the concept of the salebill as a listing of items for sale had been replaced by its function as a poster announcing the sale. Bills like that of a Snyder County sale for 1914 measuring 24 by 37 inches were not intended for use as handbills and as late as the early 1930's the size and design of the bills still indicated that their primary use was as a poster.

During the past twenty years the size and function of the salebill has changed. Today the bills again represent a relatively complete inventory of items for sale, at least items which are, in the owner's opinion, of above average value. The bills are printed in large quantities and distributed as handbills or loosely nailed in public places—feed stores, market houses, or other auctions—in quantity so that anyone interested can take a copy for later reference.

One of the major reasons for these changes is the adoption of the offset printing process by many local newspapers. This process enables the printer to set the text of the bill for insertion in the newspaper, then without resetting his type, to enlarge the bill to a size suitable for handbills. An important factor for change in the Central Pennsylvania area has been the appearance of a free hand-out suburban paper, *The Guide*, published weekly by Fry Communications of Mechanicsburg. First published in 1967, *The Guide* has virtually monopolized the salebill printing business

in the area of its circulation by offering a special price on the combined publication of the salebill as an advertisement in its pages and the printing of 500 or 1000 copies of the ad as a handbill. So comprehensive is its sale coverage that auction-goers outside its free delivery area pay for subscriptions in order to receive the sales ads.

Over the years the salebill has developed distinctive but traditional characteristics, so traditional in fact that it is often the subject of parody.⁸ The title at the top is almost invariably PUBLIC SALE, a term that displaced the older PUBLIC VENDUE early in the 19th Century. A careful distinction is made in local parlance between a "public sale," the disposal of goods by an individual at his residence, and an "auction," a regularly scheduled (usually weekly) sale of goods on consignment, almost always held at an auction house. In some cases the title varies. Chuck Bricker, an auctioneer in Mechanicsburg, titles his salebill OUTSTANDING PUBLIC SALE when a large estate lot of valuable antiques is involved. Other titles are used in Central Pennsylvania in cases of special sales: ANTIQUE AUCTION, ESTATE AUCTION, HERD DISPERSAL (when selling a large lot of dairy cattle), ALL DAY GUN SALE (guns being a highly attractive sale item in the area), or SHERIFF'S SALE (usually involving real estate subject to mortgage foreclosure).

Following the title as part of the heading are the date and time of the sale. Most sales in Central Pennsylvania are held on Saturday, although midweek sales of farm equipment and cattle are common, especially in early spring. No sales are held on Sunday, presumably being prohibited by law or local religious tradition. By contrast, auctions are usually always an evening event, Wednesday and Saturday being the most popular nights. Most auction houses also schedule special sales of antiques on major holidays, such as New Year's Day, Memorial Day, July Fourth, Labor Day, and Thanksgiving. No sales are held on Christmas. In the 1800's nearly all sales occurred in the spring, and although that is still the time of heaviest booking, sales now occur throughout the year, though few are held in the extremely cold or excessively hot months.

As part of the heading, explanations are sometimes given as to the reason for the sale ("Having sold my farm . . .," etc.). The location is noted and in most cases, especially for rural locations, directions are given for finding the place. These directions often contain information useful to students of onomastics and local geography, for they often mention archaic or colorful names of places familiar to natives of the area. The

⁸See for example A. Monroe Aurand, *Wit and Humor of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Harrisburg: Aurand Press, 1946), pp. 16-17. The Dickinson College library displays a poster in salebill format in which the Freshman class of 1914 taunts the Sophomores.

PUBLIC SALE

FRIDAY, MARCH 6, 1925

The undersigned will sell in Silver Spring township, on the John H. Roth farm, better known as the Charles Ritter farm, 1 mile Northwest of New Kingston, on the road leading from the State highway to Sterrett's Gap, the following personal property, to wit:



5 Head of Horses and Mules

No. 1, Roan Mare, rising 6 years old, quiet and easy to handle, weight 1250 pounds. No. 2, Brown Mare, rising 7 years old, quiet and has been worked in lead some, weight 1250 pounds. No. 3, Sorrel Mare, rising 5 years old, driver, city broke, anybody can drive her, fearless, weight 1050 pounds. Nos. 4 and 5, Pair Black Mules, 14 years old, work wherever hitched and fearless, weight 2600 pounds.

11 Head of Cattle

Consisting of Holsteins and Guernseys. These cows are mostly big milkers. One Stock Bull.

60 HEAD OF HOGS

Consisting of 4 brood sows, 2 will have pigs before day of sale, 2 sows are registered Duroc Jersey. One pure bred Seed Hog, the balance are shoats weighing from 40 to 100 pounds. 150 CHICKENS BY THE POUND.

FARMING IMPLEMENTS

Consisting of 2 two-horse wagons, one Straughton make, the other Weber make; spring wagon, speed wagon, cart with rubber tires, surrey, square back sleigh, McCormick binder, 8 foot cut; Johnson mower, 6 foot cut, hay rake, hay tedder, Moline manure spreader, Buckeye corn plow, double row corn planter, Black Hawk; one single row Black Hawk corn planter, roller 2 Perry spring harrows, sixteen-tooth; 1 smoothing harrow, drill, 2 Syracuse plows No. 20-78, potato digger, lever cultivator, single shovel plow, spring wagon pole, hay fork, rope and pulleys, 2 scoop shovels, 1 ground shovel, pitch, sheaf and dung forks, 3 double trees, 6 single trees, 3 jockey sticks, spreaders, bag wagon, bag holder, double extension ladder, 36 feet long; cross-cut saw, digging iron, axe, cow, log, butt and breast chains, two-hole corn sheller, cutting box, wheelbarrow. HARNESS—One set Yankee gears for two horses, 4 set front gears, 6 bridles, 5 halters, 10 collars, 2 set check lines, plow lines, 1 set buggy harness, 1 set track harness, 1 set double harness, 2 housens, tongue straps, lead reins, sleigh bells. The above mentioned are in good shape, some nearly new. One Oliver riding corn plow.



1924 FORD TOURING CAR IN GOOD SHAPE

HOUSEHOLD GOODS

Consisting of 1 kitchen range and pipe, with water tank and warming closet; 1 Bengal double heater and pipe, 1 six foot extension table, cupboard, chairs, couch, 1 iron bed and springs, 2 iron kettles, three-foot, churn, carpet, milk cans, milk buckets, strainer, crocks, fruit jars, dinner bell, and many other articles not herein mentioned.

Sale to commence at TWELVE O'CLOCK, sharp, when terms will be made known by

C. H. DEVENNEL, Auctioneer
HANDSHEW & WISE, Clerks.

CLARENCE J. GILL

FREE LUNCH FOR ALL

Thomas Printing House, Mechanicsburg, Pa.

Poster/bill printed by Thomas, of Mechanicsburg. Note the "free lunch" offer. The auctioneer's name, Charles Devenney, is misspelled. Size: 10 x 13 inches, on newsprint.

small town of Walnut Bottom, for example, might be cited as Jacksonville, Canada, Powderville, or Greythorne, all names it has borne at one time or other.⁹ And who but a local resident would know where to find Toad Hollow, Possum Hill, Bowman's Bridge, or Garden Cave (a bar on the edge of Carlisle).

The main body of the salebill is often subdivided into special classifications, each with its own subtitle, the most common being ANTIQUES, HOUSEHOLD GOODS, FURNITURE, FARM MACHINERY, TOOLS, GUNS, and REAL ESTATE. Less commonly used subtitles include STOVES, PLUMBING TOOLS, TRACTORS, POWER AND HAND TOOLS, GARAGE EQUIPMENT, DISHES, CLOCKS, COINS, BOOKS, BRASS AND COPPER, and PRIMITIVES (by one auctioneer's definition, anything old made of wood or metal is a "primitive," whether hand produced or not). It is these subdivisions that are of most interest to the social historian, for they provide documentable evidence of the economic and esthetic values of the seller. It should be noted here that, while salebills are usually compiled and arranged by the auctioneer, in many cases the original listing is prepared by the owner and items are included because he thinks they are valuable. Unlike an estate inventory that simply lists a dead man's possessions, a salebill provides some indication of their utilization. If an oats fork is listed as "farm equipment," it was undoubtedly still used as a tool, while if it is among "antiques," it was probably kept in the attic rather than the barn. Butcher tools currently present a special problem since they are still used by farmers but are also sought by collectors. Careful study of a wide range of salebills would reveal when such objects as flat irons and stoneware jugs lost their value as utilitarian objects and re-emerged as collectors' items. The body of the salebill usually closes with an all-inclusive phrase to cover anything omitted: "Many more items," "other misc. articles," "other items too numerous to mention," etc.

The conclusion of the salebill contains on the right-hand side the name of the owner, or, the executor and sometimes the attorney in the case of estate sales; on the left, the auctioneer and clerks are listed. Two clerks work each sale, an "outside clerk," who records the item, price, and purchaser of everything sold, and the "inside clerk," who tabulates the items sold according to purchaser and collects the money. Traditionally, the name of the outside clerk is listed first. Sale clerking is a trade frequently engaged in by several members of a family, as is the case with Rife & Rife, Otto & Otto, and Barrick & Barrick, teams currently active in the Cumberland County area. The techniques of clerking are passed from one generation to another. Otto & Otto was formerly a husband and wife team, but is

⁹Harriet W. Stewart, *History of the Cumberland Valley, Pennsylvania* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 64-65.

now father and son. The present Barrick & Barrick is a husband and wife team, the husband having learned from his father who in turn learned from his father-in-law. Some auctioneers include an advertising blurb as part of their signature. For example Colonel Charley Delp¹⁰ of Boiling Springs usually notes "It doesn't cost to hire a qualified auctioneer; it pays"; and Ben Rowe of Carlisle uses a jingle: "Auction is action; Call Rowe for satisfaction."

Also included in the conclusion (generally above the signatures) are the terms and special conditions of the sale. Terms, as one would expect, are usually "Cash," though until as late as the early 1940's, credit was allowed for large purchases.¹¹ In such cases the purchaser signed a promissory note payable within the period of time allowed, often up to one year. Farm sales frequently involved so many of these notes that the seller sometimes had to borrow money to pay the auctioneer. Sale-goers have a long-standing reputation for honesty and rare is the case where a purchaser intentionally leaves without paying his bill. This honesty extends to checks, but the issuance of checks has been abused in recent years, leading more and more auctioneers to insist in their salebills that terms are "Cash or travelers check," "Cash only," or in rare cases "Cash as sold."

The notation "Identification required for bidder number" appearing on some current salebills recalls the fact that formerly public sales attracted only a local attendance and the clerks knew all or most of the bidders by name, an obviously impossible task today when hundreds of people, often from across state lines, attend the sales. Virtually all auctioneers now use a numbered-bidder system, but the practice met considerable resistance when first introduced. Some bidders refused to register for a number, retorting "I've got a name, not a number," or "My family didn't have that many kids that they needed numbers," or made other last ditch efforts to resist another dehumanizing factor of life in the modern world.

Other conditions listed on salebills usually include such matters as "Not responsible for accidents" (though the legality of such disclaimer is questionable), "Lunch stand reserved," "Refreshment rights reserved," or the order of sale—"Tools first, household goods, then cattle and equipment"; "Sale will start at house" [and then proceed to the barn]—sometimes with specific times listed ("Guns will be sold at 2:00 o'clock."). Some auctioneers in order to attract a more specialized crowd include special notes about the items for sale or the reasons for selling: "All These Items Are In Fine Condition"; "There has not been a sale here for many,

¹⁰"Colonel" in Central Pennsylvania is a title reserved for graduates of an auctioneering school, though not all graduates use it.

¹¹Cf. the 1864 salebill copied below.

straps Sleigh Bells, Hand Engine, Brier-Cutter, Shovels, Hoes, Axes, Hatchets, Pincers, Maul & Wedges, Cross Cut Saws, Saws, Planes, Augurs, Crow-Bar, Digging-Bar, Sledge, Stone Hammers, Choppers, Vinegar and Cider Barrels, Machine Strap, Sausage Cutter, Old Iron, &c. Also, 40 Acres of GRAIN IN THE GROUND, a large lot of Oak Rails and Posts, 100 Mortised Posts, a lot of Boards, several thousand Oak Spokes (in the rough), Oak Palings, and Wood by the Cord. Also, Hams, Shoulders, Sides, Lard and Lard Stands, Meat Vessels, and other articles not necessary to mention.

Sale to commence at 8 o'clock, when attendance and a credit of Nine Months will be given on all sums over \$5.

ANN MARIA KEEFER, Adm'rx.
C. SPITAL, Auctioneer.

The importance of brand names was becoming apparent at this early date, and the citing of them has become increasingly more common over the years. By the end of the 19th Century most farm machinery was identified by manufacturer on salebills. Brand name identification of stoves, furniture and other household goods became more prevalent in the early 1900's and, with the new awareness of the value of antiques in the 1960's came a tendency to list the names of makers of dishes and other miscellaneous items. This notation of makers can often be useful to the folklife historian, for occasionally the product of a previously unrecorded craftsman or examples of work by relatively unknown artisans will appear for sale. For example, recent salebills have offered "Kentucky" rifles produced by Perry County gunsmiths named Sweger and C. W. Hamelin (Marysville, 1858), makers listed only sketchily by Kauffman.¹³

One interesting sidelight to this identification of craftsmen on salebills involves the Newville potteries of Henry Zeigler and Samuel I. Irvine. Until 1966 few people cared that Newville, Pennsylvania, had once been an important local center for the production of stoneware jugs, crocks and other such objects. In that year the Cumberland County Historical Society presented an exhibition of Newville pottery¹⁴ and since that time the public's awareness of its importance has driven the price to tenfold that prior to the exhibition. This interest in stoneware has affected the value of other pottery as well, and signed jugs and crocks, even those mass-produced by Cowden and Wilcox of Harrisburg,¹⁵ are now identified on salebills, providing an indication of the extent to which these products circulated.

Salebills are potentially valuable source documents for students of folk speech and local dialects. A rapid

¹³Henry J. Kauffman, *The Pennsylvania-Kentucky Rifle* (Harrisburg: Stackpole, 1960), pp. 249, 352 (William Sweiger?).

¹⁴An exhibition brochure prepared by Milton E. and Lenore E. Flower and published by the Historical Society provides background information about the potters.

¹⁵See Mildred Velej Hardcastle, "The Cowden & Wilcox Pottery Story," *The Antiques Journal*, 23, no. 1 (January-February, 1968), 38-39.

examination of some three hundred salebills in the author's collection issued between 1968 and 1975 provides numerous examples of archaisms, dialectal forms and neologisms. The word *sned* (cf. ME *snede*) is used consistently instead of *snath* ("scythe handle"), and *coverlid*, a form which the *OED* dates from 1300-1862,¹⁶ is much more common in Pennsylvania than the modern *coverlet*. The term *gambling sticks* (cf. *OED's gamblestick*, dated 1887) is the usual way of naming gambrel or gammon sticks, those denominations being practically unknown. In fact the technical names for tools are often replaced by more functionally descriptive phrases. Thus a trammel becomes a "kettle hanger," a froe a "shingle splitter," and a zax, that favorite word of Scrabble players, is in Central Pennsylvania only a "slate pick" or "slater's hammer."

Other items may be identified by either form or function. A stove, for example, might be named according to its function (*laundry stove, cook stove*), form (*pot belly stove, ten-plate stove*), or the size of wood or coal burned in it (*chunk stove, egg stove*). Furniture is often listed according to non-essential details, chairs, for instance, often being described by reference to the seat (*plank-bottom, cane-seated*), back (*arrow-back, bootjack, ladder back*) or posts (*rabbit ear, spool*). The descriptive adjective may be ambiguous; a *spool bed* or *table* is named for the spool-like turnings on its legs while a *spool cabinet* is named for its original function, displaying spools of thread for sale in the old general stores. Sometimes the name is based on the place of use (*cottage dresser, porch swing*) rather than the form or function.

Despite the apparent exactness of such descriptive terms, a curious indistinctness often applies to items on a salebill. *Butter prints* are frequently advertised on salebills, though most such objects now being sold are in fact *butter molds*.¹⁷ The terms *flat iron, sad iron, and smoothing iron*¹⁸ are used indiscriminately, though in recent years a distinction has been made between the early one-piece cast-iron appliance (*flat iron*) and the later, patented device with detachable handle (*sad iron*).

The following terms are inexplicably lacking from such standard lexicographical sources as the *OED*, the *DAE* and the *DA*:¹⁹

¹⁶Cf. William A. Craigie and James R. Hulbert, *A Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938-44), s.v. This work is hereinafter cited as *DAE*.

¹⁷*OED* lists only *butterprint*, *DAE* includes both terms, but *DA* (M. M. Mathews, *A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951]) lists neither.

¹⁸Cf. B. B. Ashcom, "Notes on the Language of the Bedford, Pennsylvania, Subarea," *American Speech*, 28 (1953), 254.

¹⁹Charles J. Lovell, in preparing a list of possible source materials for compiling the *DA* ("The *DA* Supplement," *American Speech*, 28 [1953], 80-91) seemed unaware of the value of salebills as word-lists.

PUBLIC SALE

— of —

REAL ESTATE and PERSONAL PROPERTY

Sat., Oct. 23, 1971

at 10:30 A. M.

Located on Main Street in the Borough of
PILLOW, PENNSYLVANIA.

REAL ESTATE — 2½-Story Frame Dwelling, situated on a 50-ft. x 198-ft. lot with oil-fired hot water heat (furnace is 1 year old), 6 Rooms and Bath, Large Walk-in Closet, Storm Windows and Doors and Garage.

TERMS — 10% down. Further terms and conditions to be given day of sale. **For Inspection of Property CALL 766-0354.**

HOUSEHOLD GOODS — Westinghouse Refrigerator, Monarch 24" Electric Range, Monarch 14" Coal Stove, New Home Sewing Machine, 3-Pc. Living Room Suite, like new; 7-Pc. Dinette Set, like new; 4-Pc. Waterfall Bedroom Suite, Three Chests of Drawers, Vanity, 2 Upholstered Chairs, Lewyt Vacuum Cleaner, 2 End Tables, and Coffee Table, Utility Table, Two Metal Base Cabinets, Iron Crib, Three Table Lights, Floor Lamp, Two Norge Wringer Washers, Double Laundry Tubs, Clothes Hamper, Lots of Fancy-work Doilies and Scarves, Crocks, Hand Tools, Dishes, Cooking Utensils, Small Appliances and other articles too numerous to list.

ANTIQUES — Dry Sink, 6 Plank-Bottom Chairs, 2 Drop-leaf Tables, Cradle, Blanket Chest, Six Oak Chairs, Wicker Baby Carriage, Victrola, Assorted Chairs and Rockers, Butcher's Bench and Assortment of Dishes.

**ESTATE of MARIE WOLFE
KENNETH WIEST, EXECUTOR**

LEE D. DOCKEY, AUCTIONEER — Phone 758-6004
Auctioneer and Estate Not Responsible for Accidents.
LUNCH AVAILABLE!

Letterpress bill on yellow cardboard (4-1/2 x 8 inches).

bag wagon, a two-wheeled device for moving sacks of grain; also called *two-wheeler*. In Sears, Roebuck's 1927 catalog: *box truck*.

block and fall, block and tackle.

buggy coach, a baby carriage.

butcher kettle, a large iron pot (usu. 15 or 20 gal.) used to cook panhaus, pudding and lard during butchering.

butter chip, a small dish used for serving individual pats of butter.

butter crock, a flat stoneware container, usu. 1 qt. or 1.2 gal.

butter patty, a small dish used for serving butter.

camelback trunk, a trunk with an arched lid.

corn chopper, a corn knife. See *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, 15 (1970), 128-137.

corn horse, a three-legged trestle used in shocking corn-stalks; cf. *DAE*: *corn stands*.

corn skiver (pron. *skivver*), a husking peg. Cf. *DAE*, s.v. *skiver*, ref. only to leather work.

hog hangers, a three-legged scaffold, often made of three fence-rails bolted together at one end, used to support carcasses during butchering.

hog scrapers, tools used for removing hog hair during butchering.

horse tree, a whiffletree.

PUBLIC SALE

Sat., July 29, 1972

Commencing at 9:00 A.M.

LOCATED R. D. #1, MILTON, PA. NEXT TO SPANGLER FORD MOTORS

HOUSEHOLD GOODS

Hotpoint Refrigerator; Frigidaire Refrigerator; Apartment Gas Stove; Westinghouse Automatic Washer; Utility Cabinets; 5 Pc. Breakfast Set; Cedar Clothes Closet; 16" Portable T.V.; RCA T.V.; Electric Roaster; Upholstered Living Room Chairs; 2 Bedroom Chairs; Portable Electric Sewing Machine; Singer Sewing Machine; 3 Metal Beds; Spool Stand; Electric Sweeper; China Brass; Maple Bedroom Chair; Spool Stand; Twin Poster Bed; Good Condition Day Bed; Maple Desk; Stands; Rugs; 12 x 14 Chinese Oriental Rug; 9 x 12 Red Rug; 9 x 15 Wilton Rug; Throw Rugs; Davenport; End Tables; Book Shelves; Fireplace Set; Occasional Chairs; Telephone Stand; Flower Stands; Electric Exercising Belt; Lamp Tables; Night Stands; Cricket Chair; Horse Clock; Bedding; Barbecue Grill; John Hancock Glass Dome Clock; Deer Head; Oil Paintings; Cooling Utensils; Electric Coffee Pots; Lot of Hand Tools; Small Power Tools; Sun Porch Furnishings; Patio Furniture; Garden Tools; Bird Baths and Many Other Items Too Numerous To Mention

ANTIQUES

12 Pane 2 Pc. Cherry Corner Cupboard; Oak Corner Cupboard with Cathedral Doors; Oval China Closet; Curley Maple Chest of Drawers; Butlers Secretary; Hand Carved Settee; Oval, Large and Very Small Square Marble Top Stands; Walnut Chest of Drawers with Brass Handles; Armoire with Mirrored Doors; Gov. Winthrop Ladies Secretary; Maple and Walnut Scroll Grandfathers Clock; Handcarved 6 Leg Stand; Brown Marble Top Coffee Table; Sewing Cabinet; Cane Rockers; Assorted Cane Chairs; Weight Clock with Painted Face; Oval George and Martha Pictures; 2 Pie Crust End Tables; 10 Ft. Marble Base Gold Edge Mirror; 2 Cathedral Chairs; 3 Pc. Victorian Ladies; Grets and Corner Chairs; 2 and 3 Tier Stands; Walnut Servng Cart; Seth Thomas Mantle Clock; Very Nice Walnut Rose Carved Matching Dresser; Vanity; Chest of Drawers and Pier Glass Dressing Mirror; Plank Bottom Chairs; Large Beveled Glass Gold Mirrors; Taberette; Pedestal Drop Leaf Stand with Drawer; Trunks; Library Table; Curley Maple Mirror; Walnut Library Stand; Knic Knack Shelves; Small Cedar Blanked Chair; Spool Bed; Oak Plank Rocker; 2 Brass Hand Bells; Large Gold and Wedge Frame Mirrors and Picture Frames; Flower Stands; Brass Bucket; Parts of Bathroom Sets; 4½ Ft. Walnut Bow Front Chest of Drawers; Music Chest; Poplar Dry Sink Cupboard; Vanity Benches; Small Oak Dresser; Tapestry Shield; Wicker Chair; Gate Leg Table; Oak Arm Chair; Figurines; Oval and Large Rectangular Walnut Frames Mirrors; Statue Book Ends; Spiral Brass Candle Holders; Hall Stand with Hanging Mirror; 4 Matching Carved Chases; Cast Iron Tea Kettles; Double Chime; Warwick China Pitcher; Cut and Pressed Glass Stoneware Goblets; Vinegar Cruets; Meat Platters; Pickle Caster; Open Compote; Satin Glass Painted Vases; Cranberry Vase and Other Antiques Not Listed

Owners:

C. Warren Stapleton

and

Betty G. Stapleton Estate, deceased

PAULINE KEAN and WILLIAM W. BELFORD, Executors

Terms—CASH

LUNCH SERVED

DAVIS AND DAVIS

WILLIAM W. BELFORD

Attorneys

RANDALL RUNYAN and WAYNE HESS—Auctioneers

Letterpress bill on 6 x 12 inch newsprint, showing the constant capitalization typical of such salebills.

jelly cupboard, a low cabinet with blind doors, used for storing jelly. Cf. *DAE*, s.v. *jelly closet*.

katy hat, a derby.

log grab, a hook used for dragging felled timber.

meat hook, an S-shaped hook used to hang hams and other meat for smoking.

morning glory horn, a large bell-shaped horn on early phonograph machines. *DA* lists one examp. (1947).

oats fork, a three-pronged wooden fork used for handling oat and other grain straw. See *PF*, 20, no. 2 (Winter, 1970-71), 17.

panhaus pans, tin loaf-pans used for forming panhaus.

pie safe, a shelved cabinet ventilated by pierced-tin ends or doors.

pudding, a concoction prepared at butchering, consisting of hog jowls, liver, heart, kidneys, and other hog parts, cooked and ground together. Cf. *OED*, s.v. *pudding*, I, 1.

rainbow carpet, rag carpet with a colorful striped pattern, usu. used as hall or stair runners.

rope bed, a bed whose mattress is supported by a criss-crossed rope. Also *cord bed*.

saddler's horse, a bench with a bow-clamp at one end, used to hold leather while stitching it. Also *sewing horse*.

PUBLIC SALE

SATURDAY
AUGUST 16, 1975
9:00 A.M.

A private 15-year collection, located at 270 Fairfield St.,
Newville, Pa.

ANTIQUES

Keifer (Plainfield) market wagon, buggies, 2 Portland sleighs, buckboard sleigh, spring wagon, sulky, 2 horse wagon, misc. buggy springs, wheels, poles & other parts, buggy and wagon wheels, new feloes, 6 buggy seats, 5 wagon seats, 12 horse collars, harness, sleigh bells, Esquire egg stove, Atwater Kent and Jacobson Bell radios, wood washer tub, wood wheelbarrow, sideboard, chest-of-drawers, mantle clock, 2 shelf clocks, 2 cane seat chairs, metal wardrobe, towel racks, paper holder, toy chest, 4 Rayo lights, Aladdin hanging light, gas light (complete), bracket lights, 6 kerosene lights, buggy light, whale oil light, store lights & fixtures, surrey light, RR & other lanterns, bowl & pitcher sets, ice cream dipper & scoop, enamel coffee pot, hand bell, cow bell, brass vases, candleholders and basket, iron pots, wood barrels & kegs, crock water cooler, jugs (incl. Cloverdale), clay ink bottle, stoneware & other jars, crocks (incl. Cowden), Carlisle bottle, medicine & other old bottles, Worlds Fair vinegar bottles, lightning rod parts, flat irons, sad irons, trivets, covering plow, wooden stirrers, scales, steelyards, spreader chains, log chains, hinges, vise, tongs & other blacksmith tools, 35 sets of hames, horseshoes, antique truck lights, wagon jack, oats fork, butter bowls, butter print, awls, froe, bark spuds, cooper's adze, shelf brackets, 50 muskrat traps, powder horn, clay pipes, barrel spigots of all sizes, fishing torch, gig, rosettes, tin comb case, coal buckets, knives & bayonet, iron & wood toy trains, banks, tobacco cans, advertising items, pictures, locks & keys, iron snow catchers, 2 stereoscopes, tinning rollers, farrier boxes, single & double trees, postcards, books, 78 records, derby hats, parasol, steam engine oilers, old wrenches, chisels, wedges, drawing knives, other antique tools, floor sander, band saw, 2 chain saws, high button shoes, hundreds of flea market items, 20-in. elect. stove (good).

Buggies & wagons to be sold at 2 p.m.

No inspection until day of sale. Lunch stand reserved.

Terms: Cash or approved check.

Sam Miller, Auctioneer

Barrick & Barrick, Clerks

Barry N. Hoover
Newville, Pa.
776-5124

Salebill prepared and designed by the author. Printed by Fry (8 x 11-1/4 inches)

scalding trough, a large vat used for cleaning hair from hogs during butchering.

settle table, a tilt-top table whose top serves as the back for a seat built underneath.

slaw board, a cabbage slicer. Also *slaw knife*.

snow bird, a device (often in the shape of an eagle) attached to a roof to prevent snow from sliding.

spooner, a glass vase used for storing teaspoons.

stirrer, a long-handled scraper used for stirring the contents of butcher kettles.

stomper, a wooden sauerkraut or potato masher.

tin snips, heavy duty shears used for cutting tin.

Salebills also provide evidence of the rate of acceptance of neologisms or the adaptation of trade names into generic forms. Victrola is now the name for any early phonograph and a parlor stove is likely to be called a heatrola, regardless of manufacturer. The popularity of so-called "carnival" and "depression" glass among collectors has made these words favorites of auctioneers and others who compose salebills. Though opalescent or amethyst glass is equally valuable, it is less well-known, hence, infrequently listed. The term "ruby glass," ambiguously referring to overlaid souvenir items of the early 1900's and to a type of deep-red transparent glassware common to the 1930's and 1940's, has lost its connotation of color to the extent that at least one auctioneer now advertises "green ruby glass."

Occasionally the linguist discovers on salebills examples of language in flux, evidence that such phenomena as contamination, assimilation and dissimilation still occur. The word *numerous* (apparently a printer's error, though it appears on dozens of salebills) is the result of fusion of the associated concepts *number* and *numerous*, possibly influenced by the silent *b* of such words as *numb*, *thumb* and *plumber*. Similarly *mattock* has become *mattax* (*mattock* + *ax*) and *chaise longue* becomes *chaise lounge*, the former resulting from a confusion of function with form and the latter from confusion of form with function. The dissimilation of *sump pump* to *sub pump* is widespread, not only on salebills but also in oral usage.

Salebills often contain remarkable evidence of regional phonetics. Discounting typographical errors,²⁰ one can readily recognize the local pronunciation of words by their spelling on these bills. Quoits are here *quates*, trestles are *trussels*, hames become *hams*, *heims*, or *hems*, housings are *housens*, and the doughtray is often listed as pronounced, *doughtry*. No one is ever sure how to spell *afghan*, but the pronunciation is obviously trisyllabic (*afagan*). *Steelyard* provides no end of difficulty, appearing as *styard scales*, *stylyard*, *stillard*, or *stillyard*, the latter being the dominant form of pronunciation. *Mandrel* is pronounced, and thus spelled, *mandle*, *mantle* or *mangle*.

Plural formations also cause problems for the composers of salebills. The three-legged ring that supports a butcher kettle is obviously a *three-foot*, but what are two of them? On salebills they are *three-foots*. Confusion results from the conception of pants, scissors, and tongs as plural in form but singular in function. This explains such items as *pant creasers*, *one old tong*, etc., appearing on salebills,²¹ and also provides some insight into the working of the folk mind at the abstract level of written language.

Despite the large numbers of them issued, salebills are among the most ephemeral of printed materials. Hundreds of copies disappear within days of their date; few are preserved. A scant handful of 19th Century bills exists and those have been kept only as curiosities. Then too, as printing costs increase fewer auctions are advertised in this traditional manner. At present only about half the public sales being held in Central Pennsylvania are announced by salebills. In the other cases, newspaper advertising is considered sufficient, but the cramped one-column ads that appear in most newspapers are pale imitations of the flamboyant posters of fifty and seventy-five years ago.

²⁰Some amusing examples occur: *rail* (for Rayo) *lamp*, *vices* (for vises), *sentrifical* water pump, *salt sellar*, *colbolt blue*, *ceramacics*, *cruid* (for cruet), *guild* (for gilt) *edge*, *Millie Flore* (for millefiore) *paperweight*, *Westward hoe* (for Ho!) *compot*, etc.

²¹One auctioneer invariably considers the word *adze* as plural and sells one of them as an *ad*.

The Schlegel Family and the Rosicrucian Movement

By A. RUSSELL SLAGLE

[German religious and mystical movements have had deep impact upon Pennsylvania culture. This article presents materials on the history of one of the more arcane branches of German mysticism, the Rosicrucian Movement. Evidences of Rosicrucian thought have been discovered among the Wissahickon Hermits and the Ephrata Society. The evidence for the transit of Rosicrucian thought down through the European generations of the Schlegel family to the emigrant is presented here. Because of the secret character of the Rosicrucian "brotherhood," the story can only be an unfinished one, a detective story in intellectual history, until full evidence arrives. Perhaps our readers here or abroad can supply some of the missing evidence.—EDITOR.]



Christophorus Schlegel (1613-1678), ancestor of the Schlegel (Slagle) Family of Pennsylvania and Maryland.

The word *Schlegel* in the German to English dictionary is shown to mean: mallet, beater, sledge hammer.¹ Also under the same heading in the same dictionary we find: *die Schlegeler*, "League of South German nobles (in the 14th Century)."² It is obvious that this is the same league or association which Zedler refers to as: "Schlegel-Gesellschaft, wurde um das Jahr 1390 unter einigen Schwäbischen und Rheinischen von Adel aufgerichtet."³ So far no connection has been found between *die Schlegeler* (*Schlegel-Gesellschaft*) and the Schlegel family we are about to study; however, as we shall see, coincidence is to play a most important part in our story. Here we only mention *die Schlegeler* (*Schlegel-Gesellschaft*) as a "League of South German nobles" (in the 14th Century), and we are going to ask if "our" Schlegel family⁴ were or were not part of a league, an association, or a fraternity known as the Rosicrucians.

We admit our first coincidence is very "thin," so "thin" that perhaps it should not even be mentioned. However one cannot help but wonder, and as we are going to encounter many coincidences, let us hear what some prominent people have said about the importance of coincidence in life.

In *Baconian Essays*, by E. W. Smithson and Sir George Greenwood, on page 170, we find: "Though one or two, or three threads may not suffice to bear a weight, a great many threads combined into a cord may do so". Manly P. Hall has said, "We must not build too much upon the uncertain foundation of *coincidence*, but on the other hand we cannot afford to overlook circumstantial evidence when it is present in sufficient amount".⁵ From George C. Bompas we learn, "In circumstantial evidence each additional *coincidence* not only adds to but multiplies its force; so that an unbroken chain of probabilities may grow to a certainty".⁶ G. K. Chesterton says: "In short there

¹Karl Breul, ed., *Cassell's New German and English Dictionary* (New York, 1936-1939), p. 511.

²*Ibid.*, p. 511.

³Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses Vollständiges Universal-Lexikon, 1743-1961*, Band 35, p. 17.

⁴J. B. Rietstap, *Armorial General*, edition by Barnes and Noble. Reprint by Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, Maryland, 1965.

⁵Manly Palmer Hall, *The Adepts in the Western Esoteric Tradition* (Los Angeles 27, California), p. 79.

⁶George C. Bompas, *The Problem of the Shakespeare Plays* (London, 1902), p. 93.

is in life an element of elfin *coincidence* which people reckoning on the prosaic may perpetually miss". Also it has been well expressed in the paradox of Poe that "wisdom should reckon on the unforeseen".⁷ And finally Dr. Joachim Gerstenberg quotes Edwin Reed: "One parallelism has no significance; five parallelisms attract attention; ten suggest enquiry; twenty raise presumption; fifty a probability; one hundred dissolve every doubt"⁸ We shall hear more about *coincidence* in our search for Rosicrucian motifs in the Schlegel family.

The earliest member of "our" Schlegel family, whom we can document, was Ernst von Schlegel (born about 1540), a surveyor of mines in or near Franckenberg, Saxony. He married Sybilla Höpner (born about 1546), daughter of Matthäus Höpner Jr. (died 1554), son of Matthäus Höpner (born about 1435), "died 1509 in old age". Sybilla was "the sole heir of a considerable estate."⁹

Getting back to our "thin" coincidence mentioned above, we remember that *die Schlegeler (Schlegel-Gesellschaft)* was a league or association of nobles, and we have proof that Ernst used the "von,"¹⁰ which is also implied and referred to as "antiqua arma" in a later patent of nobility granted to his great grandson, Christopher Schlegel, 14. VIII. 1651, by the Emperor Ferdinand III.¹¹ This later patent of nobility described a coat-of-arms, and from the position of the first and fourth quarterings we can learn that our first generation, Ernst, had as his coat-of-arms a lion rampant holding a mallet (*Schlegel*) in his paw striking a yellow stone.¹² Later when we hear more about the Rosicrucians, we are also going to hear about Knights of the Golden Stone, alchemy, mining, the philosopher's stone, etc. We must remember Ernst von Schlegel was a surveyor of mines, and the patent of nobility (as we shall see) described a miner in the crest of the coat-of-arms.¹³ Furthermore, we must note that the symbol of a lion rampant striking a stone is used on the last page of Gustav Seleni's *Cryptomenytices et Cryptographiae*,¹⁴ the outstanding Rosicrucian work. Gustav Seleni was the pen name of August, Duke of Braunschweig and Lüneburg,¹⁵ patron of Johann Valentin Andreae,¹⁶

"father of Rosicrucianism".¹⁷ The only difference is that the Schlegel lion rampant has a mallet (*Schlegel*) in his paw, with which he strikes the stone. The lion rampant is a very common symbol, but a lion rampant striking a stone is rare. The lion is doubled-tailed in both instances.^{18, 19} Question: was this (the content of the above paragraph) the slightest hint at Rosicrucianism at that early date?

The second generation of "our" Schlegel family is Paul. Little is known about him. He was one of six sons, a "brother" in Dippoldiswalde, Saxony, in 1576, and by "1610 already dead".¹⁹

Our third generation is Martin Schlegel. Here we have a quite different individual—a prominent, well-educated clergyman. He held many offices—too many to mention here—and anyone desiring to see his many honors should consult our genealogy.²⁰ Our concern here is with Rosicrucianism, and it is here we find Martin on the edge or periphery of the Rosicrucian world. May we state here a word about Rosicrucianism. Later we hope to tell in some detail what or who they were, but may we say here that we do not believe that the Rosicrucians were a cut-and-dried society or fraternity with a list of members recorded in a book, who met secretly in lodges, or anything of that kind. We believe that Rosicrucianism was a way of thinking; and anyone who happened to think along a certain line we are going to call Rosicrucians. Indeed, it is thought that anyone who wrote about the so-called Rosicrucian way of thinking became a member.²¹ So the line of demarcation between those who were Rosicrucians and those who were not was a very thin line, and a matter of degree. At this point if we were asked what that way of thinking was or is, we can only say at this time, and to our American audience, that the way of thinking of Ralph Waldo Emerson (in a word) is about as close to it as we can come. More about this later.

So the important thing that concerns us in regard to Martin Schlegel is the fact that "by a decree of 16. XII. 1618, the Prince Elector Johann Georg I, Vicar of the Empire, appointed him third Court Preacher in Dresden, and on 5. I. 1619 he signed at a meeting of the Ober-Consistorium as Electoral Court Preacher and entered upon the new duties 6. I 1619".²² Here Prince Elector Johann Georg I is the key-figure in our story. Surely he must have at least known about our Rosicrucian way of thinking as his father-in-law Friedrich I, Duke of Württemberg, was known as the

⁷G. K. Chesterton, "The Blue Cross," A Father Brown Story.
⁸Joachim Gerstenberg, *Baconiana*, Vol. LIII. no. 170, November 1970 (London), p. 80.

⁹A. Russell Slagle, *The Slagle Family in America Descended from the Schlegel von Gottleben Family of Germany* (Baltimore, Maryland 21210, 1967), p. 4. Hereinafter referred to as Slagle-Schlegel Genealogy.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 2; Friedrich Carl Gottlob Hirshings, *Historisch-literarisches Handbuch berühmter und denkwürdiger Personen* (Leipzig, 1808), II, 132.

¹¹Slagle-Schlegel Genealogy, pp. 7-10.

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁴Gustav Selenus, *Cryptomenytices et Cryptographiae*, Libri IX. (Lüneburg, 1624), last page.

¹⁵*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, I, 660; Pierre Henrion, *Baconiana*, Vol. XXXIV, no. 136, 1950 (London), pp. 136, 145.

¹⁶Wilhelm Hoszbach, *Johann Valentin Andreä und sein Zeitalter* (Berlin, 1819) p. 201, note asterisk.

¹⁷Hans Schick, *Das ältere Rosenkreuzertum* (Berlin, 1942) p. 40.

¹⁸Slagle-Schlegel Genealogy, illustrations 4 and 5.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 4.

²¹Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1972) p. 74.

²²Slagle-Schlegel Genealogy, p. 4.

prototype of Christian Rosencreutz,²² and was Grand Master of the Rosicrucians²⁴; while his mother-in-law Sibylla was sister of the Rosicrucian-inspired Christian of Anhalt,²⁵ who played such a momentous role in the Rosicrucian-flavored plan to have Friedrich V, Elector Palatine and his wife, the English princess Elizabeth (daughter of King James I of England) become King and Queen of Bohemia.²⁶ Furthermore Christian of Anhalt was uncle to Prince Johann of Anhalt-Zerbst,²⁷ whom, as we shall see, was tutored by Martin Schlegel's son, Christopher.

But lest we lose our way in this genealogical puzzle, let us get to the heart of our story in the person of Johann Valentin Andreae, often spoken of as "the father of Rosicrucianism"²⁸. Johann Valentin Andreae was certainly the author of *The Chemical Marriage of Christian Rosencreutz*. He admitted the authorship²⁹ in spite of the great mystery in regard to the other two important Rosicrucian manifestos known popularly as *The Fama* and *The Confessio*. A little later we are going to show how intimately Martin Schlegel's son, Christopher, is associated not only with Johann Valentin Andreae, himself, but also with the latter's Rosicrucian masterpiece, *The Chemical Marriage of Christian Rosencreutz*. So bear in mind that Andreae is at the heart of our search. But before we leave Martin we should know that his appointor, Johann Georg I's granddaughter, Sophia Augusta, married Johann of Anhalt-Zerbst,³⁰ brother-in-law to our above-named Augustus, Duke of Braunschweig and Lüneburg,³¹ Andreae's patron.³² On paper this is a long story, but a grandson-in-law is rather close.

And in the person of Christopher Schlegel,³³ our fourth generation, we are at the heart of the matter. Two phases of our search loom up: one, Christopher's close association with Johann Valentin Andreae, "father of Rosicrucianism"; and secondly the outstanding coincidences between Christopher Schlegel's coat-of-arms and Andreae's Rosicrucian masterpiece, *The Chemical Marriage of Christian Rosencreutz*. Next to August Wilhelm von Schlegel and his brother, Friedrich von Schlegel, known in German literature as the Romantic "Brüder Schlegel" (and possibly their father, Johann Adolph Schlegel), our Christopher is undoubtedly the next in prominence among the European Schlegel clan.

He was born I.I. 1613 at Knehlen near Dresden, became a more prominent clergyman than his father Martin, and here again should anyone desire to see his many offices and honors, he should consult our Slagle (Schlegel) genealogy.³⁴ Christopher was highly educated: "became Baccalaureus phil. 28. III. 1628 at Leipzig University, Magister in 1630, and Poeta Laureatus in 1631".³⁵ However, the important point in his education is that in 1631 he not only studied under the famous Johann Gerhard,³⁶ but lived in his house, used his library, and they ate meals together.³⁷ Johann Gerhard was the second man named on Andreae's

³⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 6-10.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 7.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 7.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 7.



Coat-of-Arms of Schlegel Family, granted to the Reverend Christopher Schlegel in 1651.

²²Schick, p. 97.

²⁴H. Spenser Lewis, *Rosicrucian Questions And Answers* (San Jose, California, 1947) p. 117.

²⁵James Anderson, *Royal Genealogies: or, The Genealogical Tables of Emperors, Kings and Princes, From Adam to these Times* (London, 1736), p. 558.

²⁶Yates, p. 18.

²⁷Anderson, p. 558.

²⁸Schick, p. 40.

²⁹Arthur Edward Waite, *The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross* (University Books, New Hyde Park, New York, n.d.), p. 185.

³⁰Anderson, p. 558.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 558.

³²Hoszbach, p. 201, note asterisk.

³³Slagle-Schlegel Genealogy, pp. 6-10.

Societas Christiana,³⁸ and if there was a list of Rosicrucians at that date 1642, the Societas Christiana is that list. Surely Christopher Schlegel, living in Gerhard's home, must have heard about the Rosicrucian way of thinking. Indeed, Andreae named and praised Christopher among "aetherei spiritus zelotes."³⁹ How close can we get? At this point we might say that at that date no one said "I am a Rosicrucian." Even Andreae himself, and also Fludd and Maier, the three most ardent Rosicrucian apologists, all said they were not Rosicrucians. No one ever admitted it.

In the biography of Christopher Schlegel we learn that in 1634 he was "Court-Precacher to Duchess Magdalena of Anhalt-Zerbst . . . and became tutor to her son Johann,"⁴⁰ later to become Johann, Prince of Anhalt-Zerbst." Johann's sister, Dorothy, married Augustus, Duke of Braunschweig and Lüneburg,⁴¹ whose sons, Anthony Ulrich and Rudolf Augustus, were tutored by Johann Valentin Andreae, "father of Rosicrucianism."⁴² If Christopher tutored the uncle, Johann of Anhalt-Zerbst, and the nephews, Augustus' sons (all three pupils close to same age) were tutored by Johann Valentin Andreae, surely the tutors knew one another. And Augustus, Duke of Braunschweig and Lüneburg (father of Andreae's pupils) was Andreae's patron.⁴³ Augustus gave Andreae a house, horses and carriage, and money.⁴⁴ Indeed, without Augustus, Duke of Braunschweig and Lüneburg, there probably would not have been any Rosicrucians. Christopher died as pastor of the church at Grimma, 2. VII. 1678.⁴⁵

Now the core of our search revolves around a coat-of-arms granted to Christopher Schlegel, 14. VIII. 1651, by Emperor Ferdinand III, while the former was living in Leutschau, Hungary.⁴⁶ Here coincidences abound. Here we are to find too many coincidences between the Schlegel coat-of-arms and Johann Valentin Andreae's Rosicrucian masterpiece to attribute them to "just mere coincidence." Indeed, sometimes I cannot help but wonder if in some strange way the Rosicrucian plan was to tell their story by coincidence. It has been suggested that at that date "it was dangerous to speak too plainly." Johann Valentin Andreae admits that he wrote *The Chemical Marriage of Christian Rosencreutz*,⁴⁷ and it is considered the Rosicrucian masterpiece. Arthur Edward Waite, outstanding Rosicrucian historian, speaking of *The Chemical Marriage of Christian Rosencreutz*, says

on page 72 of his *The Real History of the Rosicrucians*: "The whole Rosicrucian controversy centers in this publication." On page 159 of the same book the author says the symbolism of the Rose-Cross "is simply, the hereditary device of the founder, and its meaning is to be sought in *German heraldry*, and not in mysticism."

We ask: "Are the parallels mentioned below 'mere coincidence'?"

<i>The Chemical Marriage of Christian Rosencreutz</i> , by Johann Valentin Andreae (see <i>The Real History of the Rosicrucians</i> , by A. E. Waite)	<i>Schlegel Coat-of-Arms</i> (Thuringian State Library under signature Fol. 213 [24]; Slagle genealogy col. 7)
"my dear Paschal Lamb" (p. 73)	Center quartering contains a Paschal Lamb
"snow white ensign with a Red Cross" (p. 131)	Miner carries a white ensign with a Red Cross.
"wreath of laurel appears 4 times" (pp. 87, 89, 103, 104)	Miner has wreath of laurel around his head.
"In my hat I stuck four Red roses" (78)	Coat-of-arms contains 3 red roses and 3 white roses.
word "lion" appears 7 times (pp. 90, 94, 95, 102, 107, 113)	2 lions appear in coat-of-arms.
<hr/>	
<i>The Brotherhood of the Rosy-Cross</i> by A. E. Waite	<i>Schlegel Coat-of-Arms</i>
"Brother of the Golden and Rosy-Cross" (pp. 347, 403, 404, 410, 413, 439, 441, 636-638)	Paschal Lamb carries ensign with golden cross. Miner carries ensign with red cross.
"philosopher's stone" (alchemy—base metal into gold) (pp. 3, 65, 77, 239, 305, 312, 405, etc.)	Lion (with miner above) strikes stone with mallet (Schlegel).
"Knights of the Golden Stone" (pp. 178, 179, 188, 189, 343)	Lion strikes at yellow (golden) stone.
<hr/>	
In <i>Fama Fraternitatis</i> R:C. On circular altar appears Rosicrucian motto: "Jesus mihi omnia" (p. 132, Waite)	Christopher Schlegel wrote in the books of his friends: "Mundus nihil—Christus mihi omnia" Hein. Aug. Schumacher, <i>Biogr. of Christ. Schlegel</i> Grimma Superintendent (by Christ. Vogel, 1720)

On page II of *The Cloud upon the Sanctuary* by Karl von Eckartshausen we find: "Jesus Mihi Omnia as the innermost 'Key' to the 'Rosicrucian mysteries'".

Our fifth generation is Christoph Gottlieb Schlegel.⁴⁸ Here we find no "generation gap" as father and son (Christopher and Christoph Gottlieb) wrote a book together. The book is *Agro Sanguinis*.⁴⁹ Dr. James W. Poultney has translated the Latin and as a dedication we find: "To a man most excellent in nobility of ancestral lineage, splendor of outstanding virtues, and dignity of highest offices, Lord Johann Wilhelm à Reichel, Knight of Silesia, hereditary in Magwitz and Zom Garten, Privy Councillor of the Most Reverend

⁴⁸Slagle-Schlegel Genealogy, p. 10.

⁴⁹Zedler, Bd. 35, p. 13.

³⁸Schick, p. 126.

³⁹Johannis Molleri, *Cimbra Literata*, p. 779—note no. 7—in *Umbra Sautertina. Decade V. Memoriae Theologorum—renovate Henni Witteri*, p. 644. (see British Museum).

⁴⁰Slagle-Schlegel Genealogy, p. 7.

⁴¹Anderson, p. 558.

⁴²Schick, p. 40.

⁴³Hoszbach, p. 201, note asterisk.

⁴⁴*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, I, 445.

⁴⁵Slagle-Schlegel Genealogy, p. 7.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴⁷Waite, p. 185.

and Serene *Bishop of Lübeck* and Duke of Schleswig-Holstein and most Illustrious Prefect of the Episcopal Jurisdiction of . . . , lord and patron, with every observance of respect.” Here we find the *Bishop of Lübeck* to be August Friedrich (born 1646), brother of Sophia Augusta, wife of Prince Johann of Anhalt-Zerbst,⁵⁰ whom Christopher Schlegel tutored. This brother and sister were children of Friederich III, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp and his wife Mary Elizabeth, daughter of Johann Georg I, elector of Saxony, and Vicar of the Empire who (as we have seen above) appointed Martin Schlegel Court Preacher in 1619.⁵¹ Here we have grandfather Martin, father Christopher, and son Christoph Gottlieb all in a bundle, with Johann Valentin Andreae, “father of Rosicrucianism,” nearby tutoring the sons of Augustus, Duke of Braunschweig and Lüneburg and his wife Dorothy of Anhalt, sister of Prince Johann of Anhalt-Zerbst, whom Christopher Schlegel tutored. Again a long story on paper, but a very close Rosicrucian (way of thinking) association.

Christopher Friedrich Schlegel, the immigrant to America and our sixth generation of the Schlegel family, was born 24, baptized 26. X. 1676 at Grimma, not far from Leipzig, Saxony.⁵² But before leaving Grimma and the church records we find there, let us pause for one more coincidence. When we get to Germantown, Pennsylvania, we will find that Philip Jakob Spener, “father of Pietism” in Germany, was closely associated with the group of Rosicrucians in America.⁵³ There was correspondence between the Germantown Rosicrucians and Spener’s “collegia Pietatis.”⁵⁴ Much has been written about this close association. Our coincidence back in Grimma is that we find in the Grimma church records for 17. 7. 1696 Dorothea Schlegel, mother of the immigrant Christopher Friedrich, standing as godmother in the place of Susanna Spener, wife of Philipp Jakob Spener, at the baptism of the latter’s granddaughter Christiane Susanna Birnbaum, daughter of their daughter, Elizabeth Sibylla (Spener) Birnbaum, wife of Christoph Gotthelf Birnbaum, pastor of the church at that time. Another godmother at this baptism was Susanna Katherina (Spener) Rechenberg, another daughter of Philip Jakob and Susanna Spener, and wife of Professor Rechenberg. Here we have a Schlegel-Spener connection in Grimma, Saxony and a Schlegel-Spener connection in Germantown, Pennsylvania. For those who doubt Sachse’s scholarliness, here is one more tie between Germantown Rosicrucians and the Spener-Pietistic-Rosicrucian way-of-thinking.

In 1683 Christopher Friedrich Schlegel was registered

⁵⁰Anderson, p. 439.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 439.

⁵²Slagle-Schlegel Genealogy, pp. 13, 27.

⁵³Julius Friedrich Sachse, *Falckner’s Curieuse Nachricht von Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1905), p. 34.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 22, 33.

for matriculation at the University of Leipzig.⁵⁵ It was not unusual for children to be registered for the university at this early age. Whether he graduated or not we do not know, but in 1700 he appears in the Germantown, Pennsylvania, *Ratsbuch*⁵⁶ as being elected constable. We might mention here that the proof that Christopher Friedrich (born Grimma, 24. X. 1676) is identical with Christopher of Germantown appears in our genealogy;⁵⁷ one of the proofs being the fact that the patent of nobility granted to grandfather Christopher in 1651 awarded him the right to use the predicate “von Gottleben.”⁵⁸ We find Christopher Schlegel, Jr., son of the immigrant, using this same predicate, “von Gottleben,” on Easter Day 1796 in Christ Lutheran Church, York, Pennsylvania.⁵⁹ Others appearing in the *Ratsbuch* and living in Germantown are Magister Johannes Kelpius, Daniel Falckner, Domine Justus Falckner (names appearing on the same page of the *Ratsbuch* with Christopher Schlegel),⁶⁰ Johann Gottlieb Seelig, former secretary to Philipp Jakob Spener, and others. Julius Friedrich Sachse, former President of the Pennsylvania-German Society in his *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania* (1895) shows these men to be Rosicrucians (Schlegel is mentioned on page 319). And may we stop here a moment to say a word about the Sachse book. Several scholars have told me that the “book is unscholarly.” Maybe so, but without it I would not have been able to start my search. The book has been invaluable to me. So getting back to Christopher Friedrich, the immigrant (who is now usually referred to as Christopher Schlegel), we find him among the Kelpius group in Germantown. This was a group of “true Rosicrucians” (according to Sachse, page 4).⁶¹ Magister Johann Jacob Zimmermann had been the original leader of the group, but having died on the eve of embarkation to America, Johann Kelpius stepped in as the new leader, and remained so until his death in 1708. Much has been written about Kelpius and his highly developed spirituality. So here we find our sixth generation, Christopher Schlegel, living in Germantown, Pennsylvania, under the leadership of Johann Kelpius. This group was known as “The Woman in the Wilderness.”⁶²

Now Johann Kelpius seems to have had one foot in the Rosicrucian way-of-thinking in Germany before coming to America, and one foot in Rosicrucianism in Germantown. He was born in the vicinity of Denddorf, probably Halwegen, in 1673, and was the son

⁵⁵Slagle-Schlegel Genealogy, p. 13.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 27; illustration 9.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 49, 50; illustration 13.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p. 29; illustration 9.

⁶¹Julius Friedrich Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania, 1694-1708* (Philadelphia, 1895), p. 4.

⁶²*Ibid.*, p. 78.



“Jehovah’s Wings”
Motif on Schlegel
Barn near Han-
over, York County,
Pennsylvania.

of a pastor named Georg Kelp.⁶³ Johann received a good education, first at the high school in Tübingen, and later at the University at Altdorf, where “he graduated in 1689, at the youthful age of sixteen, and was honored with the title of Magister.” At Altdorf he attracted the attention of the principal tutor of the institution, the Reverend Johannes Fabritius (Altdorfinus), and in the year following his graduation (1690) a book was printed bearing upon the title-page the names of both master and scholar, which at that day was an almost unheard-of honor to a student. The title of his work, which is divided into eighteen chapters, is “*Sylla Theologica . . . etc. à Joh. Fabricio, S. Theol. p. p. and M. Joh. Kelpio. Altfordii. 1690, octavo*”⁶⁴. Surely this master-scholar association must have had a Rosicrucian motif, for we find Kelpius’ tutor, Fabritius, a member of the Spener pietistic-Rosicrucian movement, “*Collegia Pietatis*,” along with such Rosicrucian thinkers as Heinrich Horbius, brother-in-law to Spener, Hochmann von Hochenau, August Hermann Francke, Gottfried Arnold, etc.⁶⁵ Another coincidence is that we find Johann Fabritius writing a twenty-page biography of Johann Gerhard in whose house the student, Christopher Schlegel (grandfather of the immigrant, Christopher), lived and studied.⁶⁶ We find a letter from Kelpius written in Germantown dated July 23, 1705, and directed to his old tutor Johann Fabritius, then the head of Helmstadt University.⁶⁷ Also there was correspondence from Daniel Falckner in Germantown to Spener in Germany.⁶⁸

⁶³Waite, p. 601.

⁶⁴Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania, 1694-1708*, p. 222.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 51.

⁶⁶Johann Fabritius, *Historia Bibliotheca Fabricianae*, II, 175-194.

⁶⁷Sachse, *The German Pietists of Pennsylvania, 1694-1708*, pp. 226, 229.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 303, 304.

In the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, VI, 509, we find under Johann Fabritius: “sondern wurde auch zum general inspector der Schulen des Herzogthums Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel ernannt.” Here we are back at Wolfenbüttel, the home of our (by now) old friend August, Duke of Braunschweig and Lüneburg, patron of Johann Valentin Andreae, “father of Rosicrucianism.”

Christopher Schlegel, the immigrant, did not marry until May 15, 1718⁶⁹ (eighteen years after his arrival in America). We can not help but think that this was due to his Rosicrucian leanings, as celibacy was a Rosicrucian tenet. To follow Christopher’s life in America, see genealogy.

Colonel Henry Slagle (his mother seems to have changed the spelling) was the 7th generation, and the second generation in America. He was surely the most prominent of his father’s sons, and possibly the most prominent of any to bear the name Slagle in America. Several biographies have been written about him, and he held many offices, far too many to name here (see genealogy).⁷⁰ He was born in July, 1735, in what is now Adams County, Pennsylvania. He built a handsome home on part of his father’s 501-acre tract near Hanover, Pennsylvania. His will was probated 23 February 1811. One of his more important assignments we quote: “He was one of the York County Delegates to the Provincial Conference of Committees (at Carpenter’s Hall, Philadelphia, 18-25 June 1776), and the first Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention (15 July to 27 Sept. 1776). On 29 July 1775 he was chosen Lieutenant Colonel (later Colonel) of the Third Battalion of the York County Associators. The State Constitutional Convention appointed him on 12 August

⁶⁹Slagle-Schlegel Genealogy, pp. vi, 27.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 48, 51, 52.

1776, one of the three commissioners to proceed to headquarters in New Jersey to organize the Pennsylvania elements of the Flying Camp, and to pay thirty thousand dollars in bounties. This duty took him away from the Convention and he did not sign the Constitution of 1776."¹¹

However, we must not get away from our Rosicrucian motif. Colonel Henry's rather handsome home, tenant houses, barn, etc., have been acquired by the Bethlehem Steel Corporation along with his father's home and several other Slagle estates (all part of Christopher's original 501-acre tract). But our story centers on a rather large stone plaque on the outside of the wall of Colonel Henry's barn. Luckily we have photos¹² of it. The Bethlehem Steel Corporation being interested in the limestone beneath the Slagles' homes, has demolished every building, and set up an enormous plant on the property. The stone plaque is engraved with the initials H+D+S, which obviously stand for Henry and Dorothea (his wife) Slagle. Below this is the date 1782. However, above the initials is what we have come to call "Jehovah's Wings". This appears to be a child's face between two spread wings. This symbol is to be seen on many tombstones etc. in that area, and often

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 48, 51.

¹²*Ibid.*, illustration 14.

thought of as possibly representing an angel. John Joseph Stoudt refers to it as the Virgin Sophia. However, the fact that it appears on a barn has been a cause for much thought and deliberation. After reading Frances A. Yates' *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, in which she mentions "Jehovah's Wings" at least ten times as a Rosicrucian symbol,¹³ and pointing out (p. 127) that "the 'cherubin's wings' seal the scroll brought from New Atlantis, as they seal the *Fama*"; and realizing Colonel Henry's Rosicrucian background we wondered whether the "cherubin's wings" on his barn might not be Rosicrucian "Jehovah's Wings." Our questioning was just about settled when we read in Cornelius Weygandt's book *The Red Hills* (1929), on page 126, under the heading Pennsylvania Barn Symbols: "Some of the shapes of these symbols undoubtedly have their origin in Rosicrucian symbols, which were a matter of moment to several groups among the German Pietists notably to the brethren of 'The Woman of the Wilderness' on the Wissahickon Creek just outside of Philadelphia, and to the members of the Ephrata Cloister in Lancaster County."

So again we ask the question: Were the Schlegels a Rosicrucian Family?

¹³Yates, pp. 55, 94, 100, 192, 95, 97, 126, 127.



Portraits of Colonel Henry and Dorothea Slagle of Hanover, Pennsylvania, attributed to the York County primitive painter Stettinius.

A LOG SETTLER'S FORT/HOME

By RONALD L. MICHAEL and RONALD C. CARLISLE

INTRODUCTION

The fort/home of Thomas Gaddis is one of the earliest extant examples of southwestern Pennsylvania architecture. Gaddis, a Virginia-American, immigrated to present Fayette County, Pennsylvania, then part of the West Augusta District of Virginia from the "Apple Pie Ridge" area (near Winchester) of Virginia perhaps as early as 1754 but more likely after 1758 when General John Forbes temporarily pacified the area Indians.¹

The actual date of his arrival is uncertain. One

¹*Nelson Biographical Dictionary and Historical References Book* (Uniontown, Pennsylvania, 1920), pp. 550-552.

source reported that Gaddis had initially traveled to the area with Major George Washington during the French and Indian War, Fort Necessity Campaign (1754), and was also part of General Edward Braddock's ill-fated venture a year later.² The accuracy of these assertions is questionable. A search of the civilian and muster rolls of the Fort Necessity campaign lists nobody with the surname of Gaddis.³ Further, if the birth date which Gaddis used when applying for a

²Nelson, pp. 550-552.

³Robert Davidson, Manager, Fort Necessity National Battlefield, Interview, March 1974; Charles H. Ambler, *George Washington and the West* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936), pp. 217-221.

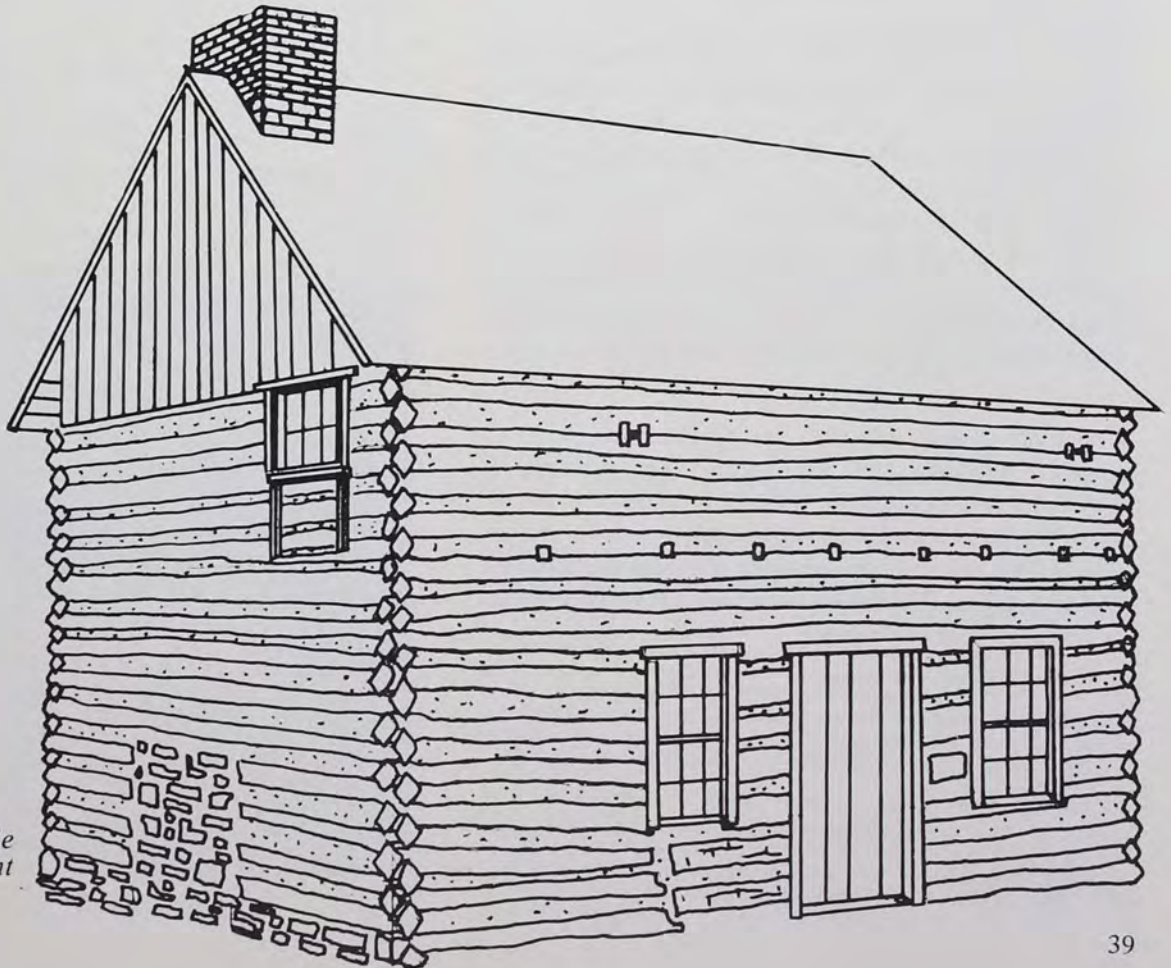


Figure 1. Scale drawing of extant Fort Gaddis.

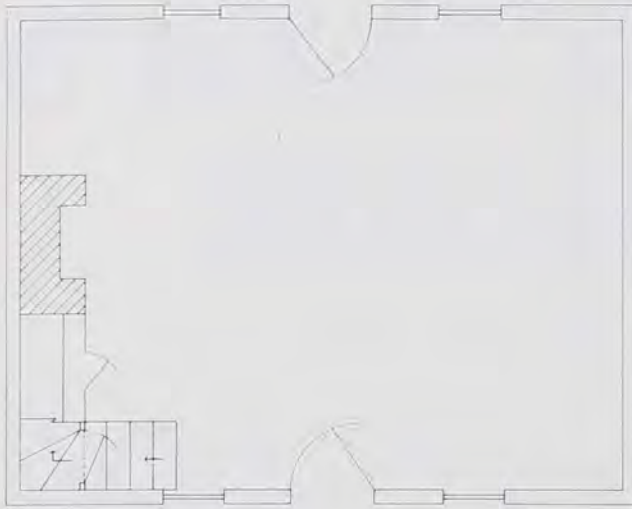


Figure 2. Floor plan, first floor.

Revolutionary War pension is correct (1742)⁴, he would have been but 12 years old during the Washington campaign and only 13 years old when he was supposedly with Braddock. It seems improbable that Gaddis was associated with either expedition. The earliest record of Gaddis' presence in southwestern Pennsylvania is when he applied for a patent on "Hundred Acre Springs" (323¾ acres), the land upon which the building stands, on April 3, 1769, the first day the state's land office offered the area land for sale.⁵ This would imply that Gaddis was in the area prior to 1769, but there is no proof for this assertion.

The piquancy of life in the last quarter of the 18th and first quarter of the 19th Centuries is largely lost, diluted in the impersonal language of nameless clerks, lawyers, tax assessors, and census recorders, but certain insights into the life of the man who built, lived, and raised eight children in this log house on the Pennsylvania frontier can be obtained.⁶

LIFE STYLE

Thomas Gaddis and his bride, Hannah Rice, of unknown residency and nationality, were married in 1764, and two years later their first child was born.⁷ Gaddis' occupation during their early years in southwestern Pennsylvania is unknown but, from 1798 onward it is known that he was a farmer.⁸ He had selected

⁴United States National Archives Microfilm Publications, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files, Microcopy 804, Roll 1039, Frame 0432; Declaration of Thomas Gaddis in Regards to his Service Pension as an Officer in the Revolutionary Army, October 15, 1832.

⁵Pennsylvania, Rolls of the Patent Office, Survey No. 1690, Book 13, pp. 98ff.

⁶Ruth Reddick, Letter, April 21, 1974.

⁷Mrs. Boyd Hustead, Memorandum, March 28, 1974.

⁸United States, Direct Tax of 1798, Tax Lists for the State of Pennsylvania, Ninth Tax Division, Second Assessment District (Fayette County), Union Township.

a plot of land at the foot of the Allegheny Mountains, before there was any town in the vicinity, upon which to construct his homestead. From 1769 until the outbreak of the American Revolution the activities of Gaddis remain obscured. That he was a respected citizen and one whom the residents turned to for leadership became evident in 1776 when he received a commission from the Committee of Safety of Virginia as a captain in the Monongalia County (West Augusta District had been divided into three counties) militia. In that roll he commanded "Capt. Thomas Gaddis' Co".⁹

As a militia leader Gaddis was apparently successful. Within six months of his first commission he was promoted, by Patrick Henry, to Lieutenant Colonel and shortly thereafter to full colonel and County Lieutenant (commander) of the Monongalia County, Virginia, militia. Monongalia County was part of the territory claimed by both Virginia and Pennsylvania, but during the revolution it was the Virginia militia to which many of the settlers of the area belonged. It seems likely that Gaddis' local prominence occurred largely as a result of his being county lieutenant of the militia and being voted third in command and one of only a few "bright spots" in the disastrous 1782 Sandusky Expedition, led by Colonel William Crawford.¹⁰

His socio-economic standing, which should have had a direct bearing on the type of house he lived in, can be noted by several events that occurred shortly after his self-determined retirement from military life. Soon after returning home from the Sandusky Expedition Gaddis served on the first Fayette County (1783) grand jury; a few years later (1787 & 1788) he was elected a county commissioner.¹¹ Nothing is known about his activities in these roles, but they indicate his recognized leadership capabilities. About the same time that he returned to Fayette County, Gaddis and his wife joined the Great Bethel Baptist Church and became instrumental in the planning for the church's first building.¹²

That his affluence as well as social status was rising during the last quarter of the 18th Century was also evident in his payment of state taxes. In 1785 he paid 17s 6p while in 1786 he paid 1£ 16s 4p.¹³ However,

⁹United States, National Archives, Thomas Gaddis Pension Application, S4292.

¹⁰G. P. Von Pilchau, "Journal of a Voluntary Expedition to Sandusky from May 24 to June, 1782," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, XVIII: 2 (1894), 138, 150, 294; Pennsylvania, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Sixth Series, II, 385; V, 320; Gaddis Pension Application.

¹¹T. Ray Fulton, "Ft. Gaddis" in *Fort Necessity and Historic Shrines of the Redstone Country* (Uniontown, Pennsylvania: Fort Necessity Chapter of Pennsylvania Sons of the American Revolution, 1932), p. 144; Fayette County, Commission Book A, 1785-1801, pp. 13, 45.

¹²Isaac Sutton, *Isaac Suttons Great Bethel Church Book for the use of Investing Minutes of Business Transacted by the Church* (Uniontown, Pennsylvania: Great Bethel Baptist Church), pp. 16, 18, 21, 29, 30. Handwritten.

¹³Pennsylvania, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 3rd Series, XXII, 609-610.

Gaddis' true social position and economic wealth are difficult to establish. He ranked, in occupational tax assessment, for the years available (1810-1813), at the median point of assessment of all persons taxed in Union Township. As a farmer, or because he was a farmer, he had no apparent special social position. In fact, in 1810, with occupational assessments ranging from \$25.00-\$1000.00, Gaddis was included with 260 or 48.3% of the residents who were assessed at the median point of \$25.00; then in 1812, with the assessment again ranging from \$25.00-\$1000.00, Gaddis was with 309 or 52.8% of the residents who were at the median point of \$25.00.¹⁴ Unfortunately, since all farmers were assessed at the median point, the occupational tax records may not be valid as a measure of a person's socio-economic position.

Gaddis' situation was a little different when his total assessment for occupation, houses, land, horses, and cows was compared to the same assessment for other township residents (Table 1). For 1810 Gaddis was assessed \$2578.00 and in 1812 his assessment was \$2520.00.

Table 1
Comparative data from total tax assessments of all taxed residents, Union Township, 1810 & 1812

Year	Number	Range of Assessment	Mean	Median	.01 level of confidence	.05 level of confidence
1810	538	\$8.00 - \$7059.00	\$604.52	\$108.00	\$2402.22	\$2007.60
1812	585	\$1.00 - \$9632.00	\$545.71	\$100.00	\$2367.88	\$1967.89

¹⁴Fayette County, Commissioner's Office, Property Rolls, Union Township, 1811-1814.



Figure 3. Window detail.

As indicated in Table 1 Gaddis' assessment for both years showed that he differed significantly at the .01 level of confidence from other township residents. His socio-economic position in respect to all taxables in the township was very high.

Still the total assessment figures do not wholly represent Gaddis' position relative to other residents. Within the total assessment statistics there were individuals represented who owned no real estate and their inclusion in the sample tends to skew the mean, median, standard deviation, and the level of significance figures downward. If the intention is to compare Gaddis to all taxed residents, this inclusion is correct, but if the aim is to better determine his socio-economic position, it may be more accurate to compare Gaddis to other property owners who, presumably, in most cases, were family men and persons of established socio-economic position. When this is done the number of persons in the sample is greatly reduced and Gaddis' socio-economic rank is different (Table 2).

Table 2
Comparative data from tax assessments of property owners Union Township, 1810 & 1812

Year	Number	Range of Assessment	Mean	Median	.01	.05
1810	221	\$20.00 - \$8369.00	\$1355.26	\$886.00	\$3722.53	\$3202.89
1812	223	\$30.00 - \$9632.00	\$1332.01	\$801.50	\$3874.09	\$3316.07

In neither 1810 or 1812 did Gaddis differ significantly from other taxed persons at either the .01 or .05 level of confidence. Instead he ranked at the 85th percentile in tax assessment for both years.

Yet another measure of Gaddis' socio-economic rank in Union Township, which while he lived there included Uniontown, Fayette County's largest town, can be glimpsed by examining the Direct Tax of 1798 assessments.¹⁵ A comparison of Gaddis' assessments (dwelling and land) with the assessments of the other township residents shows how his home and farm acreage compared in size and value to those of other property owners (Tables 3, 4, & 5).

Table 3
Direct Tax of 1798, Union Township, Permanent Dwelling Assessment (excluding cabins) Data

Number Taxed	Range of Assessment	Mean Assessment	Median Assessment
194	\$100.25 - \$1100.00	\$304.02	\$200.00

Table 4
Direct Tax of 1798, Union Township, Farm Size Data

Number of farms	Range of acres	Mean Size of farms	Median Size of farms	.01 Level of significance	.05 Level of significance
158	1 - 596 acres	137.91	100	370.43	319.39

¹⁵United States, Direct Tax of 1798, Tax Lists for the State of Pennsylvania, Ninth Tax Division, Second Assessment District (Fayette County), Union Township.



Figure 4. Fort Gaddis, circa 1880.

Table 5
Direct Tax of 1798, Union Township, Farm Assessment Data

Number of farms	Range of Assessment	Mean Assessment	Median Assessment	.01 Level of significance	.05 Level of significance
159	\$9 - \$7104	\$1181.84	\$749.50	\$3282.66	\$2821.51

The results of the investigation tend to support the conclusion obtained from the tax record study. Gaddis' house was assessed at \$300.00 which placed it slightly below the mean assessment which included stone, frame, and brick homes as well as the generally more modest log home (mean assessment, \$247.52; median assessment, \$175.00), but in regard to median dwelling assessment he ranked at the 67th percentile. More revealing was his rank-order position for farm size and assessment. His farm was the 12th largest in the township ($354\frac{3}{4}$ acres) and his assessment on that acreage placed him 10th highest (\$3369.75). In fact in farm size he differed significantly from the township farm owners at the .05 level of significance and in assessment he differed at the .01 level of significance.

In summary, what the examinations of the various tax records have shown is that, despite Gaddis' apparent low socio-economic position as a farmer as reflected in the occupational tax records, he was a man of wealth and social position. He was a leading property owner

and tax payer but lived in a modest home even though it was one of the highest assessed log homes in the area. His low assessment as a farmer can probably be attributed to a fallacy in the assumption that the occupational assessment for farmers reflects their socio-economic rank. Evidently farmers were principally assessed on their land and therefore their occupational assessment should not be treated as reflective of their community position.

ARCHITECTURE

Fort Gaddis, or the home of Thomas Gaddis, a man of local social importance and wealth, is located in South Union Township, Fayette County, Pennsylvania.¹⁶ The extant original house at the site is a 20 feet 6 inch x 26 feet 4 inch $1\frac{1}{2}$ story notched log structure with the ends of the logs diamond-shaped (Fig. 1). The long axis of the house has a northeast/southwest orientation. The gabled roof, with a 38-39 degree pitch, presently is covered with felt paper, but during the 19th Century it was covered by shakes.¹⁷ The building has a rectangular chimney and all of the interior walls

¹⁶The structure is legendarily and historically known by local residents as a settler's fort, but two years of excavation conducted by the Center for Pre-historic and Historic Site Archaeology, California State College, California, Pennsylvania, and directed by the authors, has not verified those claims.

¹⁷Joseph Brownfield and Sarah Honsake, Interview, July 31, 1974.

are white-washed. The main floor consists of a single room with a fireplace and an adjacent, enclosed storage area at one end (Fig. 2). The eight oak floor beams or sleepers (4½ inches high x 7 inches wide), which are spaced on 34½ inch centers, are covered with 1 inch sawed, splined, wrought nailed oak boards of random width (8½ - 13 inches except around the fireplace where several boards are 17½ - 18 inches wide). At the opposite end of the room from the fireplace, the boards are all 10 feet long. At the fireplace end, and because the fireplace has been reduced in size, as was archaeologically discovered, the boards vary in length. A ¾ x 7½ inch modern pine baseboard extends around the perimeter of the room.

There are 4 double-hung sash windows with 6/6 lights in the room. The frames fit into 32 x 47 inch openings, and each sash is mortised and pegged together (Fig. 3). The mullions and glazing bars are also mortised. The framing is attached on at least one window by rose and L-head nails. Although these window sashes are not modern, members of the family which owned the property for about 150 years claim that prior to a remodeling of the house in the early 20th Century (discussed later) the house had no sashes; it had shutters attached with HL hinges.¹⁸ Their statements, however, contradict an 1880 photograph (Fig. 4) and the Direct Tax of 1798 which lists lights for the extant house and a now defunct addition (Fig. 4). Possibly the shutters, at one time, covered the 6/6 light windows (Fig. 5).

The exterior doors, which are centered in the front and rear walls, are made of random width tongue and grooved boards which have a narrow bead along one lateral edge. The boards are held together by battens, attached with pointless but machine threaded wood

¹⁸*Ibid.*



Figure 6. Strap hinge and pintle on doorway to upstairs.

Figure 7. Dovetail, pinned strap hinge on storage area door between fireplace and doorway to upstairs.



screws. The only evidence of early door hardware is a pair of "Baldwin" case butt hinges and a wrought thumb latch on the rear door. The front door is 15/16 x 35½ x 71 inches overall while the back door measures 1 x 36 x 72 ⅛ inches. The framing on the back door is attached with wrought nails.

Besides the exterior doors there are two additional doors in the room. One is at the stairway entrance to the upstairs. This batten (pointless but machine-threaded wood screws were used) and splined door measures 7/8 x 32 x 73½ inches and is constructed from three irregular width, narrow beaded black walnut boards. It has a wrought thumb latch and is hung by two wrought, friction welded strap hinges and pintles (Fig. 6).

The other door encloses a storage area that abuts the right side of the fireplace (viewer's left) and extends under the upstairs stairway. The door is a splined batten type built of five irregular width black walnut boards that have a narrow bead along one edge; the screws used to fasten the battens are pointless. It measures 13/16 x 19 ¾ x 68 ¾ inches and is hung by two wrought cross garnet, pin hinges (Fig. 7). The present latch is modern and there is no evidence of an earlier latch.

The storage area which this door encloses was built of vertically set 17 inch wide oak boards. The boards directly above the door are 7/8 inches thick and have a narrow bead along one edge and are splined together. The other boards are butted together.

The fireplace, which is used as one wall of the storage area, is made of dressed sandstone. The present



Figure 5. Fort Gaddis, early 20th Century.

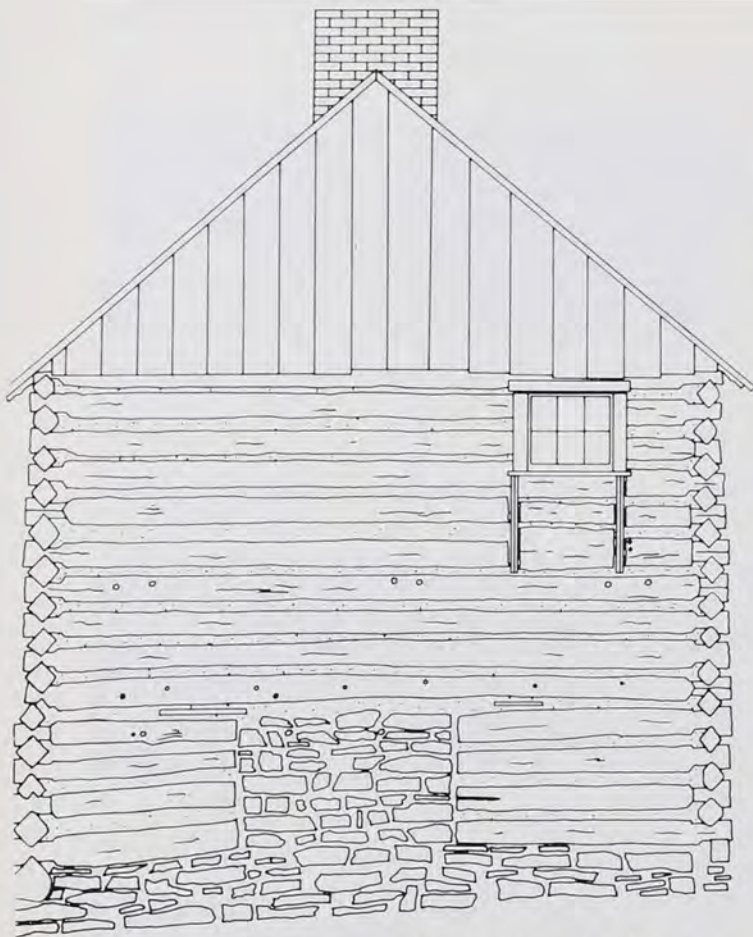


Figure 8. Scale drawing of end of Fort Gaddis where addition was attached. Note narrowed doorway and evidence of earlier exterior fireplace.

firebox opening is 12 inches deep, 36½ wide, and 40 inches high. It was originally 20 inches deep but has been narrowed by the addition of eleven courses of brick. There is no evidence of a crane or a chain having existed within the firebox. This fireplace is faced with a modern mantel; the lintel consists of two pieces of dressed sandstone, and the hearth is a slab of approximately 1½ inch thick concrete. All of the chimney except that covered by the mantel has been plastered with a sand-lime plaster. The chimney and fireplace rise on the inside of the house walls, not outside as in many log houses, but on the exterior wall, rising from the ground level a distance of four logs. The field sandstone chimney extends through an opening in the log wall (Fig. 8). Perhaps the original chimney had been built outside the house and only the firebox opened into the house. Apparently when the main addition was added and a cooking fireplace was built into it, as shown in a photograph taken in 1908 (Fig. 9), the need for a second kitchen fireplace was nonexistent and the original fireplace and chimney were rebuilt. This hypothesis is partially supported by the fact that the opening in the exterior wall was 77 inches wide and 50 inches high, adequate size for a cooking fireplace firebox.¹⁹ However, the fireplace may have always been within the house.

The only other notable architectural feature in the main room is evidence that the front door had at one time been enlarged by the removal of a window as well as the house wall between the door and the window (Figs. 1 & 5). The opening had been 5 feet wider, measuring a maximum of 7 feet 11 inches in width. Neither the purpose nor the date of the modification is known. An 1880 photograph does not show the widened doors (Fig. 4) but a more recent photograph does; however, a 1908 photograph again shows that the narrow door existed (Fig. 9). The renewed logs show numerous broad axe marks unlike the other logs, joists, and rafters, but otherwise the repair work blends nicely with the original carpentry. Even the replaced window matches the other three main floor windows. This, in fact, may have resulted from the use of a window removed from an addition to the house which, if the several 1908 photographs correctly document the architectural modifications made on the house in the early 20th Century, would indicate that the addition was razed contemporaneously with the narrowing of the door. The addition had been built prior to 1798, as the Direct Tax of that year recorded its existence, and perhaps the windows throughout the entire structure matched, thereby making the utilization of a window from the razed area feasible.

The upstairs (Fig. 10) is reached by ascending a 12 step, half spiral stairway. The oak risers are 8½ inches high, the treads are 9½ inches wide, except where the steps are angled, and the noses are ½ inch wide. The half story or loft above the main room was evidently originally reached via a ladder as a piece of a second floor joist had been removed when the stairway was built, a feature certainly not original in the house. The change from a ladder to a stairway may have occurred when the addition was attached and a door was cut through from the loft of the original house to the loft of the addition (Figs. 8 & 9). Because the fireplace of the original house was nearly centered in the gable end wall adjacent to the addition, headroom was insufficient at either side of the fireplace for cutting a floor-level door between the original house and the addition. A door had to be cut with the landing below floor level. Thus, the tread of a step was utilized as a landing. The bottom of the connecting doorway was 24½ inches below the loft level. This door was apparently used until the addition was removed and then a mortised and pegged single sash, six light window and several log segments were used to close the doorway. The door had been 36½ x 67 inches, and the reduced window opening is 34 inches high and 36½ inches wide.

¹⁹Ronald L. Michael and Ronald Carlisle, "The Peter Colley Tavern, 1801-1854", *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XXIII: 1 (1973) 36.



Figure 9. Fort Gaddis, September 1909.

The floor upstairs is made of random width ($6\frac{1}{2}$ - 12 inch), splined oak boards (Fig. 11) and is wrought nailed to nine, approximately $3\frac{3}{4}$ x 7 inch joists which in most instances protrude about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches through the logs on the rear exterior of the house. In almost all instances two boards, which abut off center in the loft room, are used to cover the linear distance from one end of the room to the other end. Only around the chimney are more than two boards used.

The exterior log walls in the loft room extend 52 inches above the floor. At the gable ends of the house, vertically sawed boards which vary from $11\frac{1}{2}$ - 12 inches in width extend vertically from the tops of the logs to the roof line. On the other two sides of the room the top log acts as a plate for the rafters to rest upon.

The primary rafters (9 in number) which vary from $36\frac{1}{6}$ - 40 inches on center are approximately $3\frac{3}{4}$

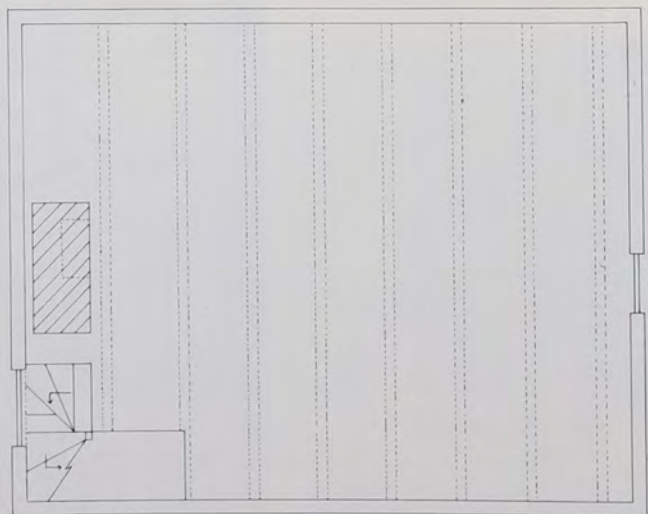


Figure 10. Floor plan, second floor.



Figure 11. Splined floor boards on second floor.

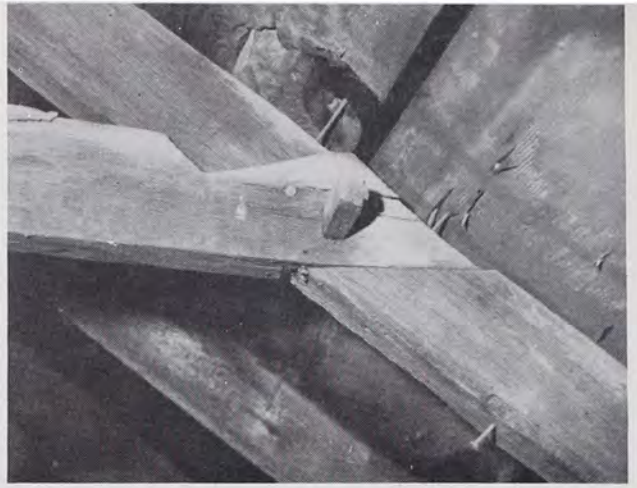


Figure 12. Detail of windbeam attachment.

inches high and 3 inches wide. They are lap joined and pegged at the gable, and, as such, no ridge pole was utilized. Eight secondary rafters are 2 x 4's. Sometime after the primary rafters were set, rough sawed, about 2 3/4 x 3 1/4 inch, and milled 2 x 4 wind beams were lap joined and pegged to the rafters (Fig. 12). With the addition of the wind beams, the floor to ceiling (bottom of wind beams) height upstairs, at the highest point, became 78 inches.

At one end of the upstairs room, adjacent to the stairway and approximately 4 1/2 inches inside the exterior log wall was the brick chimney. From ground level to 9 inches below the level of the upstairs floor, the chimney is stone, but the upper portion is brick. On the left side of the chimney (viewer's right) a firebox had been constructed. It is presently bricked shut and the chimney's deteriorated condition did not allow it to be opened, but the opening measures 28 inches in width and 29 inches in height. It had a solid dressed sandstone lintel (Fig. 13).

At the opposite end of the upstairs room from the fireplace there is a second upstairs window. It is a

modern sash six light window which was set into a 29 1/2 inch wide x 45 1/2 inch high opening in the logs.

In conclusion, while the log house has survived since construction with reasonably few modifications, its architecture and hardware do not supply definitive data indicative of its construction date. Some of the hardware, such as the wrought hinges and thumb latches, could date to the historically alleged construction period of 1758 - 1770, but it could also date to the late 19th Century. The "Baldwin" butt hinges and point-less screws probably date to the first half of the 19th Century.²⁰

Regardless of the inconclusive dating information, adequate historical documentation exists to support a pre-Revolutionary War building date. The features described herein should be useful as an indicator of early southwestern Pennsylvania architecture. The type of house, modest by present standards, was apparently adequate for one of the area's more influential and wealthy residents.

²⁰Henry C. Mercer, *The Dating of Old Houses* (Doylestown, Pennsylvania: Bucks County Historical Society, 1926), pp. 24-25.

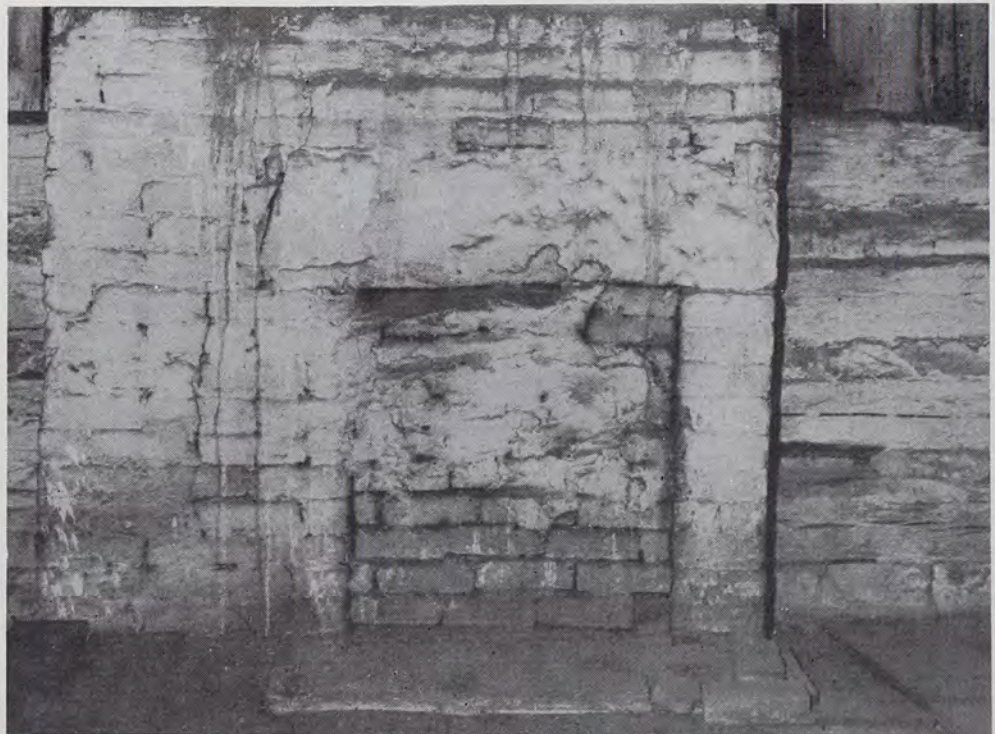


Figure 13. Second floor fireplace. Note whitewashing of fireplace and logs.

PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH STUDIES AT URSINUS COLLEGE, 1976

By WILLIAM T. PARSONS

One of the relatively new programs which combines cultural, historical, and folk-ethnic dimensions, is the Pennsylvania Dutch Studies Program of Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pennsylvania. An experimental two-week summer program in 1974 aroused much interest and proved viable; courses do earn undergraduate credits. Dr. Evan S. Snyder, Professor of Physics, and Dr. William T. Parsons, Professor of American History, created the program and continue to direct it.

After that successful start, an expanded program of six weeks' duration (from June through early August, 1975) offered morning and afternoon classes in Pennsylvania Dutch Culture and History, and a basic course in the dialect language. Afternoon seminars, with modular scheduling options, allowed students to take from one to four semester hours of credit. In 1975, the Pennsylvania Department of Education approved the Pennsylvania Dutch Culture and History course for in-service credits, in units of three and six.

The resources of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, in Myrin Library of Ursinus College, and of the Kutztown Folk Festival, are available to the students. Research assistance, folk-cultural events, and folklife interviews constitute novel portions of the summer classes. Tours of the Dutch Country of Southeastern Pennsylvania have taken classes to the Schwenkfelder Library, Historic Bethlehem, Augustus Lutheran and the Falkner Swamp Reformed Churches and the Blessed Sacrament Church in Bally.



Seminar lecturers Louis A. King, Novelist Marguerite Di Angeli, Dr. Mary Alice Minderhout, and Professor Parsons.

Music and art resources, the Historical Society of Montgomery County and that of Berks, but especially the photographic tour up into the Oley Valley, culminating in the visit to the home-museum of the Fisher Family, just outside Yellow House, all yielded dividends in interest and in fresh experiences for students and faculty. Contemporary poet Millen Brand discussed his book-of-the-month *Local Lives*, with Clarence G. Reitnauer, subject of several poems; each then read favorite passages of poetry to the seminar class and the many guests in attendance that day.

Plans for the Bicentennial Summer of 1976 — the Program is an approved ARBA activity at National, State, County and local levels — are already underway. Courses will be available for the full twelve weeks of Summer School, from June 2 to August 24, 1976.



Class visits Peter Wentz house in Montgomery County.



Dr. Earl Robacker instructing seminar in folk art at Kutztown Festival.

One specialized term on Folk Music and Formal Music of the Dutch will meet in June. Folk Art and the art of such painters as Valentine Haidt, Jacob Eichholtz, Edward and Richard Kern, Lewis Miller and Franz Kline, plus the architectural design of Thomas U. Walter, will be presented in August. Six weeks of morning classes (June 23 to August 3) will again cover Pennsylvania Dutch Culture and History, accompanied by a course on the poetry, prose, and theater in *Pennsylvanisch Deutsch* dialect.

Afternoon seminars will deal with Folk Art, Fraktur, Local Sources of Folk Culture and Antiques within the independent week-by-week schedule. Clarence G. Reitnauer will discuss his *Shdivvel Knecht* dialect column and radio experience. William Woys Weaver takes an intensive look at German, Swiss, and Penn-

sylvan German architecture in his *Scheiere un Seelenfenschter*. He has recently returned from an architectural tour of Switzerland, and has implemented his German-Swiss coverage.

In addition, Robert Bucher will discuss the Folk Crafts and Craftsmen at the Festival. Blanche Schultz and Michael Snyder will offer specialities on the Schwenkfelders, and on the Genealogy of Pennsylvania Dutch families.

All in all, 1976 promises to be a summer to remember, for those who wish to combine pleasant company with a novel learning experience, in friendly surroundings. Further information may be obtained from Professor William T. Parsons, Director, Pennsylvania Dutch Studies Program, Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pennsylvania, 19426.



Festival craftsman at work.



Isaac C. Kulp, Jr., authority on "plain" religion.



Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 43

THE COUNTRY SALE

The country sale or auction served several functions in American culture. When a farm was sold, especially when the family occupying it moved to another farm or closed out the business, the stock and household goods as well as the property were offered at auction. In this questionnaire we wish to elicit materials on the rural auction from our readers.

1. *Terminology of Sale.* Auctions were earlier called "vendues". If you are familiar with this term, please explain it and cite evidence of its use in Pennsylvania. How frequent was its use in Pennsylvania German? What other terms were used for sale?

2. *Time of Country Sales.* When were sales usually held? Were they held at any time of the year, or were there particular times when they were normally held, as for instance in the Spring, when leases on farms expired and tenants often moved to another farm, after "having sale" of the stock and household goods not taken along to the new place.

3. *The Auctioneer.* Who were the auctioneers in the local community that you remember? What were their characteristics? What do you recall of their "style" of auctioneering?

4. *Order of Sale.* Record what you recall about the order of selling stock and household goods at a country sale? How were the objects arranged for the sale? What sort of "lots" were made up of the items for sale?

5. *Bidding System.* What bidding system was used

at the auctions that you are familiar with? What signs or symbols were used to indicate a bid?

6. *Payment Arrangement.* What payment arrangement is (or was) available at the sales that you have participated in?

7. *Sale Bills.* Describe the sale bills that you are familiar with. How are they distributed? Where were they available to those interested? How else are sales advertised — by word of mouth, in local newspapers? Do local (county) newspapers ever publish sale bills in their columns?

8. *Modern Auctions.* Describe the modern auctions that you are familiar with. What is their purpose? If these are auctions of one type of commodity, e.g., horses, chickens, or antiques, list and describe such auctions as still exist in your communities.

9. *Auction Meals.* Who served the meals or refreshments at the auctions which you have attended?

10. *Lore of the Auction.* Please write down for us any amusing or revealing stories, jokes, rhymes or other lore which are associated in your memories with the country sale.

Send your replies to:

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



For The Folk Festival Brochure Write To:
PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE SOCIETY
 College Blvd. and Vine, Kutztown, Pennsylvania 19530

The Festival and its Sponsorship

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

