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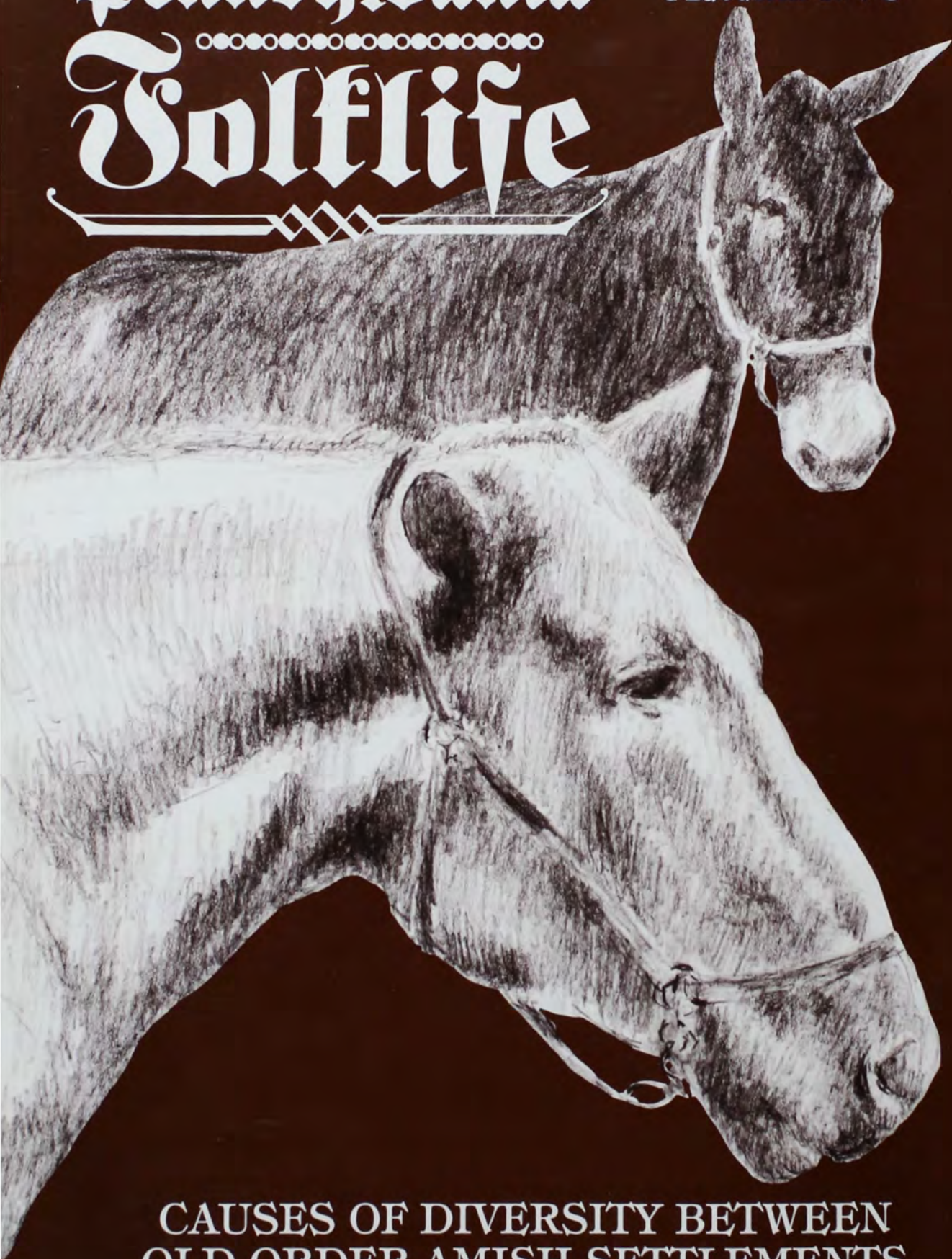
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Pennsylvania Doll life

Autumn 1993



CAUSES OF DIVERSITY BETWEEN
OLD ORDER AMISH SETTLEMENTS

FROM THE EDITOR

In January 1993, I was named editor of *Pennsylvania Folklife* with the expectation that I would make a few changes. In keeping with our interest in folklife, however, I hope that the changes will be sensitive to our traditions and not throw them away haphazardly. I will avoid change for the sake of change, and I hope that our many faithful readers will feel as comfortable with our new format as they did with the old. I believe that the major strength of *Folklife* through the years has been our ability to simultaneously maintain a high level of scholarship and readability; I intend to continue to emphasize both. Still, a few changes are necessary.

Pennsylvania Folklife appeared in 1957 as the successor to the *Pennsylvania Dutchman*. As the *Dutchman*, from 1949 to 1957, the periodical printed articles about Pennsylvania German folklife, folklore, and culture. In 1957, the name was changed with the expectation that the magazine would be more eclectic and include articles not only on the Pennsylvania Germans, but on other ethnic groups as well. Traditions are difficult to change, and while *Folklife* has included articles on other ethnic groups, we still receive a disproportionate number of submissions on the Pennsylvania Germans.

I believe that folklife is best understood through a comparison of several groups rather than in an in-depth exploration of a single group. In order to help me include non-Pennsylvania German groups, I have expanded the editorial advisory board. The new members of the board are David Hufford (Hershey Medical Center), John Roberts (University of Pennsylvania), Susan Kalčik (Allegheny Highlands Heritage Project), and Kenneth Thigpen (Pennsylvania State University). I look forward to working with these new members, and will continue to depend on the old members.

Tom Gallagher



**Pennsylvania
Folklife**

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COVER:

"One characteristic of the Amish frequently emphasized is the homogeneity of their society . . . While there is a high degree of similarity within and between Amish communities . . . there is also a considerable amount of variation." These variations, "some subtle and some glaring, are very significant whether we look at the differences between communities, between church districts in a community, or between individual members of a single church district."

CAUSES OF DIVERSITY BETWEEN OLD ORDER AMISH SETTLEMENTS

by Thomas E. Gallagher, Jr.

Opportunities often appear unexpectedly, and my chance to work with the Amish was truly unanticipated. I was preparing myself for an extended stay in Micronesia to engage in my doctoral dissertation research, when I was told that John Hostetler was looking for a few graduate students to help him with some new research among the Old Order Amish in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. I arranged to meet with Hostetler to discuss his research and a possible role in it for me. The conversation must have gone well, because immediately afterward he asked me to work with him as an interviewer. I was ecstatic. Without a second thought, I accepted his offer, and almost as fast I was traveling to Lancaster County with a very limited understanding of the Amish. I was aware of the Amish and had even driven behind a carriage on occasion, but since I was hired as an interviewer, my limited knowledge about the Amish was actually desirable, for it meant it was unlikely I would distort the answers I received. More importantly, I now have sympathy for people who have a very limited understanding of the Amish.

The Old Order Amish, one of the most recognized small groups in America, are also one of the most misunderstood. This is largely due to a tourist industry that developed and flourishes by exploiting the Amish, or, more precisely, by exploiting the tourist industry's conception of these Plain people. The tourist industry is able to capitalize on the Amish for a variety of reasons. First, the Amish are unwilling to resist their exploiters, and reluctant to explain themselves, their lifestyle, and their beliefs to the outside world. Second, their lifestyle contrasts dramatically with the rest of society, making it easy to excite the interest of outsiders. Third, the Amish can be explained logically as a society that rejects the modern world and lives in the past even though this is only partly true. As a result of these reasons, and others, the tourist industry has been able to transform the Amish from a living, breathing culture into a mythical society. So a traveller to Lancaster County is presented with information that has been packaged for the public by the self-proclaimed spokespeople for the Amish, the tourist industry.

Arguably, the tourist industry understands tourists much better than they understand the Amish. They know that

the sightseer wants to see life as it used to be lived, or perhaps what life would be like today if many modern conveniences were not used. The tourist industry gives people what they want. Clearly, tourists arrive in Lancaster County already encumbered with a number of preconceptions about the Amish, and many already know what they will find. That they have preconceptions can be seen in their reactions when they discover an Amish person acting in a way they did not expect. Rather than accepting this unanticipated behavior as a reason to question their own preconceptions, visitors will criticize the Amish person for not following Amish beliefs, or, more precisely, for not following what they think Amish beliefs should be. Obviously, tourists do not want to understand the Amish. If they did, they would not become angry whenever they find that the Amish do not fit the myth.

One characteristic of the Amish frequently emphasized is the homogeneity of their society. This, of course, while broadly true, is, as you might expect, another misrepresentation. While there is a high degree of similarity within and between Amish communities, we would be terribly remiss not to point out that there is also a considerable amount of variation. The uniformity is accentuated because it is easier to present generalities than individual differences; and because the dramatic contrasts between the Amish and the surrounding world allow for abstractions which simplify efforts to explain who the Amish are; even though this generalization also distorts. Still, the variations, some subtle and some glaring, are very significant whether we look at the differences between communities, between church districts¹ in a community, or between individual members of a single church district.

Many of the differences between communities, church districts, and individuals, are elusive, except for someone who is knowledgeable about the Amish and who knows what to look for. For the casual observer, these contrasts are very easily missed. Comparing the Old Order Amish settlements of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, with those of Dover, Delaware, for example, we can see many dissimilar traits. In Lancaster, farmers will work their fields with both horses and mules, while in Dover they will only use horses. Most people would not remember that they had

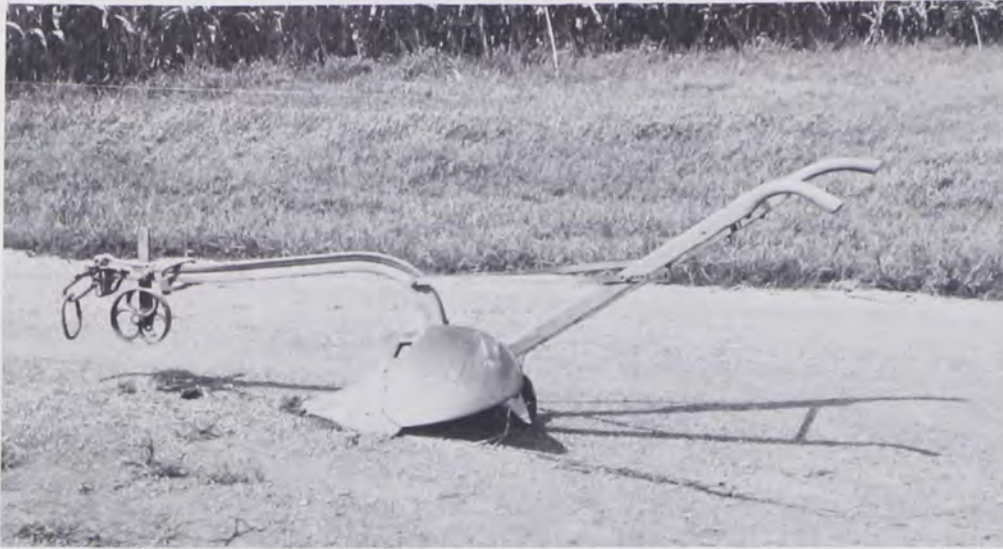


In Lancaster County Amish farmers work their fields with horses and mules; the Amish in the Dover, Delaware, area use only horses.

not seen any mules in the Delaware community. In Lancaster you will see a farmer plowing his family's garden with a walking plow and his fields with a two-bottom, sulky plow, while in Dover you will only see walking plows. Once again, most observers would not notice the absence of a two-bottom plow in Dover. In Lancaster, the grandparents will live in an addition attached to the house of a member of the younger generation, while in Dover, the grandparents will live in a separate house, usually on the opposite side of the farm lane from a child or grand-

child. Since the grandparents will be taken care of in either case, the apparently minor difference between having an attached or unattached grandparents' house will be viewed as unimportant. None of these differences is very visible, but each is very important when analyzing the relationship between the Dover community and the Lancaster County community.

Dissimilarities between Amish communities are a vital concern to them. This does not mean that all differences have the same effect on their relationship with each other.



Lancaster County Amish farmers use walking plows and two-bottom sulky plows; Dover Amish farmers use only walking plows.

Some variations are highly disruptive and result in a lack of fellowship between communities. Lack of fellowship means that the ministers in the two groups cannot preach at each other's services. Some differences are inconsequential, simply a matter of choice with no far-reaching significance. Still other differences are impossible to judge from outside the community, because in many instances it is unclear whether the differences will end up being disruptive or not.

Variations that are insignificant would include such things as the color of the carriages—black in Dover and grey in Lancaster County, and the color of the men's trousers—blue denim for Dover and black in Lancaster County. This does not mean that the color of carriages and trousers will never cause a fission between church districts or settlements, but in the relationship between Lancaster and Dover these colors seem to be merely alternative choices. Some church districts in Lancaster County follow daylight-saving time, while many districts refuse to change their clocks. This does not seem to be a cause of dissention, although it can be the cause of a lively discussion. Among those who choose to keep standard time are farmers, especially dairy farmers, who find that animals do not adjust very well to changes in time. Those who find it convenient to shift to daylight-saving time often have a lot of contact with the outside world and find it convenient to follow the time of the outside world. And differences can even exist on the level of individuals, even within a single church district. There are decisions, such as whether to visit a physician, see a chiropractor, or employ the services of a reflexologist that are open to personal choice. In Lancaster County, members of the Old Order have also been free to practice no-till agriculture, or to continue tilling. There are discussions about the pros and cons of each practice, but at this point it is still a matter of opinion.

Differences that lead to tensions between communities include whether to permit the use of milking machines—Lancaster County—or to reject their use—Dover—until very recently. Or whether it is permissible to use farm machinery that is not traction driven but needs to have a small internal combustion engine in order to operate. Lancaster County has accepted the internal combustion engine while Dover has not. Between church districts within a single settlement there are disagreements over whether artificial insemination is permissible for the dairy herd, or whether a bull must be used to impregnate the cows. And is it permissible to install a complete tile bathroom with tub and shower? Individual differences that are disruptive will usually lead to the excommunication of the miscreant member, which is an extreme example of division.

Then there are differences which are difficult to evaluate. For twenty years now, the Old Order Amish have been using electronic calculators. The Amish in Canada, however, have recently decided to reject the use of any equipment that requires a computer chip.² Will this change among the Canadian Amish force them to assume that all other communities should return to the days when calculators were not used if they wish to maintain fellowship? In Lancaster County, young men have stopped using the open-top courting carriage and have chosen to purchase market wagons instead. Is this an important change or a relatively innocuous one? Within the Lancaster County settlement, while none of the Old Order church districts allow telephones in the home, in some, members have their phones closer than in others. And, as more and more families are unable to afford farms, choosing instead to run a business or enter some other non-farming activity, will both the farming and non-farming families be able to coexist in the same church district?

Although there is a significant amount of variation from settlement³ to settlement among the Amish, they have managed to avoid some division by accepting a certain amount of diversity. Still, the Amish strive to maintain common practices, and believe that this is the best way to preserve fellowship.⁴ So why, if the Amish would like to avoid change, does it occur anyway? Change is the result of a variety of factors, some external and some internal. If we are to understand the many differences we see between different Amish communities, we must recognize that change is an inevitable result of social life and that the Amish are making these changes on a church-district by church-district basis. The Amish, although they resist change, and work hard to control the amount and direction of change, are not free to avoid change. Inevitably communities are forced to adjust to pressures from the outside world. Each community carefully decides how to adjust, but the result is very different choices by different communities.

In Lancaster County, mechanization has enabled them to keep farming viable until very recently. As a result, the vast majority of Amish families were farm families. In Dover, however, rejecting mechanization made it very difficult to afford to farm. Many families in Dover had to give up farming and the fathers entered other businesses such as carpentry. Why did these two communities move in very different directions?

The changes we see today did not occur in a vacuum, and they can only be understood in a historical and cultural framework. To understand what is happening today, we must understand how the Amish community in America has changed over the past 250 years. Despite the fact that there were two migrations of Amish from Europe, one in the pre-Revolutionary War period and one from the early to the mid-1800s,⁵ the Amish community grew slowly prior to 1900. In 1900 there were a total of 32 church districts in America, six of which were located in Lancaster County.⁶ Today, there are over one hundred church districts in Lancaster County and almost nine hundred in the United States and Canada.⁷ While there were a number of causes for slow population growth during the first century and a half the Amish lived in America, part of the reason seems to have been that the Amish were not as different from the rest of society then as they are today. In terms of their beliefs, the Amish were different from other religions in America, but in terms of their appearance, there just were not that many differences. In his book *Rosanna of the Amish* (1940), Joseph Yoder indicates that the main visible difference between the Amish and other farmers was that the Amish used hooks and eyes to fasten their coats rather than buttons. Everything else was similar.

Until the early years of this century, the Amish, who are now viewed as some of the most conservative farmers in the United States, were among the most progressive.⁸ This shift from among the most progressive to the most conservative was not due to a change in beliefs or practices by the Amish. Rather, the changes occurred outside the

Amish community. In this century, the criteria used to identify progressive and conservative changed. Prior to this century, although some labor-saving farm machinery was developed such as the McCormick reaper and the sulky plow,⁹ most of the changes that increased productivity still required intensive physical labor. During the early part of this century, most of the changes in farming that were seen as progressive involved mechanization; hence, less physical labor. Since the Amish have always emphasized physical labor and rejected laziness, the new changes produced a serious problem. When progressive was defined in terms of farming techniques that required hard physical labor, the Amish were at the forefront. When progressive began to be defined in terms of new farm machinery that required mechanical power rather than human labor, then the Amish stopped being among the most progressive. If we evaluate farming in terms of productivity per person, then machines increase productivity. If, on the other hand, we evaluate farming in terms of productivity per acre, then the Amish are still able to compete and to compete very well.¹⁰

The Amish resisted mechanization. Slowly, however, some mechanization crept onto Amish farms, but the introduction of machinery did not occur uniformly across all Amish communities, or for that matter in all church districts within a single community. The Old Order Amish community in Lancaster County adopted mechanization early, and adopted a wide range of machines. Dover, Delaware, like a number of other Old Order Amish communities, resisted these changes. What happened?

As Amish communities grow, their needs increase; especially the need for more farmland. Early Amish farms were several hundred acres in size. Today, in the center of Lancaster County, the size of farms hovers around fifty acres. With several hundred acres of land farms could be divided and subdivided. Today, however, farms are about as small as they can be if farming is to take place, so when a family has several sons, non-Amish farms must be bought. When buying farms that were not Amish farms, the Amish must pay the going price and they must compete with developers and corporations that are willing to pay higher prices than farmers. So part of the problem that the Amish face today is the direct result of their success in keeping their children as members of the community, assisted by the rapid introduction of labor-saving devices in farming.

Different communities respond differently to pressures from the outside world. Responses can be different and still not violate the principles of the Amish community because the Amish are a congregational church: each church district is independent of every other church district, and decisions are made only with the unanimous agreement of the congregation. The congregational nature of the Amish Church has far-reaching consequences. Since each church can, and does, change independently, it is possible that different churches will change in entirely different ways. Of course, there are factors which encourage similarity rather than difference. While each church is independent,



Milking machines on an Amish farm in Lancaster County, where the decision to accept some mechanization was made a long time ago.

they all adhere to the traditional religious view of the Amish which encourages reading the Bible literally, and following the prescriptions and proscriptions of the Bible as accurately as possible. Still, different solutions often result when the community changes as a result of pressure from the world. For example, increases in the price of farmland and increases in the cost of running farms, coupled with pressures from the consumers of farm products such as the large dairies, have changed Amish farming.

Increasing farm prices and pressure from dairies and state and local governments forced the Amish to make a choice between two goods found in the Bible. One is to work hard and not be lazy, which argues against mechanization;¹¹ the other is to care for the children and encourage them to be followers of Jesus Christ, which means becoming a member of the Amish faith,¹² which is accomplished most effectively by raising the children on a farm. In Lancaster County, the decision was made a long time ago to accept some mechanization. I cannot tell you with complete certainty why this decision was made, but I do know that one Amishman told me when he sees that those Amish communities that refused mechanization had to give up their farms, he is convinced that Lancaster County made the correct decision. The degree to which the Lancaster Community adopted machinery in order to increase their cash flow so they could afford the higher-priced farms,



The Dover Amish community resisted mechanization until very recently, preferring more traditional methods and practices.

and the degree to which they adopted machinery because they had an urge to mechanize, I cannot tell you. All that is clear is that the Lancaster Community was able to keep a larger percentage of their population farming than Dover, Delaware. In Dover, the decision was to reject mechanization. This prevented any increase in cash flow, and even though the cost of farms there is much less than it is in Lancaster County, the Amish in Dover are losing their farms at a much greater rate.

Internal pressures are also an important component of change. People in a church district are individuals even though there is a considerable amount of pressure for them to conform. Clearly there are limits beyond which no member may stray; for example, a member of an Old Order community who wants to own or even drive an automobile will violate the *Ordnung*¹³ of his church district.

Given the potential for internal diversity, does it occur randomly? Sometimes yes, but usually no. Diversity among the members of a church district does follow certain internal divisions, such as those between young and old members, between ordained and non-ordained members, between farmers and non-farmers, etc. While these differences are not absolute, some generalities may be made. The young often want changes that older members of the community feel the Amish should not have, although some of the younger members want to return to a more conservative

past. The ordained members of a church district often feel they should be more traditional than non-ordained members who may adopt items ordained members will forgo. And, farmers have different needs than non-farmers, especially when the increase in non-farmers is a direct result of land prices; still, it seems more likely that non-farmers will desire more change than farmers.

There exists a lot of room for diversity, and some flexibility is needed. The Dover community, for instance, is in transition, with a considerable number of families moving to other communities. Reports in the local newspapers suggest the main reason for the Amish migration is the high price of farmland. The price of farmland is a real problem for the Amish in Dover, as can be seen by the large number of families depending on carpentry and other non-farming occupations for their survival. But the issue in Dover is much more complex than just the price of farmland.

Admittedly, the rise in the cost of farms has created a number of problems. With more and more members leaving farming, and a greater percentage of non-farmers than farmers leaving the Amish church, the community is seeking adjustments. As long as the Dover church districts did not allow milking machines, the number of cows that could be milked was eight to twelve. With only eight to twelve cows being milked, the farms were not producing enough money. Recognizing that some changes have to be made, the community is searching for a middle road. Money must be generated, but how much change will be acceptable? The districts are trying to make as many people happy as they can, and are losing people at both ends of the spectrum as a result. Some of the families in Dover are concerned with the rapid change that is taking place in the Dover community as they are beginning to accept milking machines, bulk milk tanks, and other conveniences that were resisted for so many years. Some of the families are leaving Dover to move to more conservative communities. Some of the families are leaving to move to more progressive communities. Leaving a conservative church district to move to a progressive church district, even when it is in another community, is a delicate process, but when the father of the family is a carpenter because he cannot afford a farm, and when moving to a new community will permit the family to reenter farming, then it is very hard to tell them they cannot go. Other families are leaving Dover and moving to more conservative communities. These people have found communities where farmland is a lot cheaper, and the Amish in these communities are able to continue farming in more traditional ways and still keep the farm.

As communities make different choices and begin to diverge, what happens? If the differences are great enough, the two communities will cease being in fellowship and will no longer allow their ministers to preach at each other's church services. What often happens, however, is a conscious attempt to keep the divergence under control.

There are many reasons for different church districts or

different settlements to diverge; still, there is a strong desire to maintain close relationships as long as possible. In Dover they accept the idea that in Lancaster County mechanization was needed in order to counteract the high cost of farms. They accept this explanation for Lancaster County but still resist mechanization for themselves. What makes this unusual is that the Dover community has its own problem with the high cost of farms, a cost that is driving their own families off of farms.

When two groups of Amish are living by different rules, what permits them to remain in fellowship with each other? Several issues are basic. First, the two communities must have a vested interest in maintaining fellowship. Second, it is easier to accept differences when the geographical distance between communities is great rather than small. Geographical distance is important not simply because these two communities can have limited contact with each other, but also because they can justify differences since the basic environment of the two communities is significantly different. Third, if both communities have changed properly, that is if they have accepted the change as a congregation under the leadership of a bishop, then the change may be acceptable.

The Amish are a paradox. They are simultaneously a group that eschews change, yet a group that has undergone a significant amount of change. The true irony, however, is that they began to be successful—measured by the increase in their population—only after they began to resist change. Then, because they were successful, they were forced to change.

ENDNOTES

¹The church district is composed of the families that worship together. Because the Amish worship in their homes, the size of their church districts are usually quite small.

²Gertrude Enders Huntington, personal communication.

³The term settlement is defined by Hostetler as a group of Amish families that live in a contiguous relationship. Settlements may be large or small, but they are close together geographically. See, Hostetler, *Amish Society*, fourth edition, p. 91.

⁴Church districts that are in fellowship with each other will allow their ministers to preach during each other's church services.

⁵John A. Hostetler, *Amish Society*, fourth edition, (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), pp. 54-66.

⁶Hostetler, *Amish Society*, fourth edition, p. 97.

⁷*The New American Almanac for the Year of Our Lord*, 1993 (Baltic, OH: B. J. Raber, 1993), pp. 28-60.

⁸Hostetler, *Amish Society*, fourth edition, p. 116.

⁹Gideon L. Fisher, *Farm Life and its Changes* (Gordonville, PA: Pequea Publishers, 1978), pp. 84-91.

¹⁰Hostetler has indicated that there has been some research on crop yields which indicates that the Amish actually produce much less than comparable mechanized farmers. A study by Victor Stoltzfus of Goshen College concluded that the Illinois Amish produced significantly less per acre (70 to 130 bushels of corn per acre) than mechanized farmers did (150 to 170 bushels of corn per acre). "The Illinois Amish use very little commercial fertilizer, use much less nitrogen, and maintain wider rows in the field than do non-Amish farmers." (1993:124) The Lancaster County Amish, however, use commercial fertilizer, and have planted their rows as close as mechanized farmers do.

¹¹11 Thess. 3:10.

¹²Prov. 22:6.

¹³The *Ordnung* are rules of the church district which are agreed upon by both the ordained leaders of the church and the lay members. These rules, because they are created by people, may change.

DANIEL DANNER, WOODTURNER:
An Early 19th-Century Rural Craftsman
in Central Pennsylvania

by James D. McMahon, Jr.

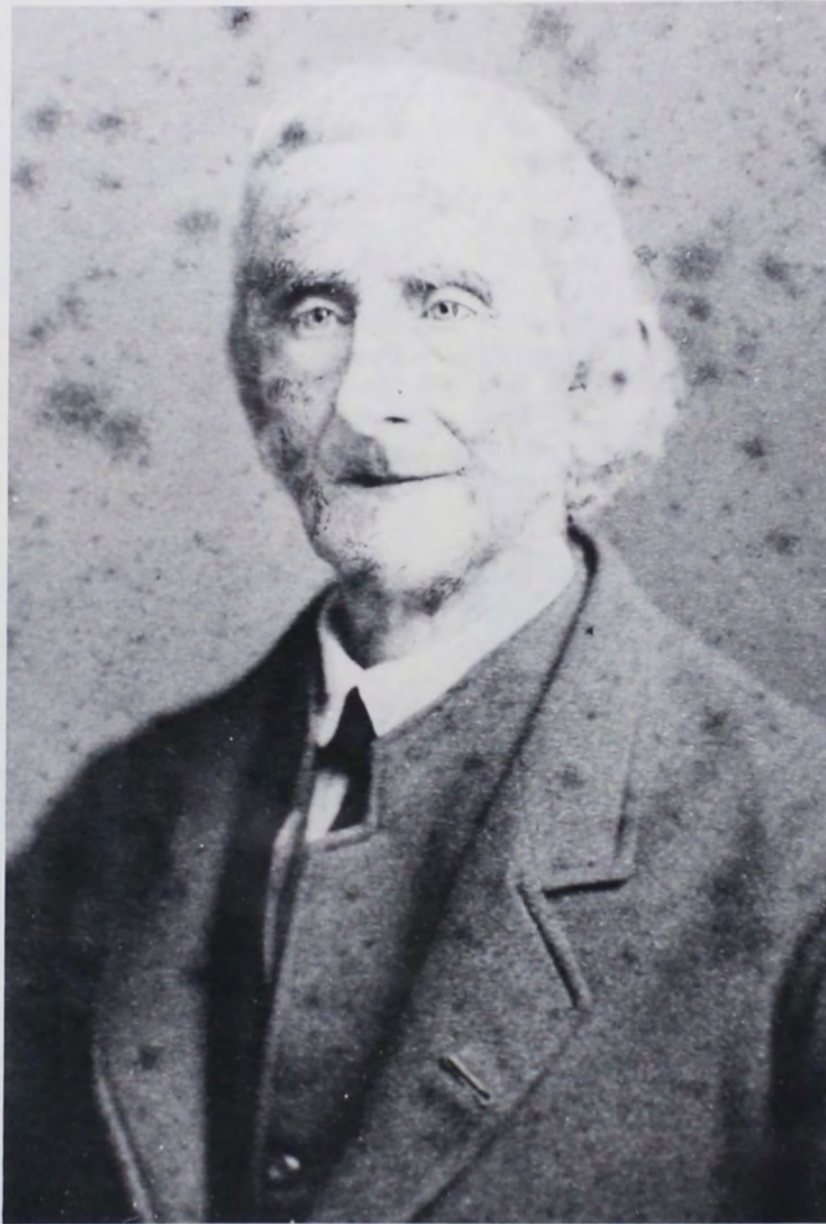


Fig. 1. Daniel Danner as he appeared late in life.

Working in the Hershey Museum, I have always been attracted by the institution's fine collection of spinning wheels and winding reels made by Daniel Danner, a Pennsylvania-German woodturner who worked in 19th-century Manheim, Lancaster County. Though handsome and precisely executed, these wheels are not extraordinary in any way. They are significant, however, as signs of the changing relationship between Pennsylvania-German rural craftsmen and their communities, as men like Danner negotiated between local traditions and a cresting wave of nationalistic market forces in the second quarter of the 19th century. This drama unfolded as I examined a Danner account book covering the years between 1835 and 1843.¹

* * *

Daniel Danner, who lived in the small borough of Manheim from his birth in 1803 until his death in 1891, worked primarily as a woodturner for the vast majority of his adult life. Employing his woodworking skills, he made items like spinning wheels for local residents (usually farmers) and specialized tools for various craftsmen, among them carpenters, hatters, and wagon makers. He also made lathe-turned production parts for craftsmen and other individuals, and sharpened tools and repaired furniture and other wooden items as well.

Though not a man of renown, Danner is significant to students of American material culture because he kept detailed and careful records; because information about his clientele, the majority of which came from Manheim and its immediate vicinity, is readily available; and because surviving examples of his work can be found scattered throughout the central Pennsylvania area in various public and private collections. From the Danner account book selected for this study, the year 1840 has been chosen for in-depth analysis. Though that year did not mark any special event in the history of Manheim or in the life of Danner, it was the year in which he turned thirty-seven, at which age he should have been most proficient at his trade. Of far greater importance though, is the fact that a national census was conducted during the year. Information from it, coupled with information from Danner's account book, affords an opportunity to examine the relationship between Danner and his community in and around 1840.

Just as important as the information contained in Danner's account book and the 1840 census are the political, social, and economic changes taking place in the nation as a whole at the time. By 1840 the United States had already established the basic building blocks of industrialization which, by the end of the century, would allow the nation to compete with England as a world leader in the production of textiles, coal, steel, and machinery.² The Whig political party favored the use of government power to continue and promote (while simultaneously controlling and regulating the social consequences of) the economic changes realized in the first three decades of the century.³ In 1840, William

Henry Harrison became the first Whig to occupy the White House when he defeated Democrat Martin Van Buren in the presidential election.

Marked by a constantly expanding home market fueled by increasing immigration, by the creation of a new and viable two-party political system, and by a developing transportation network of canals, railroads, and turnpikes, the decade of the 1840s had the highest rate of expansion in the manufacturing sector of the entire 19th century.⁴ But the decade was also characterized by increasing sectional polarization fueled by immigration, industrialization, urbanization, territorial expansion, and the debate over slavery. As a result, within twenty years of Harrison's election, the new, cross-sectional two-party political system had collapsed, and the nation was on the brink of civil war.

The Danner account book utilized in this study covers a period when many of the forces shaping the new economic and social organization of America had already taken hold in major cities and urban areas. In south-central Pennsylvania, however, the second quarter of the 19th century was a time of transition from a largely community-oriented, intraregional economy based for the most part on ethnic identification, to a market-driven, interregional economy based on the forces of mass production and capital. Danner's experiences during these years were those of a particular Pennsylvania-German craftsman exposed to accelerated market forces which resulted in changing business practices, language use, and ways of viewing the world. His account book shows the dual role he (and other rural craftsmen) played: In 1840, much of his work was typical of an earlier period when a single artisan was called upon to execute many small jobs and repairs for his customers. At the same time, a significant part of his business was devoted to producing lathe-turned parts and tools for other craftsmen in a division of labor more characteristic of modern manufacturing methods.

The role Danner played within his community was also influenced by legislation aimed at promoting economic development, and influencing the social consequences of that development. For example, despite resistance from Pennsylvania Germans who wanted to maintain their distinctive culture, the state passed legislation during the early 19th century to standardize the use of English in the courts and schools. The degree to which this influenced Danner's use of written English is difficult to measure, but in reconstructing various aspects of Danner's everyday working life this study will examine the effects of change on the craftsman and the local community, and will explore the specific relationship between Danner and his hometown.

* * *

In Pennsylvania, the increasing competition between agriculture (the state's dominant industry prior to 1840), craft production, and the emerging factory system of

production influenced economic, social, and political affairs throughout the state in the first half of the 19th century. Politically, farmers dominated the General Assembly until after 1840. In 1834, for example, fifty-five of one hundred members were farmers.⁵ During this period, Chester County was first in the state in agricultural production, and Danner's home county, Lancaster, was second. Wages of agricultural workers then fluctuated with the rise and fall in the price of farm products, and were also influenced by locality, especially proximity to Philadelphia. In 1828 farmers in Chester County paid laborers eighty to one hundred dollars a year, in addition to their board;⁶ farther from Philadelphia (and especially on the frontier) wages were lower.

As a woodturner in a rural Pennsylvania town, Daniel Danner was a skilled craftsman living and working in a county dominated by agricultural interests. Though he did make scattered references to farm produce and butchering as both debits and credits in his account book, it is apparent from these same entries that his involvement in agriculture was minimal at best. The Agricultural Census of 1850 recorded that Danner cultivated a total of only fifteen acres of land,⁷ and most of what he produced was for his own family's use. For example, his account book shows that from 1836 through 1844, only nine different individuals purchased a variety of agricultural goods (veal, potatoes, apples, rye, wheat, turnips, calf skins) from him at a total cost of only \$8.39¹/₄; obviously the overwhelming majority of his income came from his woodturning activities.

In the following list, Danner's month-by-month charges for finished goods, contracted services, and sundries sold in 1840 are listed as "receivables,"⁸ and his total income—shown as "paid"—includes cash, goods, and services received; the portion of the total paid in cash is listed separately. With ninety-four accounts the totals are:

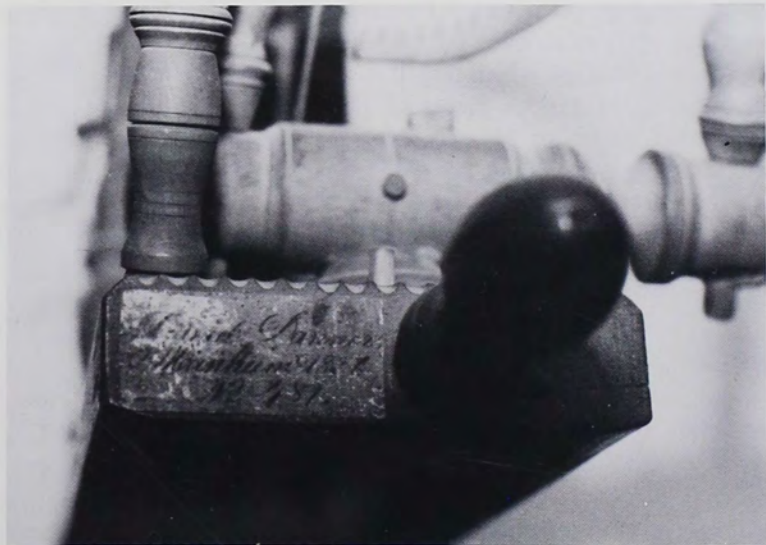
January receivables—\$26.39¹/₄; paid, \$6.76; cash, \$4.58;
 February receivables—\$11.88¹/₄; paid, 4.54¹/₂; cash, \$4.54¹/₂;
 March receivables—\$8.87¹/₄; paid, \$19.57; cash, \$19.57;
 April receivables—\$18.31³/₄; paid \$35.68³/₄; cash, \$34.81¹/₄;
 May receivables—\$5.51¹/₂; paid, \$20.10¹/₄; cash, \$20.20¹/₄;
 June receivables—\$2.58³/₄; paid, \$3.58¹/₂; cash, \$3.58¹/₂;
 July receivables—\$13.34³/₄; paid, \$1.91¹/₂; cash, \$1.64¹/₂;
 August receivables—\$10.67; paid, \$19.35; cash, \$5.35;
 September receivables—\$4.87; paid, \$2.24; cash, \$2.24;
 October receivables—\$21.75; paid, \$7.80¹/₂; cash, \$7.53¹/₂;

November receivables—\$9.12; paid, \$5.57; cash, \$5.57;
 December receivables—\$49.39¹/₂; paid, \$18.50¹/₂; cash, \$2.12¹/₂.

For 1840, then, Danner did work valued by him at \$182.72 (the total of all his receivables), and for which he was paid \$145.63¹/₂, \$111.76 of it in cash. In comparison, as already noted, unskilled agricultural workers in Chester County made \$80 to \$100 a year in 1828. Ten years later, farm laborers employed in the largely self-sufficient iron-making communities of Hopewell Furnace and Manada Furnace in southeastern Pennsylvania averaged similar wages.⁹ In these same communities, wages for skilled workers were in the same range as Danner's. At Hopewell, for instance, the average yearly wage for a collier ranged from a low of \$156 to a high of \$216, while a miner made from \$114 to \$126, and a teamster was paid from \$96 to \$252 in the years between 1835 and 1837. At Manada Furnace in 1837, a teamster averaged \$132 and a collier \$240. In contrast to the wages of these skilled workers, the manager at Hopewell was paid \$600 a year in 1835, 1836, and 1837.

Prior to 1840 both custom and law fixed a "day's work" as being from sunrise to sunset. In 1840, the first break from this practice came in an executive order issued by President Van Buren; it fixed a day's work at the Washington Navy Yard at ten hours. The ten-hour work day was not generally observed by hired farm laborers or in rural areas until long after 1840, however.¹⁰ In these areas, work continued to be measured in terms of completed tasks rather than in time elapsed. This was certainly true for Daniel Danner, whose account book entries list only one date—presumably the date of completion—for each task or transaction, and make no mention of the amount of time spent working on any job. And, when customers paid Danner in services rather than in goods or cash, these, too, were measured according to the task rather than in time. Because he was a self-employed craftsman with his own shop, there was little opportunity for individuals to repay Danner with labor. Of the five customers listed in the account book who paid a total of \$22.58¹/₂ (\$14.87¹/₂ of it in 1840) in this way, all but one either sawed or split wood or did various field chores for Danner.¹¹

In addition to cash and services, Danner was also paid for his work in goods. In 1840 the total value of such goods—linen yarn, maple wood, bristles, and beef—was \$19.10. The wood he probably turned into useful items on the lathe, and the bristles he undoubtedly used to make the many sweeping, scrubbing, fly, and shoe brushes ordered repeatedly by his clients. Danner's account book shows that overall, wood and bristles were the goods he most often received in payment of outstanding accounts,¹² and it is easy to see how they could be useful to him. While not as easy to understand, his acceptance of linen yarn instead of cash or services is probably explained by



Figs. 2, 3. Spinning wheel turned by Daniel Danner now in the collection of the Hershey Museum. Its paper label says "Daniel Danner/Manheim 1827/No. 487."

the fact that his father was a weaver. The elder Danner, fifty-three in 1840, was still quite capable of working at his chosen trade.

* * *

The Danner account book under discussion here has 127 pages with information about 322 separate accounts; 94 in 1840 alone. After checking these names with data taken from the Census of 1840 for Manheim Borough and the surrounding municipality of Rapho Township, several observations can be made about the geographical area and the type of clientele served by Danner.¹³ The first, as might be expected, is that his customers were overwhelmingly local people: in 1840, for example, more than half (fifty-two) appear in census records as residents of the borough or township, while two (John Baker, listed by Danner as a resident of Colebrook in southern Lebanon County, and John Hochstetter, listed in the census as a property owner in Manheim but a resident of Warwick Township, Lancaster County), lived in neighboring municipalities. Of the remaining forty individuals, it is most likely the vast majority resided in either Manheim Borough or Rapho Township but did not own property. In fact, according to notations in the account book made by Danner, only seven of his 322 customers lived outside the borough or township, and they all lived close to Manheim.¹⁴

The second observation about Danner's clientele concerns their occupations. Since it was an area populated by farmers and craftsmen, it is not surprising that farmers and carpenters were his best customers.¹⁵ Farmers called on Danner for a wide variety of services, but carpenters usually only ordered specific turnings which they then used in the construction or repair of various pieces of furniture.

As a close examination of his records makes clear, Danner's woodturning work (and his income from it) corresponded to the seasonal cycle of an agricultural society. During the months of planting, tending, and harvesting, he worked on few large projects. Instead, his time was taken up by jobbing for artisans, in turning small objects and replacement parts, and in sharpening tools and implements for various individuals. Indeed, in 1840 January and December were Danner's busiest months, the months in which he produced most of his spinning wheels and winding reels—the largest, costliest, and presumably most time-consuming objects he made. During the entire year he made seventeen various types of spinning wheels and six winding reels; eleven of the former and two of the latter were made in January and December, with the overwhelming majority of the remainder (four wheels and four reels) made in February, March, April, October, and November. He made only two wheels in the months from May through September.¹⁶

The importance of spinning wheels and winding reels to the home-based economies of Manheim and surrounding communities was evidenced by the high demand for them as late as 1840. Flax, wool, and cotton fibers were turned

into yarn on spinning wheels, the most popular type in America being the Saxony or German wheel, which had a large drive wheel and flyer attached to a horizontal slab of wood supported by three legs. Because of its popularity, the Saxony wheel is the object today referred to by the generic term "spinning wheel" in both common and scholarly usage. It was the wheel most often made by Danner; in 1840 he produced twelve of them and sold them for three dollars and fifty cents each. (See Figs. 2-5).

Because they were so heavily used, Danner was continually called upon to repair or replace parts on common spinning wheels. The parts he most often worked on were located in the wooden drive mechanism where the actual spinning of the fibers took place. This mechanism was located in the front of the drive wheel along the horizontal slab of wood, and consisted of a hollow spool, or bobbin, attached to a small grooved wheel called a pulley. A shaft, or spindle, passed horizontally through the bobbin where it was joined by two smaller posts.¹⁷ The spindle was attached at one end to another, larger pulley or whorl. Attached to the other end of the spindle was a curved, U-shaped piece of wood known as a flyer. Together with the spindle it twisted fibers into thread and insured the thread wound evenly on the bobbin. The spinning wheel, operated by cords looped around the drive wheel and both pulleys, was set in motion by pressing the foot lever or treadle.

Daniel Danner also made castle wheels and wool wheels, both derived from the common spinning wheel and operating on the same basic principle. On a castle wheel, the flyer and bobbin mechanism were mounted above instead of next to the drive wheel, resulting in a pyramid-like shape. A wool wheel was much larger than a common spinning wheel, and had a much simpler spindle and a drive wheel with a wide, flat rim. In 1840 Danner made three castle wheels and two wool wheels; he sold both kinds for four dollars each.

Once spun, wool, cotton, or linen yarn was removed from the bobbin to be measured and wound into a usable coil or skein. This was a tedious task simplified by the use of a clock, or winding, reel. Yarn was wrapped on the outstretched arms of the reel until it could be removed as a single coil. Reels made by Danner (see Figs. 6-9) had a geared clock face which indicated the number of rounds wound on it in increments of ten. Charging one dollar and twenty-five cents apiece for them, Danner made and sold six reels in 1840.

* * *

During the fall and winter months when he was busy with wheel and reel production, Danner found time to do small jobs as well. The sheer volume of small turnings and repairs he undertook in a year are too numerous to examine completely, but for the purposes of this study, his work in the months of January, April, July, and October, 1840, will be studied in some detail (see Table 1). During these months, Danner lists a variety of jobs particular to



*Fig. 4, 5. Another Danner spinning wheel from the Hershey Museum's collection. Its label reads "Daniel Danner/
18 Manheim 24."*

the season, as well as work done for a clientele he served throughout the year. In each of the four months under consideration, roughly fifty percent of the entries recorded the production of turned furniture parts, and the overwhelming majority of these were made for Manheim carpenters John Reis and John Deyer, Jr. He also made other turned objects—tools and implements—and sharpened and repaired a variety of objects all year long.

The seasonal nature of Danner's work is reflected in several entries for January concerning the production of sleigh parts for John Reis. These were lathe-turned parts which Reis either did not have time to make himself, or, more likely, was not equipped or trained to make. In April Danner again had seasonal work, turning a walking cane for Manheim school teacher Benjamin Gibbel, and sharpening two sets of shears used specifically for shearing sheep. In that month, too, Danner recorded the sale of a bushel of lime, presumably to be used for whitewashing buildings.

Many of the entries in Danner's account book detail specific jobs or services and so allow us to determine his consistency in charging various customers for them. For example, in 1840, when he "sett and sharpent" a saw he always charged eight cents; for each pair of scissors "grinded" he charged four cents; and for each pair of sheep shears "grinded," five cents. In the same way, he always charged the same price for each of his various brushes. In May, 1840, one David May paid $.37\frac{1}{2}$ for a fly brush; in October of that year Jacob Hochstetter bought three fly brushes and paid $\$1.11\frac{1}{2}$, exactly three times the amount paid by May.

While Danner's account book shows he was quite consistent in the prices he charged for most of the articles he made, as might be expected, there were some variations. For instance, in the months selected for study here there are two references to canes. In April Danner charged Benjamin Gibbel one dollar for a walking cane, while in October a charge of fifteen cents was added to the combined accounts of John Fass and James Todt for a turned cane. There is no detailed description of either cane, but it is reasonable to assume that Gibbel was charged more not because he was better able to afford it, but because his cane was the more elaborate and took the most time to make.

Not surprisingly either, the cost of repairs varied, and since Danner did not describe the extent of each job when he worked on spinning wheels and winding reels—noting only that a wheel, spool, or reel had been "mended" or a flyer "teethed"—it is impossible to ascertain the amount of time he spent on each job. Even so, a telling indication that the various prices charged by Danner for repairs were based upon time, material and quality rather than relative ability to pay, is found when the accounts of Manheim carpenters Deyer and Reis are compared. For the year 1840 there are fifty entries against John Deyer's name for various furniture parts and decorative turnings; there are sixty-two

such orders from James Reis, who also called upon Danner to make items as diverse as sleigh shafts and dough rollers.

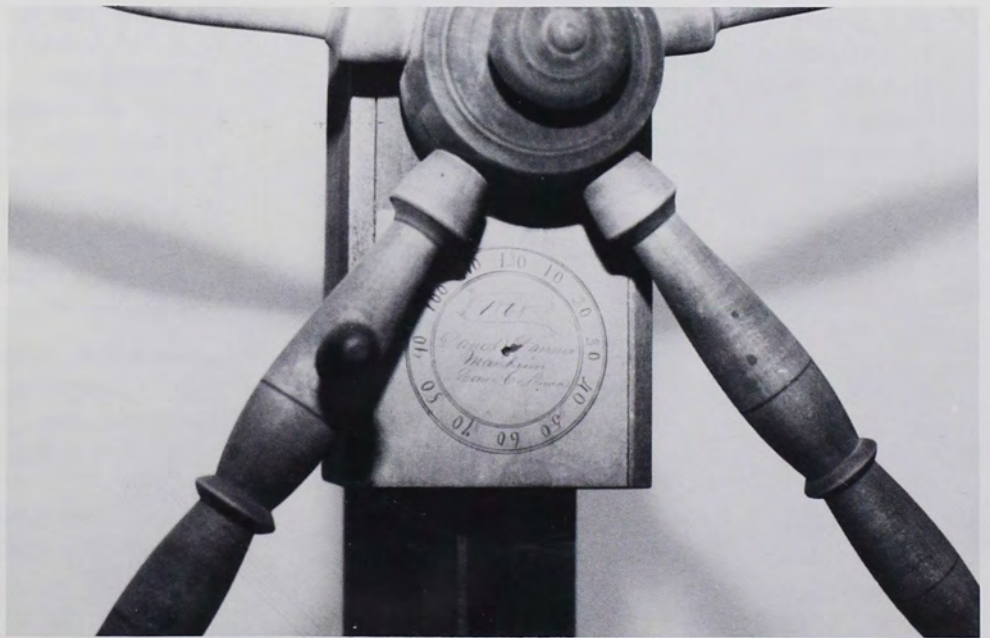
The Census of 1840 lists the total value of Deyer's property at \$600, and Reis's at \$450. Assuming these values to be a relative barometer of income, Danner nonetheless charged both men prices that were either identical or nearly so. For example, where Deyer was charged fifty-six cents for a set of "fancy" posts, Reis was charged fifty-six and one-quarter cents; in at least one instance, both were charged twelve and one-half cents for two bureau "stumps" (feet) and twenty-five cents for a set of them; and both carpenters were charged eight cents for a rolling pin, and twelve and one-half cents for a decorative half column to be used on two unspecified pieces of case furniture (see Table 1).

The similarities quoted above are only a few examples of a pattern found throughout the account book under study. This pattern is important, for Danner's practice of charging individuals of different economic stations standard prices for goods and services is indicative of the degree to which modern economic organization had penetrated rural Manheim by the second quarter of the 19th century. Nor is it the only indication of economic change there, for with this change the dominant, German-speaking culture became increasingly intermingled with and dependent upon a commercialized society dominated by English-speaking citizens.¹⁵ So Danner, who owned a German-language song book, chose to keep his account books, diaries, and personal papers in English¹⁹—most likely a tacit acceptance of an economic reality that in general reflected a change in the attitude of traditional German speakers toward commerce, industry, and even their English-speaking neighbors.

The mingling of the two cultures in communities like Manheim meant elements of each were introduced into the other. In language, for example, the use of English by Pennsylvania Germans produced the now familiar "Dutchified" English still spoken today by many of the descendants of these people. In the account book being studied, Daniel Danner often replaced the "ch" sound in a word like churn with a "j" ("jurn"²⁰); used a "d" for the English "t" sound so that bucket often appears as "bucked" and mallet as "mallo"²¹; and used "p" instead of "b" in words like scrubbing ("scrupping" brushes²²). And, like his English-speaking neighbors, Danner also spelled the same word several different ways. "Flyer," for instance, appears with that spelling or as "flyer" or "flier," while "set" would invariably appear as "sett" when used to describe furniture or wagon parts commonly produced as a pair or group.²³

* * *

Daniel Danner lived during a period crucial to the development of modern industrial America, and lived in a community transformed by many of these developments. His reliance upon cash rather than barter for goods and services, coupled with his own lack of recorded agricultural



Figs. 6, 7. This winding (clock) reel made by Daniel Danner is also found in the Hershey Museum; its label reads "1868/Daniel Danner/Manheim/Lanc. Co. Penna."

activity, his strict enforcement of price, use of English, and adherence to modern accounting practices are indicative of the changing role he played in American life. It is my hope that this work has contributed to a better overall understanding of that role, and will prompt future scholars interested in craft and community studies to investigate other periods and facets of Danner's life, in order to formulate a more complete and well-rounded picture of at least one 19th-century, rural Pennsylvania-German craftsman in central Pennsylvania.

TABLE 1

Record of work January, 1840

Account book entry	Customer	Cost
Furniture turnings		
To a piece turnt to a rocking chair	John Reis	.06
To two sett splitting box stumps	John Reis	.04
To a sett table stumps (pine)	John Reis	.16
To a sett bureau stumps	John Reis	.25
To a sett bureau stumps	John Reis	.25
To a sett clockcase stumps	John Reis	.12 ¹ / ₂ **
To a whole sett articles to clockcases	John Reis	.44
To a quarter collum	John Reis	.06 ¹ / ₄
To a half collum	John Reis	.12 ¹ / ₂
To a sett French bedstead posts	J Deyer jr	.50
To two bureau stumps	J Deyer jr	.10
To a cornish bedstead block	J Deyer jr	.12 ¹ / ₂
To a rolling pin & toppiece	J Deyer jr	.10
To a sett chest stumps	D Mellinger	.08
Sleigh turnings		
To a front piece on a sleigh	John Reis	.08
To a front piece on a sleigh	John Reis	.08
To two pieces to sleigh shaft	John Reis	.08
To two pieces to sleigh shafts	John Reis	.08
To two pieces to sleigh shafts & front piece	John Reis	.16
Turned objects, tools, and implements		
To three new spools & flax-rog	H Schelly	.55
To a maschene to stir sugar in liquer	G Pritz jr	.12 ¹ / ₂
Mendings		
To a wheel mended	S Lehman	.82
To a wheel mended	S Lehman	.69

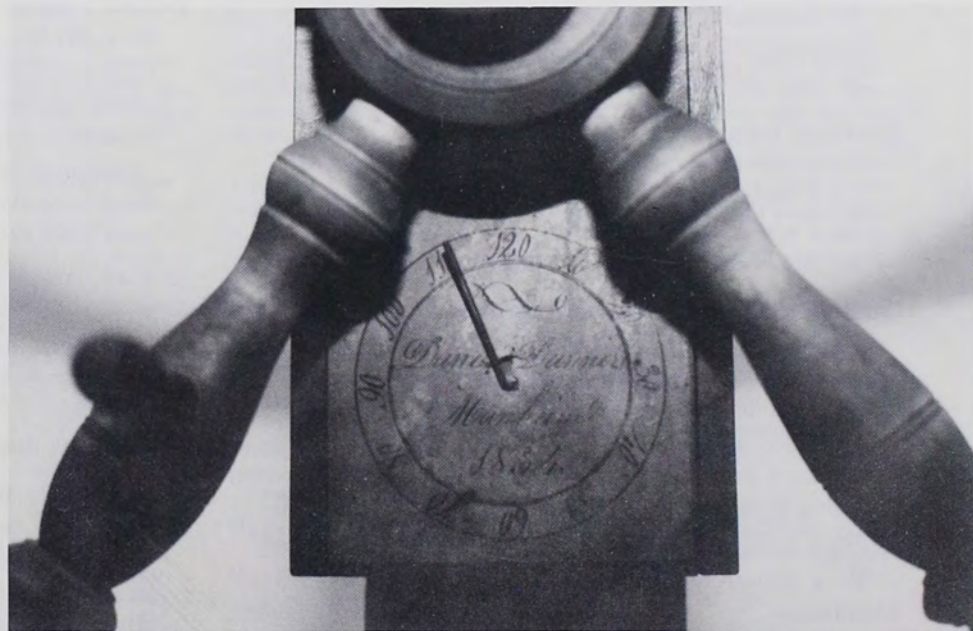
To a wheel mended	A Herner	.31
To a wheel mended (spinning)	A Herner	.38
To a spinning wheel mended	A Herner	.64
To a spinning wheel mended	M Kreiner	.25
To two spools mended	M Kerchner	.04
To a flyre teethed and spools mended	John Schuk	.14

Sharpening and grinding

To a saw sett and sharpent	A Herner	.08
To a scissers grinded	J Peiffer	.04

Record of work April, 1840

Account book entry	Customer	Cost
Furniture turnings		
To a dough rolling pin	John Reis	.20
To a sett Cubbord stumps & one set bedstead pins	John Reis	.23
To a sett Chest stumps	John Reis	.08
To a sett bedstead posts & splitting box stumps turnt	John Reis	.25
To a half Collum	John Deyer	.12 ¹ / ₂
To two Sideboard stumps	John Deyer	.10
To a Sett Bureau stumps	John Deyer	.25
To rolling pins & crowns	John Deyer	.22
To a Sett bureau stumps & rolling pin	John Deyer	.28
To one sett Cornish bedstead posts	John Deyer	1.00
To a Sett Fancy posts	John Deyer	.56
To a Sett Common bedstead posts	John Deyer	.31 ¹ / ₄
To three sett Common bedstead posts	Joseph Stamm	.90
Turned objects, tools, and implements		
To a walking cane	Benj Gibbel	1.00
To a new flyre	Barb Donoven	.25
To Sixteen coffee roaster handles	George Arndt	.64
To five roster handles	G Schaffner	.20
To one dozen Coffee mill heads	G Schaffner	.20
Mendings		
To a wheel mended	Benj Gibbel	.03
To a spinning wheel mended	John Simon	.65
To a reel mended	Barb Donoven	.04
Sharpening and grinding		
To a pair scissers grinded	David Royer	.04
To two scissers grinded	Benj Gibbel	.08
To a pair sheep shears grinded	D Mellinger	.05



Figs. 8, 9. The label on this winding reel says "Daniel Danner/Manheim/1834"; it is also in the collection of the Hershey Museum.

Record of work October, 1840

To a pair sheep shears grinded	Barb Donovan	.05	Account book entry	Customer	Cost
Miscellaneous			Furniture turnings		
To one bushel lime	Jonas White	.16	To two bureau stumps	John Reis	.12 ¹ / ₂
To a iron in a wheel	Martin Bauter	.25	To a Sett Chest stumps	John Reis	.08
To a iron in a wheel & spool mended	J Hochstetter	.27	To a Sett Table stumps	John Reis	.20
			To a Sett bedstead pins	John Reis	.15
			To two Sett bedstead pins	John Reis	.30
			To a Sett small bedstead posts	John Reis	.12 ¹ / ₂
			To a Sett fancy bedstead posts	John Deyer	.56
			To three Sett Common posts	John Deyer	1.00
			To Five Sett bedstead posts at .40 cts per Sett	John Deyer	2.00
			To a Sett bureau stumps	John Deyer	.20
			To two bureau stumps	John Deyer	.12 ¹ / ₂
			To two handles for shoemakers tools	John Deyer	.05
			To a rolling pin & toppiece	John Deyer	.12 ¹ / ₂
			To five rolling pins	John Deyer	.40
			To a sett chest stumps	Joseph Reiss	.08
			To two auger handles	Joseph Reiss	.08
			To a clam screw	Michael White	.25
			To a plain-bench Screw	Michael White	.87 ¹ / ₂
			Turned objects, tools, and implements		
			To a Fly-brush	David May	.37 ¹ / ₂
			To a scrupping & scouring brush	Martin Bauter	.35
			To a sweeping & scrupping brush	David Fisher	.50
			To a cane turnt	Fass & Todt	.15
			To a pair Lasts cut	Adam Smith	.04
			To a sausage horn stample	George Arndt	.08
			Mendings		
			To a flyre teethed, new shortle, spool, & spools mended	Benj Bruckhart	.46
			To a saw frame repaired	Abraham Reist	.12 ¹ / ₂
			Sharpening and Grinding		
			To a Saw sharpent & scissers grinded	John Keisser	.12 ¹ / ₂
			To a saw sett & sharpent	Benj Gibbel	.08
			Miscellaneous		
			To One bushel rye	G Pritz (sen)	.60
			To 1 peck rye (at .60 per bushel)	Fass & Todt	.15
			To a calf skin 8 ¹ / ₄ lbs.	John Keisser	.74
			To a stove	Widow Young	10.00
			** Denotes a Sunday entry		

Record of work July, 1840

Account book entry	Customer	Cost
Furniture turnings		
To a Sett single bedstead posts	John Reis	.25
To a Sett Common bedstead posts	John Reis	.31 ¹ / ₄
To a Sett Common bedstead posts	John Reis	.31 ¹ / ₄
To a Sett Fancy posts	John Reis	.56 ¹ / ₄
To two Sett bedstead pins	John Reis	.30
To a rolling-pin	John Reis	.08
To a Sett bedstead posts	John Deyer	.44
To two Sett bedstead posts	John Deyer	.88
To a Sett Common bedstead posts	John Deyer	.37 ¹ / ₂
To two Sett Common posts	John Deyer	.75
To a Sett bureau stumps	John Deyer	.20
To two rollin-pins	John Deyer	.16
Carriage turnings		
To a sett Carriage naves	Samuel Witmyer	.25
To a wheel-barrow nave	Samuel Witmyer	.06 ¹ / ₄
To a sett waggon naves	Samuel Witmyer	.25
To one Carriage nave	Samuel Witmyer	.06 ¹ / ₄
Turned objects, tools, and implements		
To ten flye-brush handles	Henry Snehbely	.40
To three flye-brushes	J Hochstetter	1.12 ¹ / ₂
To a white-wash brush	John Herschey	.37 ¹ / ₂
To a scrupping brush, 1 hand brush & 1 pair shoe brushes	John Herschey	.60
To a pulley to turning lathe	H Schaffner	.25**
To a Squerrelly Triller	G Pritz (jun)	.75
Mendings		
To a new flyre & spool mended	Jacob Kurtz	.29
Sharpening and Grinding		
To three Scissers grinded	C Stauffer	.11
To a Shear grinded (tin)	George Arndt	.15

ENDNOTES

¹James D. McMahon, Jr., "Daniel Danner, Woodturner of Manheim, Lancaster County: An Early Nineteenth-Century Rural Craftsman in Central Pennsylvania," (M.A. Thesis, Penn State Harrisburg, 1992).

This thesis, upon which this study is based, contains photographs of the cover, opening index of accounts, and account ledgers which are part of Daniel Danner's account book. A complete transcription of the original text of the account book is also included in Appendix A of the thesis. The original account book may be viewed at the Hershey Museum where it is on display in a permanent installation on early nineteenth-century Pennsylvania-German material culture entitled "Adam Danner's World."

²William L. Barney, *The Passage of the Republic* (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company), p. 31.

³Barney, p. 149.

⁴Barney, p. 32.

⁵Stephen Whitcomb Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission), p. 537. There were also fifteen lawyers, four merchants, and twenty-six members with miscellaneous occupations.

⁶Fletcher, p. 307.

⁷The Agricultural Census of 1850 recorded the following information about Daniel Danner: Cash value of Farm, \$2250; Value of Farm Implements and Machinery, \$150; Acres of Improved Land, 15; Acres of Unimproved Land, 0; Value of Livestock, \$175; Value of Animals Slaughtered, \$50; No. of Horses, 1; No. of Milch Cows, 3; No. of Swine, 8; No. of Bushels of Rye Produced, 70; No. of Bushels of Oats Produced, 106; No. of Tons of Hay Produced, 3; No. of Bushels of Irish Potatoes Produced, 8; Value of Produce of Market Gardens, \$150.

⁸McMahon, Jr., Appendix C.

This appendix includes a complete day-by-day breakdown of Danner's work and a record of goods, services, and cash received by Danner in return for that work in 1840. This daily breakdown has been organized into monthly charts so that patterns in daily, weekly, and seasonal life may be observed.

⁹The following list of wages paid at Hopewell Furnace in Chester County is taken from the furnace records of 1835-1837: carpenter, \$.87½ per day; collier, \$13-\$18 per month; farm worker, \$.50-\$1.00 per day; houseworker, \$.50-\$1.00 per week; laborer, \$6-\$14 per month; manager, \$600 per year; miner, \$9.50-\$18 per month; teamster, \$8-\$14 per month; woodcutter, \$.27-\$1.40 per cord. From Joseph E. Walker, *Hopewell Village: The Dynamics of a Nineteenth Century Iron-Making Community* (Phila.: Univ. of Penna. Press), p. 261.

For purposes of comparison, the following wage scale is taken from the records of Manada Furnace for the year 1837: carpenter, \$1 per day; collier, \$20 per month; farm worker, \$.50-\$.62½ per day; houseworker, \$.75 per week; laborer, \$4-\$7 per month; mason, \$1-\$1.12½ per day; teamster, \$11 per month; woodcutter, \$.30-\$.45 per cord. Walker, pp. 262-263.

¹⁰Fletcher, p. 307.

¹¹The following is the list of individuals who repaid Danner with labor: 11-27-37, John Rise, by one wagon hired, \$01.00; 10-05-38, B. Hunsinger, by thrashing 47 bushels of rye at 9 cts. per bushel, \$04.23; and by putting

away straw, \$00.23; 12-21-38, B. Hunsinger, by a lot of applewood sawed and split, \$01.25; 04-02-40, Joseph Boyer, by 1 cord oakwood sawed and split, \$00.75; 04-12-40, Joseph Boyer, by apple tree cut, sawed and split, \$00.12½; 08-04-40, Fass & Todt, by mason work on kitchen and bakeoven, \$14.00; 12-09-43, John Bensinger, by 1 cord hickory wood sawed and split, \$01.00.

¹²The following is the list of non-cash goods received by Danner in 1840: January, from Joseph Boyer, 10½ dz. of linen yarn at .16 per dz., \$01.68; 02-03, from Samuel Becker, maple wood received, \$00.50; 07-25, from John Hershey, 9 ozs. of bristles received, \$00.27; 10-17, from Martin Boudier, 9 ozs. of bristles received, \$00.27; 12-17, from Henry Hartman, 273 lbs. of beef received, \$16.38.

¹³McMahon, Jr., Appendices B and D.

Appendix B includes detailed information about each of the ninety-four individuals appearing in the Danner account book in 1840. Listed alphabetically by last name, this information includes name, place of residence, occupation, and total value of property as it appears in the Census of 1840. In addition, the 1840 entries from the Danner account book and the page number on which they appear are included.

Appendix D includes a list 120 names which appear in both the Danner index of accounts for the entire account book and the national census records for 1840. The resulting list provides a larger range of occupational and geographical data useful in analyzing Danner's work.

¹⁴In addition to John Baker and John Hochstetter there was Jacob Gibbel of Whiteoak, Lancaster County; Christian Hershey of Sporting Hill, Lancaster Cty; Mr. Hochstetter of Mt. Joy, Lancaster County; and John Sneider of Backrun, Lancaster County.

¹⁵Of the ninety-four individuals who dealt with Danner in 1840, the occupations of forty-nine are known from Danner's own record or from census data. Of these forty-nine, nine were farmers and eight were carpenters; the remainder were divided between twenty-one various occupations.

¹⁶A complete listing shows that Danner made: 5 spinning wheels and 1 winding reel in January; 1 spinning wheel in February; 1 winding reel in March; 2 spinning wheels and 2 winding reels in April; 1 castle wheel in July; 1 wool wheel in August; 1 winding wheel in October; 1 spinning wheel in November; and 2 castle, 1 wool, and 3 spinning wheels and 1 winding reel in December.

¹⁷John Seymour, *The Forgotten Household Crafts* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), p. 144-148.

¹⁸McMahon, Jr., pp. 46-67. For additional information on the historical and cultural development of Manheim, see Chapter 2 of this thesis entitled "Daniel Danner and His Community."

¹⁹This song book, as well as one in English also owned by Daniel Danner, can be found in the exhibit "Adam Danner's World" at the Hershey Museum.

²⁰Daniel Danner, *The Account Book of Daniel Danner Beginning in the Year 1835* (Hershey, Pa.: The Hershey Museum Archives), p. 5.

²¹Danner, p. 41. On the other hand, "sharpened" almost always appeared as "sharpent." Danner, p. 20.

²²Danner, p. 49

²³Danner, pp. 10, 13, 32, 88.

“TRUTH SOMEWHERE IN THE TELLING”: The Legend of the Wigton Massacre

by Gary M. Johnston



A tavern and stagecoach stop, the Old Stone House figured prominently in the Wigton Massacre.

“Legends are all over the place, and the chief touchstone to them is that they relate—or are presumed to relate—to actual persons, events and places. They are, in effect, for the folk, historical accounts, even though the folk in the telling or hearing of them may be aware that the basic historical facts are being embroidered upon or are even dubious in origin. The presumption is that there is truth somewhere in the telling.”¹

On June 30, 1843, Mrs. James Wigton and her five children were murdered. An Indian, Samuel Mohawk, was found guilty of the crime and executed in March of the following year. These are the recorded facts; the legend of the Wigton massacre, alive to the present day, has grown from the circumstances surrounding these facts.

The following comparison and analysis of the various accounts of the Massacre are given to show how such legends take shape and grow; the extent to which they vary, and to enable readers to determine for themselves how much truth is “somewhere in the telling.” There are countless

variations of the legend of the Wigton massacre, so to simplify collection and analysis I have chosen to rely heavily on published accounts and on the accounts of local historians; these contain the bulk of the material transmitted orally.

THE SETTING AND BACKGROUND OF THE MASSACRE

The Wigton massacre occurred on the James Wigton farm in Butler County, Pennsylvania, just south of the town of Slippery Rock. The farm was approximately a mile to a mile and a quarter from a tavern called the Stone House, located at the intersection of the heavily traveled Pittsburgh-Franklin and Butler-Mercer Pikes (about twelve miles north of Butler). Although this establishment (recently restored) was not, as some versions of the legend say, the scene of the murders, it did figure prominently in them. A stagecoach stop as well as a stop for drovers, farmers, and other workingmen, it was built by one John Brown in 1822; at the time of the murders it was owned by

Stephen Lowrey and operated by John Sills, who lived at the tavern with his wife.

James Wigton was "a powerful man, six feet, three and a half inches tall, and weighed two hundred and forty pounds."² From an account of his life given by Wigton himself in 1877, and recorded by an unknown family member, we learn that,

On February 8, 1834, he married Margaret McQuiston, a daughter of Robert McQuiston, a shoemaker; she had moved from Butler to Slippery Rock three years before. They lived with her father for a year after their marriage, all the other children of Mr. McQuiston being already married. Wigton meanwhile had bought 100 acres of land in the woods for \$100.00, about two miles from McQuiston's and had 15 acres cleared and in wheat. He built a log house on it, and in March 1836 the young couple moved into it and commenced housekeeping. The wheat when harvested and threshed produced 300 bushels. This he hauled to New Castle and sold it at sixty-seven cents a bushel. Deer were so plenty that frequently he shot them while standing in the doorway of his house.

In 1836, he sold the farm for \$700.00 in payments, and bought 76 acres, with log cabin and stable and 15 acres cleared, on Slippery Rock Creek, about two miles from the first farm. He moved the first of April 1839 and went to work cleaning it up and making improvements. In the house on this property is where the killing of his family took place. The present Slippery Rock Park is on the same property.³

An atlas published in 1879⁴ shows two "J. Wigton" properties within a mile of each other. One is probably the James Wigton farm, and the other may be the farm of his brother John, whose tombstone still stands in the Muddy Creek Cemetery, one mile south of the Old Stone House. (I am assuming this second "J. Wigton" property did not belong to James's father, also named John, since James himself says his father's farm was "two miles distant."⁵) At the time of the massacre, the family consisted of Wigton, his wife, and their five children: Alvira, 8; Jeninah Nancy, 6; Perry, 4; Amanda, 2½; and John Wallace, 8 months.⁶

The other principal in the story—the Wigton account refers to him only as a "drunken, loafing Indian"⁷—Samuel Mohawk, was born on Christmas Day in 1807, on the Catteraugus Reservation in New York. He attended a Quaker school in his youth and, in 1832, married a woman named Lydia Kypp. Divorcing her, he married Sarah Silverheels, a member of the Seneca Tribe, as he was. Many accounts of the massacre refer to him as a "Cornplanter," and Senecas were often referred to in this way, in honor of their great chief of the same name.⁸ All the accounts which mention Samuel Mohawk's occupation agree that he was a raftsmen, helping to move lumber down the Allegheny River to Pittsburgh.



Samuel Mohawk passed John Wigton's property on his way to James Wigton's farm; the Wigton brothers lived about a mile apart. John's tombstone still stands in the Muddy Creek Cemetery.

EVENTS LEADING TO THE MASSACRE

As it is in drama, so it is in life: before a conflict can begin the antagonists must be brought together. So, according to James Wigton's account, the legend had its beginning on June 25, five days before the murders. At the time, says Wigton, Samuel Mohawk was in Meadville "loafing and drinking."¹⁰ Then,

from Meadville, he went to Franklin, by way of the turnpike, drinking where ever he could get whiskey. He stayed overnight somewhere around Franklin and the next day started on the Pittsburgh Road towards Butler. At the fork of the road (now Springville) seven miles from Franklin, he got a pint of whiskey at the tavern. Henry Near was at work repairing a house a few rods farther down the Pittsburgh road. He spoke to the Indian, who then picked up and threw several stones at Near, missing him however.

The next we hear of him is at Hardy's Tavern, where he got a drink and a pint of whiskey. He went from there to the White Oaks Springs, two miles further on, in the afternoon, and stayed there until noon the next day. After that he was seen by several persons passing along the road toward Butler. Next he was seen in Butler, and was around there a day or two. It is not known that he got any whiskey in Butler, but from the effects of his debauch, he gave signs of taking a fever, and, to get rid of him, Bob

Brinker, hotel keeper, raised money to pay the Indian's fare to Meadville in the stage, and at 6 o'clock on the last day of June, he was unwillingly put aboard the Meadville stage. On the way to the Stone House, he tried to pick the pockets of some of the other passengers.

At the Stone House, 12 miles from Butler, the stage changed horses and all the passengers got out. Mohawk wanted a drink of whiskey, but was refused by the landlord. He then slipped out in the darkness and could not be found when the stage started, but between 11 and 12 o'clock he came back and into the house where the landlord, John Sills, was sitting up with his wife, she being sick. He demanded whiskey and was refused. He then became abusive, when Sills picked up a cudgel that he kept for such occasions and drove him from the house. On Saturday morning about daylight he was seen passing the house of John Wigton [brother of James] one fourth of a mile from the Stone House, James Wigton's house being a mile further down the road, and a mile off the road to the left.¹¹

This account of Samuel Mohawk's movements prior to the murders is markedly different from all other versions in that it has the Indian traveling from north to south (Meadville to Butler), then north again, to the Stone House. All other accounts agree he was in Pittsburgh on the days preceding the massacre, having just completed a raft trip down the Allegheny from Franklin (more than thirty miles north of the Wigton farm) to Pittsburgh, he was on his way north again when the tragedy took place.

The late, local historian Henry B. Kiester endorsed this version, saying that on June 29th Mohawk got off the stage from Pittsburgh at the Stone House, where the driver stopped for a fresh team, and for some reason did not reboard when it left. Kiester thought perhaps the Indian had spent most of his money on drink, and did have the full fare north. In any event, according to him, Mohawk quickly left the Stone House and walked the approximately two miles to the Kiester House, a small tavern run by Jesse Kiester and his wife Margaret.

Her husband having gone to Pittsburgh to pick up a wagonload of supplies, Margaret Kiester was alone in the kitchen with her baby when she heard someone enter the barroom. Going out to ask if she could be of service, she saw the Indian stretched out on a wooden bench; he said he wanted only to rest. Returning to her kitchen duties, she did not go back to the barroom until "candle-lighting time,"¹² when she found that Mohawk had gone.

He, meantime, had returned to the Stone House and there joined "in a drinking bout, which as the hours passed, became boisterous."¹³ When, shortly after midnight, the drunken revelry led to a brawl, John Sills, the tavernkeeper, broke a chair over Mohawk's head and threw him out of

the building. And so, concludes Kiester, it came about that early on the same morning (June 30th), as Samuel Mohawk, angry and half-crazed with drink, retraced his steps toward Franklin he saw a light in the distance and walked toward it. That light burned in the window of James Wigton's farmhouse.¹⁴

* * *

While, as already noted, other accounts of the massacre agree on the point of origin and the direction of travel of Samuel Mohawk on his ill-fated last trip, there are many variations concerning his actions and movements; now we begin to find evidence of "embroidery," and of facts "dubious in origin." For example, Butler County historian C. Hale Sipe places Mohawk in Butler on June 29th, drinking at Brinker's Tavern and then at a tavern near the town of Prospect, before finally appearing at the Stone House, which he enters and, proceeding directly to the second floor, supposedly surprises a sleeping John Sills. Sills quickly chases him out of the building, and Mohawk then proceeds directly to the Wigton farm.¹⁵ Historian James A. McKee tells a similar story, with the added detail of Mohawk being thrown out of the tavern in Prospect "on account of his unruly and ugly disposition, caused by drinking."¹⁶

In his *Early Life Along Slippery Rock Creek*, W. A. Ralston says "Mohawk had gone down to Pittsburgh, and was walking up the turnpike down near Prospect and came to the Stone House Tavern. He had drunk up the last of his money, but still wanted more whiskey. When he became insistent and disposed to be quarrelsome, the tavern keeper threw him out bodily. Staying in the woods all night, he appeared next morning at the house of James Wigton, a mile or more north of the Stone House."¹⁷

In the later years of his life, J. Douglas "Duke" Wigton of Franklin, Pennsylvania, claimed to be the infant son of James Wigton and the sole survivor of the massacre.¹⁸ In his account (not to be confused with the 1877 Wigton biography) of Samuel Mohawk's movements before the murders, he claims the Indian had started from Pittsburgh on the northbound stage, been thrown off by a white passenger, and had then walked up the road toward the Stone House. After sleeping in the woods all night he went to the Wigton farm.¹⁹

It is notable that all of the foregoing accounts at least mention the Stone House tavern. It is the only detail they have in common, and no doubt accounts for the many inaccurate variants of the legend which place the murders there. In reality, though, the most important occurrence on the day before the murders was the sudden death of one of James Wigton's horses. Forced to travel two miles to his father's farm the following day (June 30th), he left very early in the morning, since he had arranged for neighbor Lemual Davis, and Davis's wife and son, to come and help with the plowing. His early departure left his wife and children at the mercy of Samuel Mohawk.



According to one account of the murders, when he was refused service at the Old Stone House, Samuel Mohawk walked to the Kiester House, a small tavern some two miles to the north.

THE WIGTON MASSACRE

Almost every version of the actual killings has as its basis an account attributed to Samuel Mohawk himself. Although James Wigton's autobiography claims that Mohawk made this statement to the district attorney while he was in jail awaiting trial, I could not locate a copy of it in the public records of Butler County. Nevertheless, I believe it does, or did, exist. Similarities in structure and wording and the agreement of particulars between various versions suggests a fixed source in existence before many oral variations could evolve.

According to J. Douglas Wigton, the following statement was made by Samuel Mohawk:

Me come down river on raft. Me start home on stage. Big white man throw me out of wagon. Me walk far and me come to Butler Hotel [Stone House Tavern]. Me very angry now. Me sleep someplace until it is day. When light comes I go afoot. Me come to a house where white man lives. No white man there. Me go in the house and ask white squaw for

an ax. She say "we have none." Me ask for a knife. She give me a knife and me struck her on the arm. She ran out of the house. me follow her out. She ran in the house and shut the door. Me took both hands and knee and push it open and got in. She, squaw run out another time. Me follow and catch her four or six rods from the house. She big and strong white squaw, her. She throw me down say "you must not kill me. I will give you all the money in the house." Me pick up big stick and struck her on the head. She fell down. Me took a stone and struck her on the head. Me thought she was dead. Me went into the house with the stone. Saw a child five or six years old and killed it with the stone and me killed another one. Me saw a little one in the cradle. It laughed and made funny. Me went away and think me not kill it. Me went out to the spring and got a drink and come back. Heard a child crying upstairs. Me went upstairs with a big stick and hit it three times on the head. Me went up again and struck another child on the head. It was lying on a big bed. It made no more noise. Me then went back

to the cradle and hit it [the baby] once on the head. When me come out me see the woman turn over. Me took same stone and struck her three times on the head. Me look all around and me see nobody and start up the road.²⁰

C. Hale Sipe, who said Samuel Mohawk spoke "broken English" ²¹ gives this version of the Indian's statement:

[I] opened the door, entered and saw the woman, asked her for an ax; she said she had none; then asked her for a knife, which she gave me, and I cut at her, and I think I hit her on the arm. She attempted to escape, went out of doors. I followed; she returned into the house and tried to close the door on me, but I pushed it in and caught her about five rods from the door. She succeeded in taking the knife from me and threw me, but she held the knife while I held her wrists. In the struggle the knife cut the back of my head, when I pushed the woman off and struck her with my fists. She said "You musn't kill—I'll give you money," but I took up a stick of some size and struck her on the head, when she fell. I then took a stone, struck her and thought she was dead. I went into the house with the same stone, saw a child of five or six years of age which I struck and killed; saw another small child in the cradle, which I killed at once, then heard a child crying upstairs, went up with stick and struck the three children on the head and next went to the spring to get a drink; went back to the house and heard a child crying up stairs, got a large stick, and went up stairs, struck one of the children on the large bed, that was moaning and it made no more noise. On coming down, saw the woman moving and struck her with a stone on the head three times.²²

Notice the similarity between the two accounts, the differences being in grammar and syntax and the order in which the children were killed. The other noticeable difference is that in Wigton's account the infant is "hit. . . once," rather than "killed at once." However, because no other version of the massacre treats the killing of the infant quite so lightly, and because he did attempt to change his identity to add color to an already vivid legend, I think it likely "Duke" Wigton deliberately altered his version of the story to make his claim credible.

Other versions of the massacre also exist. In Henry B. Kiester's third-person account, Mrs. Wigton is on her way to the granary in the barn to cut meat for breakfast when Mohawk intercepts her, snatches her knife and attacks her with it, leaving her for dead. Kiester, claiming the children were locked in the house, says Mohawk broke down the door with a three or four pound stone, which he used inside to kill four of the children. While he is still inside, Mrs. Wigton, having regained consciousness, returns, and

Mohawk kills her with the same stone. He then goes upstairs and finds the baby in its cradle. The infant smiles at him and Mohawk debates whether or not to kill it, reasoning, "If that baby is a boy it will grow into another white man to abuse the Indians."²³ Finding it is a boy, he lifts the baby from the cradle, swings him so his head hits the door frame, and tosses the body into the cradle. Returning downstairs, Mohawk sees two of his victims moving, hits them on the head again with the stone, and leaves.²⁴

In the Ralston version of the killings Mohawk asks for and receives the loan of a butcher knife. Taking it outside and sharpening it on the grindstone, he returns and attacks Mrs. Wigton; she makes an ineffectual attempt to defend herself with a broom. After killing her, the Indian "killed the three children"²⁵ (presumably with the knife), before going outside to wash in the spring. Returning to the house he discovers the baby, but, not sure if he should kill it, decides to "leave it to the Great Spirit."²⁶ Dropping a small stone in the spring he says, "If the Great Spirit wills I shall not kill the baby, the stone will make no ripple."²⁶ When the inevitable ripples appear, he rationalizes the subsequent killing by declaring that the child would "just be a sassy white man some day anyway."²⁷

Both of the above accounts raise questions. One wonders why a woman, going only from the house to the barn, would lock the door. And, if the solid wood door was locked, would the Indian have been able to batter it open using only a three or four pound stone? Ralston's version, while "folksy" and interesting, makes no mention at all of the fifth Wigton child who was killed that day.

AFTER THE CRIME

In telling what happened after the murders were committed, each writer mentions "actual persons, events and places." Even so the details vary. James Wigton, describing the discovery of the bodies after the arrival of the Davis family at his farm at about seven o'clock that morning, says:

Elisha Davis went to the house, and seeing the door smashed in, he looked in and saw my wife on the floor at the foot of the stairs, and the little girl lying in the middle of the room, with blood on their heads. He ran to tell his father and mother who were in the cornfield. Mr. and Mrs. Davis went to the house while Elisha went to alarm the neighbors. When they got to the house, they found the two bodies, dead, with their skulls crushed. On going upstairs they found the three children in bed, also dead with their skulls crushed, and the baby in its cradle with its head crushed the same as the others but not yet dead. When they raised it up, a portion of the brain oozed out, and it died in a few minutes.

All the wounds were alike, and had evidently been made by a stone lying on the floor, oblong in shape, with a sharp point, and weighing three or four pounds. The first of the neighbors to arrive after the Davises

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

The **Calendar of Events** is a new feature of *Pennsylvania Folklife*. Many organizations around the state offer exhibits, tours, lectures, and other activities that may be of interest to our readers. Because this is a new feature in the journal, we would appreciate any comments or suggestions from our readers or from the organizations included in the calendar. We hope that this will become a regular feature in *Folklife*.

If you are interested in a particular type of event, you should look at the index which follows the list of organizations.

ORGANIZATIONS

A

ALLEGHENY CEMETERY HISTORICAL ASSOC. 4734 Butler St., Pittsburgh (412/682-1624). Lawrenceville Christmas light up night, Nov. 12; Stephen Foster Memorial Service, Jan. 13, Allegheny Cemetery & Trinity Cathedral Church.

ALPEN GLOW 101 Slatewood Ct., Bethel Park (412/835-0211). German/Alpine Music, Nov. 13, 20, Dec. 3, 4, 7:30 p.m.-11:30 p.m.; St. Nicholas celebration, Dec. 2, 7 p.m.-11 p.m., all at Allegheny Brewery & Pub, Pittsburgh North Side, free.

AMERICAN SWEDISH HISTORICAL MUSEUM 1900 Pattison Ave., Phila. (215/389-1776). Lucia Smorgasbord, Dec. 3, 7 p.m.-10 p.m., \$35; Lucia Festival & Julmarknad, Dec. 4, 12-4:30 p.m., adults \$4, children \$2; Pea Soup & Punsch, Jan. 29, 5:30 p.m., \$15; Royal Artists of Sweden, March 13, 2 p.m.-4 p.m.

ANTHRACITE HERITAGE MUSEUM R.R. 1, Bald Mountain Rd., Scranton (717/963-4804). "St. Nicholas Visits the Children," Dec. 5, 2 p.m., celebration of Ukrainian Christmas traditions, admission free.

B

BOYERTOWN AREA HISTORICAL SOCIETY 43 S. Chestnut St., Boyertown (215/367-5255). Belsnickel Craft Show, Nov. 26, 12 noon-8 p.m., Nov. 27, 10 a.m.-5 p.m., adults \$3, children under 12 admitted free if accompanied by an adult.

BRANDYWINE BATTLEFIELD Box 202, Chadds Ford (215/459-3342). Lecture Series, "A Day in 1777," Feb. 3, 10, 17, 24, 7 p.m.; \$15 for all, \$5 per lecture; associate members admitted free.

BUCKS COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MERCER MUSEUM 84 South Pine St., Doylestown (215/345-0210). Antique Tool Discovery Day, Nov. 13, 10 a.m.-4 p.m.; Early American Craft Demonstration, Nov. 27, 2 p.m.-4 p.m., included in Museum admission - adults \$5, seniors \$4.50, students \$1.50, children under 6 accompanied by an adult admitted free. Holiday Community Open House, Dec. 14, 7 p.m.-9 p.m., free; Bucks County Open House, Feb. 14-20, free admission for all Bucks County residents.

BURNSIDE PLANTATION Box 559, Schoenersville Rd., Bethlehem (215/868-5044). Children's programs: Apple Antics, Nov. 7; Christmas Sweatshirts, Nov. 21; Christmas Creativity, Dec. 5. All-1:30 p.m.-3 p.m., members \$4, non-members \$5, each program. Adult programs: Christmas Wall Hanging, Nov. 7, 1:30 p.m.-3:30 p.m., members \$10, non-members \$12; Evergreen Workshop to make wreaths, Dec. 5, 1:30 p.m.-3:30 p.m., members \$12 (large), \$10 (small), non-members \$15 or \$12, pre-registration required for all workshops.

C

CHADDS FORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY Box 27, Chadds Ford (215/388-7376). Candlelight Christmas in Chadds Ford, Dec. 4, 4 p.m.-9 p.m., adults \$15 (advance ticket, \$12), children 12 and under \$5.

CHESTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY 225 N. High St., West Chester (215/692-4800). "Wharton Esherick: Dean of American Craftsmen," slide-illustrated lecture by Robert Leonard, Nov. 10, 7:30 p.m.; "An Armchair Tour of Phoenixville," slide-illustrated narrative by Barbara Cohen, Nov. 17, noon, members free, non-members \$3. "The Amish Community: Soil and Spirituality," illustrated lecture by Dr. John A.

Hostetter, Nov. 17, admission free. Old-Fashioned Christmas in West Chester Open House, Dec. 3, 7 p.m.-10 p.m., admission free.

CONRAD WEISER HOMESTEAD Womelsdorf (215/589-2934). Holiday Candlelight Tour, Nov. 27, 6 p.m.-9 p.m., admission fee.

D

DANIEL BOONE HOMESTEAD R.D. 2, Birdsboro (215/582-4900). "A Colonial Christmas," Dec. 12, noon to 5 p.m., free admission.

E

ECKLEY MINERS' VILLAGE R.D. 2, Weatherly (717/636-2070). Children's Christmas in Eckley, Dec. 4, children's activity day, reservations required; Christmas in Eckley, Dec. 5, for the entire family, admission fee for both.

EDGAR ALLAN POE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE 532 N. Seventh St., Phila. (215/597-8780). Fifteenth Anniversary Celebration Nov. 10-14, 9 a.m.-5 p.m., guest speakers, special exhibits, children's activities, special guided house tours by National Park Service rangers.

EPHRATA CLOISTER 632 W. Main St., Ephrata (717/733-4811). Christmas at the Cloister, Dec. 12 & 13, 6:30 p.m., 7:45 p.m., 9 p.m., admission free, scripture reading and Christmas music by the Ephrata Cloister chorales.

F

FORT HUNTER MANSION AND PARK 5300 N. Front St., Harrisburg (717/599-5751). Christmas at Fort Hunter, Dec. 1-23, 12 noon-7 p.m., closed Mondays; Victorian Tea, Dec. 5, 2 p.m.-4 p.m., outdoor caroling, Dec. 10, 7 p.m.-8:30 p.m.

FORT LE BOEUF HISTORICAL SOCIETY P.O. Box 622, Waterford (814/796-4123). Colonial Christmas, Nov. 20, 11 a.m.-5 p.m., Nov. 21, 12 noon-5 p.m., annual celebration with tours, entertainment, more; Christmas at Asbury, Dec. 3, 4 p.m.-8 p.m., Dec. 4, 10 a.m.-5 p.m., Asbury United Methodist Church, 27 W. Second St., free.

FORT NECESSITY NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD Farmington (412/329-5512). Olde Time Christmas at the Mount Washington Tavern, Dec. 11, 12, decorations, traditional music and food.

G

GREENE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY P.O. Box 127, Waynesburg (412/627-3204). Fifth Annual Christmas Open House & Gift Shop Sale, Dec. 3-5, Greene County Historical Museum, Old Route 21, free.

H

HANS HERR HOUSE 1849 Hans Herr Dr., Willow Street (717/464-4438). Christmas Candlelight Tours, Dec. 3, 4, 6:30 p.m.-9 p.m., adults \$4, children 7-12 \$1, under 7 free, decorations, demonstrations, refreshments.

HARMONIE ASSOCIATES, OLD ECONOMY VILLAGE 14th & Church Sts., Ambridge (412/266-1803). Cultures of Christmas by Candlelight, Dec. 11, 12, 5 p.m.-9 p.m., adults \$6, children \$3, decorations, tours, light refreshments sold, some crafters.

HARRISBURG AREA COMMUNITY COLLEGE One HACC Dr., Harrisburg (717/231-7673). Straight Ahead (female jazz quintet), Nov. 18, 8 p.m.; Jose Molina Bailes Espanoles (Flamenco & Spanish dance), Feb. 4, 8 p.m.; Freedom Bound (musical based on true story of slave who escaped on "Underground Railroad"), Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. Call for ticket information.

HAVERTOWN TOWNSHIP HISTORICAL SOCIETY Box 825, Havertown, PA (215/446-1000). Annual Christmas Open House, Dec. 5, 12, 19, 1 p.m.-4 p.m., at Nitre Hall, the 1810 mansion of the powder master of the Nitre Hall Powder Mills, Karakung Dr., Powder Mill Valley Park, Havertown.

HERSHEY MUSEUM 170 W. Hersheypark Dr., Hershey (717/534-3439). Exhibit, *Baby Dolls to Barbies*: 100 Years of American Dolls & Toys, Oct. 29-Feb. 6; "Visit With Belsnickle,"

2 p.m., and clear candy-making demonstration, 3 p.m., Dec. 4, museum admission fee.

HISTORIC BARTRAM'S GARDEN 54th St. & Lindbergh Blvd., Phila. (215/729-5281). Annual Green Sale, Dec. 3, 4, 5; preview party Dec. 3, 3 p.m.-6 p.m. Free admission, free parking, small fee for activities all weekend.

HISTORIC HARMONY Main & Mercer Sts., Harmony. Annual Harmoniefest Dinner and program marking the anniversary of the 1805 founding of the communal Harmony Society at the Harmony Museum, Feb. 14, 1994, about \$15 per person.

HISTORIC NATHAN DENISON HOUSE 35 Denison St., Forty Fort (717/288-5531). Colonial Candlelight Tour, Dec. 11, 12, 6 p.m.-9 p.m., adults \$2, students 6-12 \$5.00, children 5 and under free.

HISTORIC ROCK FORD & KAUFFMAN MUSEUM 881 Rock Ford Rd., Lancaster (717/392-7223). A Candlelight Carole, Dec. 4, 5, 6 p.m.-9 p.m., tours, carolers, storyteller, refreshments. Adults/students \$4.

HISTORIC WAYNESBOROUGH 2049 Waynesborough Rd., Paoli (215/647-1779). Greens Sale Preview & Tour of Historic Waynesborough, Dec. 3, 7 p.m.-9 p.m., \$5. Greens, gifts & goodies, Dec. 4, 10 a.m.-4 p.m., greens may be ordered in advance.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF BERKS COUNTY 940 Centre Ave., Reading (215/375-4375). Exhibition of the work of Earl Lincoln Poole, nationally known bird illustrator and naturalist, and sale in museum gift shop of items made by local traditional crafts people, now through Jan. 15, non-members, adults \$2.50, children 5-12 \$1, under 5 free.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE BLAIRSVILLE AREA 116 E. Campbell St., Blairsville (412/459-0580). Monthly meetings first Wed. of each month, 7 p.m., Blairsville Community Center Building, N. Stewart St., open to the public.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA 1300 Locust St., Phila. (215/732-6200). Ongoing exhibition: "Finding Philadelphia's Past: Visions and Revisions"; "Crossroads: Center City Philadelphia," Jan. 21-July 23, 1994. Open Tuesdays, Thursdays, Fridays & Saturdays 10 a.m.-5 p.m., Wednesdays 1 p.m.-9 p.m. Admission-adults \$2.50, seniors & ages 6-18 \$1.50, under 6 free. Admission to

museum and historical research center is \$5 for adults, \$2 for students with valid I.D.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF YORK COUNTY MUSEUM 250 E. Market St., York (717/848-1587). Exhibits through March 31, 1994: "Street of Shops"; "York 250 Years: A Retrospective"; "Grandfather's Clock"; "An Exhibition of Fraktur"; "Transportation Gallery"; "On Paper Canvas and Wood: York County Artists 1800-1945." Mon.-Sat. 9 a.m.-5 p.m., Sun. 1 p.m.-4 p.m. Admission fee.

HOPEWELL FURNACE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE 2 Mark Bird Lane, Elverson (215/582-8773). Iron Plantation Christmas-a typical 1830s Christmas celebration, Dec. 12, 10 a.m.-4 p.m. Free admission.

J

JAMES A. MICHENER ART MUSEUM 138 S. Pine St., Doylestown (215/340-9800). Happy Holiday Art Party, Dec. 12, 1 p.m., traditional holiday music followed by gift-making workshop; "Kites and Cranes," Jan. 30, 1994, 1 p.m., stories from Japan and Oragami/kite workshop. Members free, adults \$5, seniors \$4.50, children and students (with I.D.) \$1.50, under 12 free.

JAMES BUCHANAN FOUNDATION FOR THE PRESERVATION OF WHEATLAND 1120 Marietta Ave., Lancaster (717/392-8721). Victorian Christmas Tours at Wheatland, Dec. 6-10, 1 p.m.-8 p.m., Dec. 11, 18, 10 a.m.-6 p.m., Dec. 12, 19, 10 a.m.-8 p.m. Adults \$4.50, seniors \$4, students \$3.25, under 12 \$1.75, groups (15 or more) by appointment \$3.25 per person.

K

KUTZTOWN AREA HISTORICAL SOCIETY Normal Ave. & Whiteoak St., Kutztown (215/683-3936). Holiday Festival, Juried Art & Craft Show and Sale, 1892 School Building & Museum (above address), Nov. 13, 14, 10 a.m.-5 p.m., \$2, under 12 free.

L

LEBANON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY 924 Cumberland St., Lebanon (717/272-1473). Crafts & Trains Show-Traditional crafts sale, antique and new operating model trains, Nov. 20, 21, 1-5 p.m., general admission \$2, \$5 ticket includes entertainment, music and light refreshments.

LEHIGH COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY Lehigh County Museum, Old Courthouse, Hamilton at Fifth St., Allentown (215/435-4664). Pennsylvania German Family Workshop, Troxell-Steckel House, 4229 Reliance St., Egypt, Dec. 4, 1 p.m.-4 p.m. Members, \$10/family, non-members \$12/family, registration required by Nov. 23.

LENNI LENAPE HISTORICAL SOCIETY & MUSEUM OF INDIAN CULTURE R.D. 2, Fish Hatchery Rd., Allentown (215/797-2121). Winter Solstice Celebration, Dec. 4, reservations required.

M

MENNONITE HISTORIANS OF EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA The Meeting House, 565 Yoder Rd., Harleysville (215/256-3020). Fourteenth Annual Sale of Pennsylvania Traditional Craftwares & Folk Art, Nov. 13, 9 a.m.-4 p.m., \$3. Exhibit of contemporary fraktur and quilt interpretation by local Mennonite artists, Nov. 26-Jan. 30, 1994, Tues.-Sat., 10 a.m.-5 p.m., Sun. 2 p.m.-5 p.m.

MILL GROVE & AUDUBON WILDLIFE SANCTUARY P.O. Box 7125, Audubon (215/666-5593). Holiday Decorating Workshop, Nov. 6, 10 a.m.-12, \$8, pre-registration necessary; Leaders Choice Birding Trip, Nov. 13, 8 a.m.; Porcupine Eggs & Teasel Tails, workshop for children grades 4-6, Nov. 20, 10 a.m.-12, \$3. Annual Christmas Open House, Dec. 5, 1 p.m.-7 p.m.; Owl Prowl, Dec. 17, 7 p.m.-9 p.m.; Wildflowers & Weeds, Dec. 18, 10:30 a.m.-12.

MOORE COLLEGE OF ART AND DESIGN 20th St. & The Parkway, Philadelphia (215/568-4515). "Elijah Pierce, Woodcarver," Goldie Paley Gallery, Jan. 14-March 27, 1994, exhibition of the work of an African American barber (1892-1984) known as the "preacher in wood."

O

OLD STONE HOUSE Rt. 8, Slippery Rock (412/738-2408). Candlelight Christmas Open House, Dec. 10-12, 7:30 p.m.-9:30 p.m., traditional music, decorations, refreshments. Admission free, donations appreciated.

P

PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART 26th St. & Benjamin Franklin Parkway (215/684-7860). *Ten African-American Quilters*, February-March, 1994, Tuesday-Sunday 10 a.m.-5 p.m., Wed.

until 8:45 p.m. Adults \$6, seniors, students with I.D. and children \$3. Free admission Sundays until 1 p.m.

PITTSBURGH AVIARY Allegheny Commons West, Pittsburgh (412/323-7235). Wings & Wildlife Art Show, Nov. 5-7, 9 a.m.-4:30 p.m.; Mother Nature's Diner, Nov. 27, 10 a.m.-3 p.m.; Snow Bird Festival, Dec. 17-19, 9 a.m.-4:30 p.m.; Native American Talking Circle, a celebration of Native American culture, Jan. 8.

POLISH AMERICAN CULTURAL CENTER 308 Walnut St., Philadelphia (215/922-1700). Polish Christmas Open House, Dec. 18, 11 a.m.-3 p.m. Free admission. Kosciuszko Wreath Laying Ceremony, Feb. 5, 1994, 3rd & Pine Sts., 1 p.m.

R

RACHEL CARSON HOMESTEAD 613 Marion Ave., Springdale (412/274-5459). Birthplace and childhood home of renowned author and naturalist, open for tours Saturdays and Sundays, 10 a.m.-4 p.m. through November, adults \$2.50, students \$1.

RENFREW MUSEUM AND PARK 1010 E. Main St., Waynesboro (717/762-4723). "Open Hearth Thanksgiving," cooking demonstration, Nov. 20, 10 a.m.-1 p.m., pre-registration required. "Pioneer Christmas," a country Christmas at its best, Dec. 11, 2 p.m.-5 p.m., Dec. 12, 5 p.m.-8:30 p.m. Free.

S

SCOTT ARBORETUM OF SWARTHMORE COLLEGE 500 College Ave., Swarthmore (215/328-8025). "Live Green Wreaths," workshop, Dec. 2, 10 a.m.-noon, and 7 p.m.-9 p.m., Wister Greenhouse, members \$20, non-members \$25.

SLIFER HOUSE MUSEUM One River Rd., Lewisburg (717/524-2271). Victorian Holiday Party and Seminars, Dec. 5, 6 p.m., Dec. 12, 1 p.m.

THE SCHUYLKILL CENTER FOR ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION 8480 Hagy's Mill Rd., Philadelphia (215/482-7300). "Solstice Traditions," Dec. 4, 2 p.m., adults \$5, children 2-11 \$3. "Winterfest," Dec. 5, 5 p.m.-8 p.m., pre-registration/pre-payment only, members \$5, non-members \$8. "Winter Crafts," Dec. 18, 19, 2 p.m., members \$4, non-members \$8.

T

Taller Puertorriqueño, Inc. 2721 N. 5th St., Philadelphia (215/426-3311). "Annual Puerto Rican History Workshop," "The Puerto Rican Healing Arts," Nov. 19, 6 p.m.-9 p.m., at the Education Center, 2557 N. 5th St.; "Arte del Corazón," Dec. 17-Feb. 19, 1994, Gallery, 2721 N. 5th St.; "Annual Three Kings Celebration, Jan. 6, 1994, 3 p.m.-6 p.m., 2557 N. 5th St.

TYLER ARBORETUM 515 Painter Rd., Media (215/566-9134). Lenape Harvest Ceremony, Nov. 20, 1 p.m.-3 p.m., admission fee.

U

UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, INDIANA UNIV. OF PENNA. Sutton Hall, Indiana. "Language of the Lens: Contemporary Native American Photographs," Nov. 9-Dec. 19 (closed Nov. 24-29), Tues.-Fri. 11 a.m.-4 p.m., Thurs. 7 p.m.-9 p.m. also, weekends 1 p.m.-4 p.m.

V

VALLEY FORGE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK Valley Forge (215/783-1077). "The Forgotten Studio: Siegmund Lubin and Early Film Production at Betzwood," Nov. 7, 2 p.m., Visitors Center, West Wing; "Battlelines and Bayonets-Combat in the Era of Valley Forge," Nov. 28, 1 p.m. & 3 p.m. at tour stop #2; "The 18th Century Medical Department," Dec. 12, 10 a.m.-4:30 p.m., at the Dewees House.

W

WARREN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY 210 Fourth Ave., Warren (814/723-1795). Victorian Christmas, Dec. 3, 4 p.m.-9 p.m., Dec. 4, 10 a.m.-4 p.m., Dec. 5, 1 p.m.-5 p.m., \$1 admission fee.

WARRIOR RUN-FORT FREELAND HERITAGE SOCIETY Turbotville (717/649-5363). Christmas Candlelight Service at the historic Warrior Run Church, Dec. 11, no admission charge.

WESTMORELAND MUSEUM OF ART 221 N. Main St., Greensburg (412/837-1500). "Holiday Toy and Train Exhibition," Nov. 26-Jan. 16, 1994, Tues.-Sat., 10 a.m.-5 p.m., Sun. 1 p.m.-5 p.m., no admission charge.

Y

YOUNGWOOD HISTORICAL & RAILROAD MUSEUM Depot St. at the Tracks, Youngwood (412/925-2726). Christmas Railroad Display, last 3 weekends in Dec., donation.

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were Mr. Morrow and Mr. Emery. But soon quite a crowd had gathered.

About eight o'clock, I returned, all unconscious of my great loss, and seeing a number of the neighbors in commotion about the house, I felt that something was wrong. I jumped off the horse, and Mrs. Davis came towards me, crying and wringing her hands. I asked her what in God's name was the matter, and she said the whole family was murdered. I started to go into the house but they stopped me. The shock was so great and sudden that for four days after I did not remember anything. I did not see any of my murdered family. I cannot mind of the funeral, and only know what took place by what I was told.

Up to this time it was a complete mystery as to who had done the awful deed. By 10 o'clock, the whole county had been aroused, word having been sent to different schoolhouses and school dismissed, the scholars spreading the news in every direction, and all the people within reach had gathered at my house, and seeing the bodies lying there had been wrought up to a tremendous state of excitement.

Then came the news that an Indian had been seen near the house of Joseph Kennedy, who lived on the opposite side of Slippery Rock Creek, not more than 75 rods from my house, but the crossing was a considerable distance up the creek. At Kennedy's he threw a stone and struck a two year old child on the head, knocking it senseless so that the family thought it was killed. Some of them hollered to get the gun and set the dog on him, when he ran for the woods that were nearby. He had my cloak on and Kennedy knew it. Kennedy gave the alarm to Phillip Kiester, who lived about 30 rods away, and they all came down to Kennedy's leaving the house open. By this time, Kennedy's child had come to and Kiester started for home. When he came in sight of his house he saw the Indian enter at the front door. Kiester then ran to the field where his sons were at work. They came to the house and found that the Indian had gone upstairs with a lot of stones that he had gathered and taken up with him.

Word had reached my house about the Indian striking Kennedy's child and the crowd started after him. Soon several hundred were gathered at Kiester's many of them armed, believing a body of Indians was in the vicinity. The Indian in his retreat upstairs refused to give himself up and bade defiance to the crowd.²⁸

Henry B. Kiester's third-person account of the aftermath of the crime is even more detailed. According to him, the Indian,

in the dim light of early morning [then] . . . returned to the road, presumably to go back up the hill to

the Pike, that he might resume his long walk to Franklin. But, a short distance in the opposite direction, down the hill, he saw a house and someone moving. That would be another member of the hated white race. So he went down the hill but found that the house was on a knoll on the opposite side of the Slippery Rock Creek. A short distance upstream he crossed the ford, and approached the house. When he drew near, he saw the boy, Joe Kennedy, standing near it. He threw a stone which hit the boy squarely on the head. Joe dropped as if he had been shot. His two older sisters, attracted by its barking, unleashed their large and vicious dog. The Indian ran into the woods, with the dog chasing him. Presumably he escaped the dog by climbing a tree.

The Kennedy girls immediately ran to the Phillip Kiester home, about thirty rods distant. The only persons at the house were Mrs. Kiester and her daughter Mahala. The girls cried, "Come! Hurry! A wild man just killed one of the boys!" The Kiester women hastened with them to the Kennedy home, and soon succeeded in helping to revive the boy.

At seven o'clock, about the time Mohawk hit Joe Kennedy, the Davis family arrived at the Wigton home. Mr. and Mrs. Davis went directly to the cornfield with their hoes, while Elisha went to the house to report their arrival. He stepped through the door, which was open—and stopped! The horrible sight which met his eyes sent him screaming to his father and mother in the cornfield. He was so terrified he had difficulty explaining, "James Wigton—has murdered his family—and he's gone!" Elisha was sent to alarm the neighborhood, while his father and mother took their stand at the house. "Lish" ran straight through the woods to the McClelland home on the Pike, then to the Kiester Tavern, and on to the Hickory Furnace. Soon the entire neighborhood was roused, and everybody started toward the James Wigton home.

About eight o'clock James Wigton returned. . . . He put the horse in the barn, and started to the house. He saw several people, and stopped. Mrs. Davis was coming toward him wringing her hands, and tears were streaming down her face. He asked her, "What in God's name is wrong?" She sobbed, "Your whole—family—has been—murdered!" The strong man was stunned. For four days he did not comprehend a thing that transpired. He had to be told afterward. He gazed at that open door. He did not enter it. Rather, he backed a few short steps further away from it.

Then there was the sound of a wagon coming down the road. James Wigton watched as it grew near, and as it turned in and stopped. Jesse Kiester alighted and came quickly to his side. Together they walked slowly toward that open door, but did not enter the house. Then they backed away.

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Commonwealth Indictment for Murder
 Samuel Mohawk
 13th Sept 1843 Contd

777
 Holdings Inquisition 24.5.13 Decr 1843. The Defendant
 being arraigned and
 pleaded not Guilty, and put himself
 on his country, the Jury General
 3.00 Semitator
 4.00 Jury being sworn and verdict
 4.00 Guilty of murder in the first degree
 in manner & form as he stands indicted
 Motion for a new trial 16th Jan 1844
 Motion for a new
 trial over ruled by the Court

17th Jan 1844. the Prisoner being brought to the bar the Court put the question
 to him Samuel Mohawk have you any thing to say why sentence
 of Death should not be pronounced against you? the Prisoner made
 no reply to the question the Court proceeded to sentence the Prisoner to
 Samuel Mohawk. the sentence which the Law imposes upon you that you are
 taken hence to the Prison of Dukes County from whence you came, & from thence
 to the place of Execution & that you are there hanged by the Law unless you are
 good and say you have mercy upon your Soul

The original true bill of indictment against Samuel Mohawk.

Behind them they heard voices. They turned to see a group of men coming up through the woods. The group was led by "Billy" Stewart, superintendent of Hickory Furnace. He was also the pastor of the neighborhood church. People continually arrived at the James Wigton home. As news of the crime reached the schools, they were dismissed and the alarm spread, until by noon it was known throughout Butler County.

Not one of the neighbors, gathered about the Wigton home, had any idea who could have committed such a crime. Nor did any of them know of the existence of Sam Mohawk. And what about the Indian? When he came out of the woods, into which he had been chased by the Kennedy dog, he was near the Phillip Kiester home. He approached the house and stopped. Then he threw a stone through a window. No one appeared, and he threw more stones.

The breaking glass was heard by Phillip and three of his sons, who were clearing not far away. With the remark that "The women must have gone crazy," Phillip started to the house to investigate. When he came near, he saw a wild-looking man throwing stones through the windows. He picked up an axe from the chopping block near which he stopped. With the axe on his shoulder, he started around the springhouse, that he might approach the Indian from the rear. Mohawk glimpsed him, mistook the axe for a gun, and ran into the house.

By this time a great crowd had gathered at the James Wigton home. Word reached them about the Indian who had hurt the Kennedy boy. Part of the crowd began to move toward Kennedy's. Jesse Kiester, in his wagon, led the way. When he got there, he found the Kennedy family standing in the yard. They were all looking toward the Phillip Kiester house, which was a short distance away. They told him about hearing the sound of breaking glass, and that his mother and sister feared to go home. So he took them with him in the wagon and drove on toward his father's house. The group went along. When they arrived, Phillip told them about the Indian who had just run into the house, after throwing stones through the windows.

The crowd quickly surrounded the house. Mrs. Kiester and her daughter had already told them that the Kennedy girls had recognized James Wigton's new jacket on the Indian, when he had hurt their brother. So they knew that the murderer was in that house. They knew he would not hesitate to kill again. And they did not know what weapons he might possess. Neither did they know just where they might find him in the house. The crowd was tense; they did not enter the house.²⁹

W. A. Ralston says that after killing the Wigton family, Samuel Mohawk left the farmhouse and

went down and crossed the creek at the old fording, some distance below the present Wadsworth Bridge. Here for a time crossed the Franklin Road. The old Venango Trail lay here a few rods west of the creek.

The house of a man named Kennedy was a short distance west of the fording. Kennedy's sons had gone to Butler that morning in the wagon. Kennedy himself was out in the garden—an old Scotch Irishman, much crippled by rheumatism.

Mohawk picked up a stone and threw it at Kennedy, and as Kennedy expressed it, "I picked it up and threw it back at him." Then he set his black woolly dog on Mohawk, which chased him up the road. Further up the road to the north, Phillip Kiester, who was an old man, was alone in his house. He saw Mohawk coming, and gathering an armful of stones as he came. Kiester slipped away to his sons, who were working in the field. Mohawk, entering Kiester's house, went upstairs and seeing a trunk there, opened it and took out a violin which was lying on top of some clothes and went to playing it. Had he looked further, he would have found a loaded horse pistol with a supply of ammunition in the bottom of the trunk. It was this that made the neighbors so chary of rushing him later.

Meanwhile, across the creek, Lem Davis and his wife had walked in on the murdered Wigton family. Since the days of the early frontier no one had seen such a sight.

Neighbors were called. Wigton returned from his father's. The old Hickory Furnace, a mile away, was running then; and a crowd swiftly gathered. But no one could make out just who could have done the killing, and the neighbors had begun to gather in little groups and look darkly at Wigton himself. At this juncture, one of the Kiester boys crossed the creek and came up to the house for help, saying an Indian had taken possession of their house. The crowd returned with him, now knowing whom to blame.³⁰

In the above three accounts, the writers mostly agree about the timing and sequence of events; variations concern the question of who was doing what. For instance, was it Lemual Davis and his wife or their son Elisha who discovered the bodies? Did Mohawk throw a stone at Joseph Kennedy or at his two-year-old son? Who set the dog on Mohawk, Joseph Kennedy or his daughters? There is one area in which there is marked disagreement; that concerns the whereabouts of Phillip Kiester. Was he in the house, on his way back to the house, or with his sons in the field as the Indian approached his property? In addition, it should be noted that C. Hale Sipe omits many of the details included by Wigton, Kiester, and Ralston; he traces Mohawk's path not to the Phillip Kiester house, but rather to the property of J. Phillip Kiester, located on the turnpike a short distance north of Jesse Kiester's tavern.³¹



Center Township resident John J. Kirk is shown holding the chains used to secure Samuel Mohawk while he was in prison. Photograph by the author of a clipping from the files of The Butler Eagle.

THE CAPTURE OF SAMUEL MOHAWK

With "the Indian in his retreat upstairs" in the Kiester house refusing to give himself up, and the crowd "tense" outside refusing to enter, a sound was heard:

It was the discordant sound made by sawing the bow back and forth across the strings of a violin which was not in tune. The murderer had found Paul Kiester's fiddle. Suddenly the sound ceased. There was a breathless pause. Then there was a crash. Mohawk had smashed the violin against the stone chimney.

Every member of the Kiester family knew the exact spot, upstairs, where the Indian stood. And they also knew that he could not see the floor of either room downstairs. So the Kiester men rushed into the house, and the crowd followed. The two rooms on the ground floor quickly filled with determined men.

The murderer stood on the second floor of that log house, with his back to the stone chimney where he had broken the violin. He could look straight

down onto a first floor landing approximately a yard square. He could see the entire steep stairway which led from that landing to the second floor. And he could see the narrow hallway which extended from the head of the stairs to where he stood. Also he could hear the harsh voices of those grim men, who knew that he had murdered their neighbor's family. He could not see them, and they could not see him.

There was one question. How could they get him down those stairs? The men had been warned that a pair of loaded pistols was kept where Mohawk had found the violin. So they had reason to be cautious.

Finally a neighbor, Thomas Blair, picked up a flail swiple which stood in the corner of the kitchen, hefted it in his hand, and volunteered to bring the Indian down the stairs. He mounted two or three steps and turned to look up to where Mohawk stood by the chimney. "Tommy" fell to the landing unconscious and bleeding. A stone had hit him squarely between the eyes.

There ensued an interval of discussion and inde-

cision. Then an experiment was tried. A man ran quickly onto the landing, took one step onto the stairway, and sprang down into the kitchen. The kitchen floor was three steps lower than the landing and the parlor floor. The Indian threw a stone, which did little damage. The ruse was repeated until the stone throwing ceased. Mohawk had exhausted the supply which he had carried in his pockets. And there was no shot, so the pistols had not likely been found.

It was then that Charles McQuiston, brother of the murdered Mrs. Wigton, rushed up the stairs. He was closely followed by several other men, among them "Tom" Donaghy with the flail swiple. McQuiston quickly grappled with the Indian, and Donaghy hit him on the head. He was roughly dragged by his feet down the stairs and out of the house, where he soon regained consciousness.³²

The descriptions of Samuel Mohawk's capture given in the Ralston and Wigton accounts are nearly identical to the Kiester version cited above, although neither mention the ruse used to deplete the Indian's supply of stones. James Wigton does, however, mention a remark no one else quotes. According to Wigton, after being captured and dragged outside, Mohawk pointed to his forehead, saying, "Shoot me right there—three of you."³³ Yet another version (C. Hale Sipe's) of the capture tells of a dog being sent up the stairs after the Indian, followed by several men rushing the second floor under cover of a large board or door.³⁴

THE ARREST, TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF SAMUEL MOHAWK

James Wigton says Mohawk was taken back to his house, and asked in the presence of the victims whether or not he had killed them. "He said he had, and was sorry for it."³⁵ He also confessed to stealing Wigton's coat and told them where it could be found; it later was.

The victims were buried in the Muddy Creek Presbyterian Cemetery—all six in one grave—on July 2nd. "Great excitement prevailed, and a large crowd, estimated at six thousand, was present at the funeral."³⁶

Meanwhile, Samuel Mohawk had been taken to the Butler County jail under armed escort. (James Wigton and his brother William had both tried to kill the Indian immediately after his capture.) A coroner's jury was called, an inquest held, and a murder indictment was brought against him. In September, after a grand jury met, the trial was scheduled for the following January. Now, local residents were sure the Indians would seek revenge for the arrest of one of their own, and according to James Wigton:

All kinds of rumors were afloat—one that 400 Indians were encamped in the pines below Butler. . . and that they would burn the town of Butler, release the prisoner, and take him home with them.

Crowds of armed men gathered at Sunbury, the Stone House, and other points for the purpose of taking the Indian from jail and lynching him, to tie him to a tree and riddle him with bullets.

About 700 armed men went to Jake Sleppy's Tavern, a mile out of Butler, to carry out the program. Jesse Hall and I had went ahead and warned Sleppy to close his bar and not give them any liquor. We were about to start to Butler when the Sheriff, the Judge, Lawyers and principal men of Butler came out there to persuade us to turn back, stating that they could secure the jail against an attack from the Indians, and that we could send a delegation of our number to see that everything was safe, and also that the report of Indians being in the vicinity was false. I did not want to kill the Indian while in the hands of the law, and so stated to the men. . . . A vote was taken, resulting in the men quietly dispersing and returning home. However, we sent six men to guard the jail. The Indian stayed there three months.

Shortly after this, I received a letter, signed by six of the chiefs or head men of the Seneca tribe, disclaiming any sympathy with Mohawk, saying he was a bad Indian and that they were glad to get rid of him. . . .

Soon after the gathering at Sleppy's I was arrested, together with several others, on information of Jedediah Jack, a lawyer in Butler, for inciting a riot. We gave bail, and at court was dismissed. The indignation of the citizens at our arrest drove Jack from the County.

I went to jail several times to see Mohawk, and was always searched for weapons before entering, and had two of the jail attendants with me, for fear I would kill him, but I had no desire to kill him while in jail. He would not talk to me, to give me any satisfaction but after his indictment, he told the District Attorney that my wife was a good woman, because she prayed while he was killing her. He said that she was preparing breakfast when he came to the house and fought hard to save her children, cutting her hand on a knife she had, but that he was devilish and wanted to kill every white person he met that morning. He also said that the child, when he went to the cradle, looked up and laughed. He then thought if it was a girl he would not kill it, but finding it to be a boy, he killed it, because it would grow up to be a sassy white. Geo. W. Smith, a lawyer of Butler, volunteered against the protest of his mother and friends, to defend the Indian, assisted by Fetterman, District Attorney of Beaver County, also a volunteer. Smith's practice in Butler was ever afterward ruined, and he went west soon after the trial.

The trial of Mohawk at the January term, 1844, lasted four days, a day and a half being consumed

in empanelling a jury, the prosecution making few objections, and the defense objecting to everything. He was tried for the murder of my wife, there being five other separate indictments against him, one for the killing of each of my children. The town was full of people to hear the trial, not half of whom could not get into the courtroom, there being about four hundred ladies present each day. On the fourth day, Saturday, about 8 P.M., the jury, after an absence of about an hour, brought in a verdict of murder in the first degree. On the first ballot the jury stood eleven for conviction and on the second ballot were unanimous.

The defense set up a plea of insanity and worked hard to save the life of their client. Had he been cleared, he would have been promptly lynched, such was the excitement and feeling against Mohawk.

About one month after conviction he was sentenced and hanged in the Butler jail yard, Friday, March 22, 1844. Sometime before the conviction two of the Seneca Indians came down, and brought the condemned a full suit of burial clothes, including moccasins, and also requesting that Mohawk be shot instead of hanged.

On the day of the execution, an immense concourse of people filled the town of Butler to overflowing, and the walls of the jail were covered with people trying to see him hang. I was on the wall of the jail, but did not see him drop, but saw the body swinging on the gallows.

After he was cut down and placed in his coffin, it was put into a wagon on the street, and the coffin opened for all who wished to see him, and was afterwards driven about a mile out of town, and the body buried in the corner of a farm.³⁷

Apparently C. W. Kiester had James Wigton's story as his primary source for the conclusion to the massacre, for it agrees with it nearly word for word. (James Wigton almost certainly overestimated the size of the crowd at the funeral; six thousand people would be hard pressed to fit into the Muddy Creek Cemetery. And, at the time, Butler County was not a heavily populated area.) The Ralston version devotes just one paragraph to this part of the story, stating only the bare facts about the trial and execution. Sipe's history lists the names of the jurors who sat on the

case, and tells of the Indian finding God through the counseling of the Reverend Gottlieb Bassler. According to Sipe, Bassler baptized Samuel Mohawk on February 28, 1844.

* * *

In conclusion, it is fitting to remember that, despite the number of people involved in one or more facets of the Wigton massacre and who told about it, and despite all the thousands of words written about it, only one man knew the whole truth about what actually happened at the Wigton farm that late June morning. The rest of us can only hope that we indeed have heard some truth, "somewhere in the telling," about the Wigton massacre.

* * *

James Wigton married again in 1844; he and his second wife had eight children—seven boys and a girl. Near the end of his life he said he had "full faith in a blessed reunion with those that had gone before."³⁸

ENDNOTES

- ¹Duncan Emrich, *Folklore on the American Land* (Boston-Toronto: Little, Brown and Co., 1972), p. 287.
- ²Henry B. Kiester, "The Massacre of the James Wigton Family," in *Butler County History*, ed. J. Campbell Brandon, Esq. (Butler: The Butler County Historical Society, 1962), p. 147.
- ³Wigton Family Document, *A Short Biographical Sketch of the Life of James Wigton As related by Himself in 1877*.
- ⁴*Atlas of the County of Butler and the State of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: G. M. Hopkins & Co., 1879).
- ⁵Wigton Family, *Biographical Sketch*. ⁶*Ibid.* ⁷*Ibid.*
- ⁸C. Hale Sipe, *History of Butler County* (Topeka: Historical Publishing Co., 1927), p. 450.
- ⁹William A. Ralston, *Early Life Along Slippery Rock Creek*, Butler Public Library Vertical Files.
- ¹⁰Wigton Family, *Biographical Sketch*.
- ¹¹*Ibid.* ¹²Kiester, *The Massacre*, pp. 148-149.
- ¹³*Ibid.* ¹⁴Ralston, *Early Life*. ¹⁵Sipe, *History*, p. 450.
- ¹⁶James A. McKee, *A History of Butler County* (Chicago: Arnold Publishing Co., 1909), p. 226.
- ¹⁷Ralston, *Early Life*.
- ¹⁸Mrs. Max Pekorski, interview held on Oct. 21, 1977.
- ¹⁹"He's Still Smiling," *Tri-City News*, 12 January 1969, p. 1.
- ²⁰Wigton Family, *Biographical Sketch*.
- ²¹Sipe, *History*, p. 450. ²²*Ibid.*
- ²³Kiester, *The Massacre*, pp. 149-150. ²⁴*Ibid.*
- ²⁵Ralston, *Early Life*. ²⁶*Ibid.* ²⁷*Ibid.*
- ²⁸Wigton Family, *Biographical Sketch*.
- ²⁹Kiester, *The Massacre*, p. 150. ³⁰Ralston, *Early Life*.
- ³¹Sipe, *History*, p. 450. ³²Kiester, *The Massacre*, p. 150.
- ³³Wigton Family, *Biographical Sketch*. ³⁴Sipe, *History*, p. 450.
- ³⁵Wigton Family, *Biographical Sketch*. ³⁶*Ibid.* ³⁷*Ibid.*
- ³⁸*Ibid.*

THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN PENNSYLVANIA AND THE PALATINATE IN POPULAR 20TH-CENTURY GERMAN LITERATURE

by Monica Mutzbauer



Zu dem herkömmlichen Hausrat gehört auch der „blumelige“ Ofen mit reichem Ornamentstuck.

Illustration by Marie Strieffler for an article about Palatines in America in Der Jäger aus Kurpfalz (1963, p. 48). The accompanying caption notes that ‘the flowered’ oven with elaborate ornamentation also belongs to the traditional [Pennsylvania German] household furniture.”

During the last several years as I have been studying the topic of Palatine emigration to America, I have seen and read many scholarly publications on the subject, for a great deal of well-researched and impressive literature has been written about it, much of it in the 20th century. In contrast to these writings are the real and living connections which many people in the Palatinate had—and even today still have—to friends and relatives in the United States. While considering both of these aspects of emigration, I wondered if there might be a third; if there might be popular 20th-century literature that served as a link between the academic writings on the one hand, and the practical results of migration on community and family life on the other.

I knew that such literature was common in the 19th century, when emigration was an everyday fact of life in the Palatinate. Then, information about it routinely appeared in periodicals, yearbooks, and newspapers like *Der Eilbote*, published in the Southern Palatinate since 1832. Emphasizing direct links between the region and the New World, *Der Eilbote* gave information about the journey for those wishing to make the trip; gave priority to political news from the United States; and printed advertisements

for German hotels in American ports.¹

By the turn of the century, however, emigration from Germany to the United States had virtually ceased. But even so, I soon found that popular literature about it continued to be published. The first example I came across, *Der Unkel aus Amerika*,² was written in 1922 for a newspaper and first published as a serial. Later, it appeared as a small book and was available for many years since it was very popular throughout the Palatinate. In the 1920s, as economic conditions in Germany worsened, the often large, and mostly poor, families of factory workers in areas like Ludwigshafen-Hemshof, where the novel is set, found life very hard; those with well-to-do relatives in the United States were considered fortunate. It is easy, therefore, to imagine—and the author tells the story of—the hopes and calculations of one typical Ludwigshafen family when they learn “the uncle from America” is planning to revisit the old homeland.

Der Unkel aus Amerika is an example of a type of literature about emigration without scholarly pretensions; literature whose aim was to tell of typical emigration situations and experiences. Such popular 20th-century literature in Germany was of a different kind, and had



Illustration by Marie Strieffler for an article about Palatines in America in the 1963 edition of *Der Jäger aus Kurpfalz* (p. 49). Its caption explains that "prayers at the table are said together before each meal according to past custom."

Gemeinsam wird vor jeder Mahlzeit, nach althergebrachtem Brauch, das Tischgebet gesprochen.

different aims, than that published the century before. Now such literature fell into three main categories:³ publications of groups wanting to study and disseminate information about the culture and history of the Palatinate and its people; special newspaper sections with articles about local history and culture; and the very special and perhaps loveliest example of popular literature in the Palatinate, the *Heimatkalender*.

Among the first group, two publications—*Pfälzisches Museum* (*Museum of the Palatinate*) and *Pfälzische Heimatkunde* (*Local History and Geography*) are typical, with the didactic aims of the latter clearly spelled out in its subtitle: *Monatsschrift für Schule und Haus* (*Monthly Periodical for School and Home*). Such publications often had a semi-scholarly format, and featured biographies of famous people,⁴ reviews of newly published books about Germans in America, and political discussions. A great many were published for specific areas of the Palatinate, the most famous being *Unsere Heimat* (*Our Homeland*), a magazine for those living in the Saar River region.

Unsere Heimat printed novels and poems by Palatines living in Pennsylvania, Poland, Russia, and various coun-

tries in South America, as well as letters from Palatines worldwide showing they still retained their connections to the homeland. It also had a special section called "Landleute drinnen und draußen" ("Palatines Inside and Outside the Country") in which the emigrants' lifestyle and language were described and quoted. Sometimes, too, there were articles about literature, history, or political policy, but even so, readers were not expected to be well educated. And indeed, most were simply Palatines interested in the fate of their relatives or other Palatines living in America or elsewhere.

The second type of publication common after emigration had ended was the *Heimatbeilage*, several pages featuring articles about local history and culture in the weekend edition of the newspaper. Often these pages were in a special section of the paper with a title of its own, and were later collected and published as special yearbooks.⁵ Of course the topics in them were dependent on the town or region in which the newspaper was printed and sold, but one often found names of emigrants from local villages, or reports about the journey to America; there were also biographies of famous inhabitants who had found success

An mein Vaterland.

Von Konrad Krez.

Kein Baum gehörte mir von deinen Wäldern,
mein war kein Halm von deinen Roggenfeldern,
und schutzlos hast du mich hinausgetrieben,
weil ich in meiner Jugend nicht verstand
dich weniger als wie mich selbst zu lieben,
und dennoch lieb' ich dich, mein Vaterland!

Wo ist ein Herz, in dem nicht dauernd bliebe
der süße Traum der ersten Jugendliebe?
Und heiliger als Liebe war das Feuer,
das einst für dich in meiner Brust gebrannt;
nie war die Braut dem Bräutigam so teuer
als du mir warst, geliebtes Vaterland!

Hat es auch Manna nicht auf dich geregnet,
hat doch dein Himmel reichlich dich gesegnet.
Ich sah die Wunder südlicherer Zonen,
seit ich zuletzt auf deinem Boden stand,
doch schöner ist als Palmen und Zitronen
der Apfelbaum in meinem Vaterland.

Land meiner Väter! Länger nicht das meine,
so heilig ist kein Boden wie der deine!
Nie wird dein Bild aus meiner Seele schwinden.
Und knüpfte dich an mich kein lebend Band,
es würden mich die Toten an dich binden,
die deine Erde deckt, mein Vaterland!

O, würden jene, die zu Hause blieben,
wie deine Fortgewanderten dich lieben,
bald würdest du zu einem Reiche werden
und deine Kinder gingen Hand in Hand
und machten dich zum größten Land auf Erden,
wie du das beste bist, o Vaterland!

Konrad Krez's famous poem is followed by a short commentary on the text and a biography of the author.

in their new homes.

The third kind of publication was, as already mentioned, the *Heimatkalendar*, and many regions had a special one of their own. It was a book-calendar that not only listed religious and public holidays, but also included novels, poems, and illustrations of the homeland and its people. Called "*Kalendergeschichte*," the novels are a special part of German literature: Johann Peter Hebel was famous for writing them, and Bertholt Brecht followed the same literary tradition. Everyone could find something of interest in the *Heimatkalendar*, for in addition to the material listed above there was information about the weather and the raising of crops and livestock for men; recipes and medical advice for women; and riddles and jokes for children.

Named for an old folk song, the Palatine version of the *Heimatkalendar* was called *Der Jäger aus Kurpfalz* (*The Hunter from the Palatinate*; this "hunter," incidentally, is one of the most famous figures in Palatine legends, for emigrants even took the song to America). First published in 1922, *Der Jäger* always covered a wide variety of topics dealing with history, geography, culture, and the everyday life of Palatines at home and abroad. It was a great favorite in all Palatine households, and even poor families bought each new edition.

* * *

This change in the type of material printed when emigration was no longer an everyday occurrence in the

Palatinate was reflective of the changing aims of its publishers. In the introduction to one of the newspaper collections discussed above,⁶ the editor cites a historical perspective, suggesting that a knowledge of the past would be a help in interpreting and explaining the present. Another, wanting to document the fortunes and work of the homeland, hopes that the yearbook he is compiling now will be a permanent record, in contrast to the short-lived newspaper he produces daily.⁷

When *Der Jäger* appeared for the first time, editor William Wüst wrote in his introduction:

*Auch zu jenen Landsleuten, die ihr Geschick über die Grenzen des Pfälzer Landes geführt hat, auch zu jenen kommt der Kalendermann. Gerade die draußen sind ja immer die treuesten, die oft mit der Heimat nicht fertig werden. Manchmal wird ihre Sehnsucht über Berg und Tal, über Fluß und Ebene wandern, bis sie daheim ist und ein Stündlein Gottesdienst hält. Was meinst, ich fliege mit meinen Hoffnungen sogar über das weite, weite Meer und klopfe bei unsern Pfälzern drüben in Amerika an.*⁸

(Even those Palatines whose fate led them far away from the borders of the Palatinate eventually get homesick. Those who are outside are often the most faithful, the ones who often never forget their homeland. Sometimes their longing for home leads them to wander over mountain and valley, through river



Juni		Brachet	
Samstaa	1. Sankt Peter	Simeon	
Sonntaa	2. I. S. u. Bräutigam	2. S. u. Pfleger	
Montaa	3. Erasmus	Katharina	
Dienstaa	4. Hippolyt	Johannes Bapt.	
Mittwoch	5. Kolumbus	Katharina, S. M.	
Donnerstaa	6. Kolumbus	Robert, S.	
Freitag	7. Catharina	Katharina	
Samstaa	8. Michaelis	Michaelis	
Sonntaa	9. I. S. u. Bräutigam	1. S. u. Pfleger	
Montaa	10. Christophorus	Margareta (M.)	
Dienstaa	11. Hieronymus	Katharina	
Mittwoch	12. Katharina	Katharina	
Donnerstaa	13. Johannes	Katharina u. Tobias	
Freitag	14. Johannes	Katharina	
Samstaa	15. Petrus	Petrus, Paulus, S.	
Sonntaa	16. I. S. u. Bräutigam	1. S. u. Pfleger	
Montaa	17. Hieronymus	Katharina	
Dienstaa	18. Hieronymus	Margareta	
Mittwoch	19. Hieronymus	Johanna Fr. J.	
Donnerstaa	20. Hieronymus	Sabina	
Freitag	21. Hieronymus	Katharina	
Samstaa	22. Hieronymus	Paulina, S.	
Sonntaa	23. I. S. u. Bräutigam	1. S. u. Pfleger	
Montaa	24. Hieronymus	Johannes Bapt. Tauber	
Dienstaa	25. Hieronymus	Katharina	
Donnerstaa	26. Hieronymus	Johanna u. Paul	
Freitag	27. Hieronymus	Katharina	
Samstaa	28. Hieronymus	Ursula, Tauber	
Sonntaa	29. Hieronymus	Petrus u. Paulus	
Sonntaa	30. I. S. u. Bräutigam	1. S. u. Pfleger	

Der Neuanfänger.	
1.	17.
2.	18.
3.	19.
4.	20.
5.	21.
6.	22.
7.	23.
8.	24.
9.	25.
10.	26.
11.	27.
12.	28.
13.	29.
14.	30.
15.	
16.	

Double page for the month of June, 1938, in *Der Jäger aus Kurpfalz* (pp. 12, 13); illustration shows emigrants leaving the Palatinate by horse and wagon.

and field, until they are home, even if only for a brief church service. What would you think if I were to fly with my hopes even across the wide, wide sea, and were to knock at the doors of our fellow Palatines in America?)

This expression of love and sentimental feeling for the homeland and all those with connections to it is typical of *Der Jäger*, and, as we will see, was maintained until the last edition was published in 1972.

Wüst and the newspaper editors discussed before him wrote in the 1920s. During the following two decades, the time of National Socialism in Germany, ethnic and political considerations were emphasized in connection with emigration. Then, those with connections to the Palatinate—even though several generations removed from the Old Country—were quoted with their poems, proverbs, and stories to show the value of “German culture” in a foreign country. But even with the propaganda, it was still possible for readers to learn a great deal about life across the ocean.⁹

Immediately following World War II, when even the necessities of life were hard to come by in Germany, most of the periodicals and yearbooks dealing with emigration suspended publication. The interruption was not a long one, however, for links between Palatines in Germany and

America were soon forged again, and again found their expression in popular literature. Now the hope was that each could learn from the other. Those who had emigrated would feel a connection to the old homeland through reading about it, while those who remained would learn that those who had left still had—in spite of distance and time—elements of the culture and language of the homeland, now developed into a new lifestyle so that they had a story of their own to tell. *Der Jäger aus Kurpfalz* reappeared in 1947, and other periodicals soon followed. A poem which appeared in the 1966 edition of the book-calendar expressed its aims. In it, a young man sits in his room, a glass of wine in his hand, reading his copy of *Der Jäger*. A storm batters the house and the rain comes down hard, but he is far away, participating in the adventures of various knights and other figures in the old Palatine legends. It is a pleasure he would like to share:

Do lewe se uff, die Geschichte—
schick se de Dante, Unkle, Nichte,
bis niwwer nooch Amerika.¹⁰

(Hence the story comes to life—
I send it to the aunt, the uncle, the nephew,
Overseas to America.)



Tag	Schicksal der Christlichen Kirche	Schicksal der Katholischen Kirche
1. Advent	Sehen, August Bismarck † in Berlin 1896	Original: Stefan
2. Advent	1801: Völkner * 1417	1801: Völkner
3. Advent	1801: Völkner von Zempach-Rohr † 1706	1801: Völkner, Balthasar und Katholik
4. Advent	2. Advent: 1801: Völkner † 1716 (L.) Barbara	2. Advent: 1801: Völkner, Maria
1. Advent	1801: Völkner † 1716 (L.) Barbara	1801: Völkner
2. Advent	1801: Völkner † 1716 (L.) Barbara	1801: Völkner
3. Advent	1801: Völkner † 1716 (L.) Barbara	1801: Völkner
4. Advent	1801: Völkner † 1716 (L.) Barbara	1801: Völkner
1. Advent	1801: Völkner † 1716 (L.) Barbara	1801: Völkner
2. Advent	1801: Völkner † 1716 (L.) Barbara	1801: Völkner
3. Advent	1801: Völkner † 1716 (L.) Barbara	1801: Völkner
4. Advent	1801: Völkner † 1716 (L.) Barbara	1801: Völkner
1. Advent	1801: Völkner † 1716 (L.) Barbara	1801: Völkner
2. Advent	1801: Völkner † 1716 (L.) Barbara	1801: Völkner
3. Advent	1801: Völkner † 1716 (L.) Barbara	1801: Völkner
4. Advent	1801: Völkner † 1716 (L.) Barbara	1801: Völkner

Double page for the month of December, 1938, in Der Jäger aus Kurpfalz (pp. 28, 29); illustration shows two farmers meeting after having cut the family Christmas tree.

Das Fest der Väter.

Fahren sie nun miteinander, bei 28 Bauer und bei 29 Bauer, stehen dort, ...
 Das Fest der Väter, ...
 Der Bauer, ...
 Das Fest der Väter, ...

Tag	Feiertag	1	2
1. Advent	1. Advent	1	1
2. Advent	2. Advent	2	2
3. Advent	3. Advent	3	3
4. Advent	4. Advent	4	4
1. Advent	1. Advent	5	5
2. Advent	2. Advent	6	6
3. Advent	3. Advent	7	7
4. Advent	4. Advent	8	8
1. Advent	1. Advent	9	9
2. Advent	2. Advent	10	10
3. Advent	3. Advent	11	11
4. Advent	4. Advent	12	12
1. Advent	1. Advent	13	13
2. Advent	2. Advent	14	14
3. Advent	3. Advent	15	15
4. Advent	4. Advent	16	16

German dialect which he illustrates with a poem by the 19th-century Pennsylvania German clergyman and poet, Henry Harbaugh.

Poets are popular subjects in these periodicals, and in a 1910 edition of *Pfälzische Heimatkunde*¹² we find a short biography of Konrad Krez, described (there are no examples of his work) as the most important of the German-American poets, but a man nearly forgotten in Landau, his hometown. The author hopes his article will result in the residents of Landau showing more interest in their famous son. A personal connection is the focus of a 1931 article (*Pfälzisches Museum*¹³) about another such poet, Michael J. Lochemes, whose parents emigrated from a small Palatine village before their son was born. The author of the article visited Lochemes in America in 1905 and 1906, and met him again in the Palatine town of Speyer when Lochemes made his first trip to Germany in 1908. Another article written in 1931,¹⁴ a biography of eight Palatine poets in America, notes that the German language has been diminishing in importance in the United States for some years, and remarks on American historian Oswald Seidensticker's listing of the most important German-American poets, among whom are two from the Palatinate: Friedrich August Wollenweber from Ixheim and Konrad Krez from Landau.

By examining the information found in each of the three kinds of publications one can see how each attempted to implement their goals, and, to some degree, judge the extent to which they succeeded. While not previously stated directly, the periodicals of the first group—those dealing with the history and culture of the Palatinate—did reach a wider audience and did have loftier aims than those in the other two categories. In a 1905 edition of the *Pfälzisches Museum*, for example, there is a review describing and commenting on new books about Palatine emigration to America.¹¹ In the course of his review the writer condemns the state authorities in Germany for their lack of interest in the subject and their failure to help emigrants over the years, an attitude which suggests they think such emigrants are traitors to the homeland. He goes on to praise American historians for the interest they do show, exemplified by the many good magazines they are founding on the topic. At the end of the article he tells his readers about Benjamin Franklin's famous negative comment on German settlers in Pennsylvania ("Palatine boors"), and discusses the peculiarities of the Pennsylvania-

Sprichwörtliche Redensarten der Auslandpfälzer

Aus Pennsylvanien

Groß Gekrisch un wennich Woll, hat de Eile-
spichel gsaat, wie'r die Sau gschore hot.

Geb eme Kalb genung Strick, un es hängt sich
selwer uff.

Es kummt net uf die Greeß an, sunscht kennt
e Kuh en Has fange.

Aus dem Donaugebiet

Loß de Deiwel in die Kerch, so will er bald uf
de Aldar.

De Dod is die eenzich Gerechtigkeit uf de Welt.
Dät er nit mei Kiechle in eirem Fett backe
losse, no derft er aa eier Speck in meim Kraut
koche.

Altertum geht vor, Vattr, drick du de Waan in
de Schopp!

Aus Galizien

For die Fehler, was de Fuhrmann macht, kriegt
de Ochs die Hieb.

E scheni Fraa und schene Geil sin 'm Bauer si
Unglick.

Wammer nix in de Schank hängt, kammer nix
raushole.

Wer schwemmt im Schade, der sieht's gern,
daß annere mit ihm bade.

's is besser mit em Gescheide se verleere, wie
mit em Dumme se gewinne.

Der (Hochmütige) reißt die Nas in die Heh,
wie wanner alle Heiliche siehn wollt.

Der (Tunichtgut) hot schun alles g'prowiert,
nore 's Hänge net.

*Several proverbs from Pennsylvania in the last edition of
Der Jäger aus Kurpfalz (1972, p. 30).*

In this first group of periodicals those, like *Unsere Heimat*, published for a specific area of the Palatinate covered a wider variety of topics than did those aimed at the entire region. Of the former, *Unsere Heimat*, published from 1935 to 1939, is a prime example. Intended from the first as a popular publication,¹⁵ the section entitled "Palatines Inside and Outside the Country" regularly had articles dealing with emigration from the region, poems and proverbs in *Pennsilfaanisch Deitsch* (Pennsylvania German) and a so-called "Suchecke," where readers could ask questions in the hope of obtaining information about their ancestors:

Gesucht die Herkunft des Andreas Heckenlieb, der mit zehn anderen Katholiken, vermutlich aus der Pfalz kommend, am 16. Oktober 1754 mit dem Schiff Peggy von Rotterdam aus nach Amerika ausgewandert ist.

(Much sought for is the ancestry of Andreas Heckenlieb, who together with ten other Catholics, probably coming from the Palatinate, emigrated on October 16, 1754, with the ship *Peggy* from Rotterdam to America.)

The December, 1936, issue of *Unsere Heimat*, introduced with *Pennsylvania-Pfälzischer Weihnachtsgruß* (Pennsylvania-German Christmas Greetings), had a poem by the Pennsylvania German poet John Birmelin called "Un die Arme?" ("And the Poor?"). It tells about children joyful at Christmas because the Belsnickel—bearer of gifts—is coming; it then reminds readers to help poor families, families the Belsnickel often forgets. The lead article in the following issue (January, 1937), is entitled "Pfälzische Neujahrgrüße aus aller Welt" ("Palatine New Year's Greetings From the Whole World"), and from Pennsylvania we have:

Ich wünsch eich scheene Feierdaage
So wie's for alders wor!
Ich hoff ihr hen aa nix zu klaage
Im ganze neie Johr!

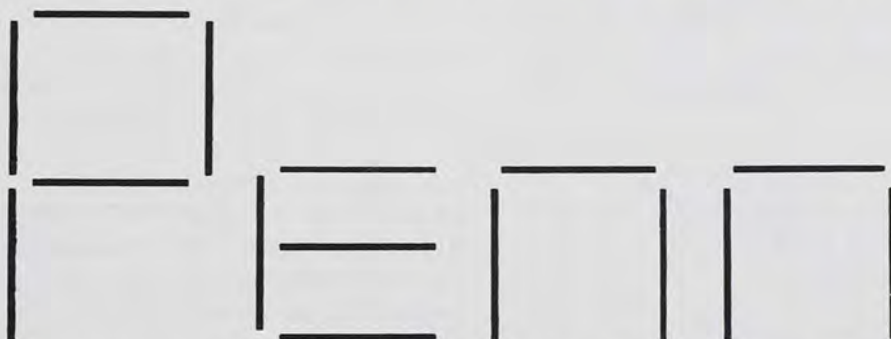
(I wish you merry holidays
As they were in former times!
I hope you will have no reason to complain
In the whole New Year!

The August, 1937, issue of *Unsere Heimat* has an article about "Powwowism in Pennsylvania" (pp. 328–330), and a humorous short story that illustrates the power of the spoken word (p. 334). In a mixture of English and Pennsylvania German the author describes a train trip on which he meets a young mother and her little son. Restless and demanding, the boy is continually pestering for some new

Nach Amerika!

(Streichholzrätsel.)

Nach dem 30jährigen Kriege wanderten viele Pfälzer auf Veranlassung des berühmten Quäkers Penn nach



Nordamerika aus. Ein großer Teil siedelte sich dort in einem Staate an, dessen Namen man durch Umstellung von fünf Hölzchen erfährt.
Carl Deubel.

Riddle "To America" from the 1938 edition of *Der Jäger aus Kurpfalz* (p. 83). If five matches are moved, "PENN" will become the name of a state favored by emigrants ("OHIO").

toy to play with while the mother, attempting to calm him, reprimands him quietly in English. When she finally loses patience, however, she shouts at him in Pennsylvania German: "Nau, du Rutzer, wann du net ruhig bischt, schlag ich dir eens an de Kopp, das du im Kringel rum zwerwelscht!" ("Now you fresh youngster, if you are not quiet, I will give you a blow to the head that will whirl you around in a circle!") Frightened, the boy is finally quiet—silenced by the power of the mother tongue!

Illustrative of the variety of topics found in *Unsere Heimat* is an article in the September, 1937, issue (pp. 364–366) which gives advice to those seeking information about ancestors who emigrated to America; an article in the December issue of that same year in which Professor Preston A. Barba of Allentown, Pennsylvania, remembers the "gleene blechne Kuche Moddle" ("little tiny cookie molds") used in his family to make Christmas cookies; a letter in the June, 1938, issue (pp. 276–277) from Thomas R. Brendle of Egypt, Pennsylvania, suggesting the idea of collecting old Palatine and Pennsylvania-German songs;

and, in that year's September issue, some Pennsylvania-German proverbs, of which the following are typical:

Besser uff bezahlte Schuh geh,
als ime' schuldige Auto.

(Better to walk in shoes which are paid for,
than to drive in a car which is not.)

Wu Geld is, do is der Deiwel,
wu keens is, sin zwee.

(Where there is money, there is the devil,
where there is no money, there are two devils.)

In the last-mentioned issue of *Unsere Heimat* there is also an article (pp. 373–374) introducing the poet Ludwig August Wollenweber (1807–1888) to German readers. His early career as a printer in Germany and his interest in the Revolution there is mentioned, as is his work editing

German newspapers in Philadelphia. But the emphasis is on the poems and novels he wrote about his new homeland; *Gemälde aus dem pennsylvanischen Volksleben (Pictures From Pennsylvania Folklife)* is said to be his most important book. Indeed, it is still known today by those interested in the Pennsylvania-German dialect and culture.

Reprinted in the December, 1938, issue of *Unsere Heimat* is the Birmelin "Belsnickel" poem mentioned earlier, but now it is called "Weihnachtswunsch" ("Wish for Christmas"). The same issue also has an article discussing newly published books about Palatine emigrants and their life in their new homeland. Like the publishing of the Birmelin poem, the publishing of "New Year's Greetings From the Whole World" seems to have become a holiday tradition, and in the January, 1939, issue the greeting from Pennsylvania says:

Ich wünsch eich Glück des ganze Jahr,
ein Lebkuche wie en Scheierdor,
en Werscht von do bis Baltimore,
Mit guter Abbedit defor!

I wish you happiness for the whole year,
A gingerbread as big as a barn door,
A sausage as long as from here to Baltimore,
And a good appetite for it!

It seems that John Birmelin's little poems were popular with Palatine readers (as they certainly were with Pennsylvania Germans), and this one is found in the March, 1939, issue of *Unsere Heimat* (p. 187):

Kumm ich heit net, kumm ich morje,
Wann ich Geld hab, hawwich Sorje,
Wann ich keens hab, duhn ich borje,
Wann der Schrief kummt, mach ich zu,
Wann der Dodt kummt, hawwich Ruh.

(If I do not come today, I will come tomorrow,
If I have money, I will have sorrow,
If I do not have money, I will borrow,
If the sheriff comes, I will close my door,
If death comes, I will have peace.)

Birmelin is also mentioned in the July, 1938, issue, in comments about the German-settled areas of Pennsylvania by a Palatine author reporting on his trip to Lebanon. He describes the Palatine tradition as a living part of the culture and language in the area between Allentown and New Holland, Pennsylvania.

* * *

Despite the fact that reports like the above—and others—were motivated at least in part by an unhealthy nationalism, *Unsere Heimat* did give its readers many

opportunities to learn about the descendants of those who had left the Old Country so many years before. Moving on to assess popular publications about emigration in the second category, the special newspaper section or *Heimatbeilage*, many examples could be cited, but most would be much like those already listed for the periodicals. Therefore three different kinds of material will now be mentioned, and will serve to illustrate the continuing interest in Pennsylvania shown by those in the Palatinate in the years after World War II; refreshingly, they are free of the tinge of nationalism found in prewar years.

Even today, the newspaper *Die Rheinpfalz* is widely read in Ludwigshafen and its environs; in the 1950s its supplement was entitled "Pfälzische Heimatblätter." In an April, 1953, issue of it is an article in Pennsilfaanisch Deutsch called "Die Lieb gebt niemools uf" ("Love Will Never Give Up"). It is a simple story about a young man who helps his father on the family farm, and who is lovingly cared for by his mother and grandmother when he becomes seriously ill. Commenting on the article, the editor of the supplement explains the dialect and its origin, emphasizing the common cultural roots of Palatines and Pennsylvania Germans.

The second example, from the same newspaper's supplement but the April, 1954, edition, is an article about the Amish, occasioned by a visit to the Palatinate of American scholar John A. Hostetler, author of the ground-breaking study *Amish Society*.¹⁶ From Professor Hostetler readers learn about the religion, language, clothing, and education of the members of this Plain religious sect. The article was introduced by Palatine scholar Fritz Braun, whose idea it was: he had studied the subject for years.

The final example, from the June, 1955, issue of "Pfälzische Heimatblätter" is a report about an actual historical event—an unusual mass migration, allowed and supported by government authorities. Because of poverty, personal and public (a lack of money in the municipal treasury), in 1852 local officials in the town of Otterstadt near Speyer decided to help those interested in emigrating to America. Part of the article is written as though it were a diary recording the journey of 184 men, women, and children from their hometown to Ludwigshafen, Mainz, Cologne, and Bremerhafen. There the story ends, as the representative sent to accompany them returns home, leaving the emigrants to their fate.

* * *

The illustrations for the third category of popular literature dealing with Palatine emigration come from the *Heimatkalender Der Jäger aus Kurpfalz*. A reason for its founding was to maintain a connection between the Palatinate and Pennsylvania, so it is not surprising to find one or more articles on the subject in almost every edition. For example, the edition of 1924 has a report about the mass migration of 1707 (pp. 36–38), followed by a sad farewell poem by Gottfried Nadler (p. 38); and in the 1926

edition there is a letter from a farmer now living in Chicago who remembers his mother's stories about the legendary hunter the book-calendar was named for. He is sure, he says, that there is still a great deal of love for the old homeland among transplanted Palatines (p. 86).

Every year all of the pages in *Der Jäger* which showed the months and which had important weather information were illustrated to depict a chosen theme: in 1929 the drawings showed important events in Palatine history. The left-hand page of the double-page layout for June, for instance, shows a family leaving their homeland in a horse-drawn wagon. Accompanying the drawing is a short poem known by every child in the region:

Jetzt ist die Zeit und Stunde da,
wir reisen nach Amerika!
Der Wagen steht schon vor der Tür,
mit Weib und Kindern ziehen wir.
Ihr Freunde all und wohlbekannt,
reicht mir zum letzten Mal die Hand!
Ihr Freunde, weinet nicht zu sehr,
wir seh'n einander nimmermehr.

(The time and hour have come,
We're going to America!
The coach is already at the door,
We're leaving with wife and children.
My friends, all good and true,
Give me your hand for the very last time!
My friends, don't weep too much,
Although we'll never see each other again.)

On the facing page (p. 13) is the first stanza of Ferdinand Freiligrath's famous poem, "Die Auswanderer" ("The Emigrants").

As already mentioned, interest in those of German descent living abroad intensified in the 1930s, and the effects seen in *Unsere Heimat* are also found in *Der Jäger aus Kurpfalz*. The entire 1938 edition is devoted to articles and poems about the descendants of Germans worldwide. Even the double pages showing the months are dedicated to that topic. For December, the editors chose a scene from Pennsylvania. It shows two farmers meeting on their way home from the woods where each has cut the family Christmas tree. The accompanying caption says they talk about the Christmases of their childhood, remembering the old customs—baking, decorating the tree, the visit from Santa Claus. Thus, says the conclusion, German Christmas customs are still alive in the New World.

In that same edition there is an article (p. 31) about the eagle as the heraldic symbol of Germany; Konrad Krez's most famous poem, "An mein Vaterland" (p. 68); a riddle in which the name of Pennsylvania's founder, spelled with matchsticks, must be changed in five moves to show the name of a state popular with German immigrants (p. 83); and a collection of proverbs from Palatines

abroad, with the following from Pennsylvania (p. 34): "*Die Krankhet kummt geritte un geht zu Fuß weg.*" ("Illness comes on horseback and leaves on foot.")

There are even two short stories about emigration in the 1938 book-calendar. The first, often found in Palatine schoolbooks also, tells about the last days of a Palatine family in their hometown as they sell all their property and prepare for the trip to their new home (pp. 73–75). The second story is the legend known as "The Ship of the Palatines," or "The Ghost Ship of North Carolina." It tells of a group of Palatine emigrants sailing to America on an English ship (pp. 76–77). Well-to-do, they had concealed their money and valuables in their luggage, but shortly before their arrival in North Carolina they became careless and allowed their wealth to be seen by the captain and crew. Steering the ship back out to sea, the crewmen killed all the passengers, transferred their baggage to small boats, and set the ship ablaze. But instead of sinking, the burning ship followed them to the coast and then disappeared out to sea. That same burning ship—according to legend—has been seen one day each year ever since.

Never again would an issue of *Der Jäger* have so many articles about Palatines in America as did the 1938 edition. When it resumed publication after World War II its focus was on the present rather than the past. The 1953 edition, for example, tells of a group of American soldiers in the Swabian town of Göppingen who spoke "*Pennsilfaanisch*" to the inhabitants (p. 49). And, in the 1956, 1957, and 1967 editions a resident of the Palatinate, Emil Lind, whose relatives in Chicago invited him to visit, tells of his trip there. In the first part of his story (1956, pp. 61–66) he describes modern America and tells of its wonders. In the second part (1957, pp. 88–94), he organizes a meeting in Chicago of those originally from the Palatinate; he is overjoyed when eighty people attend.

Some of those at the meeting Lind remembers from his youth, including seven sisters, all of whom have married in America. In the third part of his story (1967, pp. 31–36) Lind and the women reminisce about their years as neighbors in a Palatine village, and one of them reminds him of an event that took place in her father's house; an event that led many to say afterward that the house was haunted. The incident took place while the family was having lunch in the dining room, a room with one large window and one small window near the ceiling. With the entire family seated around the table, a large stone landed in the soup tureen, shattering it and sending soup running over the table and onto the floor. No one had seen the stone thrown into the room, so it was assumed the culprit was a ghost. Now, twenty years later and thousands of miles from the old village, the mystery was solved as the author himself confessed to the crime.

There are many more items in *Der Jäger* about Palatine emigrants and their descendants in America: In 1957 there is an article about the founding of Pennsylvania and the contributions of Germans to the development of industry there—the papermill in Germantown and the gunsmiths in

Lancaster (pp. 96–98); in 1959 there is an article about the Amish (pp. 38–39); in 1962 one-hundred-year-old letters from a Palatine emigrant to his family in Germany are printed (pp. 86–90); and in the 1963 issue the artist Marie Strieffler tells about her visits to Pennsylvania and Canada, where she met some Pennsylvania Germans (pp. 47–50). Her report is accompanied by nice drawings of their homes and families. In 1966 there is another story about the life of poet Konrad Krez (pp. 95–96); and in 1969 there is information about the famous cartoonist, Thomas Nast (pp. 71–72). And, finally, when the last edition of *Der Jäger aus Kurpfalz* was printed in 1972, it too had Palatine proverbs. This time Pennsylvania's contribution was:

Es kummt net uf die Greeß an,
sunst kennt e Kuh en Has fange.

(It is not size which is decisive,
or else a cow could catch a hare.)

* * *

As we can see from the evidence found in popular 20th century literature about emigration, there has always been a great deal of interest in the Palatinate in those of German descent living abroad, and particularly in those living in the United States. Indeed, as one modern scholar has pointed out,¹⁷ there were always stronger ties between the Palatinate and America than between the Palatinate and any other country Palatines emigrated to.

An interesting question, and one which the author, living in Germany, cannot answer exactly, is the impact of the above-mentioned literature on the emigrants themselves. As we have seen, it was the intention of German editors to maintain connections to Palatine readers in America, and it seems certain that many in the old homeland did send the periodicals, newspaper supplements, and book-calendars to friends and relatives abroad, as the little poem quoted from *Der Jäger aus Kurpfalz* suggests.

In the United States itself, the German-American press was influential in the publishing world until the time of World War I. Recently, the *Frankfurter Allegemeine Zeitung* published an article about the German Library in Philadelphia which describes the Library's collection of newspapers and books in German printed in America in the 19th century.¹⁸ The author also mentions Professor Marion Dexter Learned's suggestion, made in 1896, to found a center for German-American studies in Philadelphia so the Library's collection could be better used. This project, says the

article, is now being discussed again. It would be interesting to study these records with a view to determining the connections they document.

But returning to Germany, there is, as mentioned at the beginning of this essay, a large body of scholarly literature there about emigration, and many would say it is the most important literature on the subject. But as the proverb says, size alone is not decisive. Popular literature entertained and informed many who otherwise would never have had the opportunity—or the inclination—to learn about the history and culture of their American cousins.

ENDNOTES

¹Sigrid Faltin, *Die Auswanderung aus der Pfalz nach Nord-amerika im 19. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt, 1987), pp. 274–292.

²Ludwig Hartmann, *De Unkel aus Amerika*. Herausgegeben von Bruno Hain (Neustadt 1986).

³The materials for this article are part of the "Hans-Loschky-Sammlung" of the Stadtbibliothek Ludwigshafen/Rhein. The quoted pages refer to the collected volumes of the periodicals as they appear in that library.

⁴For example, Albert Becker, "Konrad Krez, ein Pfälzer Dichter in Amerika," in *Pfälzische Heimatkunde: Illustrierte Monatsschrift Zur Förderung von Natur- und Landeskunde in der Rheinpfalz*, Herausgegeben von Daniel Häberle, 4 Jahrgang, Nr. (Kaiserslautern, April 1910), p. 40f.

⁵For example, "Bei uns daheim," part of the *Pfälzische Post*; "Pfälzische Heimatblätter," part of the *Rheinpfalz* of Ludwigshafen; "Der Trifels," part of the *Pfälzische Rundschau*.

⁶Hans Loschky, "Zum Geleit," in *Bei uns daheim, Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Pfalz*, Sonderdruck der Heimatbeilage der *Pfälzischen Post*, 2. Jahrgang 1926.

⁷"Der Trifels," Heimatbeilage der *Pfälzischen Rundschau*, Jahrgang 1928, No. 8.

⁸Wilhelm Wüst, "Geleitwort 1922," in *Der Jäger aus Kurpfalz, Aus vierzig Jahrgängen des Volks- und Heimatkalenders*, Ausgewählt von Kalendermann Oskar Bischoff (Landau, 1982), p. 297.

⁹For example, the issues of *Unsere Heimat: Blätter für Saar-pfälzisches Volkstum*, Jahrgänge 1935–1939.

¹⁰*Der Jäger aus Kurpfalz*, 39. Jahrgang (Neustadt, 1966), p. 28f.

¹¹*Pfälzisches Museum: Monatsschrift für heimatische Literatur und Kunst, Geschichte und Volkskunde*. Herausgegeben von Professor Dr. Johannes Hildenbrand im Auftrag des Literarischen Vereins der Pfalz, XXII, Jahrgang No. 2 (Kaiserslautern, February, 1905), p. 31f.

¹²*Pfälzische Heimatkunde*, 8. Jahrgang, No. 4 (Kaiserslautern, April, 1912), p. 40.

¹³*Pfälzisches Museum: Zeitschrift des Vereins Historisches Museum der Pfalz e. V.* Herausgegeben von Daniel Häberle und Albert Pfeiffer, Heft 9/10 (Speyer, 1931), p. 278f.

¹⁴*Die Literarische Pfalz: Zeitschrift zur Pflege des schönen Schrifttums in der Pfalz*. Herausgegeben vom Literarischen Verein der Pfalz. Heft No. 5, 8. Jahrgang (Kaiserslautern, 1931).

¹⁵*Unsere Heimat: Blätter für Saarländisch-Pfälzisches Volkstum*. Herausgegeben vom Volksbildungsverband Pfalz-Saar. 1. Heft, Erntemonat (August), Saarbrücken, 1935.

¹⁶John A. Hostetler, *Amish Society* (Baltimore, 1968), 369 pp.

¹⁷Faltin, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

¹⁸Mattias Rüb, "Bücher für die Neue Welt: Die Nöte der deutschen Bibliothek in Philadelphia," in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 160 vom 13. Juli 1991.

THE STORY OF ONE OLD-TIME COUNTRY STORE

by Robert P. Stevenson



Davenport store—the long, two-story building in the foreground—about 1929. Parked in the street are a delivery truck and the family car (the middle one). Arrow in background indicates house where John Davenport established his first store around 1810. The middle building was the home of William Davenport, one of John's grandsons.

Until a few years ago, when modern supermarkets took over their functions, general stores were the major centers of commerce in villages, towns, and cities throughout the United States. They thrived throughout the 1800s and the early years of this century. These stores, often called country stores, helped bind communities together, especially before the days of the automobile. People gathered

there to shop and exchange news. Some stores also served as post offices.

Three generations of the Davenport family operated a store like this for more than 150 years in New Geneva, Pennsylvania. This village of roughly five hundred persons lies north of Georges Creek where the stream flows into the eastern side of the Monongahela River after the latter



William Davenport home as seen from the side toward the Monongahela River. On the porch are William, his wife Ella, and son Howard.

enters southwestern Pennsylvania from West Virginia a dozen or so miles to the south.

John Davenport established the family's first store in about 1810. New Geneva then still had hopes of becoming one of the state's major cities. At that time, westbound settlers were crossing the Alleghenies by way of the old Mud Pike eastward near the town of Fairchance. They then came down the Georges Creek Valley, forded the river at

New Geneva, and headed on to the Ohio River at Wheeling, West Virginia.

The possibility of a national road to the west was already being considered then. Some in New Geneva hoped it might come their way and bring prosperity with it. But a few years later the town was bypassed. The new National Pike (now Route 40) was built about fifteen miles to the north through Uniontown, Brownsville, and Washington,

Store being demolished in 1990; note the two display windows on either side of the door. A shed roof extended over the sidewalk.



Vacant lot where the store used to stand. William Davenport home at the left.





Mrs. Ella Davenport, William's wife.

Pennsylvania to Wheeling.

By the time of the Civil War, John Davenport had retired and his son James was the storekeeper. James had three sons, William, Hugh, and Harry; and a daughter, Elizabeth ("Lizzie"). All worked in the store. When Harry died, the store was sold out of the family. Others ran it for a few years. The two-story building was finally demolished in 1990. Even before that, the last of the Davenports had died.

Like other early storekeepers, the Davenports often resorted to barter or "trading." No cash was usually involved in the daily transactions. A farmer who produced eggs, butter, meat, and fruit would carry these to the store. There, the storekeeper would credit him with an agreed-upon amount. The farmer would then obtain from the store the groceries and other items he needed. Such accounts were "settled" periodically. Cash would change hands only then, almost always from the customer to the store owner.

John Davenport established his first store in a house at the southwest corner of Old and Ferry Streets. An early map of the village shows him the owner of this and an adjoining lot. By the time his son James took control of the business, about 1842, the family had moved northward into the next block. There, the family home was located on one lot and a new two-story stone building was erected on the lot beside it. The store measured about forty by ninety feet. The house still stands, but now there is just a grass-covered vacant lot on the site where the Davenports conducted their mercantile business for so long.

In the early years of this century, William Davenport, his wife Ella, and their son Howard (nicknamed "Monkey") lived in this house. After his parents died, Howard continued to live there with his wife, the former Fern Cleavenger. Hugh, Harry, and Elizabeth lived in another house northward on Ferry Street, along its western side. Hugh and Elizabeth remained unmarried. When in mid-life Harry married Sarah McCormick, the sister of the local Presbyterian minister, she joined the household. Sarah Davenport was always known as "Mrs. Harry." For many years Harry served as superintendent of the Presbyterian Sunday school in the church up on the hill.

In 1947 Mrs. Harry pored through one of the old store ledgers and jotted down a number of facts for the year 1854. Three of the ledgers were later obtained by Gordon C. Baker of Rockville, Maryland, when William Davenport's possessions were sold at auction.

John Davenport was strictly business at all times. One ledger shows that he even kept a record of his own purchases from his own store. These items are listed to his account: 1 lb. coffee, .16; 1 broom, .25; 1 gal. molasses, .40; 5 1/2 lb. veal, .38; 2 doz. eggs, .13; 11 lb. beef, .44; 2 lb. rice, .16; 2 lb. butter, .25; 1 oz. cinnamon, .06; 1 vest pattern, .13. Another ledger page was devoted to the account for Benjamin Shaffer, a glassblower. His purchases included: 6 lb. bacon, .60; 25 lb. flour, \$1.13; 100 cigars, .38; 1/2 bu. apples, .13; 2 yds. cotton, .38; umbrella, .50; 98 lb. beef hindquarters, \$5.39; 1 pr. boots, \$4.25; 164 lb. pork, \$9.84.



The Harry Davenports. The former Sarah McCormick was always known familiarly as "Mrs. Harry." Harry was the last Davenport to operate the store.

You could buy just about anything you might want at a general store. Notice the variety in the 1854 accounts for two other customers. William Sullivan, glassblower: 1/2 oz. indigo, .06; 2 pr. hose, .25; 1 watch, \$30.00; and 1 pr. boots, \$4.25. Philip Reitz, glass cutter: 1 peck apples, .06; 1/2 bu. apples, .16; 50 bu. coal, \$2.00; 2 yds. linsey, .25; 4 chickens, .42; 90 lb. beef, \$4.05.

Another aspect of the store operation is reflected in the 1854 account for Americus Herrington, wagoner. His account was credited on September 30, 1854, as follows: By driving 1 mo. + 25 days, \$36.66; and September 30, 1 mo. driving team, \$20. Herrington probably hauled supplies to the store. Some shipments were delivered by river steamer from Pittsburgh to the ferry slip at the north end

of Ferry Street. Herrington may also have hauled supplies from the nearest railhead. In those days, this was located at Fairchance, a village eastward toward Chestnut Ridge about a dozen miles. At midcentury, the Baltimore and Ohio had run a line to Fairchance.

What was the Davenport store like? The front was about forty feet wide, and the building extended back toward the river for about ninety feet. A shed roof extended over the sidewalk in front of the store. The door was centered between two showcase windows in which various items were displayed. A cast-iron coal stove was located about midway toward the rear. Counters with glass display cases were strung along each side, with walkways behind them. Shelves on all walls held merchandise. An inside stair at

Pittsburgh, Apr 13th 1864

Mr James Davenport

Dealer in all kinds of
GROceries, PRODUCE,
 Butter, Eggs, Poultry,
 Cheese, Flour, Bacon, Lard,
 Green & Dried Fruit,
 Nails, Spikes, Ropes & Twine.

Bought of **J. T. GLEASON,**
 WHOLESALE & RETAIL
 Grocery and Produce Merchant,
 S. E. Corner Smithfield and Second Streets.

4	Bbls Potatoes @ 550	14 00	
	Trayage	40	
	Recd Payment		14 40
	J. T. Gleason		



SELL THEIR TEAS AT TWO CENTS PER POUND, PROFIT.

NEW YORK, Nov 8 1865
 Mr James Davenport New Geneva
 Bought of **THE GREAT AMERICAN TEA COMPANY**

TERMS, Cash on delivery.

35-40 Vesey Street

1	Bbl Coffee	125 25	33 75	
				208 400
				400

Bills from two of the store's suppliers during the Civil War era, one for potatoes, one for coffee.

the rear led up to the second floor where assorted supplies were stored.

Items such as loose coal and kerosene were kept in a small room at the right rear of the store or even outside. In the earliest days, a lot at the rear extended to the river. In 1912, a railroad was built across the lot, the tracks being elevated almost as high as the store building. An outside stairway on the south side of the Davenport store building led up to the Golden Eagle Hall, located on the second

floor front. The Golden Eagles, a men's lodge, met there. Women of the community also sometimes used the space for quiltings.

Town loafers gathered around the stove at the center of the store during the winter. In warmer weather, however, they were more apt to assemble outside in front, resting on benches that extended between the shed roof supports. In either location, the state of the union and other topics were always roundly discussed.

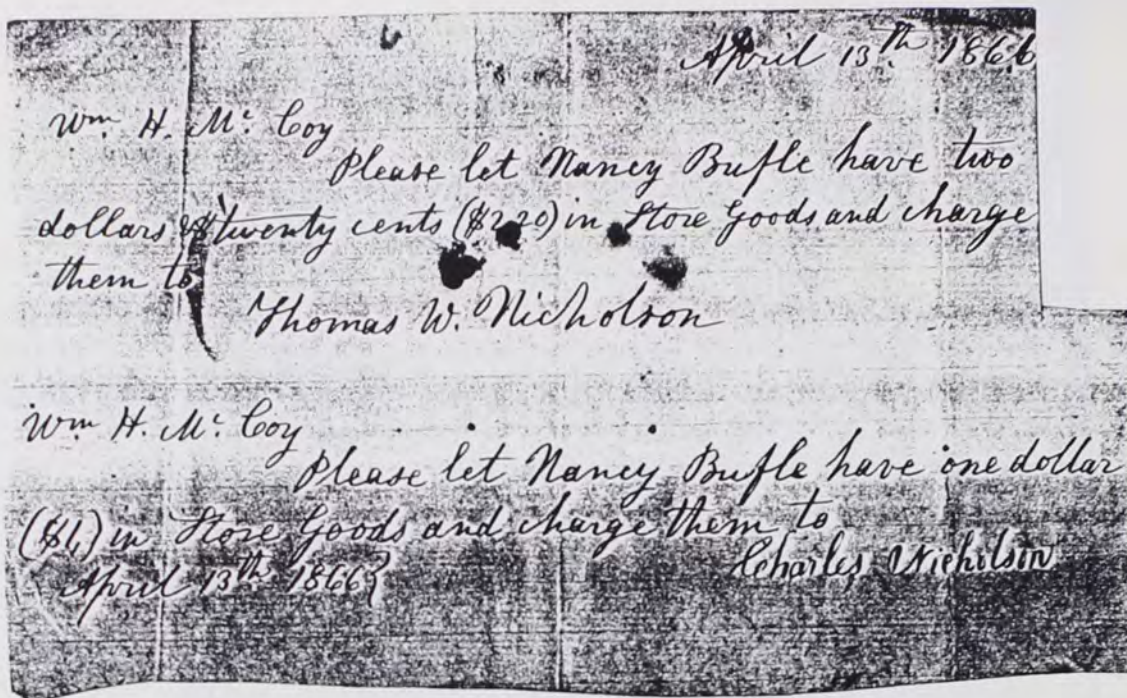
New Geneva Post Office		
137	Alfred B Eberhart Dr To 3 lb Sugar 10 3 lb Butter 10 1 lb Pepp Tobacco 4	84
108	Frederick Eberhart Dr To 3 yds Blue Dull 12	37c
109	James Keep Dr To 2 1/2 yds Muslin 11	27c
110	Steamer Telegraph Dr To 10 Dyz Eggs 5	50
134	John Gray Dr To 1 1/2 lb Bacon 8	1 39
123	John Davenport Dr To 2 Dyz Eggs 5	10
124	Martin Eberhart Dr To 2 1/2 yds Muslin 8 1 lb Pepp Shells 7 2 lb 10 1/2 6 1/2	39c
152	Dilliner & Atkinson Dr To 2 1/2 yds Dilling 12 Pepp & Butter 9	40 1/4
108	Thomas W Nicholas Dr To 3 1/2 lb Butter 10	38
144	John C Fleeting Dr To 8 1/2 lb Bacon 8	6 92

Part of a page from the Davenport store ledger.

The New Geneva Post Office was located in the Davenport store during much of its history. John Davenport was appointed postmaster on September 9, 1812, and served for eight years, the store and post office being in the building at the southwest corner of Old Street. John's grandson, William, had the post office in the new store building. He was appointed June 29, 1889, and served for four years, followed by Mary Crow for four years. William then took over again and served until Edna Beck was

named in April, 1910. Around the time of the First World War, New Geneva had four other stores, although none was as fully stocked as Davenport's. It was in one of these, a small store, that Edna Beck had the post office. The other three were in business in the upper part of town.

Fern Cleavenger Davenport, Howard's wife, became postmaster on December 31, 1942, and conducted the post office in a room in the William Davenport home. When she retired on the last day of 1963, Florence Corder, of



Store orders like these were often used instead of cash. In these, the Nicholsons were paying off debts to Nancy Buffle.

New Geneva, who had worked for her, took over the office. When Florence retired in 1978, the post office was moved up the street to the Davis building.

The oldest Davenport ledger owned by Gordon C. Baker carries dates from 1827 to 1833, but the first sixty-two pages and pages 113 to 144 are missing. It lists 239 customers. Among them was James W. Nicholson, local businessman and brother-in-law of Albert Gallatin, who owned the large estate, Friendship Hill, located on a bluff overlooking the Monongahela River a mile south of the village. Friendship Hill is now a national monument and open to the public. It was Gallatin who laid out the village in the late 1700s and named it for his home town, Geneva, Switzerland. Gallatin served as Secretary of the Treasury in Thomas Jefferson's cabinet.

The second Davenport store ledger owned by Gordon Baker has accounts for the years 1841 to 1843 on 150 pages. It lists 286 customers, most of them the same individuals given in the first ledger. The third ledger, with store accounts from 1842 to 1857 on ninety-two pages, has this notation in front: "James Davenport's book." It has accounts for 144 individuals.

The long Davenport tenure of storekeeping came to an end with a succession of sales and auctions. The first was

conducted at the Harry Davenport home after his sister Lizzie died in 1943. A second auction was held after Mrs. Harry left the village in 1958 for a retirement home. In 1970 a third and final auction disposed of the furnishings and other items from the William Davenport home just south of the store site. Gordon Baker bought the three old store ledgers at that time.

Tombstones in Cedar Grove Cemetery on a hill south of the village show that John Davenport's wife was named Sarah, and that she was born in 1792 and lived until July 24, 1872. In addition to James, John and Sarah Davenport had a second son, John Jr., who died in 1829 at four weeks of age.

The original John Davenport house at the southwest corner of Old Street was bought several years ago by the U. S. Government, along with all the other properties south of Old Street. When completed, a new lock and dam downstream at Gray's Landing will raise the Monongahela River level about fifteen feet. The area south of Old Street will be flooded and buildings there torn down. A number of buildings across the river in Greensboro are also scheduled for demolition for the same reason.

Residents of New Geneva now all shop in supermarkets at least a half-dozen miles away.

Contributors

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ROBERT P. STEVENSON has contributed many previous articles to *Pennsylvania Folklife*. A journalism graduate of Pennsylvania State University in 1930, he worked as a newspaperman in his early years. At the end of World War II, *Popular Science Monthly* employed him in New York City. He worked there in various editorial positions for twenty-seven years. He retired in 1972, and moved from New Jersey to Greeley, Colorado, several years ago.

45th Annual

Pennsylvania Dutch

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